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Examination of the Process

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THE CREATION OF AN INTERRACIAL SOCIAL ACTION: EXAMINATION OF THE PROCESS

By

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ABSTRACT

THE CREATION OF AN INTERRACIAL SOCIAL ACTION:
EXAMINATION OF THE PROCESS

By

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The utility of community-based organizations as a means to have an impact on socioeconomic inequities has long been established. Despite evidence to the contrary, folk wisdom often continues to believe that only a few charismatic (or powerful) people can really change the way society functions. The purpose of this intervention was to demystify the process of collective action by examining the period "before the beginning." That is, the study documents the process by which people in neighborhoods move from the desire to create social change to the creation of a community-based organization. In addition the project explored a preventative approach to public planning that builds on the strengths of a competent, interracial community.

The research question was how to systematically verify fundamental elements of a social change action. The study was designed around two matched neighborhoods. An Intervention Team alternated between the two, working in each for an intensive 60-day period, for a total of six months. Project- developed logbooks were kept by each participant to provide the data for

documenting the process by which citizens came together; computer assisted network analysis described the people involved in the action, the links which connected them, and the types of resources that were exchanged; the Moos Work Environment Scale measured the internal climate of the fledgling community organization.

Four underlying elements were verified as necessary for the creation of a community-based social action: the presence of an entrepreneurial agent to function as an interested third party; an ability for like-minded individuals to identify one another; establishment of an organization with internal differentiation of roles; and the formation of linkages beyond the boundaries of these organizations.

The network analysis lent affirmation to some basic tenets of the field of community psychology. The Intervention Team acted as the interested third party that helped redefine situations for citizens in the neighborhoods. Homemakers and self-proclaimed activists were equally effective as change agents. People achieved their goals by working outward in radial fashion; beginning with their personal friends and moving to their self-help groups, religious or civic clubs, and business connections. Racial cooperation was made possible through the conscious efforts of members in the network.

Go to the people
Live among the people
Learn from the people
Plan with the people
Work with the people
Start with what they know
Build on what the people have
Teach by showing
Learn by doing
Not a showcase but a pattern
Not odds and ends but a system
Not piecemeal but integrated approach
Not to conform but to transform
Not to relieve but release.

James Yen
Chinese community organizer in the 1920s

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I would also like to thank my dissertation guidance committee, who demonstrated repeatedly that they were as committed to this project as I. Their critical attention to academic excellence helped me to produce a document of which I am quite proud.

And finally, my heartfelt gratitude goes out to my circle of spiritmates. They danced along with me even though we who danced were thought mad by those who could not hear the music.

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study

The process of social change has long been written about. Unfortunately, these accounts are predominantly anthropological (Durden, 1965; Cruden, 1969; Lofland, 1977), anecdotal (Alinsky, 1946; Kahn, 1970; Seale, 1970), or biographical (McCarry, 1972; Goldenberg, 1978; Parton, 1980; Oates, 1982). Few systematic analyses of grass-roots collective action have been conducted.

A review of the literature suggests that successful collective actions hold certain underlying elements in common, regardless of differences in the issues being addressed. The question this research addresses is: Can the hypothesized core elements of a social change action be systematically verified? Furthermore, can their influence be separated from that associated with the particular issue at stake?

This project was designed to clarify the steps by which community-based organizations come together to create a collective action. The degree of capacity building, in terms of community cohesiveness as well as personal development, was examined along with the role of what Mollenkopf (1983) refers to as an entrepreneurial agent. In this case the entrepreneur, a third party facilitating the action, was an indigenous Intervention Team.

The research did not seek to examine intrapsychic person characteristics or group dynamics. Such micro-considerations,

while important, have been studied extensively (cf., Hoffer, 1951; Toch, 1965; Turner & Killlian, 1972). Rather, this intervention systematically examines the mechanics involved in the change process.

The research setting is a declining industrial area in southwest Michigan. Racial tensions which have existed there for years have begun to escalate. Citizens and city government, recognizing that the economic difficulties they face cross racial and ethnic lines, are seeking ways to reduce the potential for violence.

The research question is vital in this context of citizen participation in public planning. Public input is solicited at various points throughout the planning process. Effective grass-roots participation will be enhanced by the presence of a competent community, articulate and knowledgeable about the social and economic implications of the planned development. This project seeks to verify how such a collectivity evolves and its necessary components.

At another level of analysis, communities are composed of individuals. It stands to reason that improving interactions between people also has an impact on relations in the larger group. Racial tensions can be extremely destructive to building a cohesive community. Races may perceive their interests as being in competition rather than recognizing threats common to all. The project described here consciously focuses on interracial collaboration to provide a context for forcing

racial issues to the surface and addressing them in a straightforward manner.

Perhaps most importantly, the project is a seminal model for creating long-term interventions as opposed to knee-jerk programming. In declining urban areas social and economic stresses are severe in the best of times. As conditions deteriorate existing tensions, especially in terms of race, may erupt. Yet public planners and city officials too often use a management-by-crisis approach to the potential for conflict. The result is hastily constructed programs generated under extremely volatile circumstances. This social action project takes a preventative approach, proposing that a competent and cohesive community can play a significant role in mitigating the incidence or severity of discord.

Hypothesis

A sustainable intervention is characterized by:

1. An ability for concerned individuals to coalesce into identifiable, goal-oriented units. These units can be in the form of community-based organizations (CBOs) or coalitions.
2. Each unit's having an internal organization and climate which facilitates: issue definition, leadership selection, role differentiation, cohesiveness, resource acquisition, resource allocation, and goal attainment.

The internal organization of goal-oriented units formed by concerned individuals will become increasingly differentiated as the action progresses.

3. The creation of linkages between units, allowing the collaborative effort to influence mutually important outcomes. The sum total of these linkages would be considered a network. The group's ability to access resources (person, service, goods) along these linkages will be positively related to goal attainment. Creation of the network will begin with the closest links (direct or one-step); sustainable actions will be characterized by a radial network.

4. An entrepreneurial agent who facilitates the action through problem redefinition, identification of new resources, and creation of new linkages among units. This agent will function as liaison or bridge between cliques.

Table 1 lists operational definitions used in the formulation of these hypotheses.

Table 1

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

ENTREPRENEURIAL AGENT:	An individual or group who become involved in an action for reasons of personal commitment or practical opportunity. The agent operates as a facilitator to advance the goals of the intervention through problem redefinition, identification of new resources, and the creation of new network links.
COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATION (CBO)	A collectivity of citizens who come together into a collaborative, goal directed effort to influence another party or situational outcome. The collectivity (whether a group or an organization) remains distinct from acknowledged public domain agencies (civic clubs, government-mandated bodies, non-profit organizations), although goal-specific alliances may be forged as the need arises.
COALITION:	The organization of one party or unit, typically in prior conflict with another, into a collaborative effort to influence another party or situational outcome. An attempt to combine previously separate resources in order to control mutually important outcomes. (Chesler, 1981)
NETWORK:	Creation of alliances between autonomous entrepreneurs, CBO's or coalitions. The parties, persons, or states do not coalesce; rather they consider themselves independent entities brought together in order to control mutually important outcomes.
DEFINITIONAL SHIFT:	Time of reassessment during which members of the collectivity determine whether existing collaborative relationships meet identified needs, will help attain target goals. Decisions are also made regarding definition of the mission statement on which the collectivity was founded.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE:
THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Creating Sustainable Interventions

Entrepreneurial Role

To create effective interventions concerned individuals must create a unified front. Compelling evidence has been presented for the role of an entrepreneurial agent in co-ordinating such social action. An entrepreneurial agent is an individual or group who facilitates goal attainment during the intervention through problem redefinition, identification of new resources, and the creation of new linkages between groups or individuals.

McCarthy & Zald (1973, 1974) examined interventions in the United States during the 1960s using an entrepreneurial model. Entrepreneurs, they reported, saw in social unrest opportunities to create new power structures by bringing together interest groups previously competing or working in isolation of one another. Individuals or groups who acted in this capacity may have become involved in the action for reasons of personal commitment or practical opportunity. Whatever their motivation, entrepreneurs operated as facilitators to advance the goals of the intervention.

Examples of entrepreneurship from the New Deal onward are presented by Gelfand (1975) and Mollenkopf (1983). Pro-growth political coalitions were not tools wielded by outside

interests. Rather they generated political and economic initiatives that met the needs of their constituents. New Deal federal urban development programs were the price Democrats paid to gain the support of the newly mobilized urban electorate.

Jenkins (1983) reviews a number of social interventions in which entrepreneurs played significant roles. In each case a cadre of individuals created packages which redefined grievances, secured resources, and garnered support for the aggrieved group. The entrepreneurs secured resources from noninstitutional sources or co-opted institutional sources. These individuals help create social movement organizations (SMOs), both classical and professional. The former involves mass participation within the oppressed group. In the latter, the intervention "speaks for" but does not involve the oppressed group.

Effective Associations

By examining accounts of social action, core elements of the change process seem to appear. It has been suggested that one such component is creating identifiable, goal-oriented units, with careful attention to recruitment (cf., Alinsky, 1946; Sarason, 1969; Alinsky, 1972; Gamson, 1975). Piven & Cloward (1979) analyzed four major social movements involving the rights of workers, the poor, and Blacks. In the cases of the Unemployed Workers Rights Movement and the Civil Rights Movement the authors described how the larger movement could be broken down

into smaller organizational units. The successes and failures of the larger actions were examined in light of how effectively the smaller units were created and maintained.

For example, the press for workers' rights was co-ordinated using organizations at the local, state, and national levels. The National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) evolved into a multi-level bureaucracy with complex rules regarding membership, structural differentiation, and resource mobilization. Piven & Cloward contrasted the success of the workers' movements with the problems encountered by the welfare rights movement. The campaign for welfare rights was characterized by rising discontent among the poor and, in some cases, the professionals who provided services to them. Gains which eventually resulted -- special grants, training, and placement programs -- were long in coming because the movement failed to create effective associations at the local level. Community-based welfare rights organizations suffered most because recalcitrant leaders inhibited new membership expansion.

One of the few systematic examinations of community-based social change (Prestby & Wandersman, 1985; Wandersman et al, in preparation) stressed the importance of internal structure and maintenance. Sustainable interventions depended upon maintaining effective associations such as community-based organizations (CBOs) or coalitions. The authors stressed the importance of a well-articulated internal structure, provisions for continuity in leadership, and consistent goal attainment.

Chesler's (1981) blueprint for creating and maintaining interracial coalitions was very clear that internal

organizational structure is crucial. Throughout his chapter he stressed that the survival of these coalitions can hinge on attention (or lack thereof) to issues such as equal status role relations, opportunities for minority leadership, and educating for competence among coalition members.

Fostering group cohesiveness and solidarity was another theme which appeared repeatedly in the literature. The mechanics proposed for doing so were diverse: identifying common ground or mutual interests (Rothman, 1971; Turner & Killian, 1972; Bonacich & Goodman, 1972; Foner, 1974; Hinkly, 1979; Thomas, 1987), "rap sessions" (Seale, 1970; Alinsky, 1972; O. M. Collective, 1971), self-education and workshops (Sheldon, 1967; O.M. Collective, 1971; Blumberg & Roye, 1979; Jones, 1980), consciousness-raising (Charmichael & Hamilton, 1967; Chesler, 1981; Thomas, 1987a, 1987b), and processing racial tension (Cruden, 1969; Chesler, 1981; Oates, 1985).

Finally, goal attainment would appear to be essential to maintaining an effective association. In their study of active versus inactive block organizations Wandersman (1985) and Wandersman et al (in preparation) found that output was a distinguishing characteristic. Active block organizations that accomplished their initial goals and established a successful "track record" were more likely to survive. The result was that the block organizations secured more co-operation from the city as well as satisfying members' expectations of benefits accured from supporting the organization.

Writings based on data gathered less systematically also stress the importance of accomplishing objectives (cf., Seale, 1970; O. M. Collective, 1971; Keating, 1975; Bennis et al., 1976; Alinsky, 1977; Oates, 1984). Authors cautioned that goals should be manageable so as not to raise unrealistic expectations. Furthermore, short-term objectives which could be met with relative speed should be interspersed with long-term ones that would require more time to meet. In this way members and supporters could celebrate little "victories" on the way to achieving the long-range goal.

Resource Mobilization

The associations can improve their chances of survival by effectively accessing resources (person, material, service). McCarthy & Zald (1973, 1977) as well as Jenkins (1983) are two of the main proponents of the resource mobilization perspective regarding social interventions. These authors are adamant that all subjective considerations aside -- ideology, commitment, moral justification -- without a consistent and efficient supply of resources any action is ultimately doomed.

Examples to support this assertion can be found by examining accounts of a variety of social actions. During the Reconstruction era, competition for resources hampered or undermined efforts by independent Freedman's Bureaus to educate newly freed slaves (Curry, 1969; Pierce, 1971). Echterling & Wyth (1981) describe how crisis centers offering alternative

services developed strategies to obtain money and members from the larger society. Attempts by parents and educators to expand opportunities for students were frustrated until activists developed an ability to appropriately "match" needs and available resources (Sarason et al., 1977).

Maintaining Sustainable Interventions

Despite efforts to create change, Mollenkopf (1983) believes that citizen action as it is most often implemented is not as effective as it could be. To the extent that they are successful, CBOs remain local in scope. Selection of the service role over that of political advocacy turns constituents into clients. Mollenkopf asserts that this is counterproductive because it attempts to clean up social damage after it has already been done rather than address its structural sources. This approach can only provide ameliorative action in response to immediate problems, not deal with systemic issues.

In a similar vein, Crowfoot et al. (1983) stated that past theory and practice in social change suffered from narrow focus. The dominant exceptionalist approach -- defining social problems as a crisis, or temporary extraordinary event -- fostered segmentalized problem-solving. As a result the focus of the action becomes the symptoms of the problem, not the underlying structural conditions.

Networking

To maximize their influence participants in the social action must form alliances with other key actors in the sociopolitical milieu. For example, the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) met with minimal success until it co-ordinated its efforts with organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the anti-war movement (Piven & Cloward, 1979). These alliances brought the NWRO legitimacy, financial support, and political status.

Piven & Cloward further demonstrated the power of networking in their discussion of the Civil Rights Movement. The Kennedy and Johnson administrations' civil rights agenda was in response to concerted pressure from the mobilized Black leadership, the United Auto Workers, and Blacks threatening to defect from the Democratic party. These economic and political alliances were credited with ultimately forcing the federal government to legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Ignacio (1976) and Ortiz (1981) illustrated the utility of networking to gain political clout for minority organizations. The action coalitions they described were based on a local constituency but developed regional and national levels and strategies. In this way commonly accepted issues and concerns of the local people could be advanced in the larger systemic arenas. Similarly, participants in the Nestle's Boycott Movement attributed their success to having developed a multi-level network -- local, state, national, and international (Bryant, 1985).

The forces which may govern network linkages has been examined in the fields of communications and interorganizational relations. Advocates of the resource dependency view of interorganizational relations operate from the assumption that organizations are not self-sustaining. Aiken & Hage (1968) state that when an organization needs resources held by another, it will try to establish an exchange relationship with the resource-holding organization. Zeit (1980) agrees that the availability of resources can constrain future organizational action. He goes on to say that to the extent that exchange relationships remain stable, interactions between organizations tend to fall into repeatable patterns. It is this persistence, or lack thereof, that constrains future action by its effect on availability of resources.

In addition, Zeit raises another aspect of resource dependency: antagonistic co-operation. Inequality in available resources ultimately leads to unequal control over the conditions of exchange. The result is a contradiction -- a condition where an element is both necessary for developing toward a goal and sufficient for its transformation into an enduring pattern of change. Competition for scarce resources can be exacerbated by perceived similarity between goals and functions of the organizations (Evans, 1971).

If we accept the premise that exchange relationships between organizations fall along a continuum, with antagonism and co-operation as anchors, it is logical to ask about factors which influence where the relationship will fall on that continuum.

Similarity is an oft repeated theme. In essence, the likelihood of cooperation is greater if organizations perceive their goals and tasks to be similar (cf., Tornatzky & Lounsbury, 1979; York, 1979). Evans (1971) says that the greater the complementarity between goals and functions of the organizations, the greater chances of co-operation.

Litwak & Hylton (1962) contend that the relationship is effected by the degree and type of interaction between members of the organizations. Another important consideration is the significance (utility in helping the organization achieve its goals) of the resources and the symmetry of the exchange (Levin & White, 1961; Lehman, 1975). Levine et al. (1969) point out that no exchange is possible where groups are unaware of one another.

Apparently, then, a resource network could be conceptualized as "a voluntary activity between two or more organizations which has consequences, real or anticipated, for the realization of the respective goals and objectives" (Levine & White, 1961, p. 586). The exchange relationships can be characterized by cooperation or conflict as a function of similarity between the organizations, interaction between their members, significance of resources, and symmetry of the exchange. The quientessential determinant of the relationship is that the groups even know of one another. The degree of stability in the exchange relationship delimits future action by either organization.

A piece of information is still missing: By what process are exchange relationships in the resource network established?

Granovetter (1973), Sarason et al. (1977), and Sarason & Lorentz (1979) speak of the differences between "strong" and "weak" network links. The former are intensive regarding acquiantance level, time invested, emotional cost, mutual confiding, and rapidity of resource exchange. Weak network links are the opposite in terms of each of these characteristics. Weak, loosely knit network links more quickly disseminate information beyond the boundaries of the network than do strong, closely knit networks. Members acting a weak links are more heterophilous (different in certain attributes) and therefore more readily bring innovations to the network.

Everett Rogers has extensively studied the creation and maintenance of networks. He states that prevailing communication theories do not take into account the fact that communication is a dynamic process that develops over time. They have a tendency to concentrate on the psychological effects on separate individuals rather than on the social effects among individuals in the networks. Belief in one-way, mechanistic causation (rather than the mutual causation that characterizes human information systems) further limits the descriptive power of these theories.

Rogers proposes the networks should be studied using convergence theory and systems analysis (Rogers & Kincaide, 1981). Using his framework the unit of analysis shifts from the individual to the communication relationship between individuals. This allows one to examine the network's development by looking at the way individuals relate to one

another. Rogers demonstrates the power of his network analysis model by studying the diffusion of innovations in Brazil, Nigeria, and India (Rogers, Ascroft, and Goling, 1970); the acceptance of family planning in Korea (Rogers & Kincaide, 1981); and relating the communication of innovations to theories of social change (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971).

Thompson (1967) and Evan (1971) speak of "boundary personnel." These are the gatekeepers, controlling the flow of resources into and out of the organizations. Zeit (1980) stated that relatively enduring "nodes" can form around an organizational actor. The node represents the needs and interests of constituents both inside and outside the organization. It has also been suggested that some third party or coordinating agent could facilitate communication and exchange between organizations (cf., Litwak & Hylton, 1962; Granovetter, 1973)

These third parties -- by whatever name: boundary personnel, nodes, coordinating agents, or liaisons -- are powerful influences on the exchange relationship. Evan (1971) indicates that individual responses to differing pressures from internal and external forces define the interagency activity. York (1979) reported a significant correlation between contact person optimism and the number of joint programs or planning meetings held between organizations. Sarason et al.'s (1977) case study of the Essex Network illustrates that the definition of an exchange relationship is not independent of who defines it (outsider, insider, basis for action it is intended to provide).

Rogers showed how one woman was the driving force for the adoption of family planning in the Korean village of Oryu Li (1981).

Cyclical Decision-Making: Definitional Shift

Considering the dynamic nature of social change, theorists and practitioners point out that the most successful groups regularly re-evaluate their progress during the course of an intervention (cf., Kitsuse & Spector, 1973; Spector & Kitsuse, 1974, 1977; Bryant, 1985). Groups who fail to do so risk becoming out of touch with their constituents or the sociopolitical zeitgeist. Sheldon (1967) wrote that during the Populist movement a subtreasury plan was proposed. A system was devised which would bypass the banks to give money directly to farmers for immediate use while still allowing them to sell their products. Deep schisms developed within the movement regarding administration of the subtreasury. Leaders at the national level, however, failed to recognize the severity of divisions until factionalism threatened to destroy the Farmer's Alliance.

Another danger of not taking a periodic assessment is that the action itself could become the new social problem. Piven & Cloward (1979) showed how this became the case with the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) and the Workers' Alliance. Such emphasis was placed on organizational development -- leadership and its priviledges in particular -- that the needs

of the aggrieved group became secondary. As a result both movements lost a great deal of mass support. A similar phenomenon occurred with the crisis centers decribed by Echterling & Wyth (1981). What began as alternatives for an underserved population became a bureaucratic labrynth unresponsive to those it purported to help.

Since a group's network is important to sustaining the change process, it should also be carefully re-evaluated. Components of the network may have to be redefined to meet prevailing sociopolitical conditions.

Activists in the Nestle Boycott movement periodically took stock of their efforts to determine whether structural change had actually occurred (Bryant, 1985). In addition to identifying needed resources, infant formula action groups assessed their network connections. For example, prior to passage of the International Code of Marketing contacts at regional and national levels were vital parts of the lobbying effort. Following ratification of the Code, monitoring implementation required co-ordination on a global scale. International contacts were more consciously sought and a global network was cultivated.

SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE MODEL

Michigan State University is a "land-grant" university. As such, its mandate is to put the resources of the university at work in the community. Historically this commitment has had an

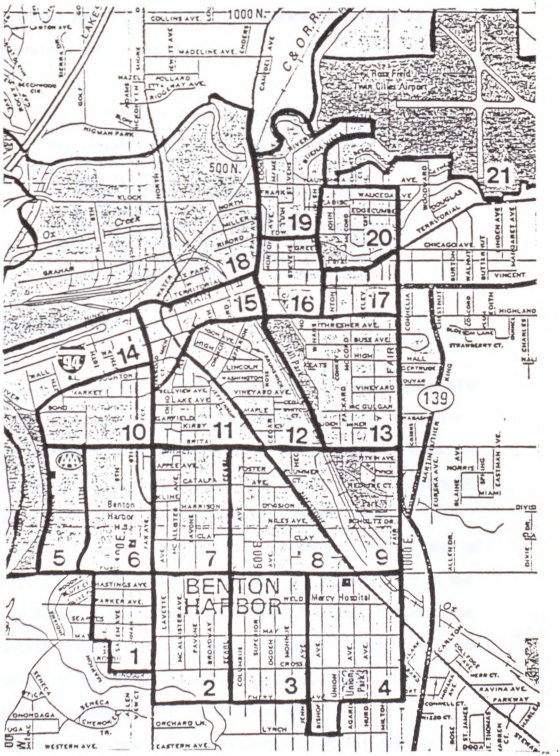
agricultural focus. Contemporary society, however, is increasingly urban. To remain relevant and still fulfill its outreach function the University needs to broaden the scope of the "land-grant" mission to include the modern urban realities.

The Benton Harbor Project (BHP) was conceptualized to demonstrate how this change could take place. It was envisioned as an action framework for cooperative approaches to urban socioeconomic problems. The objective has been to find the common ground between increasing the body of knowledge about the dynamics of urban living while at the same time meeting needs as defined by the community itself. In effect, synthesizing basic and applied research. The Social Action Project (SOCACT) described here was conducted under the auspices of the Benton Harbor Project.

Neighborhood Information and Sharing Exchange

During the first meetings between MSU faculty and Benton Harbor residents activities were proposed to mobilize and empower the average citizen (Congregational Church, 1985). In August 1986 a working group presented their proposal for an information referral center (NISE, 1986a). The working group further proposed a neighborhood network to implement grassroots strategies designed by the referral center. The city of Benton Harbor was divided into 21 areas, incorporating boundaries of the defunct block clubs (see Figure 1). These areas were to be the foundation for organizing within the city's neighborhoods.

Figure 1
Twenty-one neighborhoods into which
Benton Harbor was divided



During 1986 the community-based organization, called Neighborhood Information and Sharing Exchange (NISE), was established and began to evolve. It defined itself as an organization consisting of,

> ...local people who are concerned about...promoting discussion and working on the establishment of a referral and coordination center at 89 West Main to provide accurate up to date information on all human service related programs operating in the Benton Harbor area and developing and nurturing a network of neighborhood groups which concern themselves with issues and projects essential to the revitalization of the city (NISE, 1986b).

Level of Analysis

To appreciate the context of the Social Action Project NISE must be viewed in two levels of analysis. The referral center forms the umbrella organization under the auspices of which the 21 neighborhoods were to operate. The two levels can be thought of as administrative and grass-roots, respectively.

In the course of its first year the administrative level of NISE (the referral center) established its own presence in the larger Benton Harbor community. It gained access to person and financial resources at municipal, county, and state levels. The organization was effective enough to secure state funds for its community convention held in October 1987.

On the other hand, the neighborhoods have not been as successful in their attempts to organize. Only 50% of the neighborhoods were cohesive enough to send their allotted number

of representatives to the community convention (NISE, 1987). More than half of the remaining neighborhoods were represented by a single individual -- the one person interested enough to be present. Clearly, the degree of organizational development present at the administrative level was not duplicated in the neighborhoods.

Personal Entry into the Issue

This author was recruited into the BHP at the time of its startup in September 1985 to act as the community psychologist on the team. My role has been to focus on community capacity building, improved race relations, and the creation of effective community-based change activities. These activities have been undertaken with an awareness of escalating racial tensions. The project presented herein was designed in collaboration with residents. Its overarching purpose has been to increase the degree of citizen participation in community development and to enhance the quality of race relations between neighbors.

METHODOLOGY

Research Overview

This intervention has sought to demystify the process of collective action. It is important to emphasize that the goal has not been to document the intrapsychic dimensions of persons or groups creating an intervention. Rather, the goals has been to clarify the mechanics through which community-based organizations come together and form linkages with one another. The study sought to demonstrate how these collectivities develop viable networks.

The second objective has been to create an intervention which took into account racial tensions that exist in the setting. Historical analysis of race relations in the area was conducted to identify existing strengths which could potentially be maximized (Bryant, 1988). Using that foundation, the social action project consciously focused on interracial collaboration.

The unfolding of the intervention was in many ways unpredictable; however, the research attempted to verify fundamental elements suggested by the literature. Theorists and practitioners hypothesize that a sustainable intervention is characterized by: 1) existence of an entrepreneurial agent who facilitates the action, 2) coalescence of identifiable, goal-oriented associations (e.g., CBOs, coalitions); 3) these units' having an internal structure and climate which facilitates goal attainment; 4) creation of linkages between

associations to enhance resource mobilization and extend the scope of influence.

Outcomes of the change process were assessed using four criteria. First, the creation of a functional interracial association will be noted. "Functional" is defined as an association in which at least two races are actively represented. Second, the manner in which the associations develop and maintain an the internal organizational structure was examined. This included issue definition, leadership selection, role differentiation, cohesiveness, goal attainment, and definitional shift.

Third, networking and resource mobilization were monitored. Characteristics of the network (e.g., key actors, roles, memberships) as well as the type of resources exchanged (person, material, services) were documented. Finally, the incidence and content of any definitional shifts were monitored. Information regarding that redefinition, if it occurred, was collected and incorporated into the findings.

Research Design

The intervention was designed around two matched neighborhoods (see Table 2). In addition to general demographics, the neighborhoods were comparable in terms of their degree of organization. That is, the presence of block clubs or neighborhood groups which pre-dated startup of the social action project were controlled via matching.

Table 2

Neighborhood Variables

Control Via Matching	
Racial Composition Occupations Income Levels Housing Units Pre-Intervention Level of Organization	Neighborhoods will be matched according to general demographics. Also will be matched in terms of current degree of organization (e.g., block clubs, neighborhood associations) in the neighborhood prior to startup of intervention.
Measured Non-Controlled	
Political Behavior of Family/Friends	Activities of family and/or friends of the participants will be monitored. Especially to measure involvement in special interest groups or organizations sympathetic/resistant to the notion of multi-racial coalitions.
Public Policy	Legislative developments related to housing, economic policy, education, public assistance, etc.
Relationships Prior to Intervention	Monitor relationships between participants prior to project start-up. Special attention will be paid to relationships which cross racial lines. Relationships will be measured in terms of their duration, whether they were personal or professional.

An Intervention Team worked alternately in the two neighborhoods for an intensive 60-day period (see Figure 2). The principal investigator provided training, technical assistance, and support services during the intervention. Team members underwent an initial training period that covered techniques for organizing and managing a social action. They received a manual which was used as a guide throughout the intervention.

The Moos Environmental Scale was used to gauge the climate of the fledgling community-based organizations. Computer-assisted network analysis (see Rogers & Kincaide, 1981; Richards, 1989) was conducted to identify structure and content the resource network the resulted from the activities in each neighborhood. Finally, process logbooks were used to document the change process in each neighborhood as well as the impact of the intervention team.

The Intervention Team

The Intervention Team spearheaded the effort (see Table 3). Its composition was guided by findings from the historical analysis of interracial efforts in the setting. Individuals were selected on the basis of their being acknowledged leaders in their reference group, their awareness of the social and political dynamics within the community, and their involvement in community activities.

Team members were experienced in working in communities. Their past responsibilities included bringing resources to bear

Figure 2: Intervention Design

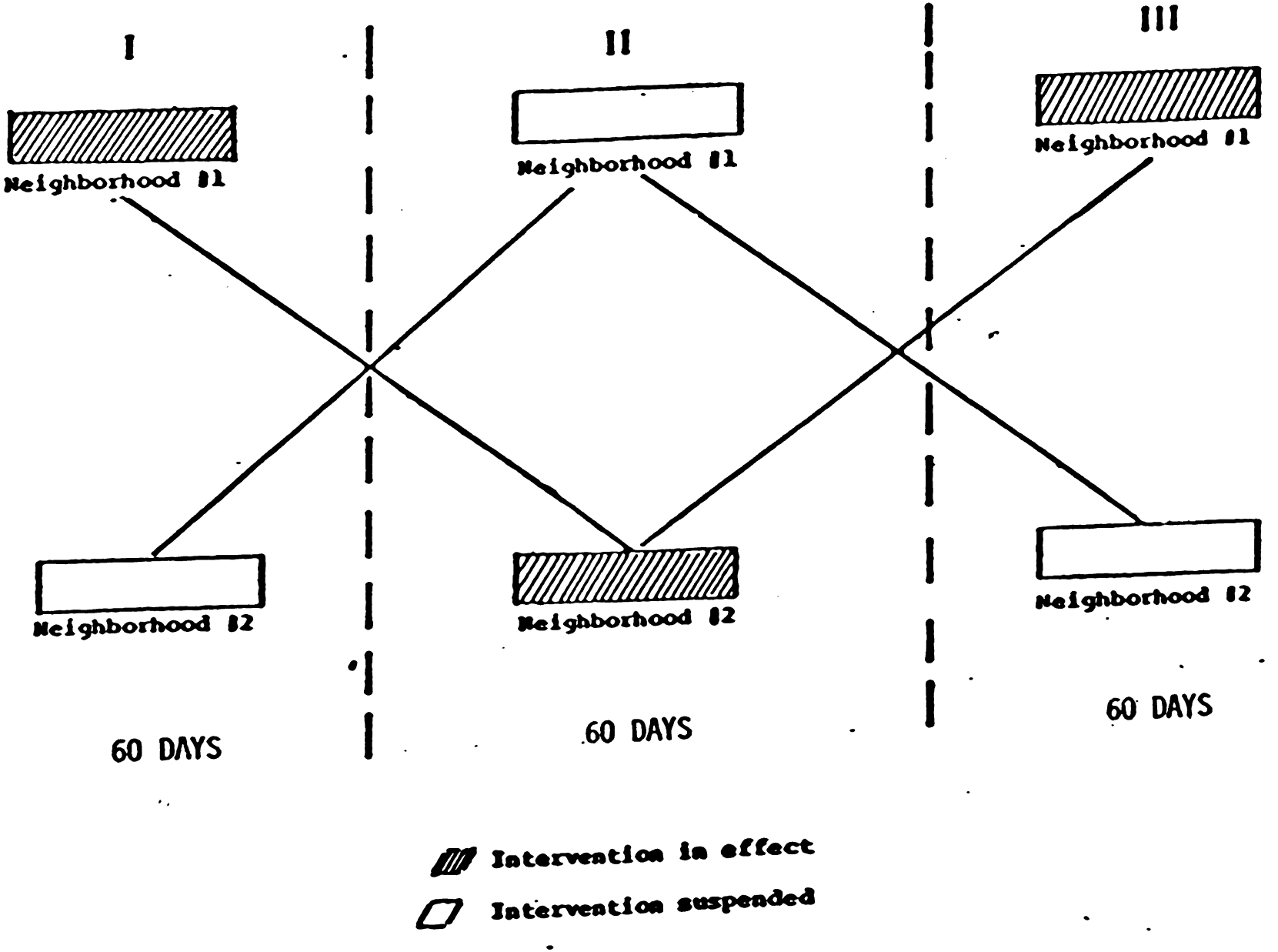


Table 3

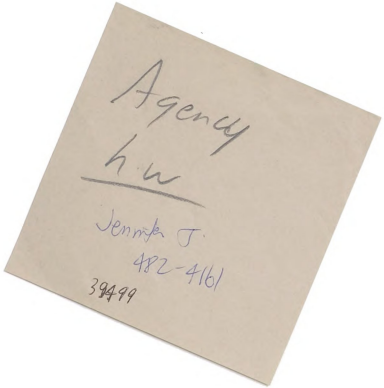
Intervention Team Variables

Control Via Pre-Screening	
Community Leadership	Individuals who are active in neighborhood affairs and acknowledged leaders in their reference group will be selected. Status can be attributed by community consensus or acquired through election/promotion/profession.
Sociopolitical Awareness	Individuals will be selected on the basis of their participation in special interest groups or organizations active in the community (e.g., NISE, EFNEP, churches). Individuals must have historic knowledge of the evolution of the racial situation in the community.
Control Via Selection	
Organizing Experience	Individuals must have experience in community organization, community development. Past responsibilities must have included networking, creation of coalitions. Must demonstrate awareness of problem-solving process.
Independence	Individuals must be financially independent from all formal groups and organizations in the community.
Research Experience	Experience with formal research useful but not necessary. Team members will be trained to use assessment tools, especially the coalition logbook.
Control Via Matching	
Years Experience Age Sex	Participants will be selected according to personal demographics. Objective is to obtain racial/gender balance on the team.

Table 3 (cont'd)

Intervention Team Variables

Measured Non-Controlled	
Relationships Prior to Intervention	Monitor relationships between team members, between team members and neighborhood participants. Particular attention will be paid to relationships which cross racial lines. Relationships will be assessed in terms of their duration, orientation (goal/value), whether they were personal or professional.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on a problem from a number of different sources. Participants were selected according to personal demographics such as age, sex, and race. Years of experience in community organization and conflict resolution were controlled via matching. Community opinion leaders representing groups and organizations dedicated to addressing racial issues were identified.

Team members are clearly predisposed to activism within their neighborhoods. At first glance this would appear to reduce the generalizability of the findings to other communities. In the strictest sense, this may be true; each community does have its own unique characteristics. At this point it is important to reiterate that the focus of this study is the change process itself. The present study was designed to determine whether underlying generic components can be verified. In this context, the presence of a cadre of self-described activists is a component which is indeed generalizable and can be replicated.

Members of the Intervention Team were instructed on state of the art techniques in community organizing. A manual was created based on fundamental elements suggested by the literature in community development, social movements, and organizational development. Team members were also instructed on how to do process recordings for the Intervention Team and Association Logbooks.

Weekly debriefings were held with individuals on the team. During these meetings log sheets were collected and reviewed. Any problems with documentation were taken care of at that time, making the proposed "booster" sessions unnecessary. In addition,

team members discussed issues related to the intervention itself (e.g., group dynamics, expectations, recruitment, resource mobilization, goal definition, etc.).

The Intervention Team worked directly in the community throughout the research period. In the neighborhood where a neighborhood group was established, monthly meetings were called by the Team; this author was asked to attend as a resource person. Log sheets for the association were collected following these meetings.

Social Situational Variables

External social situational variables will necessarily impact on the model. Some are especially relevant because of the racial nature of the project (see Table 4).

Media exposure could have jeopardized the project at any point. Contact between participants or project staff and the media was vigorously discouraged in the initial stage of the model. Legal and political forces which could undermine the project were also studiously avoided whenever feasible. It was impossible (and undesirable) to control for all potential changes in the sociopolitical climate; no social action takes place in a vacuum. Project staff did, however, monitor such developments throughout the course of the intervention to minimize and account for their impact as much as possible.

Table 4

Social Program: External Social Situational Variables

1) Physical Research Site	
Neutrality On-Site Facilities	Central research offices must be considered on "neutral" ground. Facilities must be amenable to needs of research design.
2) Media Exposure	All conditions will be quite vulnerable to media. Every attempt will be made to secure agreement to stay away from media during Periods I and II. The longitudinal nature of the intervention makes control over media more problemmatic in the model's final stages. Media is an important part of the sociopolitical milieu. Therefore, strict control of contact is less desireable in Periods III and IV of the research design.
3) Legal/Political Limitations	Political and legal constraints which may impact on the models must be addressed. Tension is virtually inevitable due to the controversial nature of the model. Legal and political consultants versed in race relations will be part of the research team.
4) Interorganizational Relations	Participants and change agents alike are likely to be involved in on-going organizations could effect individuals' continued participation in the models. Organizations will be (unobtrusively) monitored to protect the models against attrition.

Conditions in the design ran alternately as the research question sought to determine the elements of change given the presence or lack thereof of the Intervention Team. Social situational variables in both the intervention-active and the intervention-inactive neighborhoods were carefully monitored. Internal situational variables such as cohesion, group leadership, internal organizational structure, resource mobilization, and goal attainment, and redefinition were also monitored (see Table 5).

Instruments and Data Collection

To document the process as groups formed in the neighborhoods, members of the Intervention Team and Association kept project-developed logbooks. Log entries generated information about the individuals' activities and observations and indicated current membership of the collectivity (CBO or coalition). The logs also included a networking report that asked for details about who had been contacted, their affiliation, the outcome of the contact, and the respondents perception of the utility of the contact. Contents of the logbooks were analyzed for number of occurrences for codes relating to the status of the action in the two neighborhoods (see Table 6).

Quantitative information about the development of a group's internal structure was provided by Moos (1986) Work Environment Scale (WES), a 90-item self-administered questionnaire that

Table 5

Social Program: Internal Social Situational Variables

1) Coalition Dynamics	
Cohesiveness	Change agents function as entrepreneurs to redefine grievances, highlight commonalities. Instruments designed to promote problem solving, conflict resolution, capacity building, climate assessment.
Group Leadership Organization	In the course of the intervention individuals may emerge as group leaders. Foster development of leadership style, continuity of leadership, internal organizational structure, role definition.
Group Composition	Composition will change as alliances are reshuffled. Criterion of "functional" interracial coalition is active representation of at least two races on the coalition. Representation by gender will also be monitored.
Resource Mobilization	Entrepreneur will guide groups toward recruitment and operational practices which facilitate acquiring needed skills, contacts money, information, supplies, etc.
Goal Attainment	The entrepreneur will encourage groups toward constructive problem solving. The extent to which they can accomplish this will be reflected in goals attainment inventories.
2) Fiscal Considerations	
Research Admin Costs Research Team Salaries Turnover	The model will be supported with grants from research institutions and philanthropic orgazations. Staff and participant turnover will be difficult to predict. If necessary, team members will be replaced from a pool of alternates.

Table 6
Logbook Content Analysis Codes

STATUS
(Movement toward goal attainment in terms of activities of the Intervention Team or the neighborhood group)

Description	Definition
Got Action	Significant milestone reached
Gave Info/Advice	Provided facts/conjectures regarding a specific issue; need not result in any identifiable action
Recruiting	Proactive search for members
Implementation	Technical assistance regarding a specific issue. Step-by-step mechanics of the action.
Generating Strategy	Identifying issues, existing versus needed resources, planning tactics and future directions
Networking	Proactive search for contacts to increase scope of action, access to resources, influence
Definitional Shift	Revision or reformulation of the group's mission; also involves reassessment of existing relationships and resources

OUTCOME
Nature of the agreement between the member and the individual or group contacted at the end of the logbook entry)

Description	Definition
Referral	Sends member to another source
Neutral/Benign	No apparent hostility, no apparent commitment nor support
Cooperation	Agreement to undertake joint ventures defined by either party; veto power retained by group. Need not be formalized (e.g., in writing)
Formal Endorsement	Supports mission, programs; sends representative; veto power retained by group. Agreement formalized (e.g., in writing)
Full Partnership	Share equal decision-making power in defining joint ventures. Agreement formalized (e.g., in writing)
Hostility	Unresolved conflict, competition, outright resistance

measures individual perceptions of their organizational environment. The Moos scale taps into three dimensions (personal growth, interpersonal relations, and systems maintenance and change) using ten subscales: Involvement, Peer Cohesion, Supervisor Support, Autonomy, Task Orientation, Work Pressure, Clarity, Control, Innovation, and Physical Comfort.

Normative data have been collected for WES using 1,442 employees in representative general work groups and 1,607 employees in a variety of health-care work groups. The internal consistencies (Cronbach's Alpha) for each of the ten WES subscales varied from moderate for Peer Cohension (.69) to substantial for Involvement (.84), Work Pressure (.80), Innovation (.86), and Physical Comport (.81). The test-retest reliabilities vary from a low of .69 for Clarity to a high of .83 for Involvement (see Appendix for detailed statistics tables).

Once an identifiable goal-oriented unit was established, the Moos scale was administered on a monthly basis. The Real Form (R) of the Moos Work Environment Scale was used. Individuals' subscale scores were converted to percentiles, then the percentiles were converted to corresponding standard score in a true normal distribution (where mean = 50 and standard deviation = 10). A mean group score is calculated on each subscale of the dimension to produce a social climate profile for the organization.

The Interpersonal Relations dimension explores the extent to which individuals are concerned about and committed to their

jobs, are friendly and supportive of one another, and that people in authority positions are supportive of other group members and of one another. Personal Growth looks at how much individuals are encouraged to be self-sufficient; that there is an emphasis on good planning, efficiency, and getting the job done; and the degree to which the press of work dominates the job milieu. System maintenance and change reflects the extent to which individuals know what to expect in their daily routine; the extent to which people in authority use rules and pressures to keep people under control; the degree of emphasis on variety, change, and new approaches; and the extent to which physical surroundings contribute to a pleasant work environment.

Two computer-assisted network analysis programs, NEGOPY and FATCAT, were used to identify the structure and content of the networks that evolved. NEGOPY (Richards, 1989) is a discrete, linkage-based program whose primary goal is to define clusters of nodes that have more contact with one another than with nodes in others clusters. NEGOPY also sorts nodes into a number of role categories on the basis of their linkage with one another. There are two major categories into which individuals are assigned -- Isolates and Participants. Each of these major categories is broken down into sub-categories which further explain the linkages between members in the network (see Appendix for detailed descriptions).

The category system is discrete because an individual can belong to only one category; thus there are no overlapping groups in NEGOPY. The classification of individuals is dependent

solely on patterns of links to other individuals. It is the amount of interaction, rather than simply the number of links, that is used in the definitions. To enhance the identification of groups, links were weighted. Respondents assigned degrees of importance to these linkages to identify group membership as well as other network roles. The following equation was used:

$$\text{STRENGTH} = 2(b) + c,$$

where, b = Utility, and

c = Outcome.

The value of b was increased by multiplicative function so as not to be overpowered by component c, which has twice the number of values. Values were assigned to scenarios describing situations which would have increasingly definitive impact on the intervention. For example, a respondent reporting a link with Utility = 1.0 and Outcome = 4.0 is saying that the contact was a little useful but only minimally and that some cooperative agreement had been reached between them. Another respondent might report a link with Utility = 2 and Outcome = 1; that is, the contact was moderately useful by referring the member to another source. Links with values lower than 6.0 were dropped from the calculations. (See Table 7 for a detailed description of each category and its assigned value.)

Table 7
NEGOPY Network Analysis Codes

UTILITY
(the extent to which respondents rate the usefulness of an individual as a resource to further the intervention)

Value	Description	Definition
0	None at all	This individual was of no use
1	Marginally	This individual was a little useful but only minimally
2	Moderately	This individual facilitated movement toward identified goals
3	Significantly	This individual helped attain a definite milestone
4	Indispensable	This individual was crucial in attaining identified goals

OUTCOME
Nature of the agreement between the member and the individual or group contacted at the end of the logbook entry)

Value	Description	Definition
1	Referral	Sends member to another source
2	Hostility	Unresolved conflict, competition, outright resistance
3	Neutral/Benign	No apparent hostility, no apparent commitment nor support
4	Cooperation	Agreement to undertake joint ventures defined by either party; veto power retained by group. Need not be formalized (e.g., in writing)
5	Formal Endorsement	Supports mission, programs; sends representative; veto power retained by group. Agreement formalized (e.g., in writing)
6	Full Partnership	Share equal decision-making power in defining joint ventures. Agreement formalized (e.g., in writing)

NEGOPY was instructed to conduct a two-way analysis, reading all occurrences of pairwise links between individuals in the network. To maximize the number of links counted, markers were added for the "missing halves" of unreciprocated links with strength value greater than 6.0. The markers tell the program which links are reciprocated, which are unreciprocated, and in which direction the one-way links go. If two halves of reciprocated links have different strengths, nothing is done to reduce the descrepancy between the values reported by either individual. The original values are used throughout the analyses, including application of the strength equation.

FATCAT (Richards, 1989) does "contextual analysis" by examining the relation between the links connecting people and the social context in which the links exist. The goal of FATCAT is to uncover the relationship between two kinds of data -- that which describes the individuals in the network (index variables) and that which describes the connections between individuals (link variables). Table 8 outlines the FATCAT network analysis categories. The program produces categorical matrices in which there is one row and one column for each value of the two types of variables. The program displays results in a standard crosstabulation format table, showing counts and row/column percentages. The counts are not counts of the number of cases, but rather sums of the amount of interaction.

The individuals (nodes) in the communication network were generated through the Networking Reports, a portion of the logbooks completed by the Intervention Team as well as members

Table 8
FATCAT Network Analysis Categories

ROLECOMM
(Function contact serves in the context of the larger community; identified at the time of contact)

- Religious
- Businessperson
- Educator
- Civic Activist
- Funding Source
- City Official
- Homemaker
- Social Service Worker
- Government Worker

ROLEGRP
(Function of contact in the context of his/her reference group)

- Leadership/Autonomous
- General Membership
- Affiliated Only

GRPS
Description of associations formed through work of Intervention Team and groups contacted through activities to build the resource network)

- Religious
- Civic/Activist
- Education
- Recreation
- Business
- Government
- Self-Help
- Non-Profit

Table 8 (cont'd)
FATCAT Network Analysis Categories

CONTENT
(Description of type/reason for communication either 1) among members of the same group, or 2) between members of different groups in the network)

- Competitive
- Cooperative
- Supportive
- Gave Info/Advice
- Got Info/Advice
- Friendship Tie
- Request Alliance: Formal Endorsement
- Request Alliance: Co-Operation
- Request Alliance: Full Partnership
- Referral

OUTCOME
Nature of the agreement between the member and the individual or group contacted at the end of the logbook entry)

Description	Definition
Referral	Sends member to another source
Neutral/Benign	No apparent hostility, no apparent commitment nor support
Cooperation	Agreement to undertake joint ventures defined by either party; veto power retained by group. Need not be formalized (e.g., in writing)
Formal Endorsement	Supports mission, programs; sends representative; veto power retained by group. Agreement formalized (e.g., in writing)
Full Partnership	Share equal decision-making power in defining joint ventures. Agreement formalized (e.g., in writing)
Hostility	Unresolved conflict, competition, outright resistance

of the larger association. Individuals named in these reports were assigned numbers and respondent-contact matrices were constructed. FATCAT constructed categorical matrices using variables which described these individuals and their connections. The program conducts the chi-square (χ^2) test of association to answer the question, "Are the variables independent, or is there some degree of association or correlation between them?" Having established the degree of independence between categories, FATCAT then computes the amount of linkages between individuals that fall into each.

This analysis treats individuals from both Neighborhood #1 and #2 as a single network. This was done because the NEGOPY/FATCAT analysis cannot be used on networks with fewer than 15 people who have an average of fewer than three links per member. The network generated by Neighborhood #2 could not meet these criteria. On this basis, the two neighborhoods were not examined separately.

RESULTS

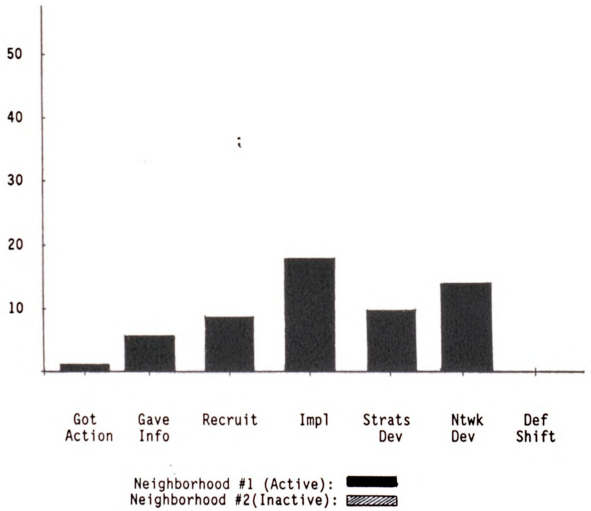
Documentation of the Process

Contents of the logbooks were analyzed for incidence of codes relating to the status of the action in the two neighborhoods. During Phase I Neighborhood #1 was in "active" mode -- that is, the Intervention Team was working in the neighborhood (see Figure 3). The total number of occurrences was 60. The highest number of occurrences for Neighborhood #1 were in the codes "Implementation" (17) and "Network Development" (15). Neighborhood #2 was "inactive" during this phase.

In the second phase Neighborhood #2 was in the "active" and Neighborhood #1 shifted into "inactive" (see Figure 4). During this phase the total number of occurrences for the content analysis codes was 50. In Neighborhood #2 the highest number of occurrences was in "Recruitment" (6) and "Gave Info/Advice" (5). In Neighborhood #1 the highest incidences were in the codes "Implementation" (17); after a substantial gap, the next highest codes were "Generating Strategies" (5) and "Recruiting" (5).

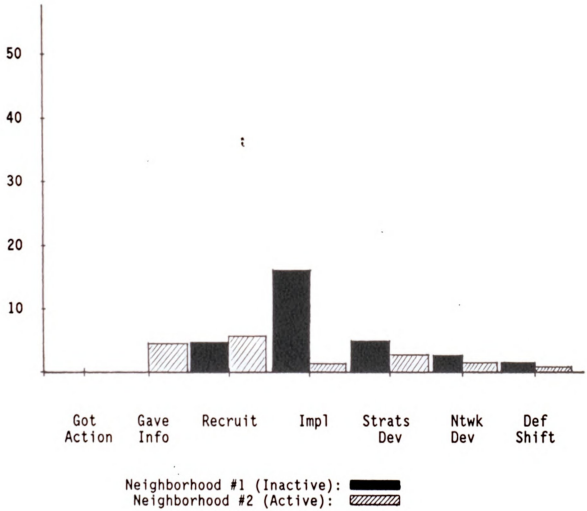
In the third, and final, phase of the model Neighborhood #1 re-entered "active" status and Neighborhood #2 was once again "inactive" (see Figure 5). During this phase the total number of occurrences was 87. In Neighborhood #1 the highest incidences were in "Generating Strategies" (21), "Networking" (17), and "Implementation." In Neighborhood #2 the highest incidences were in "Network Development" and "Gave Info/Advice."

Fig. 3
Incidence of STATUS Codes
Phase I



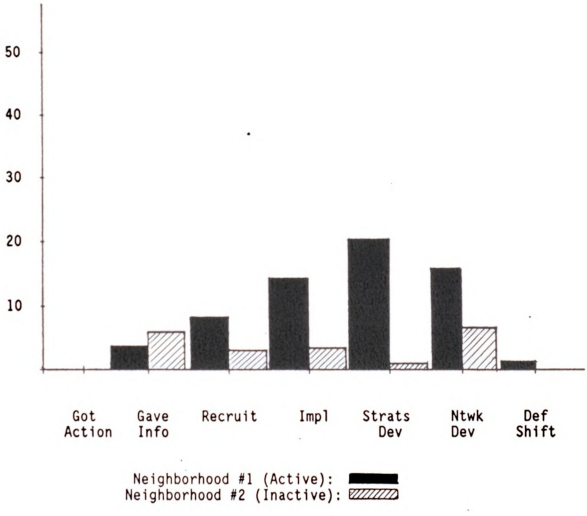
Total Occurences: 60

Fig. 4
Incidence of STATUS Codes
Phase II



Total Occurences: 50

Fig. 5
Incidence of STATUS Codes
Phase III



Total Occurences: 87

Network Analysis

NEGOPY detects groups and assigns individuals in the network to a discrete set of categories. The category system is discrete because an individual can belong to only one category; thus there are no overlapping groups in NEGOPY. The classification of individuals is dependent solely on patterns of links to other individuals.

A network of 42 people was generated using individuals named in the Networking Reports that were completed by members of the Intervention Team as well as the Association that formed in Neighborhood #1.

Two hundred fifty-three (253) links were identified. Forty links were dropped because their strength value was lower than 6.0., indicating that the interaction between the individuals had little or no impact toward goal attainment. No unreciprocated links were dropped; instead, 23 markers were added to force reciprocation. A total of 213 links were processed.

The Strength Distribution Histogram (Figure 6) shows the link strengths after processing by the strength transformation equation (b+b)+c, where b=utility and c=outcome. Each "x" in the histogram represents two links. All links reported in the data are reflected on the histogram. Both "halves" of reciprocated links are shown but only the outgoing halves of one-way links are shown. The markers NEGOPY added to unreciprocated links are not included in the histogram.

Figure 6
Strength Distribution Histogram[1]

Strength	Number of Links[2]	
1 - 1	0	
2 - 2	0	
3 - 3	0	
4 - 4	0	
5 - 5	0	
6 - 6	62	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
7 - 7	7	xxx
8 - 8	50	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
9 - 9	1	
10 - 10	66	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
11 - 11	4	xx
12 - 12	22	xxxxxxxxxxx
13 - 13	0	
14 - 14	0	
15 - 15	1	

Mean Link Strength = 8.51
Number of Link Components = 213.00

---

1 Both incoming and outgoing halves of links are counted.
2 Each X represents 2 links

By examining the histogram it is clear that the largest number of individuals had links with strengths of 6.0 and 10.0, with a mean link strength of 8.51. This indicates that for the most part individuals were able to make contacts which advanced the aims of the group. Furthermore, links that were of greater utility (with a strength of 10.0) led to outcomes that were cooperative and resulted in either endorsement of the group's aims or to informal and/or formal partnerships.

Table 9 describes the structure of the network generated by this intervention. The last line indicates the measure of connectiveness of the overall structure. The range of this measure is from zero (a network with no more differentiation than would be expected by chance) to one (a network with a number of relatively small groups).

The network described in the data measures .60 in this local interconnectiveness score, indicating that the network has several identifiable groups. Members of any group have most of their linkages with other members of the same group. Furthermore, any two individuals in the same group linked to one another have links to other members of their group.

These within group links form the cycles described in the structure calculations table. The program calculated the maximum number of cycles possible with a network of the same size and density as that in the present intervention (371), the cycles expected based on binomial probability distribution (148), and the number of cycles actually observed in the data (282). Thus, individuals form cliques with clear boundaries defined by the

Table 9
Structure Calculations

Observed No. of Nodes	=	24.00
Observed No. of Links	=	105.00
Observed System Density	=	.380
Expected No. of Cycles	=	148.00
Maximum No. of Cycles	=	371.00
Observed No. of Cycles	=	282.00
STRUCTURE (S)	=	.6006

amount of linkage they have with a small number of other individuals within the larger network.

NEGOPY identified three groups (see Figure 7). The network also contains four type 1 isolates (individuals with no links whatsoever to any other individuals in the network), twelve type 2 isolates (individuals who are linked to only one other individual in the network), and two dyad members. The remaining 24 individuals are members of one of the three groups.

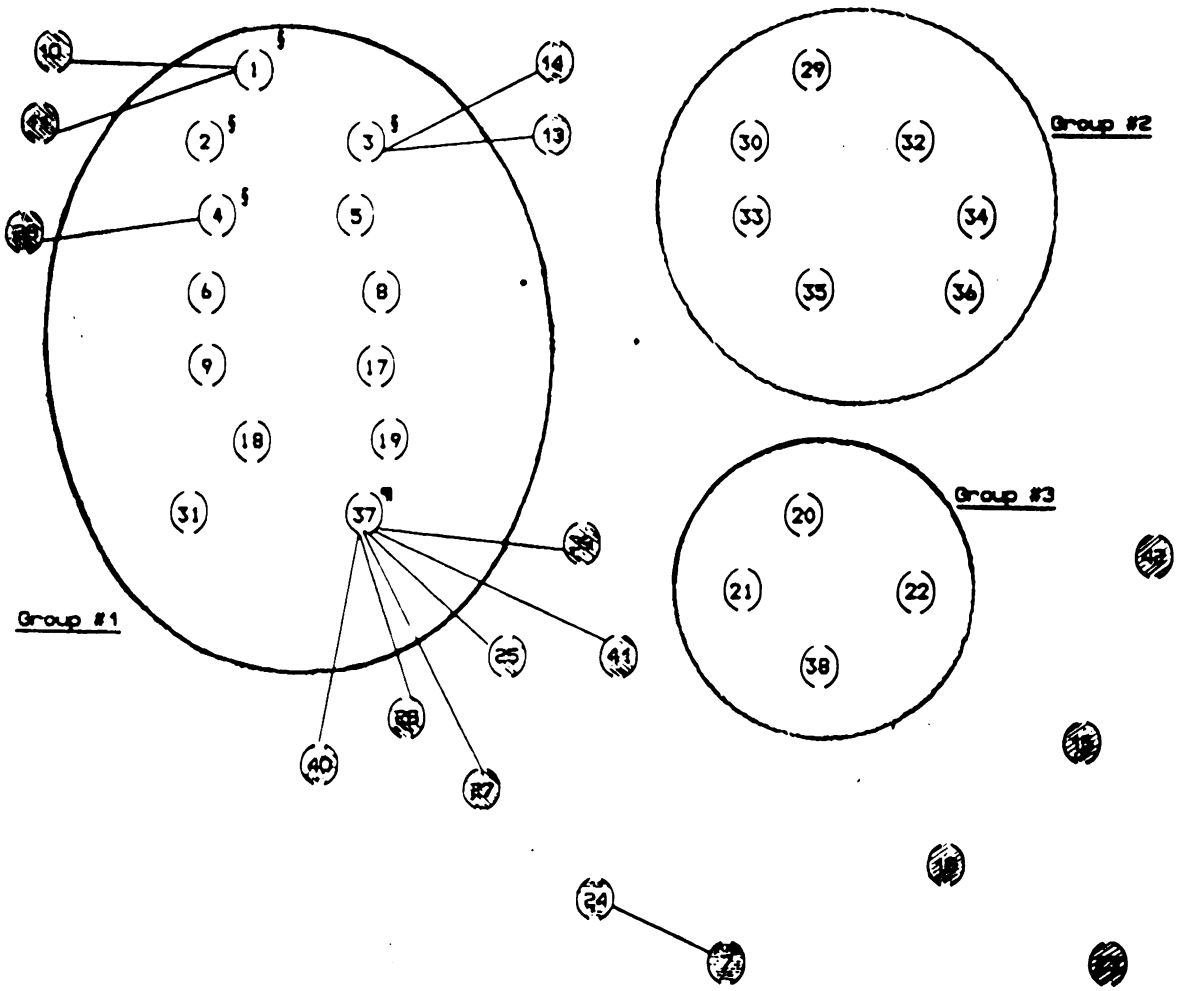
In Group #1, Nodes #1, #2, #3, and #4 are members of the Intervention Team. Their role throughout this intervention was to act as facilitators of the action, doing whatever was possible to avoid assuming the leadership role. During the course of the intervention three leaders rose from within the ranks of the group. These individuals are Nodes #5, #17, and #12; they are also members of Group #1.

The other two groups can be characterized by the types of interests or resources they brought to the intervention. Group #2 is predominantly composed of individuals concerned about employment and further training. Group #3 is made up of representatives of the local branch of the NAACP.

None of the individuals from Neighborhood #2 were identified as group members. They were listed by NEGOPY as either type 1 or type 2 isolates.

In the link analysis tables (Tables 10, 11, and 12) each half of a link is treated separately -- that is, links between two members of the same group were counted twice (once from each perspective of the individuals involved). Links with individuals

Figure 7
NEGOPY Roles



Isolated Dyad: (▬)

Group Members: ( )

Isolates - Type 1: (▨)

Isolates - Type 2: (▩)

Intervention Team Member (§)

Resource Person (¶)

Table 10
Link Analysis Table: Group #1

Amount of Interaction

	two-way	one-way	undirected total	undirected percent	directed total	directed percent
Within Group	278.	81.	359	55.57	718.	71.44
Between Group	243.	44.	287	44.43	287.	28.56
Total	521.	125.	646		1005.	
Percent	80.65	19.35		100.		100.

Mean Zone Overlap

	two-way	one-way	total
Within Group	7.567	3.800	6.625
Between Group	9.063	10.000	9.231
Total	8.339	6.353	7.911

Table 11
Link Analysis Table: Group #2

Amount of Interaction

	two-way	one-way	undirected total	undirected percent	directed total	directed percent
Within Group	191.	0.	191	41.61	382	58.77
Between Group	224.	44.	268	58.39	268	41.23
Total	415.	44.	459		650	
Percent	90.41	9.59		100.		100.

Mean Zone Overlap

	two-way	one-way	total
Within Group	10.	.00	10.
Between Group	10.	10.	10.
Total	10.	10.	10.

Table 12
Link Analysis Table: Group #3

Amount of Interaction

	two-way	one-way	undirected total	undirected percent	directed total	directed percent
Within Group	46.	0.	46.	55.42	92.	71.32
Between Group	37.	0.	37.	44.58	37.	28.68
Total	83.	0.	83.		129.	
Percent	100.	.00		100.		100.

Mean Zone Overlap

	two-way	one-way	total
Within Group	2.200	.000	2.200
Between Group	2.500	.000	2.500
Total	2.333	.000	2.333

who are not members of the group were counted only once in the tables. Reciprocated links appear in the "two-way" column, unreciprocated links are shown in either the "incoming" or "outgoing" column as a function of which individual is the source of the contact. The mean zone overlap (the size of overlap of the one-step zones of individuals connected by each link) is also presented for both two-way and one-way links.

Two-way (reciprocated, undirected) linkages are a high percentage of the total linkages of all three groups. In Group #3, these linkages are 100% of the interactions. Once again, the within group and between group totals are comparable. It would appear that although closely knit, the groups are not insular. Linkages are reported (and confirmed) with individuals outside the group.

The data here presents an interesting dichotomy in relation to the role categories assigned to individuals in the network. Interactions within the groups continue to indicate strong boundaries that encompass certain individuals. These interactions constitute approximately half the linkages that exist in the groups. Also, within group links have comparable zones of overlap to between group links. This can be interpreted to mean that two members of the same group are likely to name the same individual in the group as the other half of a link. Likewise, two members of the same group are as likely to have mutual contacts from other groups.

The implication is that people in the network name others outside their groups as frequently as they do other group

members. Yet out of the 42 individuals in the network, NEGOPY identified eighteen isolates: people with either no contacts with others or who have links with only one other person in the network. This raises the question of who is talking to whom in this network if 43% of its participants are isolates?

The FATCAT "contextual analysis" examined the relation between the links connecting people identified by NEGOPY and the social context in which the links exist. Names in the who-to-whom matrices were also generated through the Network Report section of the logbooks. FATCAT constructed categorical matrices using variables which described these individuals and their connections. The program conducted the chi-square (χ^2) test of association to answer the question, "Are the variables independent, or is there some degree of association or correlation between them?" FATCAT then reported the percentage of links or individuals described by the variable.

The first analysis was a 4 x 3 chi-square which asked respondents to rate the utility of people with different roles in the community as likely sources regarding a particular issue. The utility scale ran from zero to four, anchored at one extreme by "never" and at the other extreme by "always" (see Table 13). Reading across the rows indicates the utility assigned each category of role in the community; going down the columns tells how much contact is directed to each role. Homemakers and activists were identified as being the most useful contacts while municipal and state government officials were of the least utility ($\chi^2_{(\_\_)} = \_\_\_$, $p = .01$).

Table 13
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
UTILITY with ROLECOMM

rolecomm Category		number of people	percent of all people with links	percent of indexed people with links
1	Ministe	1.	2.56	2.56
3	Busines	6.	15.38	15.38
4	Homemak	12.	30.77	30.77
5	Educato	6.	15.38	15.38
6	Soc Srv	4.	10.26	10.26
7	Activis	9.	23.08	23.08
8	Gov't	3.	7.69	7.69
9	Funding Source	1.	2.56	2.56
	no index	0.	.00	---
	totals	39.	100.00	107.69
	indexed	39.	100.00	100.00
	not indexed	0.	.00	---
	total	39.	100.00	---

People who RECEIVE links, sorted by rolecomm

category		n	# links	mean links per person	sd
1	Ministe	1.	7	7.00	.000
3	Busines	6.	10	1.67	.745
4	Homemak	9.	99	11.00	4.714
5	Educato	6.	17	2.83	3.236
6	Soc Srv	4.	27	6.75	4.437
7	Activis	9.	81	9.00	7.424
8	Gov't	3.	3	1.00	.000
9	Funding Source	1.	1	1.00	.000
	total	39.	245	6.28	8.710

UTILITY with ROLECOMM

Table 13 (cont'd)
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
UTILITY with ROLECOMM

	Minister	Business		Educator		Activist		Funding Source
		City Official	Home maker		Social Service		Gov't	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
"How useful members of each role were reported to be?"									
Utility	2.62%	.00%	3.14%	37.96%	7.85%	11.26%	35.60%	.79%	.79%
"How much of the contact with each role proved useful?"									
Utility	100.00%	.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

The second analysis asked about the content of communication and its relationship with categories of race, types of groups, and roles in the groups. A 2 x 8 chi-square looked at the effects of race and content of communication (see Table 14). Reading across the rows, the highest amount of linkage for both blacks and whites were for cooperative purposes ($\chi^2_{(7)}$ = 319.515, p = .01). The discrepancy between percentages (87% for blacks and 43% for whites) is a function of the fact that 70% of the people in the network are black.

A 7 x 8 chi-square analysis examined the effects of types of groups and content of communication (see Table 15). Reading across the rows, cooperation was the greatest amount of content represented; it fell into two types of groups: civic and self-help. Going down the columns, civic groups requested full partnerships and religious groups relied on friendship ties. Two types of groups received and sent the same types of content. Educators both got and gave information or advice; business groups received and sent friendship ties. In this analysis $\chi^2_{(42)}$ = 853.547, p =.01.

The last manipulation of the analysis of content looked at the effects of individuals' roles in groups and content of communication (see Table 16). A 2 x 8 chi-square ($\chi^2_{(7)}$ = 132.666, p =.01) showed that most of the communication was cooperative. The content of communication varied for individuals of different roles in the groups. Leaders and autonomous people most often sought cooperation or requested formal endorsement.

Table 14
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
RACE with CONTENT

Categories: race

People who SEND links...

race Category		number of people	percent of all people with links	percent of indexed people with links
1	Black	30.	71.43	76.92
2	White	9.	21.43	23.08
	no index	3.	7.14	---
	totals	42.	100.00	100.00
	indexed	39.	92.86	100.00
	not indexed	3.	7.14	---
	total	42.	100.00	---

People who SEND links, sorted by race

category		n	# links	mean links per person	sd
1	Black	30.	209	6.97	5.885
2	White	9.	23	2.56	1.707
	total	39.	232	5.95	8.134

RACE with CONTENT

Table 14 (cont'd)
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
RACE with CONTENT

	Co-Op	Gave Info	Got Info	Friend ship	*RA: Formal Endorse	*RA: Co-Op	*RA: Full Partner	Referral
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
"How much each racial category reported a given type of contact?								
Black	87.24%	1.54%	1.65%	1.59%	2.95%	1.54%	3.13%	.35%
White	43.36%	25.66%	13.27%	7.96%	.00%	3.54%	4.42%	1.77%
"How much of each communication category comes from each category of race?								
Black	96.79%	47.27%	65.12%	75.00%	100.00%	86.67%	91.38%	75.00%
White	3.21%	52.73%	34.88%	25.00%	.00%	13.33%	8.62%	25.00%

* Request for Alliance

Table 15
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
GRP with CONTENT

Categories: grps

People who SEND links...

grps Category		number of people	percent of all people with links	percent of indexed people with links
1	Religio	3.	7.14	7.14
2	Civic	19.	45.24	45.24
3	Educati	6.	14.29	14.29
6	Busines	3.	7.14	7.14
7	Gov't	3.	7.14	7.14
8	Self-He	6.	14.29	14.29
9	Non-Pro	2.	4.76	4.76
	no index	0.	.00	---
	totals	42.	100.00	100.00
	indexed	42.	100.00	100.00
	not indexed	0.	.00	---
	total	42.	100.00	---

People who SEND links, sorted by grps

category		n	# links	mean links per person	sd
1	Religio	3.	30	10.00	5.888
2	Civic	19.	129	6.79	5.908
3	Educati	6.	11	1.83	.687
6	Busines	3.	4	1.33	.471
7	Gov't	3.	3	1.00	.000
8	Self-He	6.	56	9.33	3.727
9	Non-Pro	2.	12	6.00	5.000
	total	42.	245	5.83	8.022

GRPS with CONTENT

Table 15 (cont'd)
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
GRP with CONTENT

	Co-Op	Gave Info	Got Info	Friend ship	*RA: Formal Endorse	*RA: Co-Op	*RA: Full Partner	Referral
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	"How much each type of group reported a given type of content?"							
Religious	85.38%	2.31%	.00%	6.15%	.00%	3.46%	1.92%	.77%
Civic	80.69%	3.92%	2.75%	1.08%	4.90%	1.67%	4.71%	.29%
Education	17.95%	23.08%	38.46%	7.69%	.00%	.00%	12.82%	.00%
Business	26.67%	.00%	.00%	40.00%	.00%	26.67%	.00%	6.67%
Government	66.67%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	33.33%
Self-Help	99.15%	.85%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%
Non-Profit	97.44%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	2.56%	.00%

* Request for Alliance

Table 15 (cont'd)
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
GAP with CONTENT

	Co-Op	Gave Info	Got Info	Friend ship	*RA: Formal Endorse	*RA: Co-Op	*RA: Full Partner	Referral
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	"How much each communication category comes from each category of group?"							
Religious	13.54%	10.17%	.00%	44.44%	.00%	30.00%	8.20%	.77%
Civic	50.18%	67.80%	65.12%	30.56%	100.00	56.67%	78.69%	37.50%
Education	.43%	15.25%	34.88%	8.33%	.00%	.00%	8.20%	.00%
Business	.24%	.00%	.00%	16.67%	.00%	13.33%	.00%	12.50%
Government	.24%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	25.00%
Self-Help	28.41%	6.78%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%
Non-Profit	6.95%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	4.92%	.00%

* Request for Alliance

Table 16
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
ROLEGRP with CONTENT

Categories: rolegrp

People who SEND links...

rolegrp Category		number of people	percent of all people with links	percent of indexed people with links
1	Ldr/Aut	21.	50.00	51.22
2	Gen Mem	20.	47.62	48.78
	no index	1.	2.38	---
	totals	42.	100.00	100.00
	indexed	41.	97.62	100.00
	not indexed	1.	2.38	---
	total	42.	100.00	---

People who SEND links, sorted by rolegrp

category		n	# links	mean links per person	sd
1	Ldr/Aut	21.	122	5.81	5.981
2	Gen Mem	20.	122	6.10	4.989
	total	41.	244	5.95	8.118

ROLEGRP with CONTENT

Table 16 (cont'd)
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
ROLEGRP with CONTENT

	Co-Op	Gave Info	Got Info	Friend ship	*RA: Formal Endorse	*RA: Co-Op	*RA: Full Partner	Referral
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	"How much members of each role reported a given type of content?"							
Leader/ Autonomous	77.35%	4.45%	4.45%	1.45%	3.62%	2.69%	5.48%	.52%
General Membership	93.31%	1.26%	.00%	2.30%	1.57%	.42%	.84%	.31%
	"How much each communication category came from each type of role?"							
Leader/ Autonomous	45.61%	78.18%	100.00%	38.89%	70.00%	86.67%	86.89%	62.50%
General Membership	54.39%	21.82%	.00%	61.11%	30.00%	13.33%	13.11%	37.50%

*Request for Alliance

Communication between general members of the groups focused on cooperation.

Finally, a 6 x 8 chi-square analysis was done on the effects of outcome and role in the community (see Table 17). Reading across the rows, all of the full endorsements were accomplished by activists, as were half of the benign outcomes. For their part, homemakers established half of the full partnerships between groups in the network. Going down the columns, government officials were responsible for the most referrals. Businesses engaged in cooperative ventures and homemakers created full partnerships. In this analysis $\chi^2_{(35)} = 1713.078$, $p = .01$.

Development of Internal Structure

The Moos Environmental Scale was administered on a monthly basis when a neighborhood was on "active" status. Only individuals in Neighborhood #1 coalesced into an identifiable unit; therefore, the scale was only administered in this neighborhood. The Moos scale was administered a total of three different times. An ANOVA was attempted on the scores across time; however, membership in the group waxed and waned over the course of the study. Only one individual was present for all three testings which would have made an ANOVA meaningless.

The Real Form (R), which measures perceptions of existing organizational environments, was used. Three dimensions are measured: relationship (with subscales Involvement, Peer

Table 17
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
OUTCOME with ROLECOMM

People who RECEIVE links...

rolecomm Category		number of people	percent of all people with links	percent of indexed people with links
1	Ministe	1.	2.56	2.56
3	Busines	6.	15.38	15.38
4	Homemak	12.	30.77	30.77
5	Educato	6.	15.38	15.38
6	Soc Srv	4.	10.26	10.26
7	Activis	9.	23.08	23.08
8	Gov't	3.	7.69	7.69
9	Funding Source	1.	2.56	2.56
	no index	0.	.00	---
	totals	39.	100.00	107.69
	indexed	39.	100.00	100.00
	not indexed	0.	.00	---
	total	39.	100.00	---

People who RECEIVE links, sorted by rolecomm

category		n	# links	mean links per person	sd
1	Ministe	1.	7	7.00	.000
3	Busines	6.	10	1.67	.745
4	Homemak	9.	99	11.00	4.714
5	Educato	6.	17	2.83	3.236
6	Soc Srv	4.	27	6.75	4.437
7	Activis	9.	81	9.00	7.424
8	Gov't	3.	3	1.00	.000
9	Funding Source	1.	1	1.00	.000
	total	39.	245	6.28	8.710

OUTCOME with ROLECOMM

Table 17 (cont'd)
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
OUTCOME with ROLECOMM

	Minister		Business		Educator		Activist		Funding Source
		City Official		Home maker		Social Service		Gov't	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	"How much each outcome is directed by each role?"								
Referral	8.62%	.00%	6.90%	18.97%	33.62%	.00%	14.66%	17.24%	.00%
Hostility	5.08%	.00%	13.56%	6.78%	17.80%	.00%	56.78%	.00%	.00%
Neutral/ Benign	.58%	.00%	16.23%	21.16%	15.94%	8.70%	35.07%	2.32%	.00%
Co-Op	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	100.00%	.00%	.00%
Formal Endorsement	4.02%	.00%	.00%	49.11%	8.04%	13.84%	25.00%	.00%	.00%
Full Partnership	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	100.00%

Table 17 (cont'd)
Outcome of FATCAT Analysis
OUTCOME with ROLECOMM

	Minister		Business		Educator		Activist		Funding Source
		City Official		Home maker		Social Service		Gov't	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	"How much each role is represented in each type of outcome?"								
Referral	27.78%	.00%	10.00%	6.81%	25.83%	.00%	4.31%	71.43%	.00%
Hostility	16.67%	.00%	20.00%	2.48%	13.91%	.00%	17.01%	.00%	.00%
Neutral/ Benign	5.56%	.00%	70.00%	22.60%	36.42%	32.61%	30.71%	28.57%	.00%
Co-Op	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	19.54%	.00%	.00%
Formal Endorsement	50.00%	.00%	.00%	68.11%	23.84%	67.39%	28.43%	.00%	.00%
Full Partnership	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	100.00%

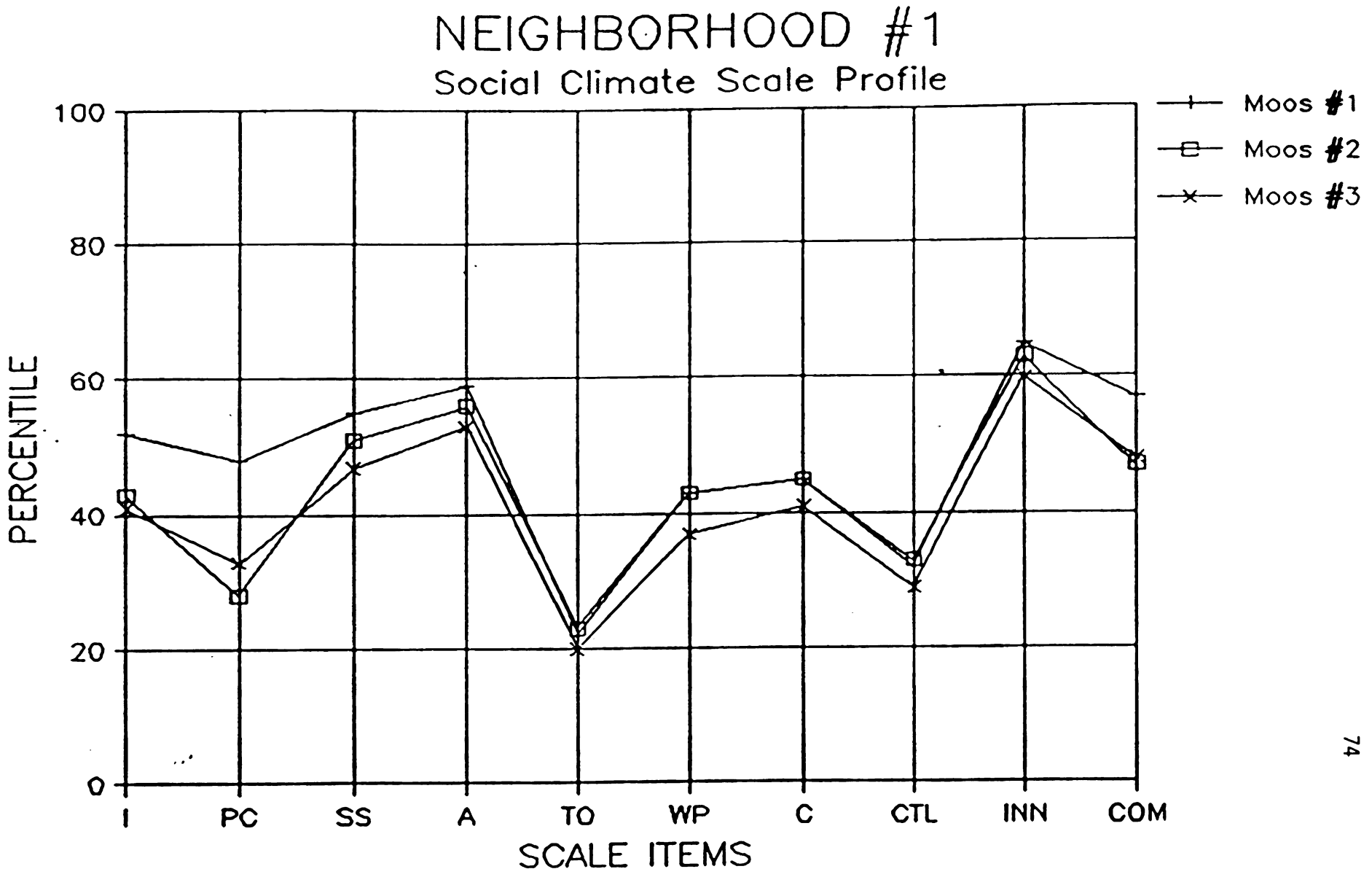
Cohesion, and Supervisor Support); personal growth (with subscales Autonomy, Task Orientation, and Work Pressure); and system maintenance and change (with subscales Clarity, Control, Innovation, and Physical Comfort). Individual subscale scores were converted to percentiles, then the percentiles were converted to corresponding standard score in a true normal distribution (where mean = 50 and standard deviation = 10). A mean group score was calculated on each subscale of the dimension to produce a social climate profile for the organization. The social climate profile for Neighborhood #1 can be seen in Figure 8.

On the relationship dimension two trends are apparent. The subscale for Peer Cohesion was low across all three testings; however, there is a drop of ten points -- from a score of 40 to one of 30 -- after the first testing. The subscale Supervisor Support remains high (between 50 and 55) across all three testings.

On the personal growth dimension scores for Task Orientation were markedly low; that is, the group perceived its ability to get work done efficiently and quickly to be low. The standard scores hover around 20 for all three testings. On the other hand, the subscale Autonomy remains high (60, plus or minus two points) at all three times.

Finally, the system maintenance and change dimension indicates that the group experienced a high degree of freedom for Innovation (between 65 and 70 for all three testings) and a correspondingly low degree of Control over their actions from outside agents (between 25 and 30).

Figure 8


NEIGHBORHOOD #1
Social Climate Scale Profile
Moos #1
Moos #2
Moos #3
100
80
60
40
20
0
PERCENTILE
I
PC
SS
A
TO
WP
C
CTL
INN
COM
SCALE ITEMS

DISCUSSION

Social-Situational Context

Structural Characteristics of the Network

The FATCAT and NEGOPY network analyses provide valuable information about the nature of the setting that was created. The findings lent affirmation to study's raison d'etre as well as to some basic tenets of the field of community psychology.

For example, the research question of how to systematically verify core elements of a social change action is vital in the context of citizen participation in public planning. The focus on interracial collaboration addresses the fact that racial tensions can be extremely destructive and often lead to knee-jerk programming in times of crisis. The social action project explored a preventative approach to public planning that builds on the strengths of a competent community.

The analyses illustrated the potential of this strategy. Several of the nodes that were examined connected dissimilar groups and allowed access to information or resources that might otherwise not have been available (see Figure 7). Members of the Intervention Team and the resource person were responsible for the linkages outside the boundaries of Group #1. Presumably they were the conduits through which new information and resources came into the group. This assumption is supported by data such as minutes of the Association meetings while the group struggled to define itself and its mission statement.

The conclusion that Team members acted as boundary people between the group and the larger network becomes even more compelling when Group #1 is compared with the other two groups. Groups #2 and #3 have no connections beyond their boundaries. In the context of this intervention, neither group has access to new information or resources. Quite significantly, contacts reported by Team members and the resource person in Group #1 account for 11 of the 18 isolates in the network. A review of the data shows that these connections were in the main reciprocal. One can deduce that individuals made the contact, obtained the required information or desired resources, and brought that information back to the group. In this scenario, no contact with other members of the group was necessary; hence, the network has a high percentage of type 2 isolates.

Membership in Groups #2 and #3 is predominantly, but not exclusively, from Neighborhood #2. The lack of contacts beyond the group boundaries may help explain why the neighborhood failed to develop an association of its own. A review of the logbooks indicates that Team members and people in Neighborhood #2 invested much energy in procedural issues (making appointments, setting meeting dates, returning phone calls or waiting for phone calls to be returned). This being the case, it could be argued that new information introduced by the Team lay fallow because they were considered members of neither Group #2 nor Group #3. A consequence was that no neighborhood association formed because the cliques of individuals were so insular.

Types of Exchanges within the Network

The FATCAT contextual analysis showed that a competent community was being built through formal and informal agreements to solidify linkages between individuals. This supports the hypothesis that a viable intervention requires stable linkages between individuals.

The contextual analysis also highlighted the fact that both blacks and whites in the network engaged in cooperative efforts. The focus on cooperation did not break down when content was tested with race in the chi-square analysis (see Table 10). This remained true despite the fact that 70% of the network is black. Members of the network did not use the disproportionate number as a springboard for hostile action. Such an outcome builds a compelling case for the argument that racial discord which impedes effective planning can be circumvented by fostering linkages between racial interests prior to a crisis.

The finding that homemakers and self-identified activists were equally effective in building community ties supports a basic tenet of community psychology: empowerment. The homemakers represented in the network (see Table 13) were either members of the Intervention Team or neighbors that a Team member had trained. Expertise needed to organized within the neighborhood had been disseminated, giving citizens the wherewithal to act on their own behalf.

The network presented here was characterized by cooperation among many different types of groups; however, the linkage

between civic and self-help groups is most intriguing (see Table 11). Theories of social movements and community development stress the role of grass-roots support in creating a successful social change. The findings of even this small intervention lend strong support to this assertion.

An analysis of the movement of resources during each of the three phases of the intervention would have been enlightening. Unfortunately, the small size of the network precluded such a manipulation; NEGOPY and FATCAT cannot be used with a network of fewer than 15 members. This criterion could not be met if any phase is considered in isolation of the others.

Creation of a Setting

Role of the Intervention Team

The Intervention Team worked to facilitate action in the two neighborhoods. Its composition was guided by findings from the historical analysis of interracial efforts in the setting. Individuals were selected on the basis of their being acknowledged leaders in their reference group, their awareness of the social and political dynamics within the community, and their involvement in community activities.

Team members were experienced in working in communities. Their past responsibilities often required that they bring resources from a number of different sources to bear on a problem. Members of the Team were active in their churches, in

civic organizations, and had experience working with government agencies such as Department of Social Services. These individuals represented groups and organizations dedicated to addressing racial issues; therefore, they entered the action with skills to handle racial tensions.

Team members were clearly predisposed to activism within their community. At first glance this might appear to reduce the generalizability of the findings to other communities. In the strictest sense, this may be true; each person does bring their own unique characteristics to an action. At this point it is important to reiterate that the focus of this study is the change process itself. The present study was designed to determine whether underlying generic components can be verified. In this context, the presence of a cadre of self-described activists is a component which is indeed generalizable and can be replicated.

The Intervention Team was instrumental in helping a neighborhood group to form in Neighborhood #1. According to the logbooks, Team members invested much effort into implementing strategies devised by the group. The Team also facilitated the flow of resources into the group by forging linkages with other agents in the community.

As the group's goals became more clearly defined Team members acted as connectors between dissimilar groups. This linkage helped contribute toward the desired outcome. Figure 7 illustrates this aspect of the network structure. Nodes #1, #2, #3, #4, and #37 are the other halves of type 2 isolates; that

is, they were the only other person in the network named by the isolate. As such these five nodes were the boundary people who functioned both within the group and remained in contact with the larger network.

In these roles Team members enabled the group to gain access to previously unidentified or unavailable resources and information. This lends support to Granovetter's (1973) notion of "strength of weak ties." As people on the fringe of their cliques, Team members were the strongest source of new information. They had the greatest contact with and access to heterophilous contacts by virtue of their low connectedness with the fledgling group itself.

The reasons that no group was formed in Neighborhood #2 can be inferred from the logbooks. Team members reported much of their effort was in recruitment and giving information about the logistics of trying to organize. The nature of the research design may not have taken into account the amount of start-up time needed to begin organizing in a neighborhood. According to the logbooks for much of the time Neighborhood #2 was in "active" status the the Team tried to get people to meet: telephone calls were made and not returned, appointments were arranged and not kept, meetings were set and cancelled.

When Neighborhood #2 was in "inactive" status (when the Intervention Team was not actively working in it) residents continued their attempts to get people together. This was evident by the content analysis which showed the highest incidences of codes for "Network Development" and "Gave

Info/Advice." At the time of this writing no group had formed in Neighborhood #2, but individuals most active in that neighborhood had begun to attend meetings in Neighborhood #1.

Northside Neighborhood Association

Internal Differentiation. The low scores on the subscale Peer Cohesion (relationship dimension) reflected the dynamics that occurred as people entered and left the group. A core of four individuals remained throughout the length of the study, but the group's overall size fluctuated. The maximum number present at a meeting was 15.

The group's perception of Supervisor Support was right around the mean, between 50 and 55, across all three testings. In this case, the Intervention Team functioned in the role closest to a supervisory one. A member of the Intervention Team acted as facilitator during the meetings. The Moos scores reflect the group's general satisfaction with the Team performance in that role. This was further verified by feedback given during the meetings as ideas were discussed and goals were identified.

Scores on the personal growth dimension indicate that while group members experienced a high degree of autonomy they did not feel that work was done efficiently. This, too, was related to the fluctuations in group size. Minutes for the three meetings reveal several incidents where a person volunteered to do a task in one meeting then did not attend the next meeting. Another

person was identified to do the task; then, both that person and the one who originally volunteered attended the third meeting. To further complicate matters they had each done the task but in different ways.

An interesting dynamic developed during the meetings that is not clearly reflected in the logbooks or minutes but was evident from observing the process. The role of the Intervention Team was to facilitate. The training sessions covered standard techniques of helping groups problem-solve: active listening, nominal group techniques, conflict resolution techniques. The focus was on the Team being nondirective and allowing the group to develop its own leadership. The theory was sound, but in practice the group looked to the Team to lead. When that failed to happen, no other person assumed that role.

The finding that members felt free to be innovative is consistent with the reported sense of autonomy. The group's perception that their actions were not orchestrated by agents outside the group is equally consistent. These results are encouraging since the purpose of the study was to examine the creation of independent, community-based organizations. Yet the outcomes, especially on the system maintenance and change dimension, must be viewed with caution.

Findings on the Moos scale were difficult to interpret for two main reasons. In many ways the instrument was not sensitive to key dynamics of settings where the objective is collective action for social change.

The best example is in the dimension system maintenance and change, on the subscale Physical Comfort. Community psychology talks about the person-environment fit and its impact on problems in living. To be most useful a social climate scale should adequately tap the group's perceptions of their interface with the sociopolitical environment. The Moos scale, while considered state of the art by many, fails to ask such questions. Instead the subscale contains items like "The colors and decorations make the place warm and cheerful to work in," "It is rather drafty at times," or "The lighting is extremely good."

Return to the group's apparent perception that outside agents had a low degree of control over their actions. Many changes occurred in the larger community during the length of the study. This author monitored these events through the daily newspaper, attending or reading the minutes of meetings in the public and private sectors, and communicating with a network of key informants. It is illogical to say that the group was impervious to these dynamics. Unfortunately, their impact cannot be ascertained from scores on the Moos scale.

Another problem related to interpreting the results has to do with the reception it received from group members. The scale is 90 items long and requires 30-40 minutes to administer. The group hated the scale; they resisted and groaned and hissed each time it had to be done. The reason for their discontent was not only the amount of time required but also the problem with some of the questions that was mentioned above.

Goal Attainment. Goal attainment has been cited as essential to maintaining an effective community-based efforts (cf., Wandersman, 1985). Authors have stated that goals should be considered in terms of what can be accomplished in the short-term as well as setting objectives that would require more time to meet.

If attaining identified outcomes is the glue that holds community organizations together, then the action in Neighborhood #1 should not have continued to exist. In the content analysis of logbooks and minutes of meetings the code "Got Action" occurred only once and only in the first phase (see Figures 1-3). The Moos scale indicated that members felt the group lacked efficiency in getting tasks accomplished (see Figure 4). Lack of goal attainment was also evident in Neighborhood #2 and, true to expectations, no group coalesced despite the fact that residents carried on their attempts to do so for the duration of the study.

What happened in Neighborhood #2 that maintained the collective effort despite apparent lack of success? A clue can be found in the logbooks if they are considered from a higher level of analysis. Throughout the entries are phrases such as "I'm going to keep trying until I get him," "They keep switching me around to different offices but that won't get rid of me," or "Even if no one else comes I'll be there." Taken in total, the gestalt is one of a high degree of motivation and determination. Members of the Intervention Team and the neighborhood group

intended to go on with their activities even though the payoffs were not immediately forthcoming.

On the other hand, log entries from Neighborhood #2 focused on the mechanics of trying to get people to meet. They spoke about the number of times someone was contacted, the time a meeting had been scheduled but then cancelled, and the like. Overall, their entries lacked the intensity of entries in Neighborhood #1 even though the problems of getting people organized were comparable in the two neighborhoods.

In Neighborhood #1 their tenacity was rewarded although not until the after the provisional end of the present study. At the time of this writing the neighborhood group had planned and implemented a major recruitment event. During the evening a short survey was conducted to gather data about what people saw as the most urgent problems facing the community, their willingness to participate in a grass-roots action, and where they felt demands for change should be directed. Data from the survey will be used to develop an overall action strategy for the coming year.

In light of these events, there is hope that Neighborhood #2 may develop an active group as well. Some residents in that area began to attend meetings of the group in Neighborhood #1. As the Social Action Project is further developed the Intervention Team may be able to help these individuals pull together a group in their own neighborhood.

Definitional Shift. Theorists and practitioners contend that the most successful groups regularly reevaluate their progress.

This conscious realignment in focus or strategy illustrates the cyclic nature of social change activities. Failure to do so risks losing touch with a constituency, not taking into account changes in the sociopolitical milieu, or -- in the worst case -- giving rise to a new social problem.

In Neighborhood #1 the struggle to define the group's mission went through two iterations. Minutes from the meetings show that initially the members decided to work on issues related to neighborhood clean up. Activities dealing with these concerns were undertaken during the first phase of the study. In the second phase the focus was widened to include youth issues (delinquency, drug abuse, teen pregnancy). Halfway through the last phase the group shifted; its mission was redefined to focus on women's empowerment issues. To date fostering economic, political, and social empowerment for women in the community has remained the focus of activities.

Neither logbooks nor meeting minutes give a definitive explanation for the number of changes that the group underwent. The most compelling indication comes from results of the network analysis. As new people moved into and out of the group they brought with them fresh information or viewpoints. For example, when the group focused on community cleanup Node #2 and Node #3 were active participants. Similarly, the inclusion of youth issues corresponded with Node #4's entry into the network. At the last phase when the focus shifted to women's issues Node #6 and Node #5 had become part of the group. Both were deeply concerned about the plight of women in poor communities.

The fact that these events occurred about the same time is not being interpreted as causality. It is more probably the case that these individuals brought new ideas to a group open to accepting innovations. This speculation can be supported by the data. The highest scores on the Moos scale had to do with autonomy, innovativeness, and freedom to experiment. Findings of the content analysis show high incidences of the codes "Implementation and "Developing Strategies," suggesting that the new ideas were being put into action.

CONCLUSIONS

The Social Action Project (SOCACT) yielded useful information about the process by which community-based organizations come together to create a collective action. As such, provides a springboard for enhanced citizen participation in public planning through building competent and cohesive neighborhoods.

The findings from SOCACT also highlighted areas which will need further study to continue building this model for creating effective long-term interventions.

Social Climate Scales for CBO's

As stated in the previous section, the Moos Social Climate Scale has limitations when applied to a nontreatment, community-based setting. The instrument is not able to tap key dimensions of the change process as it takes place in the neighborhoods. The subscales for system maintenance and change ignores the interface between individuals and their sociopolitical environment. Furthermore, structure of the instrument itself -- number of items, time required to administer, guidelines for administration -- is problematic in community settings.

Modifications are needed to improve the utility of social climate scaling. Events that occur in the larger community have an impact, directly or indirectly, on decisions people make in their daily lives. An instrument must be developed and validated

which can effectively reflect individuals' perceptions about the ways events in their world effect them.

In the process of creating such a scale, attention must be given to how it will be administered. The SOCACT demonstrated that until an actual group forms, the community setting lacks structure and authority figures. Guidelines for administering most psychological tests assumes that both are present. As a result the 90-item, pencil and paper format of the Moos Scale was not a good fit. It was cumbersome and not well received. As new instruments are developed, they will need to be shorter and may have to be other than a written test.

Expanded Network Analysis

The NEGOPY and FATCAT network analyses were extremely useful in charting the links that developed between individuals. The analysis showed not only structure (who talked to whom) but also content (what they talked about). The findings supported the conventional wisdom among activists and theories held by academics about how collectivities form.

The network that evolved during the Social Action Project was a small one; therefore, much of the power of the NEGOPY and FATCAT analyses could not be used. The program has the capacity to handle up to 1,000 members and over 250,000 links. The networks in each SOCACT neighborhood were too small to be studied separately. Because the two had to be combined into a single network, it was not possible to explore the movement of

resources during each of the three phases of the intervention. This might have provided a clue about why no group formed in Neighborhood #2.

Looking at a network over time in this manner would also allow building a theory of how it evolves in relation to social change activities. Building on communications theory (cf., Rogers, 1981), we could propose that an intervention goes through a series of stages. The first stage consists of contacts and network links with people of similar roles. As goals are more clearly defined members form bridges into other, dissimilar groups that might be able to contribute toward goal attainment. In the final stage a degree of stability sets in as the rate of new contacts levels off. This may be the point of a definitional shift during which the group reassesses its mission.

The NEGOPY and FATCAT analyses will be a valuable tool for testing such a theory of the evolution of a social action.

Intrapsychic Indicators

The Social Action Project raised interesting questions about the intrapsychic aspects of building competent neighborhoods. Why did no group form in Neighborhood #2 despite comparable levels of activity by the Team and other citizens? What kept people working in Neighborhood #1 even though no real milestones were reached? How did being in the minority affect white members of the network in their relations with blacks?

Instruments to answer these questions exist in the repertoire of psychological tests. However, they suffer the same limitations as the Moos Scale in terms of their utility in nontreatment, community-based settings.

Future research should focus on developing and validating instruments that can effectively bring to light how people feel about an intervention. Evidence at the level of the individual is equally as important as social analysis data to full understanding of the "person-environment fit."

APPENDICES

TABLE 1
WES Subscales and Dimensions Descriptions

	Relationship Dimensions
1. **Involvement**	*the extent to which employees are concerned about and committed to their jobs*
2. **Peer Cohesion**	*the extent to which employees are friendly and supportive of one another*
3. **Supervisor Support**	*the extent to which management is supportive of employees and encourages employees to be supportive of one another*
	Personal Growth Dimensions
4. **Autonomy**	*the extent to which employees are encouraged to be self-sufficient and to make their own decisions*
5. **Task Orientation**	*the degree of emphasis on good planning, efficiency, and getting the job done*
6. **Work Pressure**	*the degree to which the press of work and time urgency dominate the job milieu*
	System Maintenance and System Change Dimensions
7. **Clarity**	*the extent to which employees know what to expect in their daily routine and how explicitly rules and policies are communicated*
8. **Control**	*the extent to which management uses rules and pressures to keep employees under control*
9. **Innovation**	*the degree of emphasis on variety, change, and new approaches*
10. **Physical Comfort**	*the extent to which the physical surroundings contribute to a pleasant work environment*

TABLE 2
Form R Means and Standard Deviations for General and Health-Care Work Groups

Subscales*	General Work Group (N=1442 Employees) Mean	SD	Health-Care Work Group (N=1607 Employees) Mean	SD
Involvement	5.95	1.41	5.56	1.54
Peer Cohesion	5.70	1.15	5.22	1.40
Supervisor Support	5.68	1.38	4.99	1.40
Autonomy	5.54	1.22	4.98	1.46
Task Orientation	5.90	1.29	5.63	1.31
Work Pressure	4.40	1.38	4.87	1.57
Clarity	5.60	1.29	4.44	1.41
Control	4.88	1.33	5.43	1.42
Innovation	4.42	1.54	4.37	1.82
Physical Comfort	4.89	1.35	3.72	1.28

*Each subscale has nine items

TABLE 3
Form R Internal Consistencies, Corrected Average Item-Subscale Correlations, Test-Retest Reliabilities, and Stabilities

Subscales	Internal Consistency (N=1045)	Corrected Average Item-Subscale Correlations (N=1045)	1-Month Test-Retest Reliability (N=75)	12-Month Subscale Stability (N=254)
Involvement	.84	.52	.83	.62
Peer Cohesion	.69	.36	.71	.58
Supervisor Support	.77	.44	.82	.51
Autonomy	.73	.39	.77	.52
Task Orientation	.76	.42	.73	.52
Work Pressure	.80	.47	.76	.63
Clarity	.79	.45	.69	.59
Control	.76	.41	.79	.60
Innovation	.86	.53	.75	.54
Physical Comfort	.81	.49	.78	.61

Definitions of NEGOPY Network Roles

GROUP

(A set of at least three people who satisfy the following criteria: a) most of the linkage of each member of the group is with other members of the same group, rather than with members of other groups; b) there is some path, lying entirely within the group, from each member to all the other members; and c) it is not possible to cause the group to become disconnected by removing 10% of the members of the group.

There are two major categories into which individuals are assigned. Each of these major categories is broken down into sub-categories:

ISOLATES

(these include all the individuals who are minimally connected to others in the network)

1. ISOLATE TYPE 1 — This type of person has no links whatsoever.

2. ISOLATE TYPE 2 — This kind of person has only one link.

3. ISOLATED DYAD — A pair of people linked only to each other.

4. TREE STRUCTURE — An isolate type 2 has only one link. If one or more of these isolates are attached to the first one, the first one is now called a "tree node", and the whole structure (tree nodes and isolates) is called a "tree structure." Only one link must be cut for some of the nodes in the structure to be isolated from the rest.

PARTICIPANTS

(individuals who have at least two links with other participants, including both members of groups and individuals who connect groups to one another)

5. GROUP MEMBER — A person who has more than 50% of his or her linkage with other members in the same group. Must have at least two links with other members.

6. LIAISON 1 — Also known as a Direct Liaison, a person who has more than 50% of his or her linkage with members of groups in general, but not with members of any single group. Links groups directly.

7. LIAISON 2 — Also known as an Indirect Liaison, a person who has less than 50% of his linkage with members of groups. Most links will be with other liaisons. They connect groups indirectly.

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