

AN INVESTIGATION OF ELECTORATE
BEHAVIOR IN A COMMUNITY
EXPERIENCING SOCIAL CONFLICT--
ROLE IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL
WORKERS AND SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
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ABSTRACT

AN INVESTIGATION OF ELECTORATE BEHAVIOR IN A COMMUNITY EXPERIENCING SOCIAL CONFLICT-- ROLE IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORKERS AND SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

By

Charles Dwayne Wilson

The purpose of this dissertation was to demonstrate an innovative use of political science research technique in the production of practice guidelines for community organization and social planning practitioners. This demonstration included focus upon description of sociological analysis of community conflict, description of a community controversy surrounding the issue of school desegregation, conflict, and demonstration of political behavior analysis as a procedure for the assessment of patterns of political influence in segments of a community relative to the community conflict.

Hypotheses tested were:

1. the relationship between percent yes recall and percent Republican party votes for President-1972 will be positive,
2. the relationship between percent yes recall and percent vote for the white mayoral candidate will be positive,

3. the relationship between percent vote for the white mayoral candidate and percent Republican party vote for President-1972 will be positive.

To test the hypotheses scattergrams were constructed and rank order correlation was computed. Socioeconomic characteristics were applied to deviant cases in efforts to identify social characteristics which were associated with the deviance. Correlation coefficients ranged between $+0.75$ and $+0.80$ suggesting strong associations between the variables tested and support for all three hypotheses. Application of social characteristics to deviant cases revealed the influence of variables such as family income, race, education, and extent of involvement in the desegregation plan. It is concluded that there existed dependent relationship between partisan and non partisan electorate behaviors in the target community during the period under study, and that votes for yes recall, Republican party, and the white mayoral candidate were positively associated with community subunit population characteristics.

Political behavior research technique can be utilized to facilitate the identification and location of client and target groups with highest and lowest levels of voter participation. Such identification when combined with other political and social data is crucial to practitioners as they plan and structure the content of voter education programs.

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By

Charles Dwayne Wilson

A DISSERTATION

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Rather than citation of the supportive individual contributions to this research effort and the traditional form of dedication I wish to acknowledge and dedicate this dissertation to the Supreme Being without whom it all would not have been possible.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate an innovative¹ use of political science research technique in the production of practice guidelines for community organization and social planning practitioners.² The focus is upon description of sociological analysis of conflict and demonstration of the utility of political behavior analysis as a procedure for the assessment of patterns of political influence in segments of a community. It is our belief that through the study of politics the causes and resolution of social conflict may be advanced. The deliberate resolution of social conflict cannot be considered adequately apart from planned change or processes of government. In this study politics will be considered as the adjustment efforts of human organisms attempting to coexist in an interdependent relationship within the political system. The emphasis of this study suggests that we include in our definition of politics only the behaviors directed toward influencing governmental policy decisions, behavior which affects or is intended to affect the decisional outcomes

of governmental units.³ This is not to say that there are not other ways for political behavior to be expressed but rather that for the purposes of this study the focus is specifically upon ballot box behaviors.

A most important part of the issues contained in social conflict is politics which provides the setting within which most controversies are resolved. The politics of the Lansing, Michigan community are of interest to this study. The focus will be upon the education related issue of school desegregation, selection of elected officials, and the resolution of public controversies at the ballot box in this town during the 1972-73 election period. The descriptive research method with demonstration of political analysis of voting behavior will be utilized to arrive at general community organization and social planning practice guidelines. The conversion of political science research technique and concepts to community intervention practice should be facilitated by the fact that most all political science research focus is upon community conflict and division over issues. The conversion should result in practice guidelines which would enable practitioners to predict and influence broad community participation in electoral politics.

PROBLEM

Those professionals who carry out the organizing and planning functions in the human service arena represent an emerging group of multidisciplinary practitioners who utilize

knowledge and technique that cut across such fields as education, social welfare, health, urban planning, etc. "The skill and diagnostic base for community organization practice is an amalgam of many disciplines. Practitioners draw on a range of disciplines, from small-group and psychodynamic theory to economics and political science," as they strive to improve the climate of conflict resolution through the enhancement of the quality and quantity of participation in such resolution.⁴ One of the realistic limitations that these practitioners face is that their information is frequently not adequate to the task; "there are great gaps in knowledge in virtually all areas related to the etiology of social problems . . . efficacy of various forms of intervention. . ." as well as limited application of research tools for the diagnosis and assessment of social problems in a community.⁵ The gaps in knowledge are due to numerous factors among which are included the rare publication of social science theory and research in a form easily transferable into practice principals. Gouldner⁶ argues that the reason for this rarity is due to social scientists as a group "having traditionally ministered to the needs of pure or basic researchers rather than applied research. . . yet applied social scientists are badly in want for such methodology. . .".⁷

The lack of communication between the applied and basic social scientists has in one sense been based not only upon boundary maintenance behaviors but also upon functional

factors which reinforce style and modes of thinking. The applied practitioner's function could be viewed as encompassing change of parts of the system in order to produce those things which would allow client communities to behave advantageously in their self interest in order to achieve specific outcomes. The academician's primary function could be viewed as the conducting of research that contributes to the knowledge that gives explanation as to why the world is as it is. Therefore the preparatory training that they receive tends to impact their styles, modes of thinking, etc., which in effect operate to restrict communication. Eaton⁸ notes that the problem of division between practitioners and academic types is based upon an aura of skepticism wherein practitioners do not trust science, and scientists do not expect utilization of their research findings. There are numerous myths and stereotypes which reinforce this skepticism and contaminate the views of practitioners and academic researchers.⁹ Rosenblatt summarizes the problem best when he argues that practitioners view the "reading of research articles as the least useful activity in improving their practice" due to limited scientific orientation as well as voids in content that tells them how to carry through in a practice situation. Rarely is social science theory and knowledge produced in a form immediately translatable into action directives.

Compounding this problem is the current state of knowledge in social planning for human services because "at

the present time much of the knowledge base of social planning is a haphazard collection of practice principals and sundry truisms. . ." without the creation of useful concepts that summarize the variables which influence planning and the relationships existing among these variables.¹⁰

The practice principles are largely founded upon sociological and psychological concepts which some authors have attempted to pull together in their professional fields.¹¹ Some of these efforts have been related to specific social problem areas such as housing, delinquency aging, equal educational opportunity, etc.¹² All of these volumes deal in one way or another with theories of community structure and process but as Rothman¹³ notes few of the studies provide for systematic application in community organization and social planning practice. The social sciences are rich with information and technique which are highly related to the aims of community intervention but it must be extracted and applied if practitioners are to efficiently move away from the traditional practice of courting people with money for fund raising purposes into the areas of new program and policy promotion. Practitioners' efforts in the new program and policy areas, working with target and clients systems of various kinds, require the development and application of new techniques, tactics, and strategies.

Warren¹⁴ suggests that "Sociology can make an important contribution to community organization and social planning by providing background about the social context in which

practice takes place as well as about the process of social change."¹⁵ Political scientists have also accumulated research data that often touches on decision making in vital human services areas but practitioners have for the most part tended to avoid politically tinged activity. This avoidance has been based primarily upon the perception that politics was ". . . below the level to which an honorable professional will stoop in the conduct of his affairs. . . ." ¹⁶ Those practitioners who have ventured into the political arena have often met with lack of success due to the lack of knowledge or sophistication concerning the workings of the political system. Thus by default ". . . vital decisions pertaining to community policies and services which bear on clientele and constituencies of human service organizations have been left to others, who are often less informed and less sympathetic regarding the client's plight. . . ." ¹⁷ Political scientists have for quite some time conducted research dealing with subjects closely related to community intervention and social change. The study of the adjustment efforts of the human population as its subunits interact in an interdependent fashion competing for goods and services produces data highly related to the aims of community intervention and social change. Practitioners should be encouraged to participate in the political sphere based upon knowledge of the power structure and political processes. Accompanying this knowledge must be understanding of the application

and utility of political science research technique in social change practice. The intent of this dissertation is to demonstrate practical use of political behavior analysis to enhance community practice and policy formation, understanding that such analysis reflects only one of a number of ways of finding points of leverage for manipulating social reality.¹⁸ This effort is made assuming that professional change agents do indeed seek to produce ends of specific types, that they hold responsibility for such and thus should increasingly acquire the capacity to achieve such ends. These ends are of course mediated through the interplay of various actors in the community including clients, bosses, non-clients, political elite, and electorate. Practitioner reliance upon fuller use of sociological and political science knowledge could in our opinion provide for higher levels of competence, and more precision and effectiveness in achieving intended outcomes. The intent of this dissertation is directed towards those ends.

HISTORY OF A SOCIAL CONFLICT IN LANSING--The School Desegregation Controversy

In the election year 1972, each of the major national parties generated platforms which contained sections dealing with the issue of school desegregation. The Democratic party platform stated: "We support the goal and means of desegregation as a process to achieve equal access to quality education for all our children."¹⁹ On the other hand, the Republican party platform on the issue was "We are committed

to guaranteeing equality of educational opportunity and to completing the process of ending de jure school segregation . . . at the same time we are irrevocably opposed to bussing for racial balance . . . we favor the neighborhood school concept."²⁰ In August 1973 the Lansing School District was ordered by the Western District Federal Court to continue its implementation plan for a controversial desegregation policy.²¹ That order, appealed to the Sixth District Federal Appeals Court, was sustained in September 1973 and appears to have culminated a ten year policy development process which at times appeared to polarize the Lansing community along racial lines. The controversy can officially be traced back to 1963 when "the education committee of the local NAACP requested that the Lansing School Board adopt a policy statement favoring that all children receive an equal educational opportunity in the public school system."²² The NAACP sought to get the issue of school desegregation taken up by the Board as a problem demanding attention and solution. In their report, that organization asked the school board to adopt policy favoring desegregation, redrawing boundaries to balance the racial population of the major black junior high school, and forming a citizens committee responsible for studying the problem of integration and advising the board at regular intervals as to methods of implementing the ongoing program.²³ The Board could have avoided the issue at that time by refusing to consider the question, but the "ideology of the board members, (and) other community

pressure helped to lead the Board in the direction of endorsing the principle of racially balanced schools. . .".²⁴

At that time, the Board could have refused to consider the question because of the prevailing rationale that the cause of racial imbalance in the schools was attributable to segregated housing patterns and not to actions by the schools.²⁵

The acceptance of the NAACP's request in 1963 assured that the Board would have to deal with the issue of school desegregation over a ten year period of time.

In July 1966, a citizen's group, appointed by the Board in 1963, in compliance with the NAACP's request, submitted its report and plans for school desegregation. The committee recommended that the Board adopt a bussing plan to achieve racial balance and that it commence in September 1967. Details of the plans were released in the local Lansing paper. Before the August 1966 Board meeting, an all white group had formed to oppose the proposed plan. "The organizational impetus came from those white neighborhoods that were to be affected during the (next) school year", by the recommended plan.²⁶

The group called itself the Colonial Village-Eaton Downs Citizens Committee which represented interests that one informant, interviewed by Holland, who was not particularly sympathetic to the cause of the new white group, said were, "keeping our kids in their schools and keeping the niggers out."²⁷ The Citizens Committee sponsored petition drives and numerous town hall meetings. In early August, a

coalition was formed between the white citizen's committee and the Grass Roots Committee (G.R.C.), an all Black anti-desegregation organization. This coalition produced the Peoples Action Committee on Education (P.A.C.E.). This organization was formed at one of the town hall meetings, at the initiation of the all white group, due to anti-desegregation statements attributed to the leader of the G.R.C. Once the coalition was formed, the identified goals were to oppose the methods being considered for desegregation plan implementation, i.e., bussing, rather than opposition to desegregated schools, per se.

The Board of Education, at its August 1966 meeting decided to adopt the Citizen Committee's report and implement the plan in September 1967, in spite of the community rumbles. The P.A.C.E. organization secured an attorney to study the possibility of legal action and within a few weeks had asked the Lansing District Court to prevent the plan from being implemented. The District Court ruled that the plan would not go into effect until "more study was done by the Court concerning (its) constitutionality."²⁸ The local District Court restrained the School Board, but was later overturned by the Michigan State Supreme Court. The major black junior high school was closed in 1967 and the students, both black and white, were "transported" throughout the system. The opening of two new junior high schools, combined with the redrawing of secondary school boundaries which

allowed for the continued "transportation" of black and white students, seemed to signal uneventful desegregation efforts on the secondary school level.

A P.A.C.E. organization member interviewed by Holland, when asked to explain the differences between the 1969 plans and the bussing plan they had opposed, said, ". . . there isn't any difference at all. It just goes to show, you can't fight city hall."²⁹ Holland states that his unarticulated response, with which I agree, was "Yes, you can fight city hall sometimes, (and win) but it depends on how you do it."³⁰ It appeared that the limited effectiveness of what could be called the quasi instrumental function of the P.A.C.E. organization left the impression that the School Board had won the contest and this directly affected organizational strength and participation. As of 1970, the P.A.C.E. organization was "still running candidates for the Board, (but) their members seemed interested in other things. . .".³¹

The community battle seemingly won, the School Board turned to the question of elementary school desegregation. At this time, the Board composition included its first black member, elected in the wake of the P.A.C.E. school board fight. During the school year 1969-1970, the Board approved application for federal funds designed to assist in the planning, development, and implementation of further desegregation plans on the elementary school level. The grant application was approved by federal officials and funds were

received under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. A plan for planning was developed which called for the formation of two citizens' study committees, one to be geographically composed of those residents in the areas from which the G.R.C. arose, and the other to be representative of the school system at large.³²

To clearly highlight the major historical period and events within that period, a chronology of significant events will be provided. The major historical period covered in this document of the Lansing School District's desegregation controversy is 1963-1973. Our emphasis is primarily upon the period of January 1963-September 1973. But the following chronology of significant events covers the period of March 1971 through November 1973. The November events culminated a local contest between the incumbent mayor and the challenger for that office. The contest between these contestants included issues directly related to the residents of the community who were considered prime recipients of the benefits of the school district desegregation efforts.

The chronology is:

March 1971 - December 1971

The process by which the elementary school desegregation plan(s) would be developed is submitted and approved by the Board. Committee resolutions adopted and committee members appointed. Committees proceed with studies and recommendation development.

January 1972

The Westside Ad Hoc Committee submits its report and recommends immediate improvement of school physical facilities in the area, and the institution of two-way bussing at the elementary school level.³³ Board schedules, in conjunction with the school district Parent-Teacher Association, small community meetings throughout the school district to discuss elementary school desegregation.

March 1972³⁴

Citizens for Neighborhood Schools organization is formed. Wants 5,000 petition signatures to oppose bussing. Anti-bussing plea is made by the CNS, while interests in an eastern suburb of Lansing, through an organization named GAIN, (Group Associated for Integration NOW) support a wider scale of bussing to include neighboring communities.

April 1972³⁵

The Citizens Advisory Committee submits its recommendations to the Board. Board members are threatened with recall and CNS wants 15,000 signatures opposing bussing.

May 1972³⁶

Board of Education announces there will be public hearings on the recommended plans. CNS holds town hall meetings to air its opposition to school

bussing. West side group, Concerned Citizens Group, West Side Neighborhood Association back the plans.

School Board announces the final plan which is a "compromise" from the recommendations received from the Citizen Committee.

June 1972³⁷

The Board of Education schedules meetings to adopt the plan for implementation in September 1972. Plan meets with threats from the GAIN group of a suit to force "broader integration", formal action by the local NAACP is taken to table a proposed suit to force the Board to adopt a plan, CNS seeking funds to fight the decision. CNS secures court order from local District Court to boock the adoption meeting. CNS submits recall petitions against the Board members, who are considered to be in favor of the plan.

Federal District Court overturns restraining order. Plan is adopted formally by a 5-3 vote, with one opponent Board member absent. Recall petition against one Board member dropped.

September 1972

Plan implemented amidst parental threats of boycott.

October 1972

Recall election set for November general election. NAACP unsuccessfully tries to prevent the recall election, through court action.

November 1972

The five Board members who voted for the desegregation policy are recalled from office.

December 1972

Governor appoints five interim members to Board positions until a special election can be held to fill the vacant seats.

January 1973³⁸

At special election, anti-bussing slate is elected to fill the five vacant Board of Education seats.

February 1973

Board of Education rescinds desegregation policy and directs school administration to dismantle program by June 30, 1973. NAACP threatens court action.

March 1973

Request by NAACP for hearing at Western District Federal Court is refused by Judge Fox who suggests that the parties negotiate a settlement out of court.

June 1973

After failure of out of court negotiations to produce a settlement agreeable to both parties, Fox holds hearings on the evidence of improper Board action.

August 1973

Fox orders continuation of plan. Maintains jurisdiction of case and will hold trial at later date

on evidence of de jure segregation activities. Board vows appeal. Primary election for selection of mayoral candidates pits Ferguson against Graves. Graves wins primary by fifty-five percent margin over Ferguson and other candidates.

September 1973

Appeals Court upholds court ruling of plan continuation. School Board debates further court battle, but decides against such move. Plan implemented as previously designed.

November 1973

Local competition for office of mayor results in an overwhelming defeat of the challenger by the incumbent mayor. The incumbent received seventy percent of the vote in all but four precincts.

SUMMARY

The desegregation controversy represents in this study a situation of social conflict where there was change in the patterns of access to resources, cultural values and norms, and ultimately an anticipated effect upon the social, cultural, and power relationships in the community. That change appeared to be in the favor of racial minority families and students. The mayoral election pitted a hometown

black politician, who supported increased police security, low cost or free garbage collection, establishment of a city commission on aging, more women in city government, expanded parks and recreational facilities, and bringing of all citizens of the community together; against the white incumbent whose platform was primarily centered around the elimination of wasteful spending of tax dollars by government. The incumbent commented upon receiving the news of his impressive victory in the primary that "the people sent a strong message to city hall. You can't undersell people's ability to grasp what's going on."³⁹ The desegregation court ruling in that same month and the implementation of an expanded bussing plan in September suggests the potential of some relationship between the mayoral vote and the public controversy surrounding the bussing issue. Combined with the fact that Ferguson, an announced Democrat, and Graves, a formerly identified Republican, symbolically brought the national party images into local focus, the question of the extent of interrelationship between the electorate partisan and non partisan voting behaviors looms high. If social scientists are to make any sense from their observations of political and social behavior there must be some analytic framework available to assist in the analysis and comprehension of these phenomena.

THEORY AND ASSUMPTIONS

The study of conflict within communities has not been of great popularity in the past for a variety of reasons.

This avoidance may be due to, but not limited to, standards established by academic disciplines combined with societally sanctioned normative resistance to delve into conflict. The sociological analysis of conflict in this dissertation will be based upon some empirical propositions cited by Williams⁴⁰ and basic assumptions about human interactions within social systems. The propositions proposed by Williams are:

1. All interacting human populations exhibit social conflicts.
2. All interacting human populations that remain in interaction over time develop normative patterns.
3. All interacting human populations manifest some continuity of social patterns.
4. All interacting human populations manifest change in social patterns over time.
5. All interacting human populations exhibit both coerced and voluntary conformity.

Other assumptions:⁴¹

1. For analytic purposes social conflict does not result from the individual tensions phenomena, i.e., poor human relations, frustration produced aggression or individual maladjustment. These phenomena may be a part of the social conflict but are not causative in nature.
2. Social conflict results from incompatible positions, mutually exclusive values, limited resources, and boundary maintenance activity.
3. Conflict is implicit in the concepts of integration, cooperation, or consensus.

Coser⁴² notes that few perceive conflict as a constructive phenomenon but rather most view it as destructive and hence to be avoided theoretically and pragmatically. A more realistic point of view would be that conflict is inevitable in

human organization and it can and must be dealt with straight forwardly.

It is fairly well substantiated that there are specifiable variables which tend to account for community division over issues and that there are systemic structures which dissipate and manage conflict situations.⁴³ Structures such as the criminal justice system with its enforcement, adjudication, and correctional subsystems; the legislative system with its reliance upon ballot box behaviors as well as pressure and interest group actions, formal and informal negotiation systems, etc., are all functionally related to the management and dissipation of conflict within the social system. Systemically the political system, i.e., the "persistent pattern of human relationships that involve to a significant extent power, rule, and or authority", plays a significant moderating role in community conflict.⁴⁴ Functionally the political subsystem can be viewed within five basic domains: allocation of goods and services, determination of the quantity of goods and services to be allocated, facilitation of the use of authority in the decision making process, transmission of shared norms and values, and conflict management.⁴⁵ These domains allow for the provision of services to community residents, the establishment of mechanisms and means by which these services are delivered, and establishment of ground rules for the allocation of authority necessary for decision making. The functionality

of these domains is considered to be the fabric which maintains traditions necessary for the perpetuation of the social system functions and ultimately the system itself.

In the forefront of any study of city politics belongs the issue of disputes and cleavages within and between domains which give rise to the disputes, and the forces tending toward regulation of the conflict. Banfield and Wilson⁴⁶ view the political subsystem from its conflict management function and they argue that management of conflict is probably the major political function of the political system due to the ubiquitous nature of conflict in social life. Operationalization of the functional domains of the political subsystem produces value incompatibility as well as competition for scarce resources and positions of authority and power. It is important to note that the ever present scarcity of resources throughout the social system conditions the type of interaction which is necessary to create positions of advantage for segments of any community.

The community conflict in Lansing was locally resolved at the ballot box which in effect provided for political behavior performing a basic social conflict management function. The actors in the social conflict were various community groups such as the N.A.A.C.P., G.R.C., C.N.S., the School Board, and other political candidates whose behavior and actions were aimed at resolving the dispute. Actions by one group to achieve desired ends resulted

in counter moves by other groups based upon their perception of desired ends. This interaction and the underlying bases for the interaction produces social conflict. The use of the ballot box on the local level and the courts outside the local community supports the notion that politics arises out of conflict and consists of those actions and activities which insure the perpetuation of conflict but within the systemic boundaries of acceptability. Thus a group may organize to influence a school board's policy or defeat a candidate, which in effect is a reaction to the mobilized bias of the School Board or candidate organization, but in that process must expect to encounter other mobilized group biases.⁴⁷ The transformation of social problems into public issues whereby the electorate may use the ballot box for their approval or rejection of proposed solutions, or candidates supporting proposed solutions, is a standard procedure in American politics. In many American communities this procedure provides partisan and/or non partisan associations with the controversies evident as the body politic expressed its will at the ballot box.

The research question of interest to this study is: Are the conflict groups on the local school desegregation issue the same groups on the partisan and non partisan political levels in the Lansing community. Findings relative to this question should facilitate the formulation of practice guidelines which would enable practitioners to predict and influence advantageous participation in electoral

politics. The literature of community organization does contain some theoretical concepts applicable to the focus of this study but they are not well developed nor integrated. The investigation of the question provides one basis for input to the body of literature that has prescriptive implications for practitioners which does not neglect applicable theoretical formulations from the social sciences.

Efforts to deal with individual misfortune may develop into programs for organizational change when it is perceived that individualized solutions are not adequate. Conversely broad programs for social change require implementation at the level of individuals and groups to assure that their potential benefits will be realized. Human services today are provided through a complex network of formal organizations differentiated by functions, auspices, and domains. Whether the human service objectives involve creation of new programs, modification or rearrangement of social structures and practices in the community, it is becoming more evident that practitioners need to become actively involved in the manipulation of community political processes. This necessity has given rise to new kinds of practitioner tasks that are not only concerned with service delivery but also prevention which in most instances requires the conscious use and manipulation of those community processes which can facilitate the achievement of those ends. We feel that practitioners have a professional obligation and responsibility to participate in the political sphere as one

means of promoting greater organizational responsiveness to target or client group perception of interest and need. The analysis of voting behavior as it relates to policy formation and the resultant organizational outputs can have potent diagnostic as well as potential prescriptive utility. The demonstration of such potential is the focus of this dissertation.

LIMITATIONS AND OVERVIEW OF DESIGN

The greatest limitation of the voting behavior analysis method when utilized in community organization and social planning practice is that it will not directly provide evidence which can be used to promote individual social action participation. Rather it provides information which can be utilized in the process toward that individual social action. One process which we feel has merit in the facilitation of the movement toward social action and the utilization of voting behavior analysis tools has been cited by Perlman and Gurin.⁴⁸ That process is: problem identification, establishment of structural and communication linkages for problem consideration and analysis, study of alternative solutions and adoption of policy, development and implementation of program plan, monitoring and feedback. Application of voting behavior analysis techniques would be restricted to the problem identification stage. Assumptions guiding that application would be that social change and social conflict are inextricably related; groups constantly compete for goods

and services; the social system is designed to facilitate this intergroup competition; some individuals desire to participate with groups in the formulation and direction of the change competition; decisions to participate are influenced by numerous factors among which are included perceived benefits and organized influence of those perceptions; and organization and persistence is necessary to bring influence upon governmental decisions. The problem identification phase would have two purposes facilitated by a preplanning and a planning component. The preplanning component would be utilized to gather the information which gives clarity to the competitive interactions of the various electorate in the community as well as location of supporters and opponents of various social changes. Voting behavior data can assist in the identification of these aspects, variations among interacting subgroups of the population that may be of particular interest, as well as population variations over time. The community organization and social planner could utilize the following process to gather needed information:

1. Identify local, state, and national issues of importance to self and in their opinion, to the community of interest. Search for indicators of community interest by review of local newspapers, historical collections, etc.
2. Select time period within which electorate were given an opportunity to voice their opinions through use of the ballot box.
3. Obtain voting data from city clerk for those identified periods of time.

4. Identify variables of interest, create scattergrams, and perform rank order correlation.
5. Apply social characteristics from Federal and local census to those units whose members behaved in a sharply different manner, at the ballot box, than the remaining population on the variables of interest.

There are other types of information of a non hard data nature which could be obtained from the target or client groups such as their perception of scope of the problems, consequences of their existence, and preferred alternatives. To objectify these data the use of survey research and sampling techniques would be helpful to practitioners as they plan for movement into the next phases of the process.

SUMMARY

Of importance in the findings and the conclusions will be the issue of correlation between ranks of electorate voting behavior and characteristics of deviant precincts, but also of importance will be the utility of voting behavior research method as a diagnostic procedure for the assessment of community subunit exercise of political power, social change trends, location of support for various community and social changes, and its facilitation of practice guideline development. Social change and social conflict are inextricably related and if politics is one medium by which the conflict is moderated, and if planned change is one primary function of government, advocates and practitioners of community organization and social planning must utilize this

interdependence in the promotion of change objectives.

Although all the major strategists in practice acknowledge the existence of conflict few acknowledge its relevance to strategies for change in power relationships and distribution of resources. The role of community organization and social planning practitioners is to assist community subgroups in the organization, crystallization of issues and actions, and to engage them in action designed to extract goods and services from the functional components of the system. The guiding assumptions of this social action should be that planned change is possible, community groups desire change and to participate in the formulation of the direction of that change, and that social conflict is one requisite for the implementation of that planned change. As Saint Matthew would have said if he had been an acknowledged practitioner and student of social conflict, unto everyone that hath the means to affect governmental decisions shall be given and he shall have abundance; but for him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.⁴⁹ The present social system is designed to promote the protection and perpetuation of community subgroup perception of need and goals. Structurally, as long as it is done according to sanctioned procedures, groups may organize to extract goods and services from the system in sufficient quantity to satisfy their value positions, to occupy positions of control and influence over distribution of resources, and to protect

their perceived boundaries. These actions promote competition between various social groupings and becomes the essence of social conflict.

The assessment of community voting behavior can provide practitioners with objective data as to who is exercising power through the ballot box as well as providing a basis for speculation as to what forces may be influencing those ballot box decisions. The practitioner could speculate on whether or not the influence is basically from organized forces, class factionalism, human rationality, or a combination thereof. Do people weigh the benefits that they will receive from their participation in resolution of social problems? Is race or class a dominant factor in those decisions? Through the use of voting behavior analysis technique the practitioner can identify units of behavior with specific geographic location, observe overextended periods of time their exercise of power related to local, state, and national issues, develop profiles of large or mini units, identify factionalism in the community as well as the trends of support and resistance to social changes, and construct strategies, based upon hard data, which could facilitate prediction and influence of electoral participation. This type of research and analysis will not give information as to why decisions of the unit members were made, what alternatives the unit members may prefer relative to social problem resolution, nor will this type of research provide information as to the unit members willingness to participate

directly in the creation of those alternatives. That kind of information would only be available through some form of sampling research either through interviews, questionnaires, or a combination of both.

OVERVIEW

In the field of social welfare the traditional approach to need assessment and problem solution has been directed largely toward the promotion of intervention directed toward meeting of individual needs. Such intervention is not without merit and justification but in the past few years there has been growing criticism of social welfare organizations and professions for being service myopic, reacting to human suffering after damage has been done by social and political conditions beyond the control of the individual. A strong element in the original ideology of many community organization programs was the commitment to a non political approach which promoted avoidance of concepts of conflict and political struggle. Instead there was reliance upon concepts of unity and consensus. The shifting emphasis has been toward intervention that prevents individual breakdown through focus not upon the individual but rather upon environmental conditions, common problems arising from those conditions, and promotion of changes in those conditions. Such behavior must rely upon research tools and techniques structured to facilitate the acquisition of information upon which decisions for social and political action may rest. The community

organization and social planning practitioners have basically relied upon traditional problem assessment techniques based on social agency data. Such data in reality takes into account only a fraction of the persons who are eligible to use agency services thus underestimating need. The necessity for broader measures of need within the population is evident.

Our interest in this study will be with the demonstration of the utility of voting behavior research technique to two interrelated aspects of electorate behavior, patterns of voter turnout over time, and issue content. We will be assessing the ballot box resolution of social conflicts in Lansing, Michigan in an attempt to formulate practice guidelines which will enable practitioners to predict and influence advantageous participation in electoral politics. The formulation of the problem to a large extent sets the direction for thinking about it and acting on it. Planners must seek to understand the problems in their broadest dimensions in order to consider all the factors that may be relevant to later stages of organization and implementation of planned change. Kahn⁵⁰ summarizes this best when he said: "a knowledge organizing scheme is in a sense also a planning framework." Important check points in the knowledge base to a problem are data from census studies, trend studies, aggregate data studies, etc., which require community organization and social planning practitioners to have knowledge of the sources of data and skills in assembling

such material so that it can illuminate alternative responses to the questions at hand.⁵¹ It is our hope that we may contribute to the elimination of a small portion of the gaps in the information base through the efforts of this dissertation.

In Chapter Two we will focus on literature survey relative to the problem under consideration and will conclude that chapter with a summary of the major findings and the implications to our research. In Chapter Three we will describe our population of interest, specify the nature of our measuring devices, design, analysis, procedures, and also propose testable hypotheses. In Chapter Four we will describe our findings and in Chapter Five we will attempt to define the utility of our research for community organization and social planning practice.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Mohr, L. "Determinants of Innovation in Organization", American Political Science Review, 63, no. 1 (March 1969) pp. 11-26; the author distinguishes between innovation and invention: innovation brings something into new use; invention brings something new into being. We are trying to demonstrate a new use for political behavior research method in the community organization and social planning arena.
2. We shall use the term practitioner in this dissertation to refer to community organization and social planning workers.
3. Milbrath, L. Political Participation How and Why People Get Involved in Politics. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965, p. 3.
4. Zald, M. (ed.) "Sociology and Community Organization Practice" in Organizing for Community Welfare. Chicago: Quadrangle Books 1967.
5. Perlman, R., and A. Gurin. Community Organization and Social Planning. New York: John Wiley and Sons and the Council for Social Work Education, 1972, p. 208.
6. Gouldner, A. and S.M. Miller (eds.) Applied Sociology: Opportunities and Problems, New York: Free Press 1965.
7. Ibid., p. 106.
8. Eaton, J.W. "Scientific Basis for Helping", Issues in American Social Work, New York: NASW 1962, p. 292.
9. See Zetterberg, H.L. Social Theory and Social Practice. New York: Bedminster Press, 1962, pp. 40-43; Thomas, E.J., ed. "Selecting Knowledge From Behavioral Science" in Behavioral Science for Social Workers; Warren, R.L. Applications of Social Science Knowledge to the Community Organization Field, Journal of Education for Social Work, 3, No. 1, (1967); and see Rosenblatt, A. "The Practitioner's Use and Evaluation of Research," Social Work 13, no. 1, (January 1968).
10. Callahan, J.J., Jr. "Obstacles and Social Planning," Social Work 18, no. 6, (Winter 1973), pp. 70-79.

11. See Dunham, A. The New Community Organization, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970; Ross, M.G. Community Organization: Theory and Principles, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1967; Barger, G., and H. Specht, Community Organizing. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973; Zald, M.N. Organizing for Community Welfare, Chicago: Quadrangle Books 1967, also see Wilbur, M.B. Community Health Services. Philadelphia: Sanders, 1962; Sumpting, M.R. and Y. Engstrom. School Community Relations: A New Approach. New York: McGraw Hill, 1966; William W., and L.J. Biddle. The Community Development Process, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston 1965; Franklin, R. Patterns of Community Development, Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1966.
12. For example see Colbern, F.M. The Neighborhood and Urban Renewal. New York: National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 1963; "Community Organizing In Public Housing and Urban Renewal" found in National Conference on Social Welfare: Community Organization 1959, New York: Columbia University Press 1959; McIver, R. The Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, New York: Atherton Press, 1966.
13. Rothman, J. Planning and Organizing for Social Change, New York: Columbia University Press, 1974, p. 21.
14. Warren, R.L. The Community in America, Chicago: Rand McNally & Co. 1963, pp. 60-72.
15. Ibid., p. 63.
16. Rothman, J., op. cit., p. 195.
17. Rothman, J., op. cit., p. 196.
18. Rothman, J., op. cit., p. 201.
19. Johnson, D.B. and K.H. Porter. National Party Platforms 1840-1972. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973, p. 804.
20. Ibid., p. 862.
21. Western District Federal Court, G305-72 C.A.; and Sixth Circuit Appeals Court, Southern Division, Lansing N.A.A.C.P. vs. Lansing Board of Education 485 F 2nd 569.
22. Holland, R. Wm. School Desegregation and Community Conflict--an Analysis of Political Behavior as Related to Community Conflict. East Lansing: Michigan State University, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1971, p. 98.

23. Ibid., p. 99 see also N.A.A.C.P. Education Committee Report, Lansing, Michigan, 1963, p, 3.
24. Ibid., parenthesis this authors; see also R. Crain, Politics of School Desegregation. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968, pp. 357-358.
25. Weinberg, M. Race and Place: A Legal History of the Neighborhood School. Washington: U.S. Department of H.E.W., Office of Education, 1967. This document provides clarification of the defacto/dejure segregation arguments related to public schools and attendance zones.
26. Holland, R.Wm., op. cit., p. 113, parenthesis this authors.
27. Ibid., p. 113.
28. Holland, R.Wm., op. cit., p. 116, parenthesis this authors.
29. Holland, R.Wm., op. cit., p. 122.
30. Ibid., p. 122, parenthesis this authors.
31. Holland, R.Wm., op. cit., p. 112.
32. See Appendix A for Critical Path Management Chart which was the basis for the plan for planning elementary school desegregation; and also see school board resolutions creating the citizens committees.
33. The 1966 Citizens Committee Report had recommended one way bussing and school closings as components of the elementary school desegregation plan, and since 1967 that plan had been adhered to.
34. Lansing State Journal, March 2, 3, 14, 1972.
35. Lansing State Journal, April 11, 28, 1972.
36. Lansing State Journal, May 4, 24, 31, 1972.
37. Lansing State Journal, June 1, 5, 15, 19, 29, 1972.
38. The unique aspect of this event is that the opportunity structure of the community, in terms of Board of Education policy, required a minimum of nine years for change of the ideological base which appeared to have supported the concept of desegregation. In fact in just about nine years with the recall of the five proponents, opponents of the desegregation question had unanimous control over policy, at the local level, in the arena of desegregation.

39. Lansing State Journal, August 6, 1973.
40. Williams, R. "Some Further Comments on Chronic Controversies", American Journal of Sociology, vol. 71, no. 46, May 1966, p. 718.
41. See Horwitz, I.L. "Consensus, Conflict, and Cooperation: A Sociological Inventory", Social Forces, vol. 41, 1963; Dahrendorf, R. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford, Calif.; Stanford University Press, 1959; Horton, J., "Order and Conflict Theories of Social Problems as Competing Ideologies", American Journal of Sociology, vol. 71, May 1966; Mack, R. and R. Snyder, "The Analysis of Social Conflict-Toward an Overview and Synthesis", Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 1, no. 2, June 1957.
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- R.E., "The Influence of Precinct Work on Voting Behavior", Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1963, pp. 372-398.
44. Dahl, R. Modern Political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970, p. 6.
 45. Easton, D. "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems", World Politics 9, April 1957, pp. 383-400; see also Froman, L.A. Jr., "An Analysis of Public Policies in Cities," Journal of Politics 29, February 1967, pp. 94-108. Williams, O. "A Typology of Local Government," Midwest Journal of Political Science, May 1961, pp. 150-164; Sanders, I.T. The Community: An Introduction to a Social System, 2nd ed., New York: The Roland Press, 1966; Banfield, E. and J.Q. Wilson. City Politics, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press 1963.
 46. Banfield, E. and J.Q. Wilson, op. cit., p. 7.
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 48. Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 201.
 49. See James, D. Poverty Politics and Change. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972, p. 68, author paraphrased.
 50. Kahn, A.J. Theory and Practice of Social Planning, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969, p. 79, cited by Perlman, R., and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 60.
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CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

SOCIAL CONFLICT

Given that there are specifiabale variables which give reason for community division over issues⁵² and given that there are mechanisms which manage and structure conflict in this society,⁵³ we will devote the majority of this chapter to a review of the literature concerning sociological analysis of conflict, community organization and social planning practice, and the broader systemic environment in which action takes place.

Empirically, there has been little research on social conflict, although several theories have been proposed. Since Bernard's plea of the late 50's⁵⁴ for a revived status for sociology of conflict, among the more notable of social conflict theorists have been Coser, Dahrendorf, Mack, Boulding, and Gluckman.⁵⁵ Dahrendorf, argued that social conflict was ubiquitous; therefore, acceptance of such argument requires the specification of not only empirical conditions necessary for a conflict state to exist but also social-structural variables of social conflict, and mechanisms of control. Mack⁵⁶ suggests that social conflict exists when there are competitive relationships between two or more sets

of individuals who exhibit some level of organization, and are experiencing conditions of position and resource scarcity and mutually exclusive values. Thus for a relationship to be considered one of social conflict, modifying Mack's conditions slightly, there must exist some combination of:

1. Sets of individuals, groups, or parties, exhibiting some level of organization.
2. Interaction or contact of some kind.
3. Conditions of position scarcity.
4. Conditions of resource scarcity.
5. Conditions wherein values of the groups or parties are incompatible.

The UNESCO⁵⁷ published a valuable compilation of literature dealing with conflict and that document provides analysis of the sociological and psychological perspectives of social conflict. In many papers that give what appear to be opposing views on the issue of social conflict, the impression is that there is contradiction, rather than description of different sides of the same coin. This is the case with the UNESCO compilation, for its psychological and sociological analysis describe different types of conflict. The psychological perspective seems to apply more to intra/inter individual conflicts with the sociological perspective more directly related to intergroup or social conflict. The psychological analysis of conflict focuses upon the tension and frustration-aggression models. Pear, Lipset, Bernard, Lewin, and Mercer⁵⁸

support this notion along with many others. The application of this notion to intergroup relations theory and the application of intergroup relations theory to the tension and frustration-aggression models has been questioned by Bernard and Sherif.⁵⁹ The sociological and psychological models are distinctly different in their determination of the causes of conflict. The focus of this research will be upon intergroup conflict and will be highlighted in the methods section of this dissertation.

The sociological view of conflict approaches the phenomenon as a "consequence of structural processes rather than as a result of frustration produced tension and aggressive behavior . . ."⁶⁰ The sociological view of conflict is conceptualized in terms of the relationship between and among systems resulting from:

1. Incompatible positions⁶¹
2. Mutually exclusive values⁶²
3. Resource scarcity in terms of power, status, and other means to achieve desired ends⁶³
4. Boundary maintenance activity⁶⁴

We therefore define social conflict as the competitive interactions between sets of individuals who exhibit some level of organization and are experiencing conditions of position and resource scarcity, mutually exclusive values, and attempting to protect their perceived boundaries. Horowitz, Horton, and Dahrendorf,⁶⁵ all make application of analysis tools to society and the conflict and consensus phenomenon. Their

ultimate design is to provide explanations, from their point of view, of the problems of conflict escalation and neutralization. Our definition results from attempts to integrate their explanations into a conceptualization meaningful to this research.

The notion of social conflict is not new in the social sciences for Carver in his keynote address to one of the first meetings of the American Sociological Society, focused his remarks upon social conflict highlighting what was the interest and concern of first generation of sociologists who saw themselves as social reformers. Carver stated that "There may be many cases where there is a complete harmony of interests, but these give rise to no problems and therefore we do not need to concern ourselves about them."⁶⁶ Conflict was viewed not as a negative phenomenon but rather "social conflict was seen as performing decidedly positive functions. . . in particular, conflict provided the central explanatory category for the analysis of social change and of progress."⁶⁷ This view dominated the field of sociology for several generations wherein the majority of sociologists at that time saw themselves as social reformers and consciously addressed themselves to audiences of reform-minded persons. The non reform-minded sociologists who ultimately dominated the field, "far from seeing themselves as reformers . . . either oriented themselves toward merely academic and professional audiences, or attempted to find a hearing among decision makers in public or private bureaucracies."⁶⁸

Coser hypothesizes that "where the older generation (of sociologists) discussed the need for structural change, the new generation deals with adjustment of individuals to given structures . . . the psychological subsumes the structural and hence individual malfunctioning subsumes social conflict."⁶⁹ Cooley who supports this hypothesis says that "conflict of some sort, is the life of society, and progress emerges from a struggle in which individual, class, or institution seeks to realize its own idea of good. . . the contemporary generation has tended to replace analysis of conflict by the study of tensions, strains, and psychological malfunctioning."⁷⁰

The current status of sociologists and other social scientists could be viewed as one of comfortable middle classism with its normative patterns which stress verbal behaviors. Such normative patterns are acted out in society by emphasis upon discussions, writings, meetings, etc. Fairweather concludes that this adherence to normative requirements "has left the arena of social change through action to others. . . the traditionally verbally-oriented role, however, is no longer meeting the needs of society, if indeed it ever did."⁷¹

This author concludes that no matter where you come from academically, professionally, or personally, the selection of either one or the other of these theories of social functioning tends to obviate the critical concepts of interdependence and interaction which all explanations of reality

should have. They should "constitute complementary, rather than alternative aspects of the structure of total societies, as well as every element of this structure."⁷²

Social conflict occurs within population clusters traditionally defined as communities. The definitions of community appear to vary with the experiences, training, and judgments of the various authors who seriously deal with the concept. Hillary,⁷³ after reviewing some ninety definitions of community, concluded that "beyond the concept that people are involved in community, there is no agreement as to the nature of community."⁷⁴ It makes no difference as to the level or amount of disagreement that exists because population clusters are observable phenomena throughout this nation and others. This clustering is basically representative of the geographic base of community and when combined with the patterns of relationship, which vary from place to place, specific and unique characteristics occur. Those characteristics have to do with social-cultural norms which tend to structure interaction with and through the socially acceptable patterns created and sanctioned by the larger society. These patterns include the member replacement systems, i.e., family and educational patterns; defense systems, i.e., religious patterns, social control and protection patterns, health care patterns; associational norms (social organization system); and systems of distribution which could include examples such as political parties and electoral

patterns.⁷⁵ All of these elements vary from community to community and within any single community over time. And though these elements do have direct bearing on the conflict situations which arise, of more critical importance is the bearing they have upon the composition of the parties involved, which affects the scope and intensity of the social conflict. Change in the composition of a given community and its established patterns may bring a regional or national conflict into local focus, which is technically called superimposition. Jackson says that "population changes may well introduce new levels of intensity to established conflict situations, reducing or increasing intensity according to the composition of new arrivals."⁷⁶ What Jackson is arguing is that local demographic change when combined with the growing participation of county, state, and federal decision-making machinery in local matters the likelihood of issues relating to education, housing, employment, etc., remaining strictly local is extremely low."⁷⁷

Warren describes two community variables, vertical and horizontal patterns which have direct bearing upon the above phenomena.⁷⁸ As the horizontal patterns become stronger relative to decision-making about an issue in dispute, the possibility of an intense conflict at the local level becomes greater. The horizontal patterns may condition the relations between local issue decision makers and extra community decision makers once the scope of conflict has been expanded.⁷⁹

Coleman describes an identification variable that must be considered when investigating social conflict within and between communities.⁸⁰ He argues that conflict depends on contact and interaction and that it (conflict) is governed by the context from which it arises. He also postulates that there is a direct positive correlation between size of a community and the level of conflict expressed; there are minimum and maximum levels of conflict an entity can experience before it dissolves. Organizational entities resist the potential and actuality of dissolution based upon a system concept defined as negative entropy, but there are other moderating phenomena which are more amenable to description. One moderating phenomena is the degree of identification community members have and it "carries its own consequences as disagreement proceeds."⁸¹ Identity, as a moderation component, may have direct bearing upon militancy of conflict rather than intensity, for it appears that common community interests, e.g., groups identifying their own future with that of the community, would tend to moderate methods utilized so as not to dissolve the entity held dear to so many.

If we are to develop a global understanding of the phenomenon of social conflict, we must consider it as being ever present and functional within the social system. This type consideration facilitates our search for the variables of social conflict and the definition of their interrelationships. Dahrendorf,⁸² defines intensity and militancy,

institutionalization and superimposition as critical variables of conflict. Intensity refers to the magnitude of party involvement. High intensity would imply that all the members of a quasi group in a state of conflict with another group are participants in that conflict state, through the use of conflict agencies. On the other hand, he argues that militancy refers to the nature of specific acts directed against the opponents, rather than the extent to which parties are involved in these acts. Militancy is considered the use of coercive measures in pursuing party interests. High militancy would imply that there was use of violence with intent to harm or injure, while moderate militancy would imply use of threats, petitioning, calling of strikes or demonstrations. Institutionalization of conflict would refer to the standardization of conflict situations for continuation in a stabilized manner, which in effect, produces a high level of predictability. A number of students of social conflict have argued that as a result of continuous conflict situations, the need for regulation is critical, and that the concept of institutionalization allows for continuation of the conflict in such a way that it does not dissolve the system. Institutionalization does not eliminate social conflict, but rather structures that conflict in such a way that it is regulated while continued.⁸³

Conflict is eliminated or resolved only with the withdrawal or destruction of one of the parties in the situation of conflict. Issue resolution and conflict resolution

are not the same, with the former promoting the maintenance of intact parties, but the target being eliminated from priority concern and interest. Institutionalization as a concept "provides a connecting link between conflict and integration models. . . integration resulting from institutionalized social conflict and. . . it does not necessarily imply the absence of conflict, nor does conflict imply the absence of integration."⁸⁴

Coleman, Coser, Williams, Dahrendorf, and Gluckman,⁸⁵ have all argued that there are similarities in significant social categories of highly influential variables in social conflict. These variables include class, religion, ethnicity, and political affiliation, all superimposed upon one another. This phenomenon is only analytically possible in a pure sense, but in reality, one can delimit to groups of individuals certain attributes they have in common, which will in most instances reveal overlapping membership which "would reduce the potential for highly intense and militant confrontation between parties."⁸⁶ Coser noted that this type of "segmental participation. . . can result in a kind of balancing mechanism, preventing deep cleavages along one axis. . . . The multiplicity of non-cumulative conflicts provide one. . . check against basic consensual breakdown in an open society."⁸⁷ We must keep in mind, especially related to the participation ethos and influence variables, the phenomenon of cross pressures and their effects on a person's predisposition toward reduced participation in relevant issues.

The phenomenon of cross pressures is a common explanation devise used in political behavior studies.⁸⁸

Sociology has supplied "much of the theory used by social work practitioners who have engaged in community organization and social planning practice. . . but for social work these theories (including conflict theory) suffer from the lack of definitive prescriptive implications for practice."⁸⁹ The implications from the analyses of Coser, Dahrendorf, et al., suggest that practitioners can constructively use confrontation and conflict as components of strategies for planned social change. This suggestion is counter to the dominant contemporary emphasis in the practice arena wherein practitioners pursue strategies of planned cooperation for equitable distribution of existing resources, as well as for the development and distribution of new resources. The achievement of planned social changes can not truly be pursued relying upon planned cooperation strategies alone for change entails some form of conflict which results in some form of intergroup bargaining, negotiation, confrontation, or force. It is our opinion that the practitioner's actions be guided by the notion that social change is a function of social conflict and that they must "increasingly become aware of the need for their deliberate participation in the public sector, to deal with, involve, plan with, bring pressure upon, or even to cause changes in . . . the social system."⁹⁰

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL PLANNING

The American system has been consistent in its production of social problems and amazingly creative in its efforts to cope with them. Observers have frequently remarked on the tendency of Americans "to form associations of all kinds in the face of hunger and disease, slavery and slums, exploitation and injustice, with membership developed around common interests, status, or residence. . . to organize, protest, and to plan."⁹¹ In the 1920's, through the leadership of Lindemen,⁹² community organization as a distinctive field of social work practice began to appear in the literature. Community organization and social planning practice is concerned with the identification, prevention, and elimination of social needs and disabilities through the improvement of the breadth of participation in the readjustment of resources to meet changing needs. The practitioners who strive to facilitate the accomplishment of this concern do so by intervening in the social situation to secure "a progressively more effective adjustment between social welfare (human service) resources and human needs."⁹³ In the initial days of practice through the influence of Lindemen the key to practice methodology was the strengthening of democratic participation through the improvement of social relationships while preserving the values of the small community in a changing society. In 1962 the National Association of Social Workers undertook to develop a working definition of community organization practice. Their report

spoke of the purpose of practice as "intervening in the community processes with a problem-solving approach to achieve a viable interaction pattern of relationships and of selected social goals."⁹⁴ The key "to comprehending the framework that embraces all aspects of the practice of community organization and social planning, is the understanding of the organizational contexts within which practice takes place."⁹⁵ The organizing and planning functions are not the responsibility of individual change agents but should be an expression of an organized effort that has sponsorship, legitimacy, purpose, and resources. It should be understood that the "characteristics of organizations will significantly determine the tasks of the practitioner and that these tasks will vary according to the purpose, composition, power position, and structure of the organization."⁹⁶ Although there may be numerous differences in the practitioner approach to tasks in the method, there are unifying aspects of all community organization and social planning. There exists a body of theoretical understanding concerning organization in general; a concrete knowledge about particular systems, such as health, or social welfare, or education networks; general problem-solving approaches to the solution of social problems; analytic competence; and skills in communication and interaction with other people.⁹⁷

In each approach to organization and planning there are purposes and assumptions concerning the nature of the community, society, and the processes of social change. The

purposes of community organizations and social planning rest upon certain values which, in Perlman and Gurin's opinions, do not require proof or verification. They say "at a very general level. . . values (underlying the community organization method) which can be stated briefly as respect for the dignity and worth of the individual, his right to a decent standard of living in terms of goods and services, and his right to struggle in concert with others for social improvements," and that individuals have the right to assert collective control over the natural and social environment.⁹⁸ Assumptions that underlie the method, which in their opinion do require verification and proof, fall within three basic areas. (It is not our intention to provide proofs, but rather intend to serve information purposes.) Those assumptions are that many human problems are social in their causation; that there is a social obligation to do something about them; and that they can be reduced or resolved if appropriate means can be found.⁹⁹ Community organization practitioners are proactive in their demeanor as demonstrated through their aggressive searching out and use of interventions that anticipate and forestall social hardships and dislocations.

Of the various views of practice which identify the many dimensions of community organization and social planning, some of the most notable are summarized through the identification of purposes, objectives, and proponents:

1. Strengthening Community Participation and Integration¹⁰⁰

- a. encourages expression of views from all groups

in the community relative to issues of concern.

- b. encourages achievement of effective interaction among groups on how to improve their common environment.
 - c. proponents strive to achieve group adjustment and cooperation relationships.
- 2. Enhancing coping capabilities¹⁰¹
 - a. focuses on improving means of communication and interaction.
 - b. attempts to build the ability of the community to cope with the environment and social change.
- 3. Improving social conditions and services¹⁰²
 - a. utilizes need and deficiency identification to develop effective provisions and methods for solving or preventing social problems.
 - b. includes setting specific goals and mobilizing resources to achieve them.
 - c. focus is upon achieving changes in policies, practices, or resource allocations of formal organizations. It is assumed that much of social planning (efforts to resolve social problems) consists of attempts to do just this.
- 4. Advancing interests of disadvantaged groups.¹⁰³
 - a. primary purpose of this method is to promote the interests of particular groups by increasing their share of material goods and services.
 - b. increasing the groups power and status through their participation in community decision making.

Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 are provided to give a succinct summary of these views of community organization and social planning.

In summary, each proponent is oriented toward the achievement of social changes and toward both the improvement

of social system service delivery, inter and intra group relationships, as well as problem-solving capabilities. Ross and Lippitt,¹⁰⁴ within this orientation, stress the building of strong intergroup relationships in the community and the enhancement of the community's capacity to deal with its problems. On the other hand, Morris and Grosser¹⁰⁵ stress change in the use and allocation of resources and ways of obtaining those decisions which are required to produce such changes. There are two basic areas of agreement between these authors which relate to sources of social change, anticipated resistance to change and the nature of the community. First, all agree that group dissatisfaction with the system is a prime source of social change, change which is self initiated¹¹⁰ or the result of application of influence along with utilization of resources.¹¹¹ Second, all anticipated resistance to change but as implied above divergence in goals lead them in different directions resulting from the type of resistance anticipated. Ross¹¹² focuses upon building value and goal consensus as a means of handling resistance, while Lippitt¹¹³ focuses upon the releasing of the client system from internal resistances to change. Morris and Binstock¹¹⁴ focus upon the identification and neutralization of resistance within target organizations, while Grosser¹¹⁵ focuses upon the thrust of group action in quest of goals.

As can be noted in the above summary differences in the proponent approaches to community organization and social planning, rest primarily in the strategies to be employed.

Ross¹¹⁶ focuses upon the development of structures identified as community associations as the vehicle for strengthening group cohesion. Lippitt¹¹⁷ relies on the use of relationship between change agents and the client system to develop understanding and improvement of functioning directed toward produce the client system's use of cooperation and conflict to cope with the environment. Lippitt also emphasizes flexibility in change agent selection and use of behaviors appropriate to each phase of the change process. Morris and Binstock¹¹⁸ focus upon rational goal setting, tailored to the availability of resources, to overcome the resistance assumed to exist in organizations. They do appear to accept the notion that conflict and power are essential aspects of community life to be utilized in problem solution. These proponents strongly emphasize the importance of feedback, reassessment, and modification of tactics throughout the change process. Grosser¹¹⁹ suggests that the stimulation and organization of poor people are basic to the struggle for power and the securing of greater benefits from the society. It is quite obvious that Grosser acknowledges power and conflict as facts of life and promotes their use in change processes.

In our attempt to identify the connections and linkages between the different segments of the field of community organization and social planning, Rothman¹²⁰ proposes the following typology of community organization and social planning practice:¹²¹

TABLE 2.1

Strengthening Community Participation and Integration

Major Proponent - Murray G. Ross¹⁰⁶

Assumptions

1. the community is a composite of large subgroups, each with its own cohesion,
2. leadership of the subgroups reflect the values of the subgroup,
3. human organisms and subgroups desire change and are capable of developing problem-solving capacities through experience,
4. technological development is the major source of social changes and have resulted in dislocations and high social costs,
5. motivation to plan is based on dissatisfaction with a situation and desire to alter it which results in more permanent change than that which is imposed from outside,
6. change will lead to conflicts,
7. irrational conflict is the result of lack of skills in collaboration and conferencing,
8. community integration is influenced by factors such as its history and structure, mobility of its population, patterns of role definition, and its decision-making processes.

TABLE 2.1 (Continued . . .)

Task

1. development of community associations
2. production of group integration through the reduction of impersonality, disorganization and alienation.

Worker Role

1. guide - helps the community establish and reach its own goals
2. enabler - facilitates identification of unmet needs and strategy development
3. social therapist/expert - facilitates achievement of self-awareness as a way of relieving tensions via provision of information and advice.

TABLE 2.2

Enhancing Coping Capacities

Major Proponent - Ronald Lippitt¹⁰⁷

Assumptions

1. social problems result from faulty distribution of power
2. social problems result from faulty mobilization of energy
3. social problems result from faulty communication and perceptions of one's environment
4. social systems move toward "steady states" in terms of both structure and process
5. when established patterns of coping are rendered obsolete by external change, the "steady state" is upset
6. problems of internal disruption and conflict are major stimuli for change
7. strains among the parts of a system reinforced by boundary maintenance activity lead to development of problem-solving procedures and structures.
8. hostility toward change stems from distorted perceptions and ignorance of reality.

Task

1. strengthen the relationship of a client system to its environment.

TABLE 2.2 (Continued . . .)

2. building of a client system's capabilities for adjusting to changes in the future.

Worker Role

1. catalyst - stimulates awareness of problems, creates climate for analysis, improved communications, and encourages belief in the possibility of change
2. expert - provides information and advice
3. implementer - builds new power centers, develops new programs, and when necessary uses legal authority to produce change
4. researcher - contributes to the development of skills and knowledge of the profession.

TABLE 2.3

Improving Social Conditions and Services

Major proponents - Robert Morris and Robert Binstock¹⁰⁸

Assumptions

1. community consists of individuals and groups with different and often conflicting interests and needs
2. organizational power tends to be centralized in the hands of a few
3. change is possible when unsatisfactory states of affairs arise which upset the "steady state",
4. organizations will resist changes that threaten their cohesion, values, or their autonomy
5. planning requires that there exist dissatisfaction on the part of an organization and a commitment by the organization to work for change.
6. planners will intervene out of a concern for human need, desire to learn or experiment, response to outside forces, and desire for change that will help to achieve other goals.

Task

1. analyzing how the policies of a formal organization can be changed
2. assessing the relationships between the planners' influence for achieving their preference goal, and resistance of the organization whose policies they want to change,

TABLE 2.3 (Continued . . .)

3. defining the major interests of the power elite within the target organization.

Worker Role

1. examination of the pathways through which influence for change can be exercised
2. selection of planner resources that are most appropriate to the situation
3. matching of pathways and planner resources.

TABLE 2.4

Advancing the Interests of Disadvantaged Groups

Major Proponent - Charles F. Grosser¹⁰⁹

Assumptions

1. influence is unequally distributed in the society
2. persons who are recipients of this unequal distribution of influence, primarily the poor and disadvantaged, exhibit apathy and inaction due to socialization processes which are systematically operationalized.

Task

1. engage the "poor" in the decision-making process of the community to overcome apathy and estrangement
2. realignment of power resources of the community by creating channels through which the consumers of social welfare services can define their problems and goals, while also developing skills in negotiation.

Worker Role

1. enabler - facilitate assessment of community needs and promote self-initiated actions relative to those needs
2. broker (collective) - seeks administrative and policy changes that affect classes of persons

TABLE 2.4 (Continued . . .)

3. advocate partisan - provide leadership and resources directed toward eliciting information, supporting of positions, and challenging organizational policy and stance,
4. activist - actively committed to one side of conflict situations.

Locality Development and Organization

The goal of this type practice is self-help and unity of community groups. It is assumed that there is a commonality of interests among different groups, and the overall strategy is directed toward communication and consensus. The worker's role encompasses enabler, catalyst, coordinator, and educator functions.

Community Planning

The goal of this type practice is problem-solving of substantive social problems involving consumers of service. It is assumed that change can be brought about through rational decision-making. Consensus or conflict may be employed as a strategy with worker's role encompassing expert, fact finder, analysis, program implementor and facilitator functions.

Social Action

The goal of this type practice is change in power relationships and resources involving disadvantaged segments of the community. It is assumed that these community subunits desire change and participation in the formulation of directions of that change. Helping the disadvantaged groups to organize, to crystallize action, issues, and to engage in conflict-oriented action against the power structure are primary strategies. Worker's role encompasses catalyst, enabler, expert, broker, advocate, activist, and educator functions.

We conclude that aside from the areas of agreement and disagreement in the conceptual approaches to community organization and social planning, they are all based on "a rational planning model that proceeds from a primary goal to an examination of alternative strategies, and then. . . to the choice of particular tactics or actions . . . (and) inherent in all these approaches is the assumption that planned change in human affairs is indeed possible."¹²²

Understanding that (1) the characteristics of the organizational context have significant impact upon the tasks of the community organization practitioner, (2) and that these tasks will and do vary relative to purpose, content, power position, and structure of the subunits in the organization, (3) and that resistance to change is ever present, and (4) facilitative avenues in this social structure must be found to minimize obstacles and maximize opportunity to change agents and subunits to proceed. James, cited by Perlman and Gurin,¹²³ said it in other words: "The world resists some lines of attack on our part and opens herself to others, so that we must go with the grain of her willingness."¹²⁴ Based upon the propensity of Americans to form associations for the purposes of organization, protest and plan for change in those conditions which adversely impact them, Perlman and Gurin suggest one method which conceptualizes community organization and social planning practice for social action.¹²⁵ The five-step process includes problem identification, structure building, formulation, implementation, and monitoring tasks for the practitioner. It is our opinion that proper tools must be available and usable for the process to be operationalized with some constancy, consistency and rationality. Of prime consideration for the utilization of proper tools is in the problem identification and needs-assessment step. The implementation of this process in our opinion, would be facilitated by practitioner utilization of information regarding the distribution

TABLE 2.5

Analytical and Interactional Tasks by Phases of Problem Solving

	<u>Analytical Tasks</u>	<u>Interactional Tasks</u>
1. Defining the problem	In preliminary terms studying and describing the problematic aspects of a situation. Conceptualizing the system of relevant actors. Assessing what opportunities and limits are set by the organization employing the practitioner and by other actors.	Eliciting and receiving information, and preferences from those experiencing the problem, and other sources.
2. Building structure	Determining the nature of the practitioner's relationship to various actors. Deciding on types of structures to be developed. Choosing people for roles as experts, communicators, influencers, and the like.	Establishing formal and informal communication lines. Recruiting people into the selected structures and roles and obtaining their commitments to address the problem.
3. Formulating	Analyzing past efforts to deal with the problem. Developing alternative goals and strategies, assessing	Communicating alternative goals and strategies to selected actors. Promoting their expression of preferences and testing

TABLE 2.5 (Continued . . .)

	their possible consequences and feasibility. Selecting one or more for recommendation to decision makers.	acceptance of various alternatives. Assisting decision makers to choose.
4. Implementing plans	Specifying what tasks need to be performed to achieve agreed upon goals, by whom, when, and with what resources and procedures.	Presenting requirements to decision-makers, overcoming resistances, and obtaining commitments to the program. Marshalling resources and putting procedures into operation.
5. Monitoring	Designing systems for collecting information on operations. Analyzing feedback data and specifying adjustments needed and/or new problems that require planning and action.	Obtaining information from relevant actors based on their experience. Communicating findings and recommendations and preparing actors for new rounds of decisions to be made.

of power and influence in given communities. Such information is useful because social change practitioners must deal with various levels of power in the practice of community organization and social planning, whether it be city-wide planning, coordination, fund raising, or development of grass root organizations. The practitioner needs to know and clearly identify the sources of power and influence if there is to be any probability of replication of success in the modification or rearrangement of social structures and practices in the community. The manipulation of community political processes requires the practitioner to be knowledgeable of the forces impinging upon policy outcomes and factors influencing electorate behavior.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The political subsystem is one aspect of community wherein many decisions concerning policies and practices are made which bear directly upon the clientele and constituencies of human service organizations. Practitioner knowledge as to the factors which shape those decisions can have significant importance to change agent activity. Political scientists have accumulated a wealth of data which is highly related to the practice of community organization and social planning. One can readily infer the transferability of political science concepts to community practice concerns upon inspection of the major categories of analysis in the discipline, i.e., variables which influence political

participation and voting behavior, policy outputs and impact, and political actor behavior.¹²⁷

The electorate in the political system is composed of the voting citizens whose attitudes, interests, values, and desires become mobilized in specific political behavior patterns. The electorate in one sense provides the energy which operationalizes the political system and do decide who will process throughout on a variety of issues that are significant to community life. The resulting decisions concerning services and programs are called policy outputs. Rothman¹²⁸ argues that historical, socioeconomic, and social structural influences play significant roles in the conditioning of policy output. We would extend that argument to include the electorate also being a potent force in the policy establishment process. Historical influences appear to be significant factors in predicting policy outcomes because the past experience of a governmental unit tends to condition the decision makers to at least be consistent and the community to perceive this consistency as acceptable and necessary. Historically positive or negative experiences in a policy area tends to generate levels of expenditures strongly associated with previously established levels of expenditure.¹²⁹ Thus if an organization has had positive experience with a policy innovation and corresponding expenditures have supported the innovation the decision makers will be consistent in their positive support of that innovation and the community

will expect the same. Negative experience with policy innovation will result in opposite behaviors.

Hofferbert studied twenty-one socioeconomic variables over the 1890-1960 period and determined that only urbanization and cultural enrichment remained stable as variables promoting voter turnout and partisan preference. He concluded based upon his findings that socioeconomic variables which influence "voter turnout and partisan preferences were highly fluid over time."¹³⁰ Thomas found that the impact of socioeconomic factors on policy outcomes varied greatly with the political context of the election.¹³¹ It appears that the variable nature of the association of historical and socioeconomic factors upon policy decisions would require practitioners to insure that new programs and proposals for new programs be viewed as logical outcomes of successfully established programs which would promote support from decision makers and community residents. It would also appear logical for practitioners to assess historical electoral patterns in an attempt to gauge political climate relative to the change target of the program.

Structurally the political party has significant impact upon policy output. Cowart¹³², Hofferbert¹³³, Pulsipher and Weatherby¹³⁴, support the notion that when party competition increases policy outputs also increase although none of these researchers found perfect associations. On the other side of the coin Crittendon¹³⁵, Sharkansky¹³⁶, and Cepuran¹³⁷ suggest that the party competition is dependent

upon socioeconomic factors as it impacts policy outcomes . Generally environmental and structural factors (competition between parties) influence policy outputs and increase in party competition may increase policy output. Dye¹³⁸ observed that environmental forces appear to directly influence educational policy outcomes without being mediated by structural factors such as type of governmental structure or the existence of elected or appointed policy makers. Froman¹³⁹ studied variables such as size of city, and a number of community population characteristics to determine their impact upon policy formation. He found evidence in a national sample that homogenous communities tend to support policies that were universalistic to the community. Homogenous communities were those generally referred to as suburbs and their support was for policies which affected the total community population rather than those which had a selective affect upon specific components of the population. Heterogeneous communities tended to support policies that were particularistic or that affected different subpopulations at different times.

It is concluded that in the policy area the past historical experiences of a community have a strong association with policy outcomes and that practitioners' awareness of this fact should promote investigation of the historical patterns of political behaviors of a community to identify trends of support and rejection of various social change issues.

This information could be useful in the structuring of change alternatives that appear consistent with previously supported changes. We also conclude that political parties play a valuable role in the production of policy outputs. Party competitiveness is positively associated with increased policy output; however, the nature of the community also has significant influence. Practitioners would be advised to attempt to manipulate both the party system and the community characteristics in order to increase the likelihood of increased policy outputs. Political mobilization and the design of proposals for change to fit the population and political character of the community are critical components of strategy to produce support for desired changes in the policy arena. Political mobilization is facilitated by manipulation of the partisan political character of the town, and proposals with general public concern as a focus tend to be supported by suburban type communities while urbanized communities respond to proposals with direct sub-population benefits.

ELECTORATE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION - Who Votes

The basic categories of analysis of electorate behavior are characteristics of the community, attributes of the individual voter, and the structure of the election process. These categories are used to explain electoral voting patterns and are important to this study. One of the most widely analyzed variables is social class or some aspects

of class such as income, education, occupation, etc. There is strong evidence of variance of relationship between these variables and voter participation. In general it has been found that high position on social class variables is positively correlated with high voter participation.¹⁴⁰

Practitioners might use such information as the basis for prediction of degrees of voter turnout in support or opposition of a given issue. It also suggests to the practitioner who is interested in mobilization for voting participation which groups might be easiest to mobilize and those which would require extensive resources to mobilize their voter participation potential. Political information appears critical to this mobilization process for better informed electorate appear more easily mobilized to vote. The dissemination of this political information has strong implications for community adult education programs.¹⁴¹

It is evident from the literature that the quantity of participation varies between social classes but so does there exist significant differences in the type of issues supported by electorate of various social class strata. Lower socioeconomic status electorates tend to support issues that favor their group and individual interests while high socioeconomic status electorate support issues that are formulated in terms of general benefit to the entire community.¹⁴² The highest support for human services issues such as better education and housing opportunity, is found in the lower socioeconomic status groups. Higher status groups do not

tend to support human service issues which appear to benefit lower status groups based upon values and perceptions which promote the belief in individual ability and motivation as the source of social mobility.¹⁴³ That belief in liberalism generates much hostility towards many human services programs because of the appearance that specific citizens benefit from the efforts of the higher status group. This type of socioeconomic cleavage and conflict at times acts as a catalyst for increased voter turnout.¹⁴⁴ Practitioners should consider the social class variable patterns as an aid in the prediction of whether persons will support or oppose particular issues in local politics. Lower socioeconomic status groups will support human service issues that specifically benefit them while high socioeconomic status groups will tend to support general benefit issues and proposals. It must be noted that social class influence does not explain overall patterns of partisanship but that influence is reflected in specific issues such as government programs to improve the position of the poor¹⁴⁵, civil liberties issues¹⁴⁶, etc. Support varies among groups relative to these specific and collective benefit programs. Identification of social characteristics of the electorate would be valuable allies to more rigorous research design as well as to community action efforts that encompass situations wherein lower socioeconomic status groups are mobilized for participation in the political process.

Structurally the American political party system in concert with other reference groups exercises a great deal of

influence over those who vote and are politically active.¹⁴⁷ Parties are substantial in the amount of influence they wield and based upon that conclusion it seems logical for practitioners to strive to utilize party influence in social action activity. Practitioners may wish to actively participate in overt political party activity by affiliating with local party groups. Depending upon the partisan history of the community, practitioners may structure their programs to deliberately promote specific party association in efforts to mold political opinion. In those cases where a community may not have a dominant partisan history generation of support for policy innovation may require practitioners to structure issues and programs to respond to the collective and selective needs of the various community subunits. In those instances where there are partisan patterns identified, high rates of voter participation can result from practitioner structuring of issues and programs to resemble the partisan stature of the locally dominant party.

Political participation is influenced by attitudes and participation models which the individual acquires through previous participation and experience with other groups, associations, or organizations. Participation varies directly with socioeconomic variables such as education, income, and occupation. The higher status held the higher is the rate of electoral participation.¹⁴⁸ Political participation is positively related to success with other types of participation and successful participation promotes higher

propensity for more participation. The intensity of participation is affected by the level of conflict associated with the issues or proposals being voted on and high conflict produces high voter turnout. Motivation to vote in electoral situations may be increased by elevating the conflict and emotion through the campaign and the pattern of electoral reaction is influenced by structural, community, and social class variables.¹⁴⁹

SUMMARY

Social conflict as a theoretical construct exists within and between interacting human populations. Our search for a basis upon which analysis and understanding of this phenomenon could take place revealed the existence of variables which explain and rationalize the existence of social conflict, mechanisms utilized to pursue group interests, and methods of systemic standardization of the conflict. Within every community there exist established patterns or relationship which vary from place to place, which have an effect upon parties in conflict situations. The pattern of priority interest in this study involves the political subsystem. For the purposes of this dissertation we see the political subsystem as encompassing those patterns of human relationships that involve exercise of power, rule, or authority, designed to normalize community conflict so as to keep the overall social system from being torn apart. Of priority interest to our study are those electoral behaviors which were directed toward affecting decisional outcomes of

government.

The public controversy central to this study highlights social conflict as a structural state resulting from changes in community patterns of access to resources, cultural values and norms, and the potential effect of these changes upon other established community patterns. The activities of the Lansing Board of Education, the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and other organizations, as well as the mayoral candidate supporters, each striving for a desirable state of affairs relative to the redistribution of resources and the equal access question, represent in our opinion, examples of social conflict. The ultimate recall campaign and elections represent competition for scarce positions, wherein the competing parties sought policy making control over the school organization and local government. In this study the pro and anti desegregationists assumed opposing positions with regard to the implementation of desegregation policy in the Lansing school district. The national party platforms provided support for this local factionalism. The local mayoral candidates also appeared to reinforce the factionalism although little was publicized about their stands on the school issue during their campaigns. The factionalism may have been symbolized by the racial differences between the candidates which appears to have triggered the same reaction of the electorate on both these local contests. The resulting electoral competition provides a basis for the investigation of the conflicts between various segments of the Lansing community. The electorate were in

effect exchanging their ballots for goods, in the form of policy influence and actual replacement of specific school policy makers who were symbolic of the changes affecting established community patterns. The mayoral election came on the heels of the court decisions which seems to have turned the tables in favor of the racial minorities by nullifying the local anti bussing electorate win at the polls. The impact of the court decisions upon the electorate behaviors may be clarified based upon the type of associations we can derive from our overall data analysis. The Lansing, Michigan electoral behaviors will provide data upon which we may assess the interaction between the votes and other specified variables while demonstrating the utility of political behavior research method as a diagnostic tool for the assessment of community subunit exercise of political power. We will later describe the integration of such methods with community organization and social planning practice.

FOOTNOTES

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55. Coser, L., op. cit.; Mack R. "The Components of Social Conflict," Social Problems, vol. 12, Spring, 1965.
56. Mack, R., op. cit.
57. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization sponsored the International Sociological Association's meeting in Paris, France, 1957.
58. Lewin, K. Resolving Social Conflicts. New York: Harper and Brothers 1948, p. 89; Mercer, B.E., The American Community. New York: Random House, 1956, pp. 178-79; Bernard, J.S., op. cit.; Pear, T.H. "The Psychological Study of Tension and Conflict," in The Nature of Conflict, op. cit.; Lipset, S.M., et al. "The Psychology of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behavior", Social Psychology, Vol. 2, 1954.
59. See Bernard, J.S., op. cit., p. 116, and Sherief, Muzafer (ed.) Intergroup Relations and Leadership. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962, pp. 8-9.
60. Jackson, J.D. Toward a Theory of Social Conflict: A Study of French-English Relations in an Ontario Community. East Lansing: Michigan State University, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1967, p. 18.
61. Bernard, J.S., op. cit., p. 112; Boulding, K.E. Conflict and Defense; A General Theory. New York: Harper, 1962, p. 5; Dahrendorf, R., op. cit., p. 135.

62. Coser, L., op. cit., p. 1; Bernard, J.S., op. cit., p. 38 and 112; Williams, R., op. cit., p. 43.
63. Coser, L., op. cit., p. 8.
64. Mack, R., op. cit., p. 394.
65. Horowitz, I.L., op. cit.; Horton, J., op. cit.; Dahrendorf, R., op. cit.
66. Carver, T.N. Speech given at American Sociological Society Meeting 1907, cited by Coser, L., op. cit., p. 15.
67. Coser, L., op. cit., p. 16,
68. Coser, L., op. cit., p. 20.
69. Ibid.
70. Cooley, C.H. Social Organization. New York: Scribner's and Son, 1909, p. 199; cited by Coser, L., op. cit., p. 20, parenthesis this authors.
71. Fairweather, G.W. Methods of Experimental Social Innovation, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968, p. 19.
72. Dahrendorf, R., op. cit., p. 163.
73. Hillary, G.A. "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement", Rural Sociology, vol. 20, June, 1955.
74. Ibid., p. 119.
75. Lenski, op. cit.
76. Jackson, J., op. cit., p. 43.
77. Jackson, J., op. cit., p. 44.
78. Warren, R.L., op. cit., p. 162.
79. Schattschneider, E.B., op. cit.
80. Coleman, J. Community Conflict. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957.
81. Ibid., p. 21.
82. Dahrendorf, R., op. cit., pp. 212-213.
83. See Parsons, T. The Social System. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951, pp. 36-39; Johnson, H.M. Sociology: A Systematic Introduction. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1960, pp. 19-21; Jackson, J.,

op. cit., pp. 33-34; Dahrendorf, R., op. cit., pp. 223-224; Horowitz, I.L., op. cit., p. 183; Duben, R., "Industrial Conflict and Social Welfare," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 1, June 1957, p. 187.

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86. Jackson, J., op. cit., p. 36.
87. Coser, L., op. cit., p. 78.
88. Lipset, S., et al., op. cit.
89. Klenk, R. & R. Ryan. The Practice of Social Work, Wadsworth Publishing Co, Belmont, California, 1974, p.294.
90. Ibid., p. 300.
91. Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 12.
92. Lindeman, E. The Community. New York: Association Press, 1921, cited by Perlman, R. & A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 34.
93. Harper, E. and A. Dunham (eds.) Community Organization in Action, New York: Association Press, 1954; also see Klenk, R. & R. Ryan, op. cit., pp. 275-352.
94. Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 36, taken from Schwartz, M. (ed.), Defining Community Organization Practice, New York: NASW, 1962.
95. Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 8.
96. Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 9.
97. Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 10.
98. Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 38.
99. Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 14.
100. Notable proponents of this view include Ross, M. and B. Lappin, op. cit.

101. Notable proponents of this view include Lippitt, R., J. Watson, and B. Westley. The Dynamics of Planned Change, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1958.
102. Notable proponents of this view include Morris, R., and R. Binstock. Reasonable Planning for Social Change. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1966.
103. Many authors have contributed to this view but in the opinion of Perlman and Gurin (op. cit.) the most notable is Grosser, C.F., "Community Development Programs Serving the Urban Poor," Social Work, New York: NASW, Vol. 10, #3, July 1965, pp. 15-21.
104. See footnotes 100 & 101.
105. See footnotes 102 & 103.
106. See Ross, M., op. cit., and Lippitt, R., et al., op. cit., cited in Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., pp. 46-47.
107. Lippitt, R., et al., op. cit.
108. See Morris, R. and R. Binstock, op. cit., and Grosser, C.F., op. cit., cited in Ibid.
109. Grosser, C.F., op. cit.
110. Ross, M., op. cit.
111. Morris, R. and R. Binstock, op. cit.
112. Ross, M., op. cit.
113. Lippitt, R., et al., op. cit.
114. Morris, R. and R. Binstock, op. cit.
115. Grosser, C.F., op. cit.
116. Ross, M., op. cit.
117. Lippitt, R., op. cit.
118. Morris, R. and R. Binstock, op. cit.
119. Grosser, C.F., op. cit.
120. Rothman, J. "Three Models of Community Organization Practice," Social Work Practice, New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1968.

121. These are ideal types and are not expected to exist in practice in the exact form proposed by Rothman. As with all typologies this one suffers from the mixed bag syndrome which highlights the lack of mutual exclusiveness between types.
122. Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 47; also p. 58 for their version of the community organization and social planning process which when condensed could take this form:
 - (a) problem identification
 - (b) establishment of structural and communication linkages for problem consideration and analysis.
 - (c) study of alternative solutions and adoption of policy
 - (d) development and implementation of a program plan
 - (e) monitoring and feedback
123. Perlman, R. and A. Gurin, op. cit., p. 5.
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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

In Chapter One the purpose, background, and rationale for this dissertation were discussed. Chapter Two focused upon review of the literature on social conflict, traced the development and operation of community organization and social planning practice, and also identified applicable political science research to community organization practice. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the procedures and methodology utilized in this study. Following a brief introduction to the method and discussion of voting behavior studies which utilize aggregate data focus will be upon the general framework developed to direct this demonstration and procedures followed in the completion of this study.

DESIGN

The utilization of research methods for investigation of social problems is not new in the social sciences. Perhaps no category of social science research is more widely used than that which is referred to as the survey, normative survey or descriptive research. Surveys are oriented towards "the determination of the status of a given phenomenon as opposed to the isolation of causative factors."¹⁵⁰ Surveys

are usually based upon large cross sectional samples. They differ from case studies in that they are not geared to the more intense and longitudinal study of small samples designed to isolate the circumstances which promote the creation of the phenomenon under study. Descriptive surveys, which begin with a definite problem and seek to eventually derive generalizations, have offered much utility to social science research efforts through the use observation, interview, questionnaires, etc. The data obtained through this type of research has in essence been avoided by practitioners but nonetheless it has merit and reliability in terms of production of valid generalizations applicable to community practice.

Due to the fact that practitioners do face realistic limitations in the acquisition of knowledge about communities which may be used as a basis for rational decisions regarding social action intervention, it is our intension to demonstrate one descriptive method by which these practitioners can not only identify community conditions that may require change but also identify potential sources of support for those changes.¹⁵¹ The purpose of demonstration is to "persuade others to accept . . . an approach that is operationally useful and desirable. . ."¹⁵² It is particularly appropriate for the problem under consideration because of the limited attention given by practitioners to the two interdependent aspects of voting behavior, level of voting participation and specific issue content. It is the

intent of this dissertation to formulate practice guidelines which would enable practitioners to predict and influence broad community participation in electoral politics. Political participation and social action are syntonically related and in the achievement of human services objectives require manipulation of the political processes of a community. The understanding of ballot box behaviors of specific community subunits is an ideal entry point for social action planning. Data for this research was obtained by observing and analyzing the Lansing community during the 1972-73 election period as the community subunits participate in the resolution of conflict at the ballot box. The application of this research to community organization and social planning practice seems appropriate at this time due to the fact that the avoidance of the assessment of overt political behaviors, by practitioners, results in loss of knowledge of significant political trends which could contribute diagnostically to fuller understanding of the subject community, social change trends, and location of support or avenues to support for various community changes.

The study of exercise of political strength within or between communities may be classified into six basic types of voting behavior studies.¹⁵³ The classifications include the hypothesis-testing exploratory study, the mass tabulation case study, the comparative statistical survey, the single-hypothesis trend study, the hypothesis-testing factorial analysis, and the community dynamic type. Although

these categories are not exactly discrete and mutually exclusive, we are demonstrating here the first type, the hypothesis-testing exploratory study. The investigator in such studies "assumes the significance of a proposition on the basis of a mere hunch . . . and collects and orders voting data in a manner designed to demonstrate the truth or falsity of his proposition. Studies of this type are initiated by intuitions and carried out in specific election situations with no attempt at systematic exploration of hypotheses over a span of several elections (and) . . . there is no exploration of alternative hypotheses."¹⁵⁴ Although Eldersveld points out that the contribution of this type of study to theory construction is negligible he also points out that this approach to the study of voting behavior "produces results which may satisfy curiosity or may provoke further research."¹⁵⁵

Such studies are primarily investigatory in nature in that they are a functional form of research which can furnish information necessary for the creation and implementation of more detailed and rigorous research design. The data generated from this research technique will be used to formulate practice guidelines which would enable practitioners to promote broad and advantageous community participation in electoral politics. The meritoriousness of the guidelines would be determined by further research efforts.

The objective of this study is to demonstrate the utility of political behavior analysis to community organization and social planning practice through the use of

hypothesis trend exploratory voting behavior technique. Studies of this type depend basically upon aggregate data which "consists of distributions of whole populations, the categories of various systems of classification, without providing information about which category any particular unit of any population falls into."¹⁵⁶ Ranney notes that the greater proportion of studies of electoral behavior since the 1940's have relied upon aggregate data, and he argues that the basic reason for this is due to the limited facilities and skills possessed by researchers required to do sound survey research.¹⁵⁷ The use of aggregate data in any voting behavior research provides for a number of advantages. It is easily available and the analysis is relatively inexpensive. There is a large body of data "rich in its variety and coverage, and easily and cheaply accessible to individual scholars."¹⁵⁸ This fact promotes replication and comparative studies on a wide scale. Another advantage of aggregate data is that for "finding answers to many questions about electorate behavior, they are the hardest data we can get in the sense that their meaning and comparability vary less from area to area, from time to time, and from study to study, than do most survey data."¹⁵⁹ Aggregate data provide for no direct interaction with the electorate, which virtually eliminates the problem of interview bias relative to sample survey methods. Other utility values of aggregate data analysis are that they provide

information for the validation of various survey studies utilizing sample data and suggests hypothesis for further investigation by both individual and other aggregate researchers. These studies also "help overcome the time bound and place limitations of most sample survey studies."¹⁶⁰ Key suggests that if the specialist in electoral behavior is to be a student of politics, his major concern must be the population of elections, not the population of individual voters.¹⁶¹ He concludes that one does not gain an understanding of elections by the simple cumulation of findings from the microscopic analysis of the individual in the system. Although this may appear as an indictment against all individually oriented research, it should be noted that Key also argued that the most ideal analysis of electorate behavior would be a combination of both aggregate and individual investigations.

An assumption underlying the use of aggregate data is that electorates are no less significant as units of political analysis than individual voters. If the sole objective of an inquiry is the behavior of electorates then the analysis of the units playing special and significant roles in the political process are thus worthy of analysis in their own right. It is also argued that if "aggregate data studies carefully and thoroughly identify and describe recurring patterns of preference and turnout characteristics of particular electorates over time . . . they can be valuable allies to the sample survey in the investigation of electoral

behavior.¹⁶²

With the contemporary emphasis and status placed upon individual analysis in most of the social sciences, one could conclude that the objections to aggregate data studies are mostly in the area of loss of the individual in the analysis. Aggregate data analysis can not be adequately used to describe and explain the behavior of individual voters and it can not be relied upon to produce reliable descriptions or explanations of behavior of individual voters.¹⁶³ Aside from the theoretical and philosophical disadvantages there are technical disadvantages to the use of aggregate data and political analysis. Errors are inevitable in the counting of votes and the reporting of these results which means "that official election returns are always only an approximate, never an exact picture of the voters will."¹⁶⁴ Another technical disadvantage takes the form of rare coincidence of census tracts and election precinct boundaries. Thus determination of various social and economic characteristics of the population could be tenuous. This lack of coterminal boundaries for all precincts and census tracts could neutralize direct application of statistical correlation unless there is preliminary manipulation of the data.¹⁶⁵

The plan followed in this demonstration includes gathering of electorate voting data from the 1972 general election votes for the Republican and Democratic parties, and the School Board recall vote of that same period. We also

will gather the November 1973 Lansing mayoral election tabulated votes. The analysis of these elections will be done by concentrating upon the following variables: percent yes recall vote, percent Republican party vote cast in the general election of 1972, and the percent vote for the white mayoral candidate in November 1973. The basic interest is to demonstrate one method for the assessment of the extent of relationship between the non partisan school issue votes for recall and the partisan and non partisan candidate votes during the 1972-73 election period. These data will be the result of votes cast from 76 of the 81 electoral precincts in the Lansing community. The omitted precincts were excluded due to insufficient voting data and location outside the official city boundaries which placed them outside the county boundaries. The included precincts represent approximately 95% of the Lansing voting population. Voting data were obtained from the office of the Lansing city clerk; census data from the 1970 Federal census report for Lansing, Michigan; and the school information was obtained from the Lansing schools census records 1973. Census and school information such as race, income, education, schools serving the area, whether or not the area is involved in the bussing plan, will be applied to patterns of voting behavior for precincts which appear deviant from the overall pattern in the electoral clusters. Deviant precincts will be those cases which are plus or minus 1.5 standard deviation units from the mean in percent vote on the recall and

party variables, and plus or minus 1.0 standard deviation units from the mean in percent vote on the Graves variable.

The proposition upon which this demonstration rests is that the conflict groups on the school issue are the same as those on the partisan and non partisan political levels. To test this proposition we propose the following hypotheses:

1. The relationship between percent yes recall and percent Republican party votes will be positive. Null: there will be zero correlation between percent yes recall and percent Republican party votes cast.
2. The relationship between percent yes recall and percent vote for the white mayoral candidate will be positive. Null: there will be zero correlation between percent yes recall and percent Graves vote cast.
3. The relationship between Graves vote, and percent Republican party vote for president 1972 will be positive. Null: there will be zero correlation between percent for Graves and percent Republican party vote cast.

ANALYSIS

There are two parts to our analysis procedure. The first will include construction of scattergrams and computation of rank order correlation to determine not only the

extent of precinct exercise of political strength related to party, recall, and the mayoral candidate, but also to determine the extent of consistency in rank position held per these variables. Assuming that voters tend to vote consistently for the candidates and issues related to candidates of the same party, it is assumed that the Lansing electorate will consistently cast a majority of their vote for the same party, party related issues and candidates. Although this pattern of consistency is not completely universal in the literature it is persistent enough to result in a relatively stable pattern in electoral behavior.

Diagnosis of this pattern in a local community's ballot box behaviors could provide for possible practice implications. If a strong dependent relationship is found between partisan and nonpartisan ballot box behaviors, it would suggest practitioners in the political process arena strive to heighten the sense of party competition which on the local level would increase the extent of participation and turnout which has direct impact upon policy outputs. If a weak relationship is found it may suggest practitioner structuring of issues in such a way as to respond to both collective and particularistic expectations of the target or client population. Rank order correlation will test the extent of dependence and independence of the partisan and nonpartisan variables over the time period of interest. The rank order correlation formula used in this analysis is:

$$R' = 1 - \frac{6 \sum D^2}{n(n+1) (n-1)}$$

SUMMARY

This chapter has described the use of voting behavior research to provide demonstration of an innovative use of political behavior analysis of aggregate electorate behaviors as a diagnostic tool in assessment of exercise of political power at the ballot box and location of sources of support for specific social changes. Our hypotheses relate to the proposition that the conflict groups on the Lansing school issue were the same groups on the partisan political level. Of importance in these findings is not only the issue of correlation between the ranks of electorate behavior, but also the utility of a political research method as a diagnostic procedure for the assessment of political power exercise in particular segments of the community and the promulgation of practice guidelines which would apply to the enhancement of electoral participation. The identification of positive relationships between partisan and non partisan political behaviors would suggest the need for participation strategies encompassing manipulation of party competition as it relates to policy outputs. Such findings would mean that the Lansing electorate is responsive to party clues, which facilitate local electoral decisions, at the ballot box. Weak correlation would suggest high independence of the partisan and non partisan variables and in addition participation strategies structured to encompass both particularistic and collective appeals.

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CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

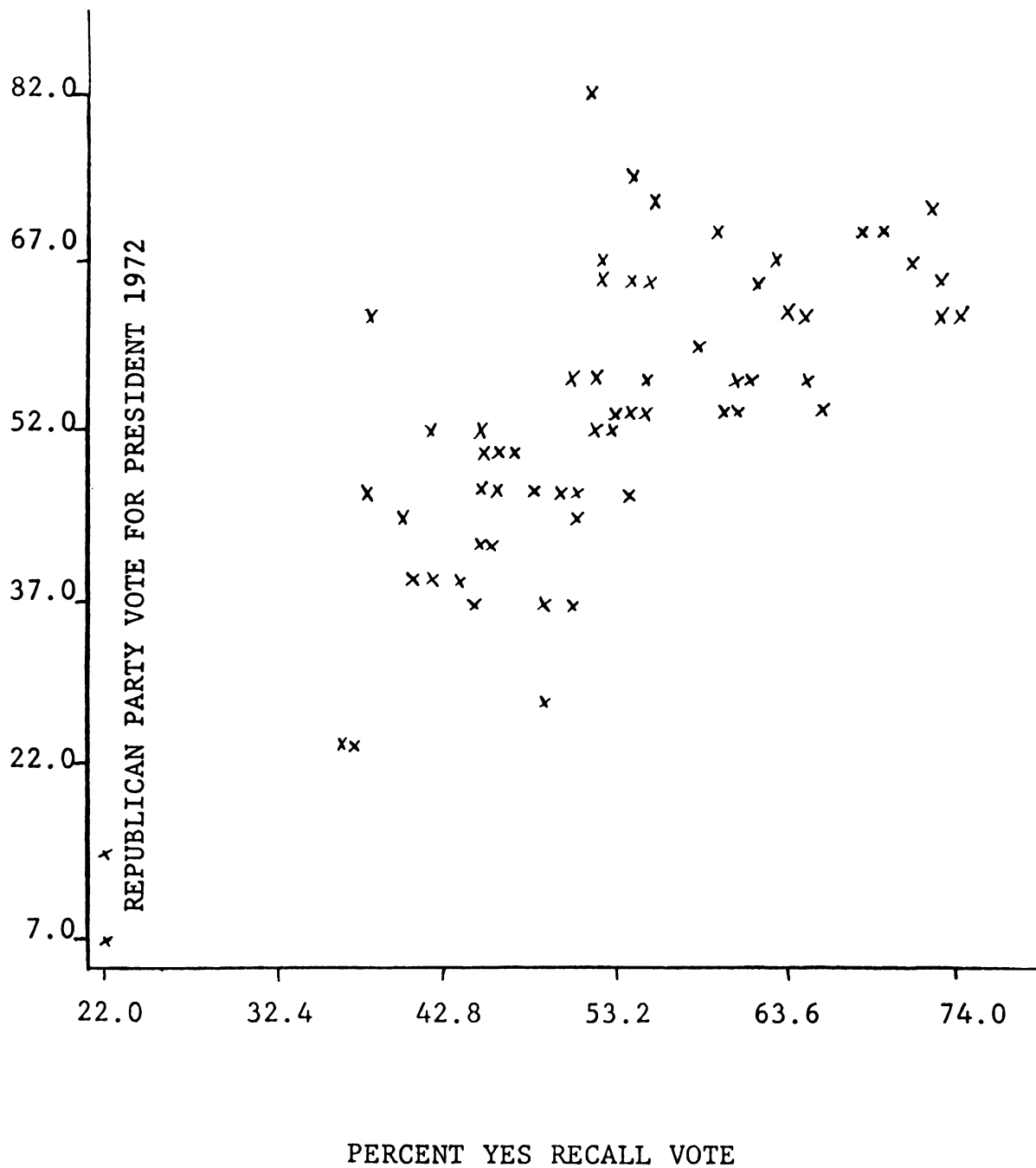
The purpose of this chapter is to present findings which have been generated from the data gathered and analyzed. Previous studies of voting behavior have shown persistence of voter tendencies to vote for candidates of the same political party election after election. Rank order correlation and indepth analysis of deviant precincts should provide evidence of the character of association between Republican party, Graves, and yes recall votes cast by the Lansing electorate during the period of time under study. Identification of the character of these associations in Lansing electoral politics should provide information upon which rational practice guidelines can be formulated.

Figure 4.1, percent yes recall and percent 1972 Republican party vote for President, depicts the pattern of the relationship of voting percentages between these two variables. The direction of the relationship is positive as is evident from the scattergram. The rank position correlation between position yes recall and the corresponding percent position Republican Party vote is .77 suggesting a fairly strong association although far from perfect, between these variables. Thus as percent yes recall vote increases the

percent Republican party vote also increases in a fairly stable pattern. There are precincts which are outside normally expected boundaries relative to percent vote on each variable. Based upon the fairly strong association and our initial research question we would assume strong percent vote correspondence throughout the distribution, i.e., those precincts which fall outside expected boundaries should be approximately the same on both variables. We have categorized the precincts which are deviant both high and low based upon their standard scores and have applied census and school characteristics to them in Table 4.1. It should be noted at this point that our application of social and school characteristics will be done based upon classifying recall and party vote percentages which have positive standard scores (1.5 standard deviation units or more above the mean as high) and those with negative standard scores (1.5 standard deviation units or more below the mean) as low for purposes of this analysis.

Inspection of Table 4.1, Deviant Yes Recall Percent Precincts, reveals those deviant precincts which are low to be largely composed of racial minorities with low educational attainment, less than average family income, and an average of 89% elementary school utilization per precinct. The high deviant precincts in this distribution are composed of almost exclusively Caucasians who are primarily high school graduates who earn average family incomes, and who average 93%

FIGURE 4.1
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RECALL
AND REPUBLICAN PARTY VOTE



elementary school utilization per precinct. The common condition that is unanimous with both high and low groups is their area public school involvement in the bussing plan. Table 4.2, Deviant Republican Percent Precincts, reveals that half of the low yes recall percent precincts were also low Republican percent precincts. The low Republican deviant Precincts had above average racial minority composition, below city average family income as well as lower percent educational attainment than the high deviant precinct. Percent utilization of public elementary school was also lower than the high deviant precinct. Approximately 80% of the high and low deviant precincts had their area public school involved in the bussing plan.

Figure 4.2, Percent yes recall and percent Graves vote, depicts the pattern of the relationship of voting percentages between these two variables. The direction of the relationship is positive and the rank order correlation for this distribution is .75 suggesting a fairly strong association between the variables. Thus Graves vote, just as the Republican party votes, increased with increase in yes recall vote. Table 4.3, Deviant Graves Percent Precincts, depicts the linkage between high deviance and low racial minority composition corresponded with low deviant vote in this distribution. High deviant voting precincts for Graves are likely to contain mostly high school graduates who earn above city average in family income and are quite likely to utilize public elementary

TABLE 4.1

DEVIAANT YES RECALL PERCENT PRECINCTS

Case No.	% Yes Recall	Z-score	Census No.	Ward	Pre-cinct	Med. Grade	% H.S. Grad	In-come	% Elem. Util.	Bussed Yes	No	Racial Group % B W SS
42	22	-2.91	18	3	1	11	35	7214	91	x		93 6 1
72	35	-1.73	16	4	15	12	63	12628	88	x	x	72 26 2
73	22	-2.91	16	4	16	12	63	12628	88	x		72 26 2
22	74	1.82	27	2	1	12	62	11536	97	x		1 96 3
31	73	1.72	37	2	10	12	57	11461	92	x		3 94 3
35	73	1.72	27	2	14	12	62	11536	97	x		1 96 3
36	73	1.72	28	2	15	12	67	11983	84	x		1 95 4
37	72	1.64	28	2	16	12	67	11983	84	x		1 97 2
52	73	1.72	25	3	11	13	76	13638	100	x		8 80 1

z-score rounded to nearest hundred

percentages rounded to nearest whole number

mean: .54

standard deviation: .11

TABLE 4.2
DEVIANT REPUBLICAN PERCENT PRECINCTS

Case No.	% Yes Recall	Z-score	Census No.	Ward	Precinct	Med. Grade	% H.S. Grad	In-come	% Elem. Util.	Bussed Yes	Racial No	Group %
17	28	-2.00	12	1	17	11	41	\$ 9507	96	x	12	86 2
42	7	-3.62	18	3	1	11	35	7214	91	x	93	6 1
72	24	-2.31	16	4	15	12	63	12628	88	x	72	26 2
73	14	-3.08	16	4	16	12	63	12628	88	x	772	26 2
74	25	-2.23	15	4	17	10	34	7573	86	x	78	21 1
46	82	2.15	17	3	5	13	84	20173	89	x	3	97 0

102

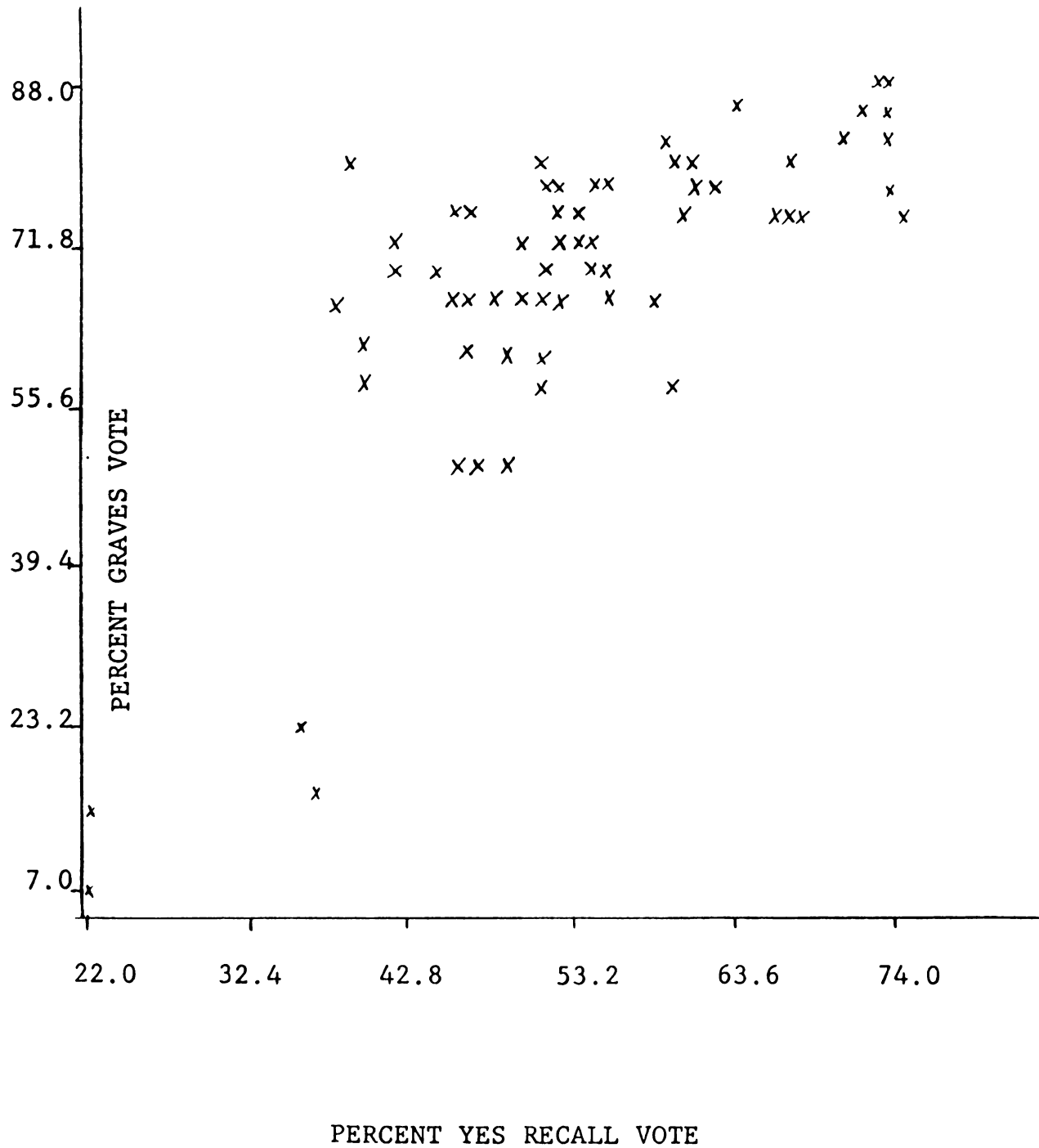
mean: .54

standard deviation: .13

z-score rounded to nearest hundred

percentages rounded to nearest whole number

FIGURE 4.2
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RECALL
AND GRAVES VOTE



schools for their children's education. The low deviant precincts contained the higher proportion of racial minorities who were likely to earn below city average in family income, were less educated and had slightly higher public elementary school utilization than the high deviant group. The population of the high and low deviant precincts were almost totally involved in the bussing program if their children attended public elementary schools.

Figure 4.3, Percent Graves vote and percent Republican Party vote for President, depicts the pattern of relationship of voting percentages between these two variables. The direction of the relationship is positive and the rank order correlation for this distribution is .80 suggesting a strong association between the variables. Thus as Graves vote percent increases there is an increase in Republican party percent vote for president. Although the same socioeconomic patterns, observed in the previous distributions of deviant precincts, exists here there is no correspondence between high groups on these variables. All of the low deviant Republican precincts were found in the low Graves category and thus we suspect that the assumption of likeness between conflict groups on partisan and non partisan levels appears false. Answers to this point are not directly available from the data and need to be sought from the literature on political participation.

TABLE 4.3

DEVIANT GRAVES PERCENT PRECINCTS

Case No.	% Yes Recall	Z-score	Census No.	Ward	Pre-cinct	Med. Grade	% H.S. Grad	In-come	% Elem. Util.	Bussed Yes	Bussed No	Racial Group %
												B W SS
17	50	-1.27	12	1	17	11	41	9507	96		x	12 86 2
24	50	-1.27	51	2	2	11	38	10038	100	x		8 80 12
41	49	-1.33	51	2	2	11	38	10038	94	x		8 80 123
42	7	-4.13	18	3	1	11	35	7214	91	x		93 6 1
72	24	-3.00	16	4	15	12	63	12628	88	x	x	72 26 2
73	15	-3.60	16	4	16	12	63	12628	88	x		72 26 2
74	19	-3.33	15	4	17	10	34	7573	86	x		78 21 1
30	86	1.13	23	2	9	12	63	11834	92	x		0 99 1
31	88	1.27	37	2	10	12	57	11461	92	x		3 94 3
33	85	1.06	23/26	2	12	12	63	11190	91	x		1 98 1
36	85	1.06	28	2	15	12	67	11983	84	x		1 95 4
37	88	1.27	28	2	16	12	67	11983	84	x		1 95 4

105

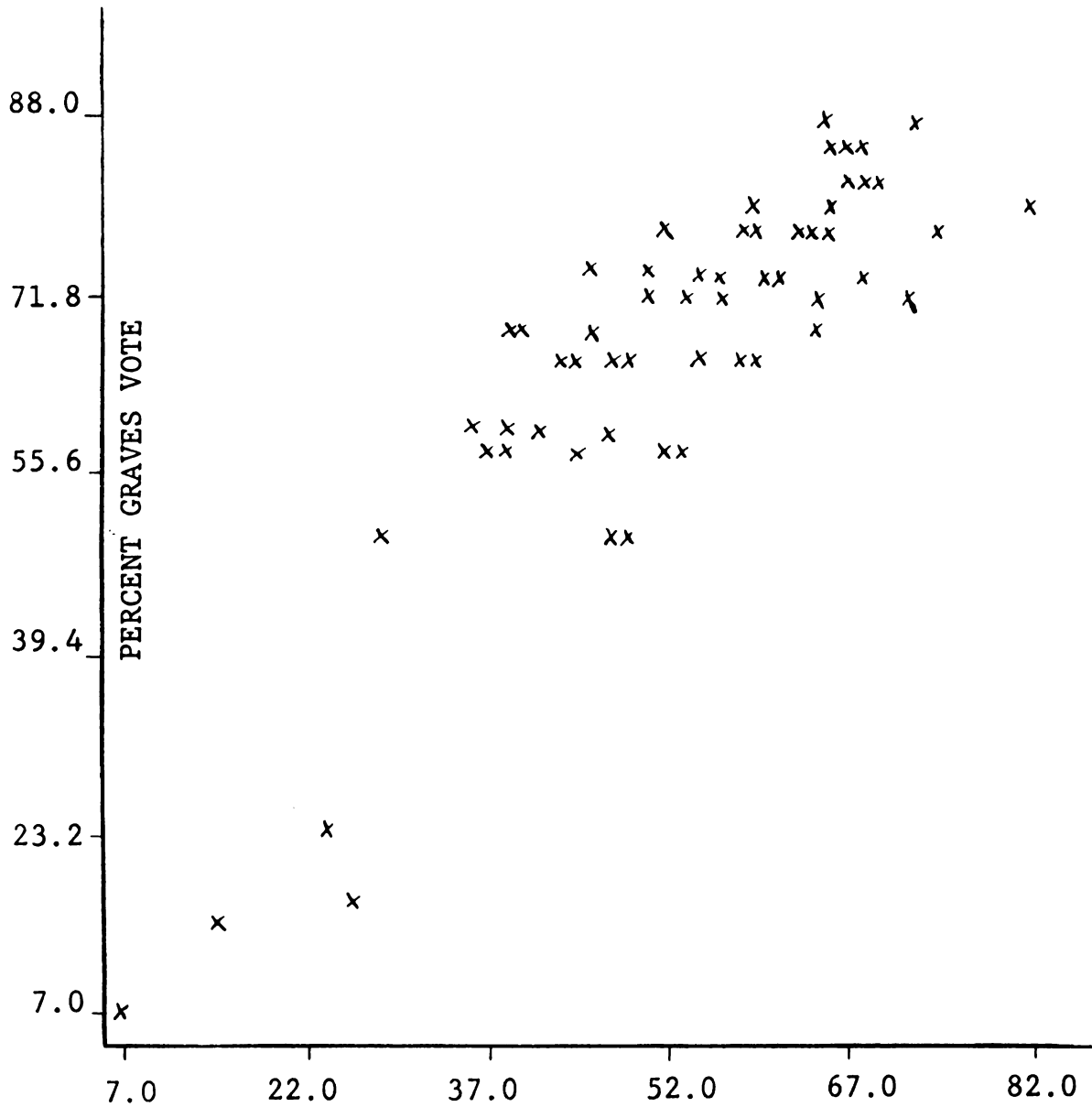
mean: .69

standard deviation: .15

z-score rounded to nearest hundred

percentages rounded to nearest whole number

FIGURE 4.3
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GRAVES
AND REPUBLICAN PARTY VOTE



PERCENT REPUBLICAN PARTY VOTE 1972

SUMMARY

Generally we find that the high deviant precincts in all variables tend to contain low percent racial minorities who are better educated and earn above average family incomes, are inclined to utilize public elementary schools for their children's education, and almost all can expect to have their children in public elementary schools bussed as a part of the school district desegregation plan. On the other hand, the low deviant precincts tend to contain higher percentages of racial minorities who earn below average family incomes and tend to utilize public elementary schools for their children's education more so than the high percent deviant group. The children of the electorate in these precincts are also bussed as a part of the school district desegregation plan. We also found that the partisan and non partisan electorate behaviors to be strongly associated with each other during the time period being investigated.

We began this demonstration hypothesizing there would be zero correlation between percent yes recall and percent Republican party votes cast; zero correlation would exist between yes recall and percent Graves vote cast; and there would be zero correlation between rank positions of percent Graves vote and Republican party vote for President. The correlation between rank positions of precinct vote on these variables suggest fairly strong positive relationship between the positions held by precincts on these variables. Such consistency suggests the possibility of influence of some

organized efforts stemming from organized partisan and/or non partisan efforts or a combination thereof which shaped the electoral behavior consistency in rank relative to party voting, Graves, and recall percentage vote. Assessment of the deviant precinct characteristics revealed that high deviant precincts in general possessed the characteristics of higher education and income, low racial minority composition, and high involvement in the school district bussing plan if their children attended public elementary schools. Low categories of these deviant precincts in general possessed characteristics of high percentage racial minorities who were less educated than the electorate in the high category, earned less than average income for families in the community, and were highly involved in the school district bussing plan if their children attended public elementary school. The low deviant category precincts had similar involvement in the bussing plan as the high group which suggests the possibility of factionalism which may also be a function of race and/or social class.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS

SUMMARY

Community organization and social planning practitioners have basically relied upon traditional and assessment techniques based primarily upon social agency data. Such data in reality takes into account only a fraction of the persons eligible to use agency services and results in underestimation of need. A concomitant problem surrounding this issue is that intervention is directed toward meeting of individual needs with limited consideration and attention being directed to those social and political conditions which are beyond the control of individuals and which create and perpetuate human suffering. Intervention is directed toward meeting of individual needs rather than forestalling those conditions which foster unmet individual needs. The original ideology of community organization and social planning practice promoted avoidance of conflict and political struggle and instead relied upon concepts of unity and consensus. The shifting emphasis in practice has been upon intervention that prevents individual breakdown through focus not upon the individual but rather upon environmental conditions,

common problems arising from those conditions and promotion of social action designed to produce changes in those conditions.

The present political system is structured to respond to citizens demands for goods and services. The everpresent scarcity of goods and services promotes competitive interactions among and between various social groupings and that competition may be based upon incompatible values, scarcity of resources, scarce positions which influence and control resource allocation, and protection of group perceived personal space. This competitive interaction is considered the essence of social conflict and this phenomena is symbiotically related to social change. Without social conflict there is no social change. Political scientists and sociologists have accumulated much research data which has bearing upon community intervention and touches on many vital human service areas. For the most part practitioners have not only avoided social science research findings in general but have defined politically tinged activity as taboo. There are numerous reasons for this avoidance but in effect it results in social planning and action taking place without consideration of the socio-political context within which action takes place. Practitioners must be encouraged to make fuller use of sociological and political science knowledge if they are to move toward higher levels of competence, more precision and effectiveness in manipulation of social

reality to achieve intended outcomes. These outcomes are of course, in any community, mediated through the interaction of community subunits such as clients, bosses, non clients, electorale, political elite, etc. Initial focus of this research was upon extrapolation of theory relative to sociological analysis of conflict. We then demonstrated the use of political behavior analysis technique as a means of assessing patterns of political influence in a community, and producing practice guidelines which would facilitate practitioner prediction and influence of broad community participation in electoral politics.

METHOD

To accomplish these purposes a ten year local history of social conflict in Lansing, Michigan is described. The major issues analyzed were those of school desegregation and racial minority control of the city chief executive office. In the general election of November 1972 the community was given the opportunity to express its will at the ballot box relative to the school desegregation issue and in November 1973 in the local mayoral election they expressed their will relative to the city government issue. The questions facing the Lansing electorate were whether or not the local school district policies and operation would be directed toward elimination of social class inequities in educational outcomes and on the local government level whether or not a felt supporter of the elimination of inequities on a city wide basis could become chief executive of city hall.

We applied the hypotheses testing exploratory voting behavior research method to two interrelated aspects of electorate behavior in these two elections. We analyzed patterns of voter turnout and the relationship of this turnout to candidate, party, and issue content. The research question which guided the analysis was: Are the conflict groups on the local school desegregation issue the same groups on the partisan and non partisan political levels in the Lansing community? Hypotheses which resulted from this question were:

1. the relationship between percent yes recall and percent 1972 Republican party vote for President will be positive. Null: there will be zero correlation between the variables percent yes recall and percent 1972 Republican party vote for President;
2. the relationship between percent yes recall and percent vote for the white mayoral candidate will be positive. Null: there will be zero correlation between the variables percent yes recall and percent Graves vote;
3. the relationship between percent Graves vote and percent 1972 Republican party vote for president will be positive. Null: there will be zero correlation between the variables percent Graves vote and percent 1972 Republican party vote for President.

DESIGN AND ANALYSIS

Aggregate data were gathered from both the November 1972 general election and the November 1973 local mayoral election. The aggregate voting data were obtained from the office of the Lansing City Clerk and 95% was applicable for the purposes of this dissertation. There were two parts to the analysis procedure. First we constructed scattergrams and computed rank order correlation to determine the extent of precinct exercise of political strength related to party, recall and the mayoral candidates, and also to determine the extent of consistency in rank position held per these variables. The second part of the analysis was the application of 1970 Federal census data and 1973 local school census data to those precincts which were classified as deviant. These socioeconomic and school characteristics were applied to the deviant cases: median grade completed in the precinct, percent high school graduates in the precinct, average family income in the precinct, percent public elementary school utilization in precinct, percent racial group makeup in the precinct, and whether or not the children of the electorate who attended public elementary schools were bussed or not.

FINDINGS

Hypothesis 1

We found that there existed a positive correlation between the rank positions held by precincts on the

recall and party variables. The rank correlation coefficient of .77 between percent yes recall and percent Republican party vote suggests a fairly strong relationship existing between the ranks. As the percent yes recall vote became greater there was corresponding increase in the percent Republican party votes cast. The deviant precinct characteristics suggested that as racial minority percentages increased there was a corresponding decrease in the yes recall and Republican party votes cast. Low deviant recall and Republican party votes corresponded with lower than average family income, lower education and higher public elementary school utilization than the high deviant yes recall and Republican party voters. The high deviant yes recall and Republican deviant precincts were characterized by small percent racial minority group residents, higher education and income than the low deviant percent groups, and also lower utilization of public elementary schools than the low deviant percent group.

Hypothesis 2

Relative to our second hypothesis we found that as percent yes recall vote increased there was a corresponding increase in the percent Graves vote in the precincts. The rank order correlation coefficient of .75 suggested fairly strong relationship between the

rank positions held by precincts on these variables. The high deviant precincts exhibited these characteristics: low racial minority percentages, majority high school graduates, above average family income, and the precinct members were likely to use public elementary schools for their children's public school education. In the area of bussing involvement the precinct members were very likely to have their children involved in the school district bussing plan. Their deviance status suggested their support of antibussing proposals and the preservation of neighborhood schools.

Hypothesis 3

The rank order correlation between rank positions held by precincts on the Graves and Republican party variables of .80 suggested fairly strong relationship existing between these ranks. The coefficient suggests that as the percent Graves vote increases there is a corresponding increase in the percent 1972 Republican party vote for President. Deviant precinct characteristics suggested the same socioeconomic and school patterns as found previously.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

All of the hypotheses were accepted as was evident by the fairly strong rank correlation coefficients observed

through the analysis procedure. The consistency identified by the coefficients suggests the possibility of influence of some organized efforts stemming from partisan and/or non partisan efforts or a combination thereof which shaped the electoral behavior consistency in rank relative to party voting, Graves, and recall percentage vote. It must be noted that we are speculating in this matter for our data does not give any support for this possibility. Deviant precinct characteristics revealed that high deviant Republican, Graves, and yes recall precinct residents were better educated, earned above average family income, were primarily caucasian, and were almost assured to have their children bussed away from their neighborhood school to another school service area in the community for purposes of desegregation. Low deviant Republican, Graves, and yes recall voters were likely to be members of a racial minority, earn less than average family income, and achieved lower quantity of educational experience. The low status group vote in itself suggests that this group held higher percentage vote status relative to Democratic party, the black mayoral candidate, and no recall votes. The deviant low yes recall percent vote group had similar levels of involvement in the bussing plan as the deviant high group which suggests, based upon the direction of their deviance, the possibility of factionalism which may be a function of race, socioeconomic status, and/or human rationality.

The ten year community change oriented struggle between various sets of individuals in the Lansing community,

which culminated on the local level with a recall vote which was associated with the election of a President and a local chief executive, does comply with the theoretical tenants of social conflict. The competitive interactions between formalized and semiformalized groups who were striving to realize their own idea of good for the community, resulted in the controversy being transformed into alternatives and proposals which were directly dealt with by the Lansing electorate. The analysis of the electoral behavior suggests the following conclusions:

1. There existed a dependent relationship between partisan and non partisan electorate behaviors in Lansing during the time period under study but the electorate conflict groups varied in their voting for recall, Graves, and the Republican party.
2. Votes for recall, Graves, and the Republican party were associated with community subunit population characteristics.

We previously noted that political parties in concert with other reference groups exert significant influence over voting behaviors. The strong association found between partisan and non partisan voting behavior in Lansing suggests that voters may be party oriented, i.e., looking for party clues in order to decide upon which issues and candidates to support or reject. These clues may stimulate other factors

such as social class, race, perception of benefits to self and other group members, etc., which all have some value in explaining voting behavior. The electorate in Lansing were in effect through their voting behavior trying to influence the direction of governmental decisions.

The electorate provides the input which energizes the political system which produces policy output in one form or another. Theoretically party competition and policy output are positively associated with high party competition being associated with high voter turnout at the polls which results in increased quantity of policy output which fosters change. It would appear that the electorate in Lansing could be instrumental in creating more organizational policy output and/or change, based upon their reliance upon party clues, at the ballot box. Increased citizen participation in electoral politics with the resultant increase in policy output could be manipulated in Lansing by the conscious structuring of issues and alternatives to look like choices between the positions of the major parties.

It must be kept in mind that turnout rate in elections also varies with the type and structure of the election process. Research has shown that national elections have higher turnout rates among voters than local elections, and that members of the higher socioeconomic groups tend to turn out in greater proportion in both national and local elections than members of lower socioeconomic groups. Taking this into

account it would appear that practitioners attempting to increase policy outputs through increased party competition would have to work harder to enhance participation in local and special elections especially with lower socioeconomic groups.

There is apparent need for practitioners to assess the desirability of promoting greater turnout on the local election level especially when the greater turnout is likely to result in increased participation of the opposition to a given proposal to which the practitioner may have attached their support. Thus if the practitioner is assured that the majority of a small group expected to vote on a local issue or proposal will go in his/her direction they might opt to keep the issue contained so as not to stir up too much opposition.

The data reflected the existence of voting patterns which were related to community subunit population characteristics which suggest association of these characteristics with support and opposition for some types of policy innovation. Theoretically these population characteristics can be stratified into socioeconomic categories. High socioeconomic strata communities tend to support collective benefit proposals and low strata communities being more likely to support proposals which appear to have selective or particular benefits. The high voting group in Lansing precincts were apparently unable or were stimulated not to see collective benefit from the

election of the black mayoral candidate nor support of the bussing plan. Both the local candidates and the issues attached to them apparently stimulated symbols of particularistic and selective benefits directed at lower socioeconomic status residents, thus being opposed by the higher status group.

There are also patterns of electoral response which correspond with different patterns of community characteristics which tended to correspond with various issues. We conclude that in Lansing the opposition and support for recall, Graves, and Republican party was determined not by voters possessing a general guiding ideology but rather on an issue by issue decision basis. This pattern may answer the questions of why the conflict groups varied on the partisan and non partisan levels. Theoretically it is quite evident that political opinions in American politics are basically inconsistent and represent electorate ambivalence. Few citizens arrange their political attitudes and behavior in a coherent ideological framework. The citizen's electoral attitudes and behaviors result from numerous factors which include the extent, form, and shape of political information available, perception of impact of proposals upon self and family, homeownership, religion, race, and social class. Although there exists this inconsistency based upon the above factors there are significant differences in the type of issues supported by persons of different social classes. Lower class electorate tend to support human service related proposals which as stated

above provide direct benefits to themselves. High socioeconomic status persons and electorate tend to be opposed to human service related proposals based upon many factors but primarily on the basis of perception of benefits derived and corresponding orientation directed toward blaming the lower socioeconomic status group membership for their plight. The American version of the protestant work ethic tends to enhance the notion that individual efforts, hard work, and perseverance will result in all citizens achieving success in their struggles for survival. Lack of success is rarely attributed to systemic obstacles and barriers but is attributed to individual failure to put forth enough effort, or hard work. Symbolically the issue before the Lansing voters represented proposals to eliminate social class inequities in the public schools and on a city wide basis. Our aggregate data analysis supports the existence of differences in affirmation and opposition based upon socioeconomic characteristics with the deviant lower socioeconomic status groups supporting the elimination of the inequities and the higher socioeconomic groups opposing it. Electoral participation rate was a significant factor in the determination of the direction of policy innovation potential on the local level.

The Lansing school district policy makers efforts to obtain local community support for their desegregation policy met with failure in November 1972. Yes recall and Republican party supporters exercised more strength in the election than

the no recall and Democratic party supporters. In November 1973 efforts to elect a black mayor also went down to overwhelming defeat following an order by the Federal district court which overturned the November 1972 antidesegregationist victory at the polls. Analysis of both sets of local electorate actions revealed there to exist positive partisan and non partisan behavior linkages as suggested by the positive correlation coefficients. In the Lansing desegregation and local mayoral elections our findings suggest that practitioners ought to become visible parts of the local, county, and possibly the State party machinery consciously using that affiliation on the local level to deal with human service objectives. This type of affiliation has both facilitative as well as restraining aspects of which practitioners should become aware.

The practitioner's decision to affiliate with party organizations should follow assessment of the electorates voting behavior over selected time periods to determine party preference or the lack of the same on both the partisan and non partisan political levels. Finding positive correlation would suggest the need to structure issues and proposals to manipulate the electorate perceptions relative to locally dominate party images. Planning organization staff should affiliate with the major parties in the local area and use those party organizations as vehicles for the promotion of various proposals for change. The practitioners could shape

slightly different versions of change alternatives pushing the ideal version at the dominant party level and the minimum acceptable alternative at the minor party level. Such actions would in essence heighten the electorate perception of party conflict as well as insure the appearance of choice which the electorate needs. The appearance of party conflict should increase participation and when combined with practitioner actions within the party organization should insure favorable policy output in the long run. Practitioners electing to use this avenue for social change implementation should be cautious for a number of reasons. The function of the political system in this country is basically to manage conflict and political parties play major roles in this management. Parties strive to produce winners in the competition for elected office which forces party organization to perform candidate nomination and election functions, development and promotion of party ideology, and dispensation of party patronage functions, as means of maintaining a viable organization. The local agents who are responsible for these efforts on the local level tend to function in the areas related to candidate campaign activities. The school recall issue did not require candidate competition for office for it asked for voter expression of will as to whether or not such competition would take place. Party agent actions would have been primarily related to pushing ideology rather than pushing of candidates. There was no need to recruit, nominate, or

organize to win local positions since none of the Board seats were vacant at the time of the recall vote. There was no benefit to local, county, or state party organizations in supporting or rejecting of the local recall issue. Instead benefit was in national, state, and county office seekers winning positions whereby local actors could benefit from the dispensation of party favors. The generation of party support on the local level would be difficult unless there is competition for actual positions whereby influence can be exercised by victorious candidates. Practitioners who wish to acquire party support, understanding that the organization's primary intent is achieving enough votes to win elections which forces the leadership to avoid divisive issues such as school desegregation, must transfer overtly divisive change proposals into those with universal positive appeal. As an organization the party is active only at election time and afterwards is almost invisible except for its full time staff and thus to generate their support at election time practitioners must demonstrate that they can generate the primary exchange medium desired by the party, electorate votes.

The party is also a non-monolithic structure and that factor plus its temporal nature and variable composition would suggest that negotiation and compromise on proposals for change would be necessary. In one sense practitioners could expect a form of micro social conflict to become

operational within the party structure as one result of their intervention to obtain membership support for various change proposals. Party support for various change proposals will be conditioned by the same dynamics of individual social change participation evident in the population as a whole. Party regulars would for the most part need to perceive party, individual, as well as general benefits from their participation in the creation of a change alternative. The practitioners efforts to gain party support via influence of party organizational policy would require negotiation and compromise between the various stakeholders which may result in an obfuscation of the original intent of the practitioner's change alternative. The practitioner would in essence need to generate a social action participation and policy output strategy directed at the party using the various actors of the political community to bring about facilitative movement by the fluid and temporal party organization. The practitioner must be willing and ready to respond to the party need for viability through membership and participation in the electoral activities performed on the local, county, state, and possibly national level as candidates seek offices. Remembering that parties perform a conflict dissipation function and are not interested in divisive proposals for change, practitioners must not only structure issues in a positive and general manner but also be ready to demonstrate their ability to get out the voters. If the practitioner is

successful in moving the party organization in the desired direction there are potential negative consequences to such success. Such affiliation may eliminate the generalist appeal needed by the practitioner to obtain maximum community support. By the practitioner and change proposals being meshed with the party organization image some potential supporters for the change alternative who either resist the particular party image and/or overt politics, may discontinue their support. The practitioner may lose more non partisan support than is gained on the partisan level. This loss of non partisan support would be compounded by the potential of losing the electoral contest at the ballot box. Such consequence could have long term impact upon the overall effectiveness of the practitioner on the local level. Placing of the proposal on the ballot forces a situation wherein there must be winners and losers. Losing the contest and obtaining the 'loser' image might cause the same image to be attached to future change proposals supported by the 'loser practitioner'. Winning the support of community subunits for certain community changes, especially in the human service sector, is critical to practitioners who desire social action participation. The use of the ballot box on the local level must be conditioned by data relative to the probabilities of winning the election, resources necessary to insure that win, potential actions and resources of the opposition which may be used to counter the mobilized bias of the practitioner and their supporters.

The data suggests that practitioners could have used party competition on the recall issue as one means of enhancing the turnout at the polls of desegregation supporters which may have led to the retention of school board policymakers that may have been supportive of other human service aims and objectives becoming operational in the educational organization. To make use of the party organization it is our opinion that practitioners would need to affiliate with the organization on the local, county and possibly the state level to begin actions designed to influence party policy and party member behavior in the direction of support for the change proposal. Practitioners who affiliate with the party organization should be prepared to negotiate either with party leaders and/or regulars for organization of intra party support for participation in the actions necessary to achieve the intent of change proposal. Based upon the fact that parties are non-monolithic and individual voters are in terms of their voting patterns, practitioners must also be concerned and involved in the development of issue appeal which must respond to the voters selective and collective perceptions of derived benefits. Party regulars and general voters would be included in our definition of voters. Conscious use of the ballot box to bring about direct or indirect resolution of public controversy must include planning systems focusing upon the field of forces in the community as well as identification of resources and generation of actions to overcome potential

resistance and increase potential support.

The socioeconomic factors identified from the data suggest that practitioners should structure proposals and issues to respond to both collective and selective benefit perceptions of the community population. Of course it is difficult to do both at the same time but when the structure includes educational program the practitioners can tailor their proposal content analysis to influence the various socioeconomic subunits which make up the community. The higher socioeconomic status groups will tend to support collective benefit proposals and the collective nature of the alternatives should be identified by practitioners for these groups. These efforts should be combined with educational programs designed by practitioners to increase the higher socioeconomic status group member's awareness of the need for change and improvement due to the existence of barriers and obstacles to mobility based upon race, sex, and social class. Efforts with lower socioeconomic status groups would require the practitioner to structure proposals and issues in response to the need for selective benefits. The prime beneficiary groups of the defeat of the recall question and possibly of the election of the black mayoral candidate on the local level were the low socioeconomic status group members. Raising their consciousness as to their political and economic plight, which in most instances is the result of organizational policy and practices, may set the stage for greater electoral

participation which can result in more advantageous policy output on the local level. Better informed people may be easier to mobilize for greater participation in electoral politics and political education can have an impact on raising information levels and that participation. Educational efforts should be implemented which provide information as to how to work within and capitalize on the existing political environment. Emphasis should be placed upon the need for mobilization to increase this groups political power as it relates to the shaping of policy outputs.

IMPLICATIONS

The strong association between partisan and non partisan political behavior patterns in Lansing suggests that school district policy issues not be dealt with at the same time as office seeking choices are being contested. Establishing a ballot choice time which clearly singles out the question to be contested when combined with structuring of the question to highlight its association with ongoing successful school programs clearly shows voters what they are dealing with. When combined with efforts to structure the proposal to respond to collective and selective perceptions of benefit of various social strata of the community the greater the chance of obtaining community support for the change alternative. Negotiations with community subunits or their leadership in efforts to find alternative means to accomplish the intent of the change proposal may minimize the

intensity of local conflict. Negotiation may have provided for the creation of options which included the initiation of a voluntary participation plan with later assessment of merits relative to expected outcomes to determine the viability of expansion of the plan. On the other hand based upon the Federal court posture on intradistrict student assignment practitioners would be provided with an external lever that could be used to influence if not force the school district policy makers to overtly move in the desired policy output direction. Using legal leverage outside the community, which ultimately did happen in Lansing, could have focused conflict resolution away from the ballot box and any need to utilize party organization for support. Practitioners who desire to minimize community conflict surrounding local school district desegregation efforts can opt to strive for the creation of voluntary student assignment plans rather than forced assignment plans. The courts are available if there is need for district wide systemic changes. The use of legal channels to manage community conflict would be beneficial to practitioners who wish to maintain supportive policymakers that may be responsive to future human service aims and objectives.

Practitioners who make political behavior assessments and find positive partisan and non partisan associations in voting behaviors and can clearly identify dominant party organization should strive to use the party organization when

it is apparent that there will be ballot box competition surrounding a controversial community issue. This is especially true when there will be need for high voter turnout intended to influence or promote increased policy output from the target organization. The use of party should be restricted to when candidates will be competing for positions relative to the issue. The practitioner may wish to overtly affiliate with the dominant party organization via registration but may wish to maintain a low profile by working through party leaders. The practitioner should not expect to be received with open arms but neither should they expect to be overtly refused audience. The practitioner should expect to encounter a need for negotiation and potentially compromise in order to gain support for particular change alternatives.

On the other side of the coin practitioners may strive to avoid party use if the following conditions are met:

1. If after assessment of electorate voting behavior patterns it is found that very weak or negative partisan and non partisan associations exist.
2. If after assessment of electorate voting behavior patterns it is found that strong and positive partisan and non partisan associations exist but sample survey data relative to an upcoming ballot box contest indicate that low turnout will produce affirmation of a particular policy stand or candidate supported by the practitioner.
3. It is to the advantage of the practitioner not to strive to use party organization in those elections when candidates are not competing for offices.
4. When legal channels are open and have proven to

be effective means of achieving desired policy ends.

5. When policy makers and community leaders are accessible and supportive or amenable to negotiate desired policy output.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The researcher began this study attempting to demonstrate an innovative use of political science research technique as a procedure for the diagnosis of patterns of political influence in segments of a community with the result being the production of practice guidelines for community organization and social planning practitioners. Practitioners for the most part have traditionally avoided conflict and politically tinged activity. This avoidance has resulted in many vital policy decisions in the human services arena being left in the hands of those who are less often informed and less sympathetic regarding the plight of potential and actual client groups. Practitioners should become more active in the conflict and political sphere based upon knowledge and skill in the utilization of political science research technique in social change practice. This research effort was made assuming that professional change agents do indeed seek to produce specific outcomes and that reliance upon fuller use of sociological and political science knowledge would provide for higher levels of competence and more precision in achieving intended outcomes.

The method used in this demonstration was to describe efforts to resolve on the local level, public controversy at

the ballot box involving policies and practices of the educational and governmental units in Lansing, Michigan. We constructed scattergrams and performed rank order correlations on aggregate voting data and applied socioeconomic characteristics to those units which met our criteria of deviance. Of importance in the findings and conclusions was the issue of correlation between the ranks of electorate voting behavior, characteristics of deviant precincts, and also the utility of voting behavior research method as a diagnostic procedure for the assessment of exercise of political power, location of support for various community changes, and the production of practice guidelines.

This researcher has made what is felt to be a sincere effort to provide a constructive step in the development of guidelines for practice using sociological and political science research findings and technique. The conclusions reached are: social change and social conflict are inextricably related, politics is one medium by which conflict is moderated, and that planned change is one primary function of politics and government. Thus advocates and practitioners of community organization and social planning practice must be cognizant of these relationships and means of manipulating them. We therefore recommend:

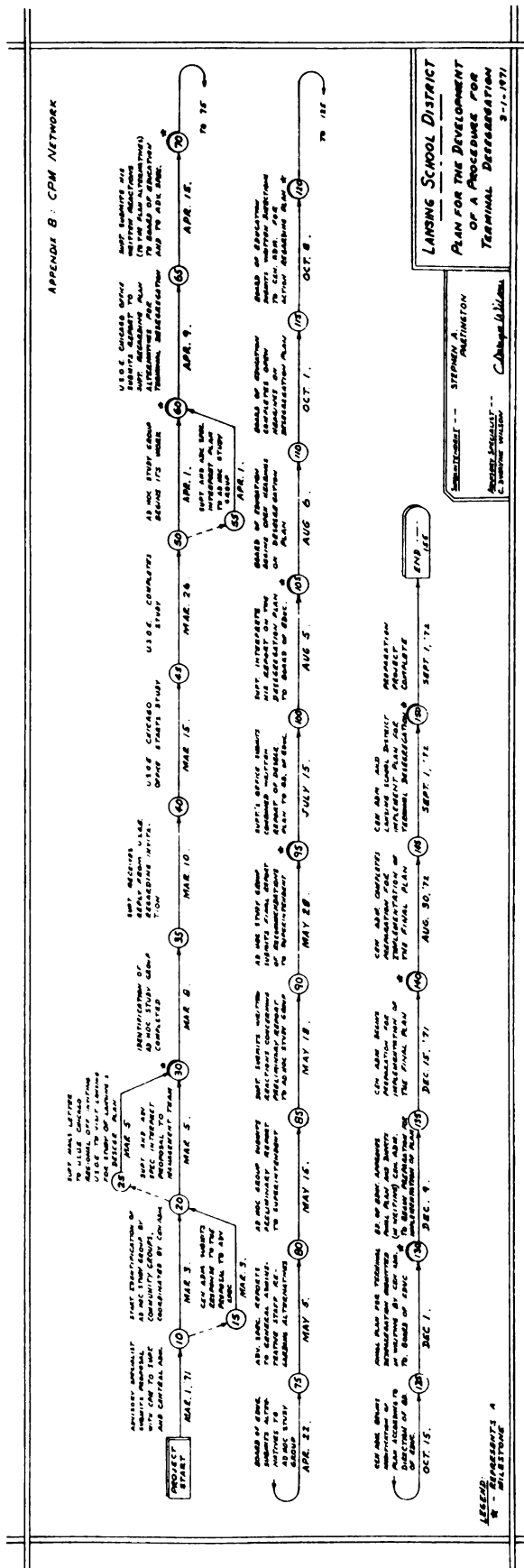
1. Practitioners make use of voting behavior research technique as one means of gaining a cognitive grip on the social reality of local community political processes. Voting behavior research method can facilitate the

identification and location of client and target groups with the lowest levels of voter participation and the obvious need for voter education and support.

2. Practitioners could become involved in local, county, and state political party organizations and use those affiliations as platforms for the manipulation of party members and electorate behaviors in support of human services aims and objectives. Risks do accompany this type of affiliation but any proactive change effort entails risk.
3. Practitioners could actively promote political education programs with identified low participant electorate groups. Such education programs should be directed toward mobilization of these groups for greater electoral participation.
4. Practitioners could actively engage the identified high participant electorate groups in education programs designed to increase their awareness of the obstacles and blocks to mobility within this social system.
5. Practitioners could willingly make use of legal channels to achieve human service aims when there is need to minimize the intensity of social conflict on the local level.
6. Practitioners who desire to achieve human service aims in local school districts through support of desegregation programs could promote voluntary assignment programs initially if the policy makers appear by their previous actions amenable and supportive of future human service objectives. Legal channels should be used if policy makers are resistant to voluntary student assignment plans and it is found that total system changes are desired and needed.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A



AD HOC COMMITTEE CHARGE

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, on March 4, 1971, the Board of Education approved the formation of the West-Side Education Facilities AD HOC Study Committee and, by resolution, established the composition of the AD HOC COMMITTEE: and

WHEREAS, on this date, March 18, 1971, The Board of Education approved the formation of a Citizens Advisory Committee on Educational Opportunity which committee shall become operational on July 1, 1971, or as soon thereafter as possible, and established the charge to that committee;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the West-Side Facilities AD HOC Study Committee be charged to:

1. Engage in appropriate studies, discussions, and investigations regarding the location, design, development, modification or retirement from present use of those public elementary school facilities located in the area bounded on the north, east, and south by the Grand River and on the west by the boundary of the school district;
2. Engage in such studies, discussions, and investigations of programs for providing equal educational opportunities for all elementary pupils who reside in the geographic area described in this charge;
3. Hear and consider proposals and suggestions, regarding the areas of concern expressed in Items 1 and 2 of this charge, made to the committee by individuals, groups, organizations, and other committees of citizens who wish to address themselves to the specific concerns of and charge to the AD HOC Committee;
4. Use, if the committee so elects, the advisory and consultant services available from the U.S. Office

of Education, and/or other appropriate agencies;

5. Establish and maintain liaison and communication with the Citizens Advisory Committee on Educational Opportunity beginning on or as soon after July 1, 1971, as possible;
6. Having completed all necessary and appropriate studies, discussions, hearings, and investigations, make such reports and recommendations to the Board of Education as it deems necessary for fulfillment of this charge, such report to be completed on or before December 1, 1971.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AD HOC Committee shall become operational on or before April 1, 1971 and shall at its first meeting select its chairman and establish its schedule and plan of operation.

Citizens Advisory Committee on Educational Opportunity

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, The Board of Education has on many occasions in the past called on the community it serves to provide assistance in studying educational problems and in developing recommendations relative to the improvement of educational programs, facilities, policies, and operating practices; and,

WHEREAS, on November 10, 1967, the Board of Education directed the Superintendent of Schools to develop a master plan for the school district which plan would continuously project the needs of the school district into the future; and,

WHEREAS, certain activities have been carried forward under the charge embodied in the resolution establishing the master plan; and,

WHEREAS, reports have been made to the Board of Education by the Superintendent of Schools regarding school needs that have been developed under the master plan; and,

WHEREAS, on February 11, 1965, the Board of Education, by resolution, established a Citizens Advisory Committee to study the problems of educational opportunity in the school district with special emphasis on the West Study Area and received from this committee a comprehensive report dated June 23, 1966; and,

WHEREAS, the current Citizens Advisory Committee on Educational



Improvement will make its final report and recommendations to the Board of Education on June 1, 1971; and;

WHEREAS, The Board of Education has jointly with the City of Lansing Model Cities Agency established on March 4, 1971, a West-Side Education Facilities AD HOC Study Committee, the charge to which is set forth in a resolution dated March 18, 1971, and whose final report is to be completed by December 1, 1971; and,

WHEREAS, it is appropriate that a new study be made of the equality of educational opportunity available to all students in this school district; and that new recommendations be made to the Board of Education designed to improve educational opportunity at all levels;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Education, Lansing School District, establish a new and second Citizens Advisory Committee on Educational Opportunity;

1. To review the report of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Educational Opportunity which was submitted to the Board on June 23, 1966, and to make appropriate changes in recommendations included in this report;
2. To review the presently existing policies and official statements of record of the Board of Education regarding equal educational opportunity, and recommend appropriate additions or changes;

APPENDIX B

Percent Electorate Vote by Case per Variables

Case No.	% Yes Recall	% No Recall	% Republican Party Vote	% Democratic Party Vote	% Graves Vote	% Ferguson Vote
1	66	34	54	46	75	25
2	44	56	40	60	70	30
3	54	46	46	54	69	31
4	59	41	53	47	81	19
5	51	49	37	63	57	43
6	53	47	52	48	73	27
7	51	49	48	52	62	38
8	54	46	64	36	76	24
9	42	58	39	61	68	32
10	46	54	41	59	60	40
11	44	56	54	46	73	27
12	45	55	43	57	67	33
13	51	49	44	56	67	33
14	52	48	56	44	74	26
15	52	48	64	36	70	30
16	50	50	46	54	66	34
17	49	51	28	72	50	50
18	46	54	46	54	74	26
19	65	35	57	43	80	20
20	56	44	72	28	73	27
21	49	51	36	64	60	40
22	74	26	61	39	74	26
23	48	52	47	53	66	34
24	45	55	47	53	50	50
25	52	48	66	34	76	24
26	64	36	62	38	80	20
27	55	45	54	46	69	31
28	52	48	52	48	72	28
29	64	36	68	32	81	19
30	63	37	68	32	86	14
31	73	27	65	35	88	12
32	59	41	69	31	82	18
33	64	36	67	33	85	15
34	65	35	61	39	81	19
35	73	27	63	37	77	23
36	73	27	66	34	85	15
37	72	28	71	29	88	12
38	71	29	68	32	84	16
39	67	33	62	38	75	25
40	55	45	58	42	66	34

Case No.	% Yes Recall	% No Recall	% Republican Party Vote	% Democratic Party Vote	% Graves Vote	% Ferguson Vote
41	47	53	49	51	49	51
42	22	78	7	93	7	93
43	52	48	55	45	66	34
44	70	30	70	30	83	17
45	68	32	69	31	74	26
46	51	49	82	18	81	19
47	63	37	60	40	80	20
48	59	41	54	46	80	20
49	51	49	53	47	70	30
50	63	37	60	40	76	24
51	67	33	63	37	79	21
52	73	27	67	33	83	17
53	58	42	59	41	67	33
54	45	55	53	47	58	42
55	59	41	52	48	58	42
56	62	38	58	42	77	23
57	60	40	56	44	80	20
58	51	49	52	48	78	22
59	53	47	54	46	74	26
60	52	48	54	46	68	32
61	60	40	55	45	74	26
62	40	60	45	55	58	42
63	46	54	49	51	67	33
64	45	55	50	50	74	26
65	50	50	56	44	73	27
66	39	61	61	39	80	20
67	38	62	46	54	67	33
68	42	58	51	49	72	28
69	55	45	74	26	77	23
70	45	55	38	62	57	43
71	40	60	39	61	62	38
72	35	65	24	76	24	76
73	22	78	14	86	15	85
74	37	63	25	75	19	81
75	56	44	64	36	73	27
76	62	38	65	35	80	20

APPENDIX C

Case Number	Equivalent Ward and Precinct Number
1	Ward 1, Precinct 1
2	Ward 1, Precinct 2
3	Ward 1, Precinct 3
4	Ward 1, Precinct 4
5	Ward 1, Precinct 5
6	Ward 1, Precinct 6
7	Ward 1, Precinct 7
8	Ward 1, Precinct 8
9	Ward 1, Precinct 9
10	Ward 1, Precinct 10
11	Ward 1, Precinct 11
12	Ward 1, Precinct 12
13	Ward 1, Precinct 13
14	Ward 1, Precinct 14
15	Ward 1, Precinct 15
16	Ward 1, Precinct 16
17	Ward 1, Precinct 17
18	Ward 1, Precinct 18
19	Ward 1, Precinct 19
20	Ward 1, Precinct 20
21	Ward 1, Precinct 21
22	Ward 2, Precinct 1
23	Ward 2, Precinct 2
24	Ward 2, Precinct 3
25	Ward 2, Precinct 4
26	Ward 2, Precinct 5
27	Ward 2, Precinct 6
28	Ward 2, Precinct 7
29	Ward 2, Precinct 8
30	Ward 2, Precinct 9
31	Ward 2, Precinct 10
32	Ward 2, Precinct 11
33	Ward 2, Precinct 12
34	Ward 2, Precinct 13
35	Ward 2, Precinct 14
36	Ward 2, Precinct 15
37	Ward 2, Precinct 16
38	Ward 2, Precinct 17
39	Ward 2, Precinct 18
40	Ward 2, Precinct 19
41	Ward 2, Precinct 21

Case Number	Equivalent Ward and Precinct Number
42	Ward 3, Precinct 1
43	Ward 3, Precinct 2
44	Ward 3, Precinct 3
45	Ward 3, Precinct 4
46	Ward 3, Precinct 5
47	Ward 3, Precinct 6
48	Ward 3, Precinct 7
49	Ward 3, Precinct 8
50	Ward 3, Precinct 9
51	Ward 3, Precinct 10
52	Ward 3, Precinct 11
53	Ward 3, Precinct 12
54	Ward 3, Precinct 13
55	Ward 3, Precinct 14
56	Ward 3, Precinct 15
57	Ward 3, Precinct 16
58	Ward 4, Precinct 1
59	Ward 4, Precinct 2
60	Ward 4, Precinct 3
61	Ward 4, Precinct 4
62	Ward 4, Precinct 5
63	Ward 4, Precinct 6
64	Ward 4, Precinct 7
65	Ward 4, Precinct 8
66	Ward 4, Precinct 9
67	Ward 4, Precinct 10
68	Ward 4, Precinct 11
69	Ward 4, Precinct 12
70	Ward 4, Precinct 13
71	Ward 4, Precinct 14
72	Ward 4, Precinct 15
73	Ward 4, Precinct 16
74	Ward 4, Precinct 17
75	Ward 4, Precinct 18
76	Ward 4, Precinct 19

APPENDIX D

DESCRIPTIVE MEASURES

VARIABLE	N	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM	MEAN	STD. DEV.
1. YESRECAL	76	22.000	74.000	54.158	11.138
2. GRAVES	76	7.0000	88.000	69.263	15.407
3. REPUBLICAN	76	7.0000	82.000	53.658	13.434
4. NORECALL	76	26.000	78.000	45.961	11.189
5. DEMOCRAT	76	18.000	93.000	46.342	13.434
6. FERGUSON	76	12.000	93.000	30.789	15.454

RANK-ORDER CORRELATION

N = 76 RHO @ .9500 = .2263 RHO @ .9900 = .2974

VARIABLE	VARIABLE	G-K GAMMA	TAU	SE	SIGNIF	RHO
NORECALL	YESRECAL	-.9798	-.9780	.0802	0.	-.9875
	GRAVES	-.5892	-.5707	.0805	.0000	-.7449
	REPUBLICN	-.5979	-.5842	.0799	.0000	-.7666
	DEMOCRAT	.5979	.5842	.0799	.0000	.7666
	FERGUSON	.5792	.5612	.0805	.0000	.7401

RANK-ORDER CORRELATION

N = 76 RHO @ .9500 = .2263 RHO @ .9900 = .2974

VARIABLE	VARIABLE	G-K GAMMA	TAU	SE	SIGNIF	RHO
YESRECAL	GRAVES	.5970	.5778	.0806	.0000	.7503
	REPUBLICN	.6072	.5930	.0799	.0000	.7729
	NORECALL	-.9798	-.9780	.0802	0.	-.9875
	DEMOCRAT	-.6072	-.5930	.0799	.0000	-.7729
	FERGUSON	-.5870	-.5683	.0805	.0000	-.7459

RANK-ORDER CORRELATION

N = 76 RHO @ .0500 = .2263 RHO @ .0100 = .2974

VARIABLE	VARIABLE	G-K GAMMA	TAU	SE	SIGNIF	RHO
2. GRAVES	1.YESRECAL	.5970	.5778	.0806	.0000	.7503
	3.REPUBLICN	.6434	.6251	.0803	.0000	.8054
	4.NORECALL	-.5892	-.5707	.0805	.0000	-.7449
	5.DEMOCRAT	-.6434	-.6251	.0803	.0000	-.8054
	6.FERGUSON	-.9737	-.9713	.0808	0.	-.9850



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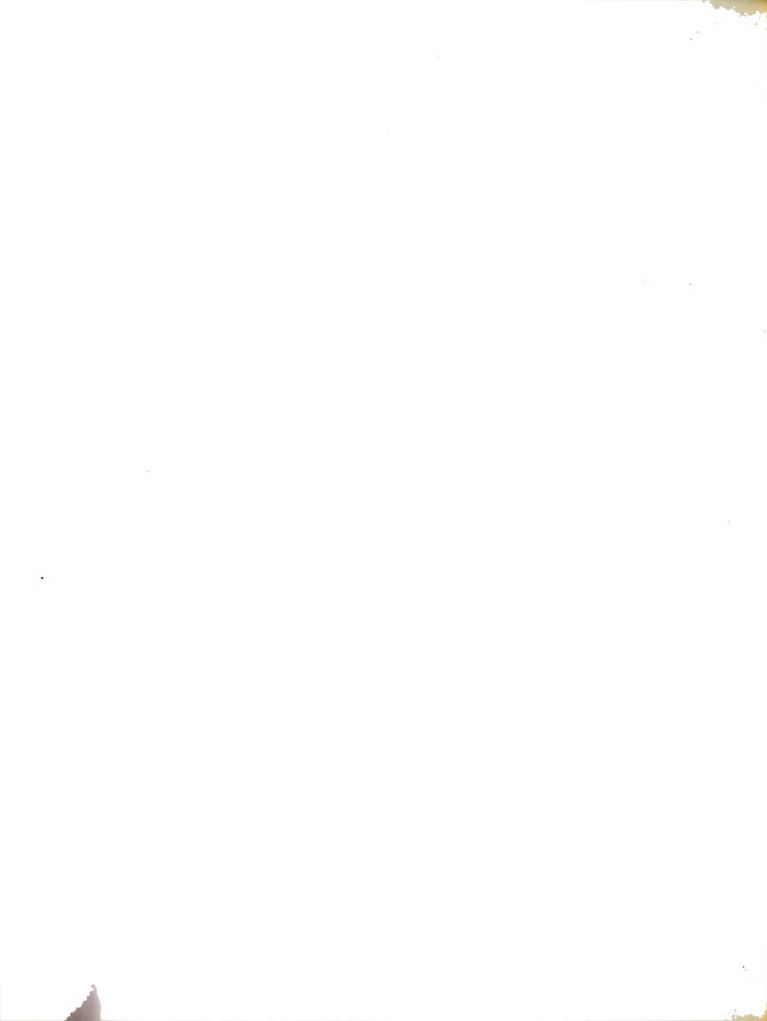
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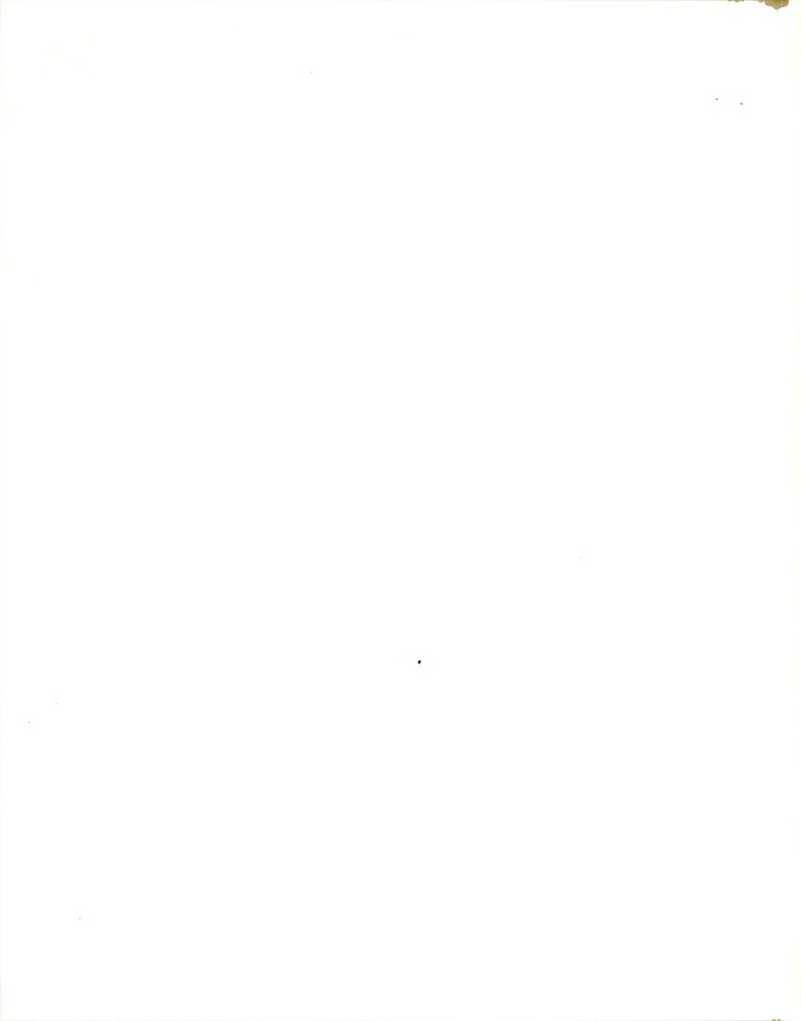
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