To discuss ways to help strengthen family systems was the purpose of a Wingspread Conference held in Racine, Wisconsin. The conference was sponsored by the Coalition for the White House Conference on Families in cooperation with the Johnson Foundation. There are ten sections to the report, including a brief introduction which provides background information on the conference. Section two, "The State of the Family," presents statistics to show how the family is changing. Section three, "What Sort of Help Does the Family Need?" discusses the danger of having a family policy and the role of service professionals. "The Difficulty of Being Specific about Family Policy" is dealt with in the fourth section. As soon as deliberations become specific, a variety of constituencies with a variety of agendas soon discover that they may agree only in the general concern for the family. Sections five through eight describe various support systems to the family, including self-help, neighborhoods, religion, and ethnicity. Families do not live and function as isolated units, but have informal and complex relations with several networks that provide support and sustenance. Section nine deals with family policy considerations. Whether or not federal policy is too crude and clumsy an instrument for dealing with the diversity of families and their variety of needs is discussed. The concluding section provides an overview of what was accomplished at the conference. A list of conference participants is provided. (RM)
Families do not live and function as isolated units, but have informal and complex relations with several networks that provide support and sustenance. These support systems—kin networks, voluntary associations, neighborhoods, self-help groups, ethnic and religious affiliations—were the subject of this Wingspread conference sponsored by the Coalition for the White House Conference on Families, in cooperation with The Johnson Foundation. The conference also discussed informal support systems as structures that mediate between individuals and "institutions of power." Celebrated the diversity of American families and American culture, anticipated the White House Conference on Families, and debated the role of social service programs, the limits of government policies, and the relation of families to the state and to the helping professions.

INTRODUCTION
THE STATE OF THE FAMILY
WHAT SORT OF HELP DOES THE FAMILY NEED?
THE DIFFICULTY OF BEING SPECIFIC ABOUT FAMILY POLICY
SELF-HELP AS A SUPPORT SYSTEM
NEIGHBORHOODS AS SUPPORT SYSTEMS
RELIGION AS A SUPPORT SYSTEM
ETHNICITY AND FAMILY AS SUPPORT SYSTEMS
FAMILY POLICY CONSIDERATIONS
CONCLUSION
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS
I. INTRODUCTION

The family has recently become an object of extensive interest, examination, and concern. Thoughtful observers, noting the statistical evidence, studying the history of the family, and projecting its future, are writing books with titles like Here to Stay and Haven in a Heartless World. Study groups are attempting to measure the impact of taxation, welfare, and other public policies on American families, universities, foundations, and government agencies are sponsoring research that may help us decide whether to feel discouraged or hopeful about the state of the family. Certainly the subject is in the air, and nearly everyone is interested in it.

It is clear that the national government should have a strong pro-family policy, but the fact is that our government has no family policy, and that is the same as an anti-family policy.

The President of the United States is interested. As a presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter said, "It is clear that the national government should have a strong pro-family policy, but the fact is that our government has no family policy, and that is the same as an anti-family policy.

In January 1978, President Carter, carrying through on his earlier statement, announced a first step on the part of the national government. "In order to help stimulate a national discussion of the state of American families, I will convene a White House Conference on Families. The main purpose of the White House Conference will be to examine the strengths of American families, the difficulties they face, and the ways in which family life is affected by public policies.

Thus the federal government, at its highest levels, has decided to encourage and to participate in the national dialogue, now well underway, regarding the family, how poorly or how well it is doing, and what can be done to help.

This is no easy subject, however; it is complex, has many parts, includes snares and pitfalls. Who, for example, can define "family" in a way everyone would accept? Who would make up the agenda for the White House Conference on Families? What items would be on that agenda? Individuals and organizations interested in the family — and these are many — took note of the coming White House Conference, and saw it as an opportunity of great potential usefulness.

Several national organizations concerned with families recognized the opportunity and determined not to let it pass. These included the Family Service Association of America, American Jewish Committee, National Council of Catholic Charities, National Council of Churches, National Council on Family Relations, Parents Without Partners, the YWCA, and the National Urban League. These and several others formed a loose-knit coalition for the White House Conference on Families. Because the federal government, at its highest levels, is taking an interest in the family, the Coalition wishes to have an impact on the quality and effectiveness of that interest. In forming the Coalition adopted four basic principles:

- That the White House Conference planners should devise a framework for the participation of various interest groups, professionals, and families themselves in defining the common needs of families.
- That the conference, itself, should focus on the impact of federal policy on the family.
- That the conference should recognize the impact, the other major institutions of society have on the family.
- And finally, that the conference should also consider the informal networks of support that aid families, and how those informal support systems could be strengthened by government policy.

Meeting at Wingspread, the conference center of the Johnson Foundation in Racine, Wisconsin, representatives of the Coalition's member organizations discussed further what they meant by the fourth principle.

Briefly, "informal networks of support" are the means by which families meet day-to-day needs and crises. They provide both emotional and material support, and include kin networks, extended families, lodges, clubs, fraternal organizations and other natural communities, neighborhoods, churches and other religious affiliations, self-help groups, and ethnic associations. They are cooperative, reciprocal, natural, and informal. These are often the roots that give life.

In part, the Wingspread conference was called to document the importance of these informal support systems; it was also an attempt to initiate a national dialogue on just what informal support systems are, how they work, and how public policy could support them.

We recognize their significance," said Joseph Giordano, one of the conference planners, as the meeting began, "but we are still learning what should be included as informal supports. Out of the conference will come a conceptual approach that strongly makes the case that it is important to consider informal supports. After all, they are the means by which families cope."

Irving M. Levine, also a conference organizer, added, "We think that the informal support systems are neglected and ignored."

Running throughout the conference, however, was a tone of somewhat cautious probing, this being a new territory, almost unbroken ground. There was confusion and often a lack of agreement, even on terms such as basic as what constitutes a family, or a support system.

Overlying the conference, however, were several key issues, which were not part of the informal-support agenda, but which nevertheless often endorsed their way onto center stage.

There was agreement, however, on the importance of finding answers to basic questions, answers that could be used to guide public policy. Several speakers suggested that the family would be a crucial, perhaps the crucial issue of the next decade.

"No easy answers came out of the Wingspread conference, and 'none were expected. Information, knowledge, and experience are important for a variety of informal support systems: ethnicity, religion, neighborhood, self-help groups."

Overlying the conference, however, were several key issues, which were not part of the informal-support agenda, but which nevertheless often endorsed their way onto center stage. These issues, about which few conferences felt indifferent, included one's view of the nature of families, what its structure and functions are and should be, and the relation of the family to society's "institutions of power." Another issue not to be denied nor
overlooked was the relation of families to human service professionals, which side public policy should be on, and whether programs and professionals encouraged dependence in the families and individuals being served. Still, another issue was the White House Conference on Families and concern about the character, of that conference and of the growing government interest in families. That is, the conference gathered at Wingspread to examine informal support systems, and did talk about these, and other questions, but with an eye "always on the coming White House Conference The Wingspread conference contained some lessons for the later, bigger meeting.

We will look first at these overlying issues, because they determined the shape of the Wingspread meeting, and could well do the same in Washington in 1981.

II. THE STATE OF THE FAMILY

When you get past the headlines, the professional studies and reports, and the cries of concern, what is the "crisis" that besets the American family? It seems to have leapt full blown into the national consciousness, almost as though the family had suddenly been put on an endangered species list, and people were searching for the rules, and regulations — the sanctuaries that would protect and preserve this vanishing "species."

THE FAMILY IN PERIL?

Problems arise at the beginning of any discussion of families. It is difficult to talk about families simply because everybody is part of one. Our own family experiences inevitably shade our view of the family. One person's family is another's commune.

The family — whether nuclear, extended, traditional, non-traditional, communal, whatever — is as close as our own skin. In his story, "The Purlioned Letter," Edgar Allan Poe presented the notion that if you want to hide something, you should put it in plain sight. Theory to the truth that things closest to us are often the hardest to see clearly.

Recognizing the difficulty of defining what a family is, and what it means to us, it is still possible to point out areas of concern. Without a doubt, statistics indicate that things are not as they used to be. Consider the following:

- Divorce is up by 700 percent since 1950. For children born in the 1970's, four out of ten will live in a single parent household for part of their childhood.
- In 1950, 56% of husband-wife homes the man was the sole bread winner, in 1975 the figure had dropped to 34 percent.
- In slightly over a decade, first births to unmarried couples have doubled.

The issues go on and on — juvenile delinquency rates, reported cases of spouse and child abuse, the changing role expectations of family members. But what do the figures mean?

That we, as a society, cannot go back to the world of "Little House on the Prairie" or "Walton's Mountain" is a reality. Does it constitute a crisis?

Other statistics indicate that while families may be changing, they are not dissolving. Divorces are common, but so is remarriage. Even if the family has experienced difficulty in fulfilling traditional roles, like the socialization of young children, there is little evidence that any other institution has stepped in to replace the family.

"But I also believe that one thing they are not asking for is the negative approach that emphasizes pathology, or illness. They want confirmation of their own ability to care for their own."

THE FAMILY IN CHANGE

If the family is in disarray, in turmoil, or in conflict — does this necessarily mean that it is in dissolution?

The answer that clearly came out of the Wingspread meeting was no. Mr. Giordano echoed a common theme when he said, "Many of us have found a wide variety of groups and individuals asking for a recommitment to family life on the part of institutions in our society."

"I think these groups and individuals are asking for help. But I also believe that one thing they are not asking for is the negative approach that emphasizes pathology, or illness. They want confirmation of their own ability to care for their own."

Robert Hill, Director of the National Urban League's Department of Research, said that many studies of black families adopt "the assumption of pathology, weakness, absence of strengths, the absence of self-help, the absence of coping mechanisms among those groups. We feel that this negative approach is the source of fundamental weakness and deficiency in most policies and programs directed toward low-income people."

The specific focus of the Wingspread conference was on coping strengths of families, not pathology. Because of this focus, however, several participants voiced fears that the real problems families are having would be slighted or passed over. No one denied that families are under pressure, but most did not want to throw up their hands in despair.

After all, others noted, families still exist, despite the formidable pressures that promote disintegration and perplexity. Families have skills to cope, and identifying those skills, particularly the informal coping systems, will assist us in proposing means to strengthen families.

III. WHAT SORT OF HELP DOES THE FAMILY NEED?

There was a word of caution sounded early in the conference and repeated often. "We are as likely as not to be forging chains in these days," John McKnight told the family service professionals and policy planners at Wingspread.

Mr. McKnight, who is Associate Director of Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs, noted, by way of warning, that the concept of childhood was a relatively recent one, developed in the 1800's. And once developed, that concept became the basis for a variety of rules, regulations,
controls, and "policies" regarding children.

THE DANGER OF FAMILY POLICY

"Are we going to be answering the question, What is a family? in such a way that we will formalize, oficialize, create a status around which a set of definitions, standards, and controls can be developed ... a new basis established for the control of human beings?"

"There is nothing magic about the persistence of families." Mr. McKnight maintained. "I think families have persevered because they performed vital functions. Family is finally a set of functional relationships. If you take from the family, in the name of benefit to the family, its caring, doing, making, training, learning, resolving — whoever does that is the enemy of the family."

The problem in Mr. McKnight's view is not a lack of family policy. There are in fact a host of government programs, over 250 at last count, that have direct or indirect impact on the family. One problem is too many institutions, agencies of government, family professionals all trying to do things for the family.

"If you take from the family, in the name of benefit to the family, its caring, doing, making, training, learning, resolving — whoever does that is the enemy of the family."

"I think the question is what is not to be done," he offered.

That question leads straight to public policy, or what should not be policy. "The policy implications of one who thinks a family is like a cauldron of personality disorders, as opposed to a haven, are very very significant." Mr. McKnight said. If families are viewed as schools, perhaps policy will deal with programs, he suggested; if families are like organizations, perhaps what they need is a grant or leadership skills; if the family is an economic entity, then a subsidy or a workshop in management; by objectives may be called for; if families are like people, what they need are services and therapy.

In Mr. McKnight's own analogy, families "are the vital center of the society; the reality from which all the rest comes, and for which all the rest exists."

From that perspective, policy should think, from the family, out to society; not from society onto the family. In the former view policy is created to support and nurture families; in the latter, it is created to impose on families.

THE FAMILY AS HAVEN

Mr. McKnight called the family the center of "the other America," pitted against the institutions of power. While it is in the character of institutions of power to disallow individuals from doing more than part of a task, or seeing the results of their efforts, families empower and support. The institutions of power depersonalize and dehumanize, families encourage and enfranchise. The family is the center of those informal, networks — to that world it is the vital center. It is the other America. The real, the possible, the reasonable America, the informal America of which it is king and queen.

Family policy should transfer power from agencies already "doing" for the family back to the family itself. Speaking to the conference, he said, "We must take the power away from you. Don't give us more therapy, give us a decent income. Don't give us your tools; give us your tools.

"Put this way, the issue is not a question that can be put in terms of another policy. The issue is a question of transfer of power in our society. The thing that is liable to come from the White House Conference, I think, is the sort of medical model that will see policy as a way of injecting into the family [more] programs."

Mr. McKnight's comments did not go unchallenged. They sparked a debate over the role of the family service professionals, and highlighted the tension between professionals and self-help groups, between formal and informal systems.

The comments about professionals hit a vital nerve. While many conferences did not disagree with the spirit of Mr. McKnight's remarks, they were not sure just how far he would like to go in empowering families and disempowering professionals. The discussion turned on two points: first, the changing role of the family service professional from doctor-teacher to counselor-facilitator, and secondly, the importance of informal support systems in empowering families.

John Spiegel, M.D., Director of the Ethnicity and Mental Health Training Program at Brandeis University, called Mr. McKnight's remarks, "irrational and unrealistic. Essentially an anti-professional position."

"I think we have to be concerned with the problems that families have in dealing with their culture, in dealing with the continuity of the culture ... and the preparation of the child for a changing society. Can that be done by wiping out the professionals?" Dr. Spiegel asked.

While it is in the character of institutions of power to disallow individuals from doing more than part of a task, or seeing the results of their efforts, families empower and support.

THE ROLE OF SERVICE PROFESSIONALS

Do the professionals treat pathology rather than teach coping skills? There was rather widespread agreement with Mr. McKnight on this point. An informal debate started when one conferee said, "I hope we don't as a group establish a paper tiger and beat the hell out of it — the paper tiger being one description of a counseling process as it existed, as I knew it, in 1954-1960. We can end up fighting against something that no longer exists."

Others took issue with that statement. Irving Levine agreed that professional attitudes have changed, but the funding sources and the power sources are still not only heavily into pathology, but are moving more into pathology. The insight from the grassroots has got to be brought to the [centers] of policy.

Even when family service professionals recognize the importance of families, their approach may still be one of teaching and imposing family programs. Mr. McKnight's comments did not go unchallenged. They sparked a debate over the role of the family service professionals, and highlighted the tension between professionals and self-help groups, between formal and informal systems.

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as being ancillary and support-

tive of that family's agenda.

Other speakers said the tendency to
label behavior pathological related
particularly to blacks and low-income
families and other groups whose
family structure or individual be-

havior do not fit standard norms.

Where behavior is seen as
pathological, coping strengths that
might already exist are ignored. The
label also may very well have a harmpfu1
effect on the person or group so
labeled.

Ronald Gold, Staff Assistant with
the National Gay Task Force, argued,
"If I think of what I have as
pathological, then I must go to you
and say, 'You must help me with this,
I don't know anything about it.' A
problem, however, is something I can
deal with within my family. I can't trust
anyone else to decide for me what my
pathologies are, or where my mental
health lies.

Professionals can offer instrumen-
tal, technical support to families, but
only families can provide a crucial,
more intimate level of support. Mr.
Gold said.

"Human inter-relationships are un-
known territory for everybody, in-
cluding the professionals," he said.

"Individual human beings and in-
dividual human families have to work
at these in experimental ways just as
everyone of us in this room has got to,
whatever our professional credentials.
If we pretend to them that we have
some information about human beings
that they do not have access to, we are
destroying their capacity to help
themselves."

Dr. Spiegol, on the other hand,
cautions against the loose use of
clinical terms referring to his ex-
perience working with ethnic groups
in the Boston area, he maintained.

We obtained a very good line on,
the differences between what
was normal and what was
pathological, and I must say I
have a great deal of discomfort
with the way this particular
contrast and issue has been
skirted at this conference,
almost as if there were a slogan
being sent out that what is

IV. THE DIFFICULTY OF BEING SPECIFIC
ABOUT FAMILY POLICY

Reflecting on the course of the
Wingspread conference, William Mc-
Cready, Senior Study Director of the
National Opinion Research Center,
said, "It's a hell of a complex issue.

The more you get down to concrete
issues the more you are going to
disagree.

As a possible foretaste of the White
House Conference, this meeting
offered several object lessons on what
is likely to happen at a national
conference on the American family. In
a world, fragmentation perhaps to the
point where any real progress is
prevented.

One person noted that any coalition
that includes both the Catholic
Bishops and the National Gay Task
Force is bound to disagree as soon as
the coalition gets down to specifics.

The problem then becomes twofold.
family policy is such a new
and complex issue that attention is
easily distracted to other topics (the roles
of women, child welfare, minor rights,
non-traditional families, etc.), on the
other hand, as soon as deliberations
become specific, a variety of con-
stitutions with a variety of agendas
soon discover that they may agree
only in their general concern for the
family - whatever we mean by "family.

The woods become obscured by
the trees. The interest in the family is
like a great noise rising in the land -

loud, but unclear and incoherent.

As soon as deliberations become
specific, a variety of constituencies
with a variety of agendas soon
discover that they may agree only in
their general concern for the

family - whatever we mean by "family."

Voicing this concern, Dr. Rice said,
"If the White House Conference
proves to be a turmoil - a demonstra-
tion of fragmentation in our society,
we might lose our whole purpose -

strengthening families, and the
subject of family policy will become
poison for many years to come.

But, he added, if the conference
does get down to specifics about
family and family policy, an unthink-
ing family policy will develop that will
do more harm than good.

Fragmentation, lack of definition
of terms, different agendas - these are
all elements of the Wingspread
meeting. Remarkable one conferee,
"If this is what is going to happen at the

White House Conference, now I un-
derstand why we have the problems
we have in the United States with
people who are setting [family,
policy]."

There is not much that can be done
to avoid these problems, unfortunat-
ely.

Mr. McCready suggested that the
White House Conference could be
very specific about its agenda, to try to
focus the direction of discussion.

Dr. Rice, however, saw the White
House Conference as only the begin-
ning of an evolution, not revolution, in
public policy attitudes towards the
family. He suggested:

Those of us who are concerned
about families and strengthening
families, those of us who are
service professionals, are going
to have to learn new things, if
we wish to make a difference in
policy towards the family. We
will have to live with the anxiety
of entering the caldron of
conflicting interests - politics,
nasty stuff. We will have to live
with the idea of incremental
change We will have to practice
the art of the possible.

What is the role of the service
professional? As a definition of that
role emerged from the discussions,
increasing importance was put on the
function of informal support systems,
both as mediating structures between
the family and formal institutions, and
as networks through which
professionals could work with
families, with a better understanding
of families' inherent strengths.

Robert Rice, chairperson of the
Coalition, commented, "We are now
entering another stage, where we're
talking about family empowerment.
about how to support the power of the
family in new and not yet understood
ways - in other words, the role of
the future therapist."

And part of our problem is that we don't know quite
what the role is going to be.

Before examining informal support
systems, we will look at another broad
theme of this Wingspread conference.
Implicit in the conference itself and
alluded to by several speakers in
effect, it was a warning to the planners
of the White House Conference.
V. SELF-HELP AS A SUPPORT SYSTEM

The recent proliferation of a whole variety of groups loosely called "self-help" reflects both a malaise in society and, at the same time, the coping strengths of individual families. The best known and one of the oldest and most effective self-help groups is of course Alcoholics Anonymous.

How important are informal support systems? One way to begin the discussion is to note that several conference were able to attend only because of such support networks. For example, Mr. Reissman, whose father was suffering from a back injury, said, "The only reason I'm able to be here is because of a helping network of friends who are taking care of him.

Informal support systems surround us in dozens of ways big and small. We rely on them to help us cope, to solve problems, to remain whole. Sometimes these supports are so much a part of our lives that we don't even think of them as anything special.

Mr. Borman worked with a mental health hospital near Chicago. He said he was struck by a common factor among the variety of patient self-help groups he encountered:

The commonality of many of these [patient] populations is that they have not been able to get the kind of help they needed, either from their traditional support system or from existing human service and professional agencies. Although they are a part of families, the family doesn't understand what they are going through.

Some extent, the focus of many self-help groups is the individual, not the family. But to the extent that such groups help an individual deal with stress or cope with a problem, stress within a family is relieved also.

These might be a new form of extended families, or support systems, that are possibly replacing the tribe, the village, the neighborhood, that don't exist for these people anymore. Mr. Borman suggested "Small support systems are vital in terms of basic purposes of our society. Many of these groups seem to represent the kind of value system that has slowly been bleached out of our society. They're concerned with commitment."

INDIVIDUAL VS. FAMILY?

This does not mean that self-help groups always bolster the traditional family structure. Where traditional family or social roles are being recast, family members look for support from outside groups, against the family.

In the area of women's family roles this is particularly true. Jacqueline Gilbert, Assistant Director of Parents Without Partners, said, "People have been forcing their families, their institutions, their religions, their neighborhoods...to accept [role changes] because there have been enough of us who were so uncomfortable with what we had to do to gain support that we found a support group that could work with us.

For women who divorced and suddenly found they had no financial status in the community, for abused spouses who were told to go back home, for women questioning their sexual identity, women's groups offer a "safe harbor" that the traditional family and social structure cannot.

And while these groups might be disruptive of traditional family structures, one conference suggested, that that might not be "bad if it seems that one member of that family has been subjected or oppressed, or denied the full expression of her humanness.

At the same time, the changing roles of women may in fact make families stronger in the long run, another speaker suggested.

Felicia George, Coordinator of the Non-Sexist Child Development Project of the Women's Action Alliance, reminded the conference that the women's movement was not a new phenomenon, dating back as it does to the early 1800's. Equal sharing of family roles is not a revolutionary idea.

Historically, women and men shared equal roles in the family. It was only after the industrial revolution that the role of women within the family diminished, Ms. George maintained.

The women's movement, "has spurred men to also reexamine their role and become more involved with the family," she added, "It has redefined women and the meaning of traditional women's roles to give them the kind of status and value that women feel they should have. There is more sharing of parental responsibilities, and a breakdown of sexual stereotypes.

In the long run, while "this has brought about new forms of families that I don't think we can ignore," the family unit will probably be stronger because it recognizes the expectations of all its members, Ms. George said.

Informal support networks discussed at Windspread cut across all variety of social stratification and classification. They exist to empower people. If self-help groups succeed in doing that, Mr. Reissman noted, then the "malaise" of people toward their society might carry over to larger institutions. If that is the case, empowering people at a local level would have far reaching impact on the major institutions of society.
VI. NEIGHBORHOODS AS SUPPORT SYSTEMS

We all have one, and many of us still do that place where you played stick ball, or kick-the-can as a child, went chasing through empty lots or open fields. Its boundaries might have been a few city blocks or the rug you walked down a country road to your best friend's house.

For many people their definition of themselves is still tied up with the neighborhood they live in. What do we mean by 'neighborhood?' "I like to think of it as one of the levels of systems in the society that I turn to for help. One of the primary sources of help for me and my family," said David Roth, Midwest Director of the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity.

WE LIKE IT HERE

There was an immediacy to Mr. Roth's comments. He said he was able to attend the conference only because of neighbors who were taking care of his nine-year-old daughter while both he and his wife were out of town.

Certainly that arrangement is not an unusual one. But for the Roths it is part of a system within the neighborhood that allows the family to function in ways it otherwise could not. Because both parents work at some distance from the house, neighbors look after the Roths' daughter while she is at school, and take her into their homes after school on a daily basis.

"What has happened in a residential development that has turned into a neighborhood is for us an interesting sort of bartering system with people who are rather different from us. In short, this neighborhood has given us a number of options, which are vital to the central maintenance of our family," Mr. Roth said.

Interestingly, Mr. Roth does not live in an older established neighborhood, but in a suburb with a high percentage of young families. It has become almost a fact for families to get street signs from their old Chicago neighborhoods and put the signs in the front lawns of their new homes.

"That says something probably of the way they have of the neighborhood they came from and to some extent also what they hope will happen in the community in which they're living," he added.

Other examples of such evolving neighborhoods were mentioned in one area where there were mostly elderly and young couples, the young families would provide "transportation for the elderly, who in return offered baby sitting services and advice on child rearing.

Columbia University Professor of Sociology and Social Work Eugene Litwak offered a functional definition of neighborhood: "We're talking about lay people," he said. "We are not talking about technical experts or large scale organizations. There is a form of lay knowledge, and activities that occur in every area of life, and these seem to be essential.

THIE LADY NEXT DOOR

Examples of lay activity would be elementary first aid, calling the police to report a neighbor's house being robbed, or pulling a neighbor's child out of the street.

"The thing that characterizes a neighborhood is that their lay activities are closely tied to geographic area. In talking about neighborhoods as a support system we (must) first recognize that we are talking about lay knowledge. That requires the resources of many people, but not large numbers, that it is tied to geographical proximity," he said.

Mr. Litwak identified four types of neighborhoods:

- Traditional, where people have long-term commitments to the neighborhood, and support for each other. In such neighborhoods strangers are distrusted. Because of their distrust for outside groups, such neighborhoods are vulnerable when they have to deal with large scale bureaucracy.

- Then there is the mobile neighborhood where, although there is a large amount of support and sharing, there is no permanent commitment to the neighborhood.

- These neighborhoods exist in the midst of a resurgence of religion. What we are witnessing is the end of two hundred years of what could fairly be called the hegemony of the secular enlightenment.

- The role of religion has thrown into question, if not completely debunked, most of the theories of secularization that social scientists have been operating with.

That religious institutions have been in a period of turmoil, even crisis, was not denied. And when religious institutions lost the confidence or ability...
to state moral values firmly, other social institutions suffered, it was said. "The result of all of this is a loss of value, loss of confidence, loss of simply standards," said Rabbi Irving Greenberg, Director of The National Jewish Conference. The secular principle of pleasure is in serious contradiction to most of the fundamental civilized and cultural activities of society.

What is happening today is that religion is reasserting values and reestablishing its role in society. What this means in terms of religion as a support system can be seen on several levels.

Brother Joseph Berg, Associate Director of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, said that at the local level, churches are mobilizing to help, to empower people.

"They are not afraid of being involved in the political process," he said. "We are not afraid to be involved in advocacy" and advocacy seems to imply a corporate responsibility.

On a broader policy level, this religious resurgence has profound implications for public policy. Pastor Neuhaus said, "We are no longer going to assume that the public arena and the discourse appropriate to the public arena must be value free. We will no longer have to sweep our values under the carpet.'

Here ensued a discussion of the informal groups that mediate between the individual and the larger, often indifferent or hostile, social environment. These groups provide refuge and support to the individual, and can be powerful themselves. Called "mediating structures," they include those institutions standing between the individual and the larger institutions of public life: "the family, neighborhood, religious affiliations, voluntary associations, and groups whose membership is based on ethnicity or other sources of identity.

The mediating structures, because they are informal, natural, and personal, are easily seen as nearer the interests of the individual than the institutions of power. The bias of many participants at the Wingspread conference was, not unexpectedly, cordial towards mediating structures, and their functions were sometimes seen as under threat from the big official institutions.

Thus Pastor Neuhaus said that at a minimum, where public policy ignores mediating structures (including religion), that policy should be corrected. At the maximum, public policy should be devised to support mediating structures (including religion).

Does this mean a rethinking of the concept of separation of church and state? Politically, a burning coal, this issue was handled very carefully by the speakers. However, Pastor Neuhaus noted that by not allowing credits for children attending parochial schools, the state was not allowing families a choice in how their children would be socialized.

Rabbi Greenberg cited Alexis de Tocqueville, who called religion the cement that holds a pluralistic America together. "Values make a difference. The inability of society to make value statements cripples support systems and the family," Rabbi Greenberg said.

VIII. ETHNICITY AND FAMILY AS SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Ethnicity is a term almost as hard to pin down as family. William McCready defined it as "a latent, subjective identity that answers the question, where did you come from. It's a subjective story, a key element for many people in determining who they are-not necessary that they know the details of the story."

That is a broad definition, which Mr. McCready used to make several points. One was that, to whatever extent people value their background or their heritage, to that extent it becomes a support system for them—not necessarily a support system into which they were born. "Many of us have several ethnic heritages represented in our backgrounds," Mr. McCready said, "and we select one or another to emphasize. How else could someone like me, coming from Dutch, German, English, Scottish, and Irish stock, consider himself 'American-Irish'? I think many people are the same in this respect."

Secondly, people want the identity they select to be respected. "It's somehow important that we begin to listen to the stories as they emerge. One of the key elements that frequently gets lost at the social policy level, and frequently gets lost at the support system level, is the fact that people want their story to be respected. They want to feel as though other people accept it," he said.

But the question of ethnicity as a support system is really two-pronged. For many people it is a part of the fabric of their identity, a part of where they came from and who they are. But with immigrant populations, ethnic support systems can mean something more concrete. John Spiegel sees informal ethnic support networks as bridges to a new society that play vital roles in acculturation. Dr. Spiegel identified two such support networks from his own professional experience. One he called "host receptor sites, or culture brokers". These are community-based institutions that serve as interpreters of the new culture for immigrants. The other he called "gate keepers". These are individuals who come from the community and who work with formal and informal organizations to find out what services are available. They represent the ethnic group to formal institutions.

"Even ordinarily 'strong and healthy' families cannot always resist the force of external pressures."

Around these kinds of quasi-formal support organizations, ethnic self-help groups often form. Dr. Spiegel said, "As for families as support systems, Marion Levine, Executive Director of the North Shore Child Guidance Center, emphasized, 'Families are truly support systems and not the enemy. Families have the capacity to problem solve and to cope. They do it every single day."

The family as a support system must negotiate with many other systems in this society, and a therapist or service professional must consider the impact of

In fact, behavior that was seen as pathological in low-income families — women working, the interchangeability of family roles, with children often assuming some parental responsibilities — is now seen as a source of strength and coping when it appears in middle-income families.
these other external systems as well as problems within the family. Perhaps a family dysfunction has its origin, not in the weakness of the family, or in an inability to cope, but in the intrusion or intervention of another system. Even ordinarily strong and healthy families cannot always resist the force of external pressures.

Robert Hill talked about the particular inherent strengths of black, and low-income families. He maintained that professionals generally ignore the strong coping mechanisms of such families and adopt a "missionary complex." Further, their assumptions of pathology don't fit with the facts.

"They define them as groups that are completely dependency-prone and therefore [policy] is not directed towards helping those who are helping themselves," he said.

"In fact, behaviour that was seen as pathological in low-income families — women working, the interchangeability of family roles, with children often assuming some parental responsibilities — is now seen as a source of strength and coping when it appears in middle-income families.

Mr. Hill said studies have identified five areas of strength in low-income families: strong kinship bonds, work orientation, flexible family roles, strong achievement orientation, and strong religious orientation.

"We contend that those five factors have been functional for the survival, the advancement, and stability of black families," Mr. Hill said.

IX, FAMILY POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

Turning again to public policy what should be the focus of policy, and what should be its limits? Do we already have an implicit family policy, as John McKnight and others suggested? Throughout the discussion of informal support systems, questions such as these, concerning how public policy could be shaped, were heard.

NO READY ANSWER

Although there were no ready answers, several themes emerged. One was put forth by Joseph Giordano. "I think we have to look at new mechanisms that make the linkage between the primary group and the bureaucracy. And we may need new groups that make the linkage," he said.

Those linkages, many of them informal support systems, should be nurtured by policy. But how?

Mr. McKnight had suggested that the question would be better framed in the negative: "The question is what is not to be done. The principle around which policy is formulated is best understood as a set of limits."

Families should be empowered to do for themselves, which means federal policy towards families should be one of options, he suggested. Citing one example of how that is not the case, Mr. McKnight talked about policy towards the elderly, which he said constituted "a national family-breaking policy in regards to helping children take care of their parents. The government wants to care for old people, but will only do that if children will separate from them."

If federal money is used to help support elderly in institutions, it should also be used — perhaps in the form of tax credits or other incentives — to help families who want to keep the elderly in the home and care for them.

Government buys for public education, but gives no aid, and even harasses families who choose to educate children in the home, or within kinship or community networks outside the formal institutions.

"What we need is a policy of options. What we have now is a straight family separation policy," Mr. McKnight said.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CHOICES

Another question was whether federal policy is too crude and clumsy an instrument for dealing with the diversity of families and their variety of needs.

"We've had a tradition of universal programs for universal needs," Irving Levine said. "Even within the context of a universal program, there is significant diversity, especially in the manner in which different individuals and groups prefer services to be delivered."

Could federal policy be formulated to allow for this variety — universal policy with built-in choice? "It's quite possible that you can have a more sensitive, culturally compatible kind of policy framework that gives lots of people choices. It's not easy, but it's a way of thinking about how you handle problems," Mr. Levine said.

Another question was whether federal policy is too crude and clumsy an instrument for dealing with the diversity of families and their variety of needs.

Mr. Levine would encourage a "social conservation" approach which would represent the pluralistic nature of our society. It would respect professionalism, but it would also deliver services through the natural and informal systems of help that can be discovered through a deeper understanding of how human ecology works.

A "social conservation" approach would not work if it emerged as anti-professional. The role of the professional as a provider of services would be expanded to include the functions of trainer and broker.

Professionals should help clients make choices of appropriate support systems and evaluate the progress that individuals and families are making.

This approach would operate best if national policy were sympathetic. To achieve "social conservation," we need national support for the family, national attention to neighborhoods, national full-employment, and national health insurance.

Other conferences were less confident that could be done, "I can't think of anything Universal as applied to the family," said John Spiegel.

Like Mr. McKnight, Robert Rice suggested that the limits of what federal policy could accomplish might be quite narrow. "Being a practicing administrator taught me that I had to pay attention to what was possible," Dr. Rice said. "In shaping policy, one prizes the art of the possible." Change is possible, but it will come slowly. In the last few decades family service agencies have gone from a position of trying to standardize their services to trying to tailor services to the community. Further, according to Marion Levine, agencies still receive more financial aid for working with individuals than with families.

Still, Dr. Rice added, "we're entering a new age, where there has never been such explicit, broad, policy-level attention to the subject of family."

"Think of policy formation as something that will evolve. We're still in the process of learning to think about family policy," he added.

What sorts of questions should policy planners be asking?

ENABLE, DON'T DISABLE

"The trick is to get in-and then get..."
out," said Or. Rice, describing the role of service professionals in their work with families. The worker offers a service, perhaps even an authoritarian service, such as protection, he serves as a resource to the family when the family fails, intervenes when the need requires it, but withdraws before the family becomes dependent. The trick is to get in and then get out, to respect what is natural and support it.

Mr. Giordano pointed out that there might be areas of inconsistency, or conflict, between government policies, accepted standards of society, the law and what individual families or communities want to do.

An example of that would be a community that resisted integration. "Maybe we have to be inconsistent," he said. "There are real fundamental conflicts here."

The issue "is not just allowing the community to tell you what isn't a problem, which may be unfair to somebody else's community. It is, I think, for policy makers to listen a little more precisely to the level at which something is a problem for a community, how big a problem it is, and when it ceases being a problem," he said.

The whole question of policy, Dr. Spiegel suggested, is finally one of ecology:

You can't really help an individual without "helping his family; but you can't help the family without looking at the networks that support the family. It is very difficult to do anything about the networks or the effort to mobilize such networks without considering the neighborhood in which the family exists. It is difficult to be concerned about the neighborhood without being concerned with the larger political and economic structures of that particular community. And you can't be concerned about that without being concerned about the nation as a whole. If you are going to be concerned with strengthening the family, you have to look at this ecology as a whole. One doesn't exist without the other."

X. CONCLUSION

What was accomplished at this conference?

Chairperson of the Coalition for the White House Conference on Families Robert Rice said:

I think some of those present were surprised by the content of much of the conference. There were ideas and views expressed that were new and unexpected. Some of the speakers were saying, "You service professionals have been taking the action away from the family, away from the natural supports. Now we don't think you're needed anymore, and what we want is smaller government, less intrusive programs; fewer resources going to the professionals." This was a real broadside.

I think the reasons that John Mc Knight presented will receive much support from within the Coalition, once those reasons are understood. It won't happen immediately, but eventually Coalition members who are, unfriendly to John McKnight's position will see that they still have a role, even with his cautious approach to family policy.

Mr. Giordano stressed the power of informal support networks as mediating structures "both between the family and the larger society and advocating on both ends, for the family, to help the family deal with whatever it's going through as a result of internal changes or pressures on it from the outside; and on the other hand, represent the family against the assaults from things they can't control - like government policies ..."

The professionals ought to be stimulating self-help - and then pulling out, Mr. Giordano said. "Mediating and advocating, and making the linkage with what people need but don't have the resources of organization to do."

The conference produced another strong caution: federal policy should not be rushed into. The idea that government can save the family is both misleading and dangerous: misleading in that it focuses on what is done for the family; not what the family can do, and dangerous because it could potentially rob the family of natural functions and so give it one less reason for continuing.

The diversity of families was recognized, and Mr. Levine found in that diversity cause for celebration. "I'm less concerned about fragmentation. Frankly, I call it identity. What you have is a lot of group identities out there forming, in a way that is very exciting," he said. "We ought to celebrate it."

The fact that the conference was held was also cause for hope. One conference pointed out, "We wouldn't be here under the banner of the American family unless we felt something dangerous was going on; something falling apart that we don't want to fall apart quite the way it is ... But with recognition of the problem, there is the chance for finding some answers."
A WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON FAMILIES

"During the 1976 presidential campaign, candidate Jimmy Carter spoke about the pressures on the American family and raised the issue of national family policy. "The American family is in trouble," he said in August, and urged that government actions be "designed to honor and support and strengthen" it. He argued for a pro-family policy, while noting that no family policy is the equivalent of an antifamily policy.

During the campaign Joseph Califano, who would become the new President's Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, served as a special advisor to the candidate "on how federal programs can aid and support the American family." One of the earliest documents setting forth the administration's thinking on family policy is a report by advisor Califano for "candidate Carter, "American Families Trends, Pressures, and Recommendations." In it, Mr. Califano noted that "families are America's most precious resource and most important institution." He argued for the recognition of limits to what government can do to meet human needs, that government programs should not encroach upon the functions of the family, and that a Carter administration should attempt to "restore trust and confidence in American families." He especially called for careful examination of the ways that the variety of government programs and policies affect family life. "We must," he concluded, "expand considerably the dialogue about families and children."

Later in the campaign, when speaking before a meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, Jimmy Carter declared: "One thing I intend to do as President is to make sure that every action our government takes helps our families rather than hurts them." This would be, a national administration concerned for the welfare and the strengths of families, and the first Carter budget included a recommendation, which was approved by Congress, for funding a White House Conference on Families.

In January 1978 President Carter announced a White House Conference, "in order to help stimulate a national discussion on the state of American families." In his statement the President said he was "confident that the American family is basically sound, and that we can and will adjust to the challenges of changing times."

The main purpose of this White House Conference will be to examine the strengths of American families, the difficulties they face, and the ways in which family life is affected by public policies. The Conference will examine the important effects that the world of work, the mass media, the court system, private institutions, and other major facets of our society have on American families.

This Conference will clearly recognize the pluralism of family life in America. The widely differing regional, religious, cultural, and ethnic heritages of our country affect family life and contribute to its diversity and strength in families, also differ in age and composition. There are families in which several generations live together, families with two parents or one, and families with or without children. The Conference will respect this diversity.

The work of this Conference, in conjunction with our current efforts to implement family-oriented government policies, can help strengthen and support this vital and enduring social resource. I look forward to participating in the work of the Conference and receiving its report.

A White House Conference on Families is both cause and effect of a wide variety of activities in government, in universities, and in the private sector, that have the status of the American family as their subject. The White House Conference, scheduled for spring, 1981, will provide a focal point for at least one phase of a wide and intense national dialogue on the American family and public policy towards families.

THE JOHNSON FOUNDATION

Wingspread, the last of Frank Lloyd Wright's 'prairie houses,' was built in 1938 for the H.F. Johnson family. One of the largest of Wright's homes, it rises from the margin of a broad ravine and overlooks a series of ponds, open fields, and wooded slopes, a half mile from Lake Michigan, just north of Racine, Wisconsin.

In 1959, through the generous gift of Mr. and Mrs. H.F. Johnson, Wingspread became the headquarters of The Johnson Foundation. Since then it has served as an educational conference center for meetings of a regional, national, and international character. Wingspread is an ideal facility for symposia of fifty or fewer participants. Its pastoral setting and unique architecture encourage productive dialogue. Wingspread thus provides opportunities for face-to-face exchange among small groups of leaders and specialists on issues of national and international significance to the United States and nations overseas.

The Johnson Foundation works with many other organizations in convening about one hundred Wingspread conferences a year, usually two or three days in duration, on topics dealing with areas selected by the Board of Trustees as major concerns: International Understanding, Educational Excellence, Improvement of the Human Environment, and International and Cultural Growth. Examples of recent Wingspread meetings include:

- The Exchange Experience with China - Past, Present, and Future
- The Law of International Human Rights
- Developing Competence in Reading, Writing, and Computing
- Basic Skills and American Education
- New Directions in American Intellectual History

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THE COALITION FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON FAMILIES

The possibility — the announcement — of a White House Conference on Families has been the occasion of wide and various activity that expands and intensifies as the conference draws nearer. There have of course been other White House conferences — for example, on Aging, on Children, on Children and Youth, on Balanced National Growth and Economic Development. Some of these are decennial conferences on Aging and on Children and Youth are scheduled for 1981, the year of the Conference on Families.

This however, will be the first White House Conference on Families, and it has attracted perhaps unprecedented attention. It is certainly timed to encourage and contribute to an expanding national dialogue. This national discussion and debate includes such studies as those of the National Academy of Sciences (Toward a National Policy for Children and Families, 1976) and the Carnegie Council on Children (All Our Children, 1977) Robert M. Rice’s book, American Family Policy, was published while he was chairperson of the Coalition for the White House Conference on Families. George Washington University’s Family Impact Seminar is developing methods for identifying and measuring the impact of various government programs on families and family life. Major centers for the study of families are sponsored by Vanderbilt University, Duke University, the University of Minnesota, and Cornell University.

Projects have been undertaken by the National PTA, the National Council of Churches, and the American Association of University Women. Conferences have been convened by General Mills, Inc., the National Urban League, several national associations, and several states. Newsweek gave a cover article and NBC three hours on a week night to the subject of the family. The United Nations devoted 1970 to the International Year of the Child. Several private foundations have identified the family as a program interest.

One of the most extensive initiatives relating to the subject of families is the Coalition for the White House Conference on Families. If you can think of a national organization concerned with families or with family policy, it is probably a member of the Coalition. The list of member organizations includes the American Home Economics Association, American Red Cross, Americans for Indian Opportunity, Child Welfare League, Family Service Association of America, the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity of the American Jewish Committee, National Association of Social Workers, National Conference of Catholic Charities, National Council of Churches, National Council on Family Relations, National Urban League, Parents Without Partners, Planned Parenthood, Synagogue Council of America, and the National Board of the YWCA.

The Coalition for the White House Conference on Families is developing a framework for the participation of various interest groups, professionals, and families themselves in defining the common needs of families.

That the conference itself should focus on the impact of federal policy on the family.

That the conference should recognize the impact the other major institutions of society have on the family.

And, finally, that the conference should also consider the informal networks of support that aid families, and how those informal support systems could be strengthened by government policy.

From the beginning, the Coalition has sought to participate in the planning for the White House Conference. Its membership views the conference as a major opportunity to contribute to the scope and the quality of the national dialogue on families and family policy.

- Collaboration on Meeting the Needs of Linguistically Different Children in the Midwest
- National Forum for Women in Higher Education Administration
- Long-Term Care and the Aging of America
- Research in the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect
- Residential Programs for Young Single Mothers
- Amici at Wingspread Implications of the Bakke Decision
- World Conference on Innovative Higher Education
- Urban Youth Unemployment
- Industrial Social Work
- Wingspread Conference on Youth Work
- The Formation of a National Coalition for Jail Reform
- The Johnson Foundation’s efforts at program extension, beyond the immediate experience of Wingspread conference participants, include the publication in several forms of Wingspread reports, which are distributed in the United States and abroad. Program extension also includes “Conversations from Wingspread,” a weekly public affairs radio program. These half-hour educational programs are recorded at Wingspread and broadcast nationally each week over approximately 150 stations.

Financial support for the programs of The Johnson Foundation is made available through the generosity of S.C. Johnson & Son, Inc. (Johnson’s Wax), and members of the Johnson family.

The Johnson Foundation invites inquiries from organizations and individuals about convening Wingspread conferences. Inquiries should be addressed to The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin 53401.
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The building Frank Lloyd Wright called Wingspread, situated on a rolling prairie site just north of Racine, Wisconsin, was designed in 1938 as a residence for the Johnson family. In 1960, through the gift of Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Johnson, it became the headquarters of The Johnson Foundation and began its career as an educational conference center.

In the years since, it has been the setting for many conferences and meetings dealing with subjects of regional, national, and international interest. It is the hope of the Foundation’s trustees that Wingspread will take its place increasingly as a national institution devoted to the free exchange of ideas among people.

The rolling expanse of the Midwestern prairies was considered a natural setting for Wingspread. In the limitless earth the architect envisioned a freedom and movement. The name Wingspread was an expression of the nature of the house, reflecting aspiration through spread wings — a symbol of soaring inspiration.

THE JOHNSON FOUNDATION

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The Johnson Foundation encourages the examination of a variety of problems facing the Midwest, the Nation, and mankind. In the belief that responsible analyses and proposals should reach a substantial audience, The Johnson Foundation assists in the publication of various papers and reports. Publication, of course, does not imply approval. Additional copies of this report may be obtained from The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin 53401.

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