

ANALYSIS OF THE METHODS AND  
PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY  
ORGANIZATION APPLIED TO THE POSITIVE  
NEIGHBORHOOD ACTION COMMITTEE

. . . . .

ROLE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOCIAL  
SCIENCES AND SOCIAL WORK

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
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## ABSTRACT

### ANALYSIS OF THE METHODS AND PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION APPLIED TO THE POSITIVE NEIGHBORHOOD ACTION COMMITTEE

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### ROLE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND SOCIAL WORK

By

George Willie Logan

The basic purpose of this study was to describe the on-going process of a "peoples" organization, in order to sort out the methods and techniques utilized, and to further scrutinize their applicability to prevalent principles and theories of community organization. Secondly, if in fact a sound community organization process were found, what are the role implications of the process for the field of social science. In brief, the study wanted to determine through analysis of functional operations, if the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee organization without traditional social agency *modus operandi*, followed any clearly delineated processes which would render it capable of addressing the needs of an inner city community.

The techniques and methods of the P.N.A.C. were analyzed in detail in an effort to uncover both the process and the role implications. It should be noted that the



researcher treated the P.N.A.C. organization and its process as inseparable entities.

In order to investigate the stated purposes of the study, it was necessary to employ the following methods: (1) Interviews, (2) Participant observation, (3) Direct observation, (4) Case study analysis, and (5) Historical viewpoint. Because of an inability to clearly isolate dependent and independent variables in a descriptive study of this nature, a variety of data collection methods were used for the purpose of cross checking and validation.

The following results emerged:

1. The P.N.A.C. has the capability of coordinating relationships between itself and peer status groups in the community as well as between groups that would normally relate to the P.N.A.C. on a subordinate-superordinate level to achieve common goals.
2. The P.N.A.C. follows the rules of initiation in attacking community problems, i.e., problem solutions always begin with the people affected.
3. There was clearly delineated planning process, utilizing outside professionals, agencies, universities, industrial consultants, etc.
4. There was a continuous process orientation.
5. A "peoples" organization such as the P.N.A.C. can be a viable community organization with survival value.

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ROLE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOCIAL  
SCIENCES AND SOCIAL WORK

By

George Willie Logan

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The literary works of Dr. Christopher Sower, Dr. Murray G. Ross, and Dr. Arthur Dunham were very helpful and provided me with a great deal of insight into the role social scientists can play in urban communities and their organizations.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Neighborhood Community organization programs have traditionally been "social agency" programs or more in the line of ~~what~~ Miller<sup>1</sup> calls "philanthropic colonialistic" programs. These programs have two basic components: paternalism predicated on the assumption of cultural underdevelopment and clinicalism founded on a presumption of psychological damage. We have only to look historically to determine that to a large extent, social agency programmatic efforts have not yielded the greatest success. Such programs have in one way or another been "social welfare" programs, which by and large continue to be ineffective in their administration and in their ability to achieve stated goals. There are of course severe problems of manpower, funding, and quality of services, etc., nevertheless, these kinds of issues seem to indicate that radical new methods and techniques of dealing with community problems need to be devised, and most seriously considered.

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<sup>1</sup>Henry Miller, "Social Work in the Black Ghetto", Social Work (Vol. 14, Ho. 3, July 1969), p. 65.



The social agency approach, the "I program for you approach", the pouring into communities of massive funding approach, the whole local, state, and federal funds approach to community organization as delineated in our present "poverty" programs need altering in light of the conditions and functioning of contemporary communities. Present approaches are culturally rooted negativism: they are based on an assumption of continual poverty and disadvantage and tend only to deal with already existing problems. They are not geared toward future planning and development. There is no co-partnership between providers and consumers at planning levels. Consumers are not participants, at least not until programs have been formulated and handed down to the implementation level. Even then, the extent to which consumer involvement is permitted is left to question. Methods and techniques of community organization as presently employed by agency structures are continuing to assist communities in maintaining present levels of poverty, urban blight, central city deterioration, etc. To paraphrase a contention of the poor, the disadvantaged, the ghetto dweller, the consumer says: "perhaps we don't know what needs to be done, but we do know that your (agency) approaches to our problems have failed--now, give us a chance to fail." [The Positive Neighborhood Action Committee (P.N.A.C.) is a committee of consumers] who have demanded the right for a chance to fail.

In view of the ever increasing problems of urban unrest poverty, racism, education, and in general the whole strata of social ills facing urban communities, a critical evaluation of a new organizational approach to a complex situation is timely. It is timely also, because it illuminates refreshing and innovative approaches by an organization relatively new to the "social helpers" arena. The P.N.A.C. is such an organization: It was selected as the focus of the present study because of its central city location, and because of its relative success in dealing forthrightly and constructively with its immediate environment and with the larger city community of Detroit.

— In its short history, dating back to 1966, the P.N.A.C. has made very significant contributions to one of the ever recurring problems of community organization; i.e., how to meaningfully involve people in the processes directed toward organizing and developing their own communities. This kind of position has gained much support in recent years. A. J. Cervantes, Mayor of St. Louis, testifying before the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, states:

We have found that ghetto neighborhoods cannot be operated on from outside alone. The people within them should have a voice, and our experience has shown that it is often a voice that speaks with good

sense, since the practical aspect of the needs of the ghetto people are so much clearer to the people there than they are to anyone else.<sup>2</sup>

The emergence of the P.N.A.C. and its revived "peoples'" thrust is making serious inroads into the heretofore impregnable professional arena of community organizing and community development. The P.N.A.C. has progressed well toward eliminating the concept of community planning without community involvement, which has always been a source of friction between community people and those social and government agencies responsible for administering programs. A report prepared for the Senate Subcommittee on employment, manpower and poverty presented prior to the Detroit riot in 1967 exemplifies the problem:

Area residents . . . complain almost continually that their demands for program changes are not heeded, that they have little voice in what goes on . . . As much as the area residents are involved, listened to, and even heeded . . . it becomes fairly clear that the relationship is still one of superordinate-subordinate, rather than one of equals . . . the procedures by which HRD (the Mayor's Committee for Human Resources Development, the Detroit Community Action Agency) operates by and large, admits the contributions of area policies have already operated for a time or already been formulated, and to a large degree only in formal and infrequent meetings rather than in day-to-day operations . . . The meaningfulness of resident involvement is reduced by its after-the-fact nature and by relatively limited resources they have at their disposal.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>U. S. Riot Commission, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder (Bantam Books/Published 1968) p. 287.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 286.

Bridging the gap of resident involvement leads to the critical aspect of the present study. It is the methodology of the P.N.A.C. that will be critically evaluated as part of the total study, in order to determine if the methods and techniques utilized in this new kind of "consumerism" approach to community organization merits broadening and further development, and if so, based upon data collected and conclusions drawn, what are the implications for the broader field of social science, and specifically for the field of social work.

### Background of the Study

The P.N.A.C. is a community based organization of volunteers which was established in the Summer of 1966. It is truly a "peoples" organization: There is no paid staff. It grew out of the frustration, anxieties and unfulfilled needs of a community which was rapidly changing from Polish to Black. The P.N.A.C. community was facing deterioration, disorganization, lack of social services in the area, and a general lack of political voice. Property was run down, schools were demeaning, crime and delinquency were on the incline, and the total area was practically ignored by the city of Detroit. This organization was created, has grown and still exists without traditional sources of support, i.e., without government, agency or foundation support.

Initial organization plans called for the involvement of as many local groups and business concerns as were possible within prescribed community boundaries. Out of this coalition of neighborhood groups and organizations came the mandate for the P.N.A.C. to develop into a force capable of mobilizing people for constructive positive action. The basic philosophy of the organization was and remains two fold:

Can we the people save our neighborhood by demanding alternative planning with resident involvement, and secondly, we not only must do something about ourselves, we must refocus and begin doing things for ourselves.<sup>4</sup>

From this very basic philosophical, and energetic approach, the P.N.A.C. launched its self help programs in a wide variety of areas, aimed at vigorously attacking the social ills that were plaguing its neighborhood. The scope of problem areas run the gamut from sanitation, absentee landlords, crime, police, community relations, disorganized and dislocated families, inadequacy of services of local TAP and other social agency programs--to community control of schools.

The P.N.A.C. organization is located in the heart of the inner city of the east side of Detroit. It serves the community bound on the north by Warren Avenue, on the east

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<sup>4</sup>Presentation - Governor's Conference, June 20, 1967, Lansing, Michigan by the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee and Urban Dynamics.

side by Mt. Elliot, on the south by Gratiot, and on the west by Dequindre. The area comprises 165 city blocks with about 23,000 people living within the delineated boundaries.

Table 1 gives a skeleton breakdown of the community socio-economically, based on preliminary reports from the 1970 census.<sup>5</sup>

TABLE 1  
COMPOSITION OF THE P.N.A.C. COMMUNITY

White Population	3,061
Non <del>X</del> White Population (99% Black)	20,051
<u>Total Population</u>	23,112
Median education (grade level)	8.2
Median family income	3,446
Dilapidated housing (1965)	32.4%
Unskilled labor force	77.0%
Unemployment	26.4%
Unemployment (City of Detroit)	10.0%

The figures listed in Table 1 are intended only to provide a clearer picture of the neighborhood which the P.N.A.C. serves.

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<sup>5</sup>U. S. Dept. of Commerce--Bureau of the Census-1970 Preliminary Report.

✓ Organizational Structure of the P.N.A.C.

The P.N.A.C. since inception has been chaired by Mrs. Annie Watkins, a licensed beautician and the president of her block club. Presently Mrs. Watkins and Mrs. Isabell Rushin with a board of directors and a secretary - receptionist comprise what might be described as the P.N.A.C. staff. Mrs. Watkins and Rushin are the two primary people in the organization: All programmatic activities are supervised and directed by these two people. In addition to the P.N.A.C. board and two key actors above, the organizational structure consists of six very actively functioning standing committees: Housing, Police-Community Relations, Recreation, Sanitation, School Related Services, Social Services, and a steering committee.

The standing committee idea has proven to be fruitful from an organizational perspective because it allows a much larger cross section of community people and groups to rally around specific interest areas of need, and to develop specific programs and strategies to meet those needs. This has prevented a centralization of power in any one place or among any one group, which can be the downfall of community organizations, and it might be added, many agency organizations. The standing committee concept serves another positive function, it allows for the active participation of large numbers of community residents in the decision-

making and planning processes. Even though the board of directors elected by the community over-sees the total program, each standing Committee has a great deal of antonomy of operation within the boundaries of its prescribed role assignments. It has been noted that while casework and group work might possibly be carried on without committees, community organization can not. Committee practice therefore is a crucial method of community organization. The role(s) if the various committees will be elaborated on in more detail in subsequent chapters.

#### Significance and Underlying Assumptions ✓

The significance of this study has to be evaluated in two respects. One, as a study of a peoples organization, operated by the people themselves, is this kind of organizational model a viable model which can adequately address itself to the many needs of an inner city community? Secondly, as a viable model, can the component parts be clearly delineated so that the model can demonstrate survival value and replicability in terms of being transplantable as an on-going community organization process?

This is a study of a different kind of community "agency" which is committed to eradicating the social ills facing its people. [The P.N.A.C. organization has been very innovative in attempting to develop new approaches to meet individual needs as well as the needs of the community at



large. [Its clientele, as described earlier, is the very much typical and difficult to reach Black, inner city, poverty stricken families. The P.N.A.C. organization successfully reaches and involves hard to reach families. This has significant role implications for the field of social science.] This issue is dealt with in considerable depth in the last chapter of this study.

The entire role question of the social scientist is scrutinized indirectly as the P.N.A.C. organization is described and analyzed. The primary assumption of this study is that the social scientist has a key role in the development and operation of an organization such as the P.N.A.C. The assumption is based fully on the recognition of the fact that because community people are able and capable of articulating their individual and collective needs that singularly they may not be equally able and capable of bringing know-how kinds of knowledge to bear on the problem areas, or of providing sound methods and techniques to deal with those problem areas. This study attempts to illustrate how one such peoples organization is bridging the gap between the previously "mother-knows-best" approaches of social agencies and social scientists, and the community which they serve.

It is a further assumption of this study that neither the social scientist or the community residents (represented by the P.N.A.C.) is capable of affecting desired change alone, that the two can affect together. The P.N.A.C. was

willing to try this marriage and so were social science professionals from a local consultant firm, several local agencies, social and governmental structures, and Michigan State University. There are processes that already have been used in this marriage, and it is assumed that it has been the result of these processes being constructively employed that has accounted for the survival and relative success of the P.N.A.C. organization. This study is concerned with the adequacy of this marriage as a model for community organization and community development. The assumption is that this is not only a desirable marriage but a necessary one in clarifying and spelling out the purposes and process of an innovative organization. Such an organization does not exclude but rather co-exists with other agencies and agency professionals in providing up-to-date and consistent interpretations of current issues and in evaluating the reliability and validity of the methods and techniques employed and proposed.

#### Questions Considered in the Study

The analysis of methods and principles of community organization utilized by the P.N.A.C. organization in working with an urban, inner city community should raise general questions for both the community and the social scientists:

1. What kinds of knowledge is necessary to alter the roles of existing community organizations?

2. How does the community gain knowledge of new methods of community organization: how is such knowledge utilized?
3. How are cooperative and coordinated efforts between different organizations brought about? How is conflict minimized?
4. What are the relationships between citizen participation, and power and authority as they relate to the community planning process?
5. Can systematic alterations of traditional community organizations methods and techniques by peoples organizations ultimately lead to a refocusing of resources on the part of the larger social system?
6. How does development theory of organizations relate to the behavior of individuals and/or small groups.
7. What specifically is the role of the university in peoples organizations?
8. What is the process of assuring survival value for urban neighborhood organizations?

Based on the theory of what a community organization does and what its process is, the present research will attempt to isolate and substantiate basically the following:

1. The P.N.A.C.'s ability to establish working relationships between groups that have traditionally been in conflict, in order to common goals.
2. The P.N.A.C.'s capability of coordinating relationships based on common consent between groups located in equal positions of a community of interest status order, and if these kinds of relationships are more likely to achieve common goals than are those based on a subordinate-superordinate basis within the hierarchy of a community of interest status order.
3. The importance of the manner in which initiation processes are first organized and presented to the community, or relevant order of the action

process, and how this becomes a variable by which to predict acceptance, neutrality or opposition by different segments of the relevant order by the community.

4. The P.N.A.C.'s planning orientation.

5. The P.N.A.C.'s process orientation.

Because the P.N.A.C. Organization is the vehicle through which the process is carried out, the organization and the process are not viewed as separate entities. The former is treated as an instrument that facilitates the latter. Therefore, at any point in the present study, where the researcher describes the P.N.A.C. organization, the process is likewise being focused upon.

With these kind of ideas in mind, the remainder of the study attempts to look at the P.N.A.C. as an organization in process.

### General Organization

The remainder of the study is divided into five additional Chapters. Chapter II is a review of the literature as it relates to community organization. The introduction of the chapter deals with some early conceptualizations of community organization and its evolutionary development. From there, the theory of development organizations is discussed as it relates to the development and practice of community organization. The chapter concludes with a look at basic principles and current trends of the field.

Chapter III is a continuation of the literature review but not from the theoretical perspective. This chapter is concerned with the issues of citizen participation in the community organization process. Because of the importance of this topic, it is being dealt with in a separate chapter to allow for greater depth. Major emphasis is placed on historical development of citizen involvement, pros and cons of involvement, and the evaluation of such involvement as a viable means of affecting social change. An attempt is also made to place citizen involvement in a proper perspective as it relates to community power and authority structures and the resulting effects of such involvement on the whole question of community planning. The chapter concludes with a brief review of tactics and strategies of citizen participation.

Chapter IV is the study design. Sources of data, procedures for collecting, and methods employed are described in this section.

Chapter V deals with data analysis, interpretations, and applications. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the P.N.A.C. process (derived from collected data) as it relates and incorporates basic principles of community organizations.

Chapter VI deals with the results and discussion. In addition, it covers role implications for the field of

social work. Discussion is in terms of traditional "social helper" roles, boundary maintenance, and multidisciplinary approaches leading to "new" roles. The chapter concludes with a further look at the limitation of the study, and the implications for additional research.

### Limitations of the Study

The study is a descriptive analysis of the methods and techniques of a "peoples'" organization. The study is so designed to investigate if such "peoples'" organizations do in fact have a community organization function, and whether or not there is survival value for this kind of structure. Because of the relative "newness" of the P.N.A.C. organization, and its lack of ties to "established organizations", generalization of results are somewhat limited. Careful note should be made that while the study is concerned with effectiveness, it does not attempt to measure it: rather it deals with the measurement of factors which either enhance or inhibit effectiveness.

The study does not include data covering the suitability of P.N.A.C.'s; inner city location, its lack of true ethnic makeup, or the fact that the social atmosphere is presently conducive to pro-community-organization and people involvement in self determination.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

Early conceptualization of community organization in social work was concerned primarily with purpose, the nature of the community, the community as a "client," the similarity to, and the difference from casework and group-work, the role(s) of the worker, and the relationship of social action to community organization. Early organizers envisioned initiating and sustaining a kind of democratic process, involving the citizen and the experts at the grass root level, to make a viable creative entity out of the whole community. Their idea of social welfare was broad and all inclusive. These early community organization advocates depended primarily on the then contemporary theories of sociology and social psychology for their knowledge base of practice. They also recognized that the idea of a cohesive community working together in unified solidarity was more an ideal than an actuality.

Today, the conceptualization of community organization has undergone an evolutionary change designed to remain in line with the community patterns of an industrilized, and

bureaucratized urban society. Arthur Dunham has conceptualized community organization in very general terms as:

A conscious process of social interaction and a method of social work concerned with any or all of the following objectives: (a) the meeting of broad needs and bringing about and maintaining adjustment between needs and resources in a community or other area; (b) helping people deal more effectively with their problems and objectives, by helping them develop, strengthen, and maintain qualities of participation, self direction and cooperation; (c) bringing about changes in community and group relationships and in the distribution of decision-making power<sup>1</sup>

Dunham's definition is broad enough to allow for the inclusion of community organization methods and techniques in almost any aspect of community life such as education, housing, economics, religion, recreation, etc. However, before looking more indepth at the practice of community organization it might be useful to first review some of the theory of organization and organizational development; i.e., the knowledge base of the actual process.

### Theory of Development Organization

Urban society is characterized by the establishment of small and large scale bureaucratic organizations within which the major functions of society are performed. Not only have small government units recognized the important

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur Dunham, The New Community Organization, (Thomas Y. Crowell Co. New York), 1970, p. 4.



role of these formal structures, but emerging nations have also realized that their efforts of progress must be carried out within these organizational structures. As a consequence, the study of organization and the behavior of those involved in their operation has received considerable attention from social scientists. From Max Weber to Blau, March and Simon, organizational behavior analysis has become an important topic of study.

Without attempting to present the views of the various bureaucratic analysts, focus will be on one theory about large scale organization, i.e. the theory of development organization. This is done because of its special application to the present study endeavor.

The idea of development organization as a theoretical model for organizational analysis and predicting organizational behavior has been developed from within the broad framework of the "positive social organization" concept by Parsons. Whereas the term 'social organization' is an old one, Parsons gave new meaning to it during the course of his discussion and criticism of the assumptions underlying C. Wright Mills' analysis of power. In Mills' scheme of thinking, power appears to be essentially a negative phenomenon which, in effect, is exercised by the holder for the preservation of his power to the detriment of others. In redefining the role of power in modern society, Parsons suggests that . . . "power, while of course subject to

abuses and in need of many controls, is an essential and desirable component of a highly organized society."<sup>2</sup> In fact what Parsons suggests is that whether power is misused is an empirical question and not definitional. Definitionally speaking, power can be positively exercised for enhancing the objectives which the individual and the society have set forth, as in the concept of "positive social organization." Sower and Miller in offering an explanation for the vast agriculture organizational establishments during the last century used this concept and as a result evolved a new set of organizational principles which, they contend, can predictably affect the achievement of goals desired by the society. In place of "positive social organization" they use the concept of "development organization."<sup>3</sup>

A development organization is defined as a bureaucratically arranged social system with at least one specifiable goal.<sup>4</sup> This goal cannot be achieved with the

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<sup>2</sup>Talcott Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies (Illinois: Free Press, 1960), p. 220.

<sup>3</sup>Christopher Sower and Paul A. Miller, "The Changing Power Structure in Agriculture," Our Changing Rural Society: Perspectives and Trends, ed. by James H. Copp (Ames, Iowa: State University, 1964).

<sup>4</sup>The author is now following Sower on this and succeeding pages except where specified.

resources or employed personnel within the bureaucratic command. Legitimate, non-hierarchical accesses and linkages to the resources of other participant-recipient social systems must be established by the organization in order to set and to achieve its goals, which are definable as for the "good of the whole" or good for the "community of interests." This notion further assumes that a "fund of good will" exists in a community of interest. The participant-recipient system is defined as a formal or informal social system that either contributes to or benefits from the goal achievement of the development organization.

Both the participant-recipient system and the development organization must justify this cooperative action within their own beliefs, sentiments, values, and patterns of social organization. The key element characterizing a development organization then is its linkage to other participant-recipient social systems in order to achieve common goals.

Two interrelated sets of principles are included in Sower's development organization theory. They are: (1) principles of "inter-organization" structure, linkage and management, and (2) principles of "intra-organization" situations as dealt with in traditional, large-scale organization theory.

## Principles of Inter-Organizational Relationships

### Access Linkages:

This first set of principles deals with the characterizing features of a development organization, namely, the multitude of relationships to other social systems necessary to achieve development goals. Development organization personnel, at the end position of the bureaucratically structured development organization, must establish and maintain many hundreds of non-bureaucratic linkages with a large number of social systems. They must gain access to resources of participant-recipient systems across bureaucratic social system boundaries without the aid of position or "chain of command" authority. This access and linkage must be made primarily on the basis of influence and not on the basis of position authority. The depth of influence is reflected in the participant-recipient system's perceptions of an interest, willingness and ability of the development organization and its personnel to help in cooperative solutions to common problems which result in the achieving of common development goals.

This link is measured in terms of a goal that has been defined as "for the good of the community of interests."

It should be noted here that a development organization never merges with other social systems to form a new system. It simply gains legitimate access to the resources

of these systems for allocation to a common development goal.

The Involvement Process:

The process of involvement is related to the way in which organizations form coalitions to achieve goals which are definable as for the good of the community of interests. At least two principles emerge as being relevant to the involvement process.

The first is a positive identification within the community of common interests, inherent in any area of interdependence, around which it is possible to organize resources to achieve common goals definable as for good of the community.

The second principle deals with how groups within an area of interdependence act to achieve common goals deemed desirable for the good of the whole as well as for the good of the independent interest. This principle postulates that it is impossible for anyone to deny the inherent character of a project that has been defined as for the actual or potential good of the whole community of interests as well as for each member or group of that community. This would in essence deny the existence of the "fund of good will" concept. Research<sup>5</sup> supporting these principles shows that:

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<sup>5</sup>Paul Miller, Community Health Action, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1953. Christopher Sower, John Holland, Kenneth Tiedke, and Walter Freeman, Community Involvement, Free Press of Glencoe, 1957.

1. Effective working relationships to achieve a common goal can be established even between groups that have traditionally been in conflict.
2. "Coordinate" relationships based on common consent between groups located in equal position of a community of interest status order are more likely to achieve a common goal than are those based on a subordinate-superordinate basis within the hierarchy of a community of interest status order.
3. The manner in which the initiation process is first organized and the project first presented to the public, or relevant order of the action process, is an important variable by which to predict acceptance neutrality or opposition by different segments of the relevant order or by the public. For example, if the initiating process became captured by one segment to enhance its own benefits, this would provide legitimate grounds for opposition to form within other segments of the relevant order.

The "development organization theory" stated in terms of intra-organizational principles holds that any organization is only something in the minds of people. An organization is a collectivity of various individuals drawn together to achieve stated goals. These individuals form a network of both formal and informal relationships among themselves. They act and relate to each other in terms of the values and sentiments which each one of them brings into the organization. In this sense then, we can perceive an organization as not only containing the 'most immediate' individuals involved in the operation of an organization, but we can also recognize the distant and the far off 'relevant others' associated in varying degrees of involvement with the organization. In other words, if we regard an organization



as an 'environmental manipulative system' then we can recognize not only the very immediate actors as important, but also the distant, but yet related, outsiders as necessary components of organizational behavior. Some social scientists tend to make a distinction between the 'variables' and 'parameters' on the basis of difference in the environmental position of various factors.<sup>6</sup> Sower however resolves this dilemma by offering the concept of 'organization anchor points of legitimation' which were derived from Parsons' "three levels in the hierarchical structure of the organization."<sup>7</sup> The Product Using System:

This level represents those people in the organization who use the product of the organization and who place value on the product in terms of the product's utility in meeting their needs.

Sower suggests that goal selection and goal action are managed through the complex of work relationships. These three components hold expectations for and about the

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<sup>6</sup>For example, see: Gwen Andrew, "An Analytical System Model for Organization Theory," (unpublished paper, East Lansing: Michigan Department of Mental Health, 1963).

<sup>7</sup>Talcott Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organization," Part I and II, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. I and II (June and September, 1956), pp. 63-85 and 225-239. Also see Talcott Parsons, "Some Ingredients of a General Theory of Formal Organizations," Chapter III, in Andrew W. Halpin, Administrative Theory in Education, Midwest Administrative Center, Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 1958.



organization. The problem then is how groups in these various levels "within an area of interdependence" select a common goal perceived as desirable by these sub-structures. In fact, the selection of goal for the organization is seen as one of the primary variables in the analysis of organizations. Anderson suggests a proposition based on the principle of "anchor points of legitimation;" namely that:

the nature of the goals of an organization, and how these goals are arrived at and set, is one of the most predictive variables for explaining other organizational variables such as: Organizational personnel relationships, service relationships and the consequences that the organizational output will have upon its relationships to other social systems.<sup>8</sup>

The tri-structural legitimation model offers a theoretical basis of explanation of organizational goal setting in the beginning, as well as during the subsequent stages, of its growth. This is indeed an important point, in as much as it points to the fact that organizational goal setting and organizational goal achievement are not static phenomena. It is rather a dynamic arrangement of expectations which each sub-structure or level holds as basically important to its existence. If this is so, then the legitimation principle offers two benefits for research experimentation. An obvious benefit is that, in this model, we tend to recognize the strength of structural analysis as we focus

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<sup>8</sup>Robert Anderson, "A Method and Instrument for Predicting the Consequences of Intra-Organizational Action," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1961), p. 45.

our major attention on each level and its role relationship in organizational affairs. We, in effect, admit that individuals operate and show their strength as members of these various sub-structures. If, therefore, we can change the sub-unitary perception, we can affect changes in organizational behavior to advantage. "It is sufficient to say here that functions of each of these . . . types of sub-structures within an organization are important to developing the models necessary for predicting such processes as goal achievement."<sup>9</sup>

An organization has many relationships to other structures. These structures are usually organizations, but may occasionally be individuals, such as relation to a person who has influence because he is held in personal esteem by members of the community of interests. An organization therefore has many established working relationships with many hundreds of other social systems. Each of these social systems fits into the anchor point of legitimation model, either as resource input systems or as product using systems.

A logical way of classifying the middle anchor point, or resource receiving organization, is to label it a development organization.

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<sup>9</sup>Christopher Sower, "Working Papers: The Role of Organization in Achieving Development Goals: The Case of Ceylon," (unpublished U. N. Technical Mission Report, 1962). See Also: Christopher Sower, et. al., "The Role of Organizations in Achieving the Goals of Planned Change," Highway Change and Locality Change, Part IV, (unpublished Michigan State University Report, 1961).

By definition, this type of organization has a peculiar type of relationship to other organizations. Basically, a development organization cannot achieve its goals without first activating some other organizations to work for the good of a locality, community of interests, or public good. In any of these relationships, the development organization is in difficulty if the participant-recipient organization perceives that the action is being initiated primarily for the good of the initiating organization, and not primarily for the good of the receiver.

There are at least two ways that any two or more organizations can establish working relationships: either, 1) they merge certain portions of themselves to form a new system or organization, or 2) they agree to act on common goals. Development organizations, by definition, establish these working relationships by use of the second alternative.

### Consequences of the Organizations Actions

The concepts of "anticipated and unanticipated consequences" of any given social action are widely used terms in social science. Their definitions are obvious in that there are certain intended consequences for any action. These are either achieved, or they are not achieved. Likewise, there may be consequences which were not intended. These are either deemed desirable or undesirable.

The problem becomes more complex when the unit of observation is a large organization than when it is a social unit of only two or three persons. The goal of research is to increase ability to predict the consequences of any given social action, hence to increase the precision with which more of the consequences can be anticipated, and thus a higher proportion predicted.

Several types of consequences are observable from the behavior of organizations. Three types are dealt with in Sower's theory. There are consequences pertaining to 1) persons who occupy positions in the organization, 2) the maintenance of the organization, and 3) development organization goal achievement.

It is postulated on the basis of consequences to persons who occupy positions in large bureaucratic organizations that:

1. There is a direct positive relationship between the extent to which position incumbents perceive their involvement in organizational action with interest, enthusiasm and satisfaction and the extent of goal achievement for the organization.
2. There is a direct negative relationship between the extent to which position incumbents perceive their involvement in organizational action as conflicting, stressful, and emotional tension building and the extent of goal achievement for the organization.

In consideration of the consequences to the maintenance of an organization it should be noted that maintenance is not necessarily an automatic function of an organization.

It is postulated that:

There is an inverse relationship between the percentage of its resources an organization must allocate for maintenance and the extent to which the organization is providing timely functional needs of the larger community of interests of which it is a part.

Finally, the consequences of achieving the goals of an organization rest primarily on the organization's ability to clearly and systematically define, set, and rank, its sub-unit and total organization goals.

The goal achievement pattern of any organization may be classified within two general types:

1. Extent to which the visible goals are achieved.
2. Extent to which users of the organization's output justify using its services for their own good, or the public good.

This is essentially a legitimate model of output, and though related to the first, is primarily of a different order.

#### Role Consensus as a Variable in Development Organization Theory

It has been pointed out that bureaucratic roles do not function in isolation. They are performed in relationship with a series of other roles. Organizational behavior, as such, is determined more by the interlocking variables of role consensus rather than individual roles. After all, an organization is nothing more than a "collectivity of

positions with accompanying behavior expectations for the incumbents of each position and for the unit as a whole."<sup>10</sup>

Roles in organizations tend to cluster around two major nexus points. The first one is personal, composed of all formal and informal positions occupied by an individual. The second is organizational, composed of all the roles in any sub-unit of the organization. There may be a considerable degree of difference in what each incumbent perceives and expects his role to be and what an organization and its various sub-units anticipates and believes is the role of its members. These prescriptions and proscriptions of individual roles are problems of cognitive definitions having different meaning and value for each individual. In short, it is a problem of consensus, i.e. lack of it. The problem of consensus can be seen as occurring on two levels. First, the individual is subject to behavior expectations held by relevant others in the individual's immediate sub-unit of which he is a member. Secondly, he holds a position in the total organization structure and as such is subject to behavior expectations of a totality of other position incumbents in an organization.

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<sup>10</sup>Christopher Sower, et. al., "The Role of Organization in Achieving the Goals of Planned Change," Highway and Locality Change, Part IV, (unpublished Michigan State University Report, 1961), p. 10.

In addition, the actor has a self image of what he should be doing. Sower postulates that the consequence of these variant demands may be that ". . . there will not be consistency between the different 'relevant others' who have the legitimative right to hold behavior expectations for any given position incumbent."<sup>11</sup> The problem of variant behavior expectation, Sower suggests, causes the problem of consensus with two sets of consequences. The first deals with psychological consequences to position incumbents; the second, with the consequences of achieving organizational goals.<sup>12</sup> It is beyond the scope of this analysis to present the possible ranges of psychological consequences of a lack of consensus except to suggest the possible emergence of emotional stresses in a situation of that kind. In as much as the actor's own perception comes into conflict with what others expect him to do, he may experience a variety of psychological stresses.

The second type of consequence with which we are concerned at this stage leads us into explaining the relationship between lack of consensus among the various

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<sup>11</sup>Christopher Sower, "The Land Grant University, Development Organization in Transition: The Case of the Extension Service," Proceedings of Seventh Annual Cooperative Administrative Seminar, (Madison Extension Center for Advanced Study, University of Wisconsin, 1962), p. 42.

<sup>12</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 49.

relevant segments in so far as the organizational goal is concerned. It is postulated that in a complex organization goals frequently are not clearly defined, thus disagreement about roles among those who operate it may exist. There tends to be a degree of difference in conceptions about the role the complex organization is expected to perform. "A natural condition of a large scale organization is that there will not likely be consensus between the goal achievement patterns of sub-sections and those of the total organization."<sup>13</sup>

The problem of organizational goal consensus is, therefore, a problem of legitimation and justification of these goals, by various parts of an organization. Each sub-structure (three anchor points of legitimation) defines and justifies the goals in terms of their own respective unitary objectives. This justification in part results from the norms and sentiments which are believed to be of value to the sub-unit. As a result of this process, the members of a sub-unit may identify goals in their own minds as over-all organizational goals. A contest between the various sub-units may emerge. A large amount of development energy in these cases is spent in justifying sub-unit goals.

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<sup>13</sup>Sower, et. al., op. cit., Part I, p. 27.



The organization then becomes basically oriented to fulfill only one function, i.e., that of maintenance. In terms of consensual validity of the organizational goals, it may be proposed then that the extent to which the organization achieves its goals has some relationship to two variables:

1. The degree of agreement the relevant segments have about organizational goals, and
2. The extent to which the organization imposes upon its segments patterns of behavior that are congruent with their own perceptions and expectations.

The developing countries are establishing many of these large scale development organizations to initiate and achieve development objectives.

#### Basic Principles and Current Trends in Community Organizations

At the beginning of this chapter, a definition of community organization was quoted from Arthur Dunham's conceptualization which deals essentially with (a) bridging the gap between needs and resources, (b) assisting communities in self determination and cooperation, and (c) the redistribution of decision-making power. Murray G. Ross also posits a definition of community organization which views it as:

a process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives, orders (or ranks) these needs or objectives, develop the confidence and will to work at these needs or objectives, finds the resources (internal and/or external) to deal with these needs or objectives, takes

action in respect to them, and in so doing extends and develops cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community.<sup>14</sup>

Further discussion of basic principles of community organization will either directly or indirectly proceed from the prospective of the preceeding two definitions. Ross' position implies a form of community integration - the exercise of cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices which lead to identification with the community. For Ross, there are three primary orientations in community organization practices: (a) reform orientation, (b) planning orientation, and (c) process orientation. This third orientation is the central focus of the community organization process: the achievement of self determination, cooperative and collaborative work among various groups, and the capacity to solve community problems. This particular orientation differs from the first two in that these focus on the achievement of tangible goals such as facilities and services.

Dunham takes a somewhat narrow view of Ross' definition, in that Ross' view of total community involvement is not possible, unless the community is very small, and that community organization can not be restricted to total

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<sup>14</sup>Murray G. Ross, Community Organization, Theory, Principles, and Practice, (Harper and Row, Publishers) 1967, p. 40.

communities, but rather only certain parts. Dunham<sup>15</sup> holds that community organization should be a primary function of social agencies and not a secondary function. In this way, supportive or facilitative activities which are necessary and incidental to the giving of direct services by a social agency can be achieved. Differing again somewhat with Ross, he does not regard social action as an additional social work process or as a separate process in itself, Dunham considers social action as another aspect of community organization practice. The community organizer has to engage in social action irrespective of whether or not it is a special process. For Dunham, both social action and community organization rely on common methods.

Dunham's mode of thought, along with others in agreement with him is responsible for the school of community organization that proposes coordination of all community-wide services at the council level as the essence of community organization.<sup>16</sup> Ross does not limit community organization

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<sup>15</sup>Arthur Dunham, Community Welfare Organization, Principles and Practice, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1968).

<sup>16</sup>The need for broad participation in interagency planning has indeed become so generally recognized that the council device has become part of the social machinery of every sizable community in the United States, and exists in several forms at the National level. Increasingly citizen activity is being re-emphasized as vital to these agencies in joint planning in order that the product which results may be truly community organization for social welfare. Russell H. Kurtz, "Community Organization for Social Welfare," Kurtz, ed., Social Works Year Book 1949 (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1949), p. 130.

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to welfare services alone or to the large coordinating central agency concept. He contends that it is useful in many other facets of community life, e.g., agriculture, education, etc. In this latter respect, Dunham's position is not dissonant. It becomes apparent that community organization is not reform alone; and neither is it singularly a process of planning and coordination at a council level.

In regards to new trends in the field Dunham in his book, "The New Community Organization" states: "More sweeping changes have occurred in community organization between 1955 and 1969 than during any comparable period in its history."<sup>17</sup> People like Floyd Hunter, James Coleman, Ronald Lippitt and his associates, and Roland L. Warren, have put behavior science theory into the concept of community organization. They introduced new concepts and theoretical formulations from sociology and social psychology into the analysis and understanding of community organization practice. Both Hunter's<sup>18</sup> and Coleman's<sup>19</sup> work introduce conceptual realism into the understanding of community

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<sup>17</sup>Arthur Dunham, "The New Community Organization," (Thomas Y. Crowell Co. Inc., 1970), p. 85.

<sup>18</sup>Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers, (University of North Carolina Press, 1965)

<sup>19</sup>James Coleman, Community Conflict, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957).

organization practice which had previously neglected the analysis of factors in a community which affect voluntary participation, the worker, the process, and the outcome.

Lippitt<sup>20</sup> and his colleagues in Dynamics of Planned Change, construct a series of concepts - planned change, change forces, resistance forces, interdependence forces, interference forces, etc., - to analyze and guide the practitioner's role in changing the small social system or client system. They provide a broad range of new alternative roles and techniques for the community organizer.

Warren in "Toward a Reformulation of Community Theory."<sup>21</sup> and Patterns of Community Action,<sup>22</sup> suggests even another conceptual framework which adds tremendously to the development of the field of community organization. He further elaborates this conceptualization in The Community in America.<sup>23</sup> Specifically, Warren developed the concept of a community as

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<sup>20</sup>Ronald Lippitt, Jeanne Watson and Bruce Westley, The Dynamics of Planned Change (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1958).

<sup>21</sup>Roland L. Warren, "Toward a Reformulation of Community Theory," Human Organization, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer, 1956),

<sup>22</sup>Roland L. Warren, Patterns of Community Action (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, 1962).

<sup>23</sup>Leonard Kogan, ed. Social Science Theory and Social Work Research (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1960).

composed of a multitude of systems, many of which are more influenced by their horizontal relationships. Under the Warren system, actions of locally based units are influenced by units outside of the local scene. This constitutes the nature of these relationships which are the essence of community life and action. He further postulates that a new action system has to be created for each episode of inter-unit cooperation. This position places Warren in opposition to the Lippitt group because Warren does not assume that a client system pre-exists and that a change agent need only contract with a subpart to work with. He feels that actually it has to be created for each action episode.

It is the Warren's, the Hunter's, the Lippitt's, etc., who have brought broad new thinking to the field of community organization. Their conceptualizations are enabling practitioners not only to use but readily recognize aspects of community organization amenable to empirical research.

Alfred Kahn, Martin Rein and Robert Morris and Jack Rothman are among another group whose scholarly approaches to community organization adds significantly to the field. In a series of papers by the above authors, they succeed in projecting new levels of sophistication in understanding social science concepts of organization, role, power structure, and planned change theories, taken mostly from sociology and social psychology. These authors perhaps contribute as much as any one toward dispelling the notion

of using social casework and social group work as sole models for the community organization practitioner.

Kahn,<sup>24</sup> in his paper, "Social Science Conceptual Framework for Community Organization Research" critically evaluates previous community organization formulations based on comprehensive knowledge of behavior science and research studies. He raised many questions about Ross' formulations, in terms of the absence of sufficient objective indicators to measure a community's capacity to change, Kahn is primarily interested in trying to systematically and empirically document the facts of much of Ross' and others early formulations.

Rein and Morris,<sup>25</sup> in their article, "Goals, Structures, and Strategies for Community Change" came into direct conflict with Ross' primary orientation - planning and integration concepts. They take the position that organizations and agencies in social welfare can pursue one of two orientations, either community integration or achieving predetermined objectives. They do not view the two orientations, as compatible within one agency or organization.

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<sup>24</sup>Leonard Kogan, ed., Social Science Theory and Social Theory and Social Work Research (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1960).

<sup>25</sup>Martin Rein and Robert Morris, "Goals, Structures, and Strategies for Community Change," Social Welfare Forum, 1962, Proceedings of the National Conference on Social Welfare (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).



It is felt that when both occur simultaneously, dysfunction of the agency or organization result. For Rein and Morris there are different strategies and structures suited to each kind of orientation, and for each of Ross' ideal types, a new method is necessary. They do agree, however, that either of Ross' orientations with different goals, strategies, and structures is compatible with the social work practice of community organization.

Jack Rothman<sup>26</sup> in "An Analysis of Goals and Roles in Community Organization Practice" offers some new insights into the dual goals of community organization practice. He views process or integration goals as related to functional capacity, and selected task goals as related to delimited functional problems. Both goal attainments can be measured by objective indicators. (The issue of measuring by objectivity is one of Kahn's criticisms of Ross' early formulations.) Rothman also rejects Ross' all purpose 'enabler' role model and suggests a variety of intervention roles for the practitioner, all of which are compatible with the social work practice of community organization. Rothman, unlike Rein and Morris, does not posit any latent incompatibility of dual goals as performed in one agency or one organization. He views the two goals (integration and

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<sup>26</sup> Jack Rothman, "An Analysis of Goals and Roles in Community Organization Practice." Social Work, Vol. 9, No. 2 (April, 1964),

planning) as equally legitimate, and interlocking. Which goal to stress temporarily, and under what given conditions, presently have no theoretical foundation: this leaves the practitioner to rely upon rule of thumb for guidance.

To conclude this section of the chapter, a brief look at Werner W. Boehm's<sup>27</sup> paper "The Nature of Social Work" offers a new dimension in the exploration of contemporary social problems. This approach views the industrialized and urbanized society as producing social problems for different status groupings in society, as a by-product of its functioning. Thus, Boehm reasons that social welfare services and programs are a normal, stable, enduring feature of the social economy. Such services and programs should therefore be institutionalized, as contrasted with residual, or of a contemporary nature, and not offered only to those individuals and families who break down. This institutional approach is focused on large segments of classes in the population, and not therapeutically focused on particular individuals and families. Boehm's position posits an institutional scheme without reference to specific social ills, but rather for all, as a matter of right, in an urban industrialized society.

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<sup>27</sup>Werner W. Boehm, "The Nature of Social Work," Social Work, Vol. 2, No. 2 (April 1958), p. 16. (see also Harold L. Wulensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1958).

If this approach is accepted in the social work profession, community organization practice will undoubtedly turn further in the direction of system analysis, and system change. However valid and promising the new directions may be, Warren in his paper "Consensus and Confrontation In Community Change," warns of the difficulties that will be encountered in any attempt at such new directions. He says:

System change is difficult in any event, for a number of reasons. One is the force of habit: people are accustomed to the status quo. Further, change may actually be disruptive. In addition, certain ways of doing things take on strong ideological overtones, and so certain changes meet with strong ideological resistance. Hence, bringing about these system changes, or structural changes, as they are sometimes called, is not easy.

What from one point may be considered system change may be looked at from another viewpoint as merely a slight modification in the system to permit it to continue to persist in its present environment. Or putting this another way, social systems such as organizations or communities are changing all the time, but they are changing only incrementally, for the most part. At the same time, a succession of such incremental changes may aggregate to a situation which is so different that one may feel justified in calling it system change.<sup>28</sup>

### Summary

The present chapter has attempted to provide a cross section view of literature. The discussion of development

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<sup>28</sup>The American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 St., New York, New York 10022. Text of Dessie E. Kushell Memorial Lecture presented at the Institute of Human Relations of the American Jewish Committee, May 20, 1969.

organizations has been dealt with in some detail because of its direct relationship to the functioning and operation of community organizations; i.e., bureaucratic organization or "local" or "neighborhood" organization: there are common properties in terms of their structural components and operations. A further look has been taken at community organization literature from a field of operation perspective; tracing conceptualizations of the field from its early inception to current trends. In viewing the evolutionary process of community organization development the chapter also covers the basic theory and principles which provide the knowledge base for field practice.

Finally the chapter attempts to cover the behavioral and social science base from which the field of community organization has gained legitimacy. Through this kind of social science approach, the field has earned the right to proceed from new frameworks and formulations, well grounded in sound concepts and based on research of the behavioral sciences.

## CHAPTER III

### CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

#### Background

At one time or another during most planning and organizing efforts the concept of "citizen participation" is likely to be discussed. It is in very few planning attempts that any efforts are made to apply a concept of citizen participation. Why some planning programs will pay lip service to citizen participation and others will succeed in its application appears to lie in the control of access to decision-making in planning.

Although this is not a new explanation for the success or failure of citizen participation, the support of this position is relatively new. This chapter seeks to investigate the strategy that is required to support efforts that have as part of their goals the establishment of citizen participation in planning processes. A basic assumption of this chapter is that if citizen participation is to be successful, planning organizations must provide access to the decision-making process for participation organizations.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and its 1967 amendments, were the initial efforts on the part of large government units to deal with the issue of citizen participation. They extend the "opportunity" concept from employment and training for youths to:

A full range of opportunities . . . for the poor . . . .  
The ultimate goal is to enable low income persons to achieve self sufficiency. In short, the community action program should move poor people through their own efforts into the mainstream of American life.<sup>1</sup>

The 1967 amendments went even further by providing for career development models for neighborhood residents, and in addition the amendments contained a radically new provision which encouraged the use of neighborhood based delegate agencies at least half of whose governing board members are to be residents of the area and members, of the groups served.

Occurring almost simultaneously with the Economic Opportunity Act's new amendments was the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, whose purpose was to help cities,

Plan, administer and carry out coordinated physical and social renewal programs to improve the environment and

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<sup>1</sup>Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967, Senate Report No. 563, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, - th. Congress, 19th. Session, p. 45. This was earlier distilled in Sec. 202(a), Subsec. (3), of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which require, that Community Action Programs be developed "with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."

the general welfare of people living in slums and blighted areas.<sup>2</sup>

This act created Model Cities which is required to have "widespread citizen participation in the program."<sup>3</sup> In a broad and liberal interpretation of the city Demonstration Act, the Department of Housing and Urban Development in an official newsletter states:

there should be an organizational structure, existing or newly established, that embodies neighborhood residents in the process of policy and program planning implementation and operation.<sup>4</sup>

"Big government" has set the pace, and given sanction to the citizen participation concept: It now is acceptable. Where one proceeds and how one proceeds from this point is contingent on a multitude of variables. The remainder of this chapter attempts to delineate and examine some of those variables. Because citizen participation, as a crucial issues in society, made its presence felt in the early days of urban renewal, much of the analysis alludes to "physical planning."

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<sup>2</sup>House Report No. 1931, 89th, Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, Sec. 103(a) Subsec. (2), 89th. Cong., 2nd Sess.

<sup>4</sup>City Demonstration Agency Letter No. 3, U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, Oct. 30, 1967.

### Pros and Cons of Citizen Participation

If social planners, community residents, members of minority groups, and politicians were asked to define citizen participation as it relates to community planning and organizing, there is no doubt that a variety of definitions and views of citizen participation would be given. The definitions and views given would probably yield and relate a broad spectrum of attitudes toward participatory democracy and decision-making. Accordingly, such attitudes would undoubtedly be in relation to how past planning efforts may have affected the individual and/or his neighborhood or vested interests.

When speaking specifically of citizen participation in urban areas, it seems reasonable that a response from an urban inner city resident would include a view that citizen participation by and large remains a guise, or more precisely what Funnye has described as being "nonsolutions aimed at diverting pressure to change society and eliminate discriminatory practices into harmless activities that do not threaten the establishment."<sup>5</sup> This fact is very much supported when one surveys a broad spectrum of community based programs and discover that the option of control is

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<sup>5</sup>Clarence Funnye, "The Militant Black Social Worker and the Urban Hustle," Social Work (N.A.S.W. Vol. 15, No. 2, April 1970), p. 7.



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always in the hands of "officials" who are usually members of the "establishment". Whether or not this view of citizen participation in planning processes change depends upon numerous variables; e. g., politics, federal funds and planning programs, but, most importantly, the neighborhood group participating, and asserting its rights to participate.

These groups, after all, are usually concerned about neighborhood, not city-wide problems, and the member's attachment is often at most to his immediate family and neighbors, not to the community as a whole.<sup>6</sup>

The response of an organizer or planner working with a municipal agency might be that citizen participation occurs when the agency and city government attempt to inform, involve and advise citizens of the various aspects of a planning program that will directly affect the citizens. The planner might also point out that this task is attempted in the face of public interest that is continually apathetic.

The city official, despairing of the apathy and indifference of those he tries to serve and guide toward wholesome city living blames the failure of his programs to gain support and operate as he had planned upon this presumed impersonal aspect.<sup>7</sup>

The nature of a response from a member of a minority group in an urban area would probably depend upon a sense of

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<sup>6</sup>James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXIX (November, 1963), p. 249.

<sup>7</sup>Massachusetts, Dept. of Commerce, Housing Association of Metropolitan Boston, Inc., Housing and Home Finance Agency, Urban Renewal Administration Demonstration Branch, Community Organization for Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal (Boston, 1957), p. 2.

"community struggle" and/or "black awareness," shaped by such factors as age and income. These factors could influence a view that citizen participation represents a mechanism which is aimed at keeping down the voice and/or opposition of a community toward a planning program.

Another citizen participation practice is to involve citizens in an organization in order to prevent anticipated obstructionism. In this sense citizens are not seen as a means to achieve better planning goals nor are they seen as partners in assisting an organization in achieving its goal; rather, they are viewed as potential elements of obstruction or frustration whose cooperation and sanction are found necessary.<sup>8</sup>

The response of an urban politician could very well reflect a view that citizen participation is grass-roots involvement in the democratic decision-making process. The politician would probably indicate that this type of involvement is required to guide the policy formulation of the elected and appointed decision makers. According to Walter Wilcox, this type of response may be given; although, in actuality the elected politician has "very imperfect information about constituency preference" and the constituent's awareness of the representative's position is "slight."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Edmund M. Burke, "Citizen Participation Strategies," Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXIV (September, 1968), p. 291.

<sup>9</sup>Walter Wilcox, "The Congressional Poll and Non-Poll," in Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior: Essays and Studies, ed. by Edward C. Drever and Walter A. Rosenbaum (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1966), p. 397.

The response of a suburbanite might exemplify a view of citizen participation as the ability to participate in local board meetings and public hearings. Yet, because of the relatively small size of many suburban areas and ease of accessibility to the local decision makers, the ability and opportunity to participate regularly has often gone unused. In vacating this opportunity, the suburbanite has assumingly placed his confidence with the local elected officials and decision makers. But, does this abdication of participation cause other effects?

If the earnest citizen has surrendered control over many local issues, if few party leaders intervene, and if public affairs are the responsibility of the non-partisan amateur, how are politics of suburbia managed? A detailed answer is difficult to come by, but it is at least certain that in one form or another, alignments and associations exist to form some sort of power structure.<sup>10</sup>

The purpose of establishing these probable positions of citizen participation is to illustrate some recurring views which contribute to an image of citizen participation in planning.

The pros and cons title of this particular section is somewhat misleading because it is not intended to convey a concept of polar issues of involvement vs non-involvement, but rather to deal with the depth or magnitude of involvement. Almost everyone favors that concept of "citizen

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<sup>10</sup>Robert C. Wood, Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958), p. 175.

participation". It is, after all, socially and professionally unpopular to take any other position. The central question is therefore one of the nature of the participation.

Stanley J. Brody raises the issue of citizen participation in planning processes as perhaps being a panacea when he says:

It may be a human trait or one previously restricted to the ancient Greeks or early English Knights, but what ever it is, Americans have it obsessively. This is the "holy grail" complex--the need to find a mythical solution to all problems. The current panacea is "maximum participation of the poor". Social planners suffer from this condition pathologically; they have chased "holy grails" until they see a silver chalice under every bush.<sup>11</sup>

Brody sounds a note of caution, if not pessimism. He is more concerned that public agencies and professionals not abdicate their responsibilities and create further separation between the professional and the citizen, but rather to create competence on both sides by extending the process of participation: i.e., to make it meaningful as opposed to being superficial.

Partly because of the lack of clarity and specificity in the prescription of maximum feasible participation models, the unwillingness of those in power to risk threats to their positions can easily be perpetuated. Arthur B. Shostack has identified three modes of involvement used by those in

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<sup>11</sup> Stanley J. Brody, "Maximum Participation of the Poor: Another Holy Grail?", Social Work, (N.A.S.W. Vol. 15., No. 1, January, 1970), p. 68.

power to keep those out of power out. They are: containment, co-optation, and codetermination.<sup>12</sup> Containment is designed to keep the aggressive and more militant elements among the poor under control. The poor is allowed to participate in planning processes as "advisors". In the co-optation model, class minority group members are appointed to various boards as "representatives" of the poor. The representative is not allowed to take part in the actual policy decision-making processes. The extent of his involvement is to give support and consent to the decision makers. The codetermination model if used properly could be a very positive one for indicating the nature of meaningful involvement. This model allows for elected representatives of the poor, welfare professionals, and community leaders to operate programs from group peer perspectives. It is not supposed to have any subordinate-superordinate characteristics. However, this remains the flaw in this particular model.

Perhaps a crucial question of the whole issue of citizen participation in planning processes is one of a "right to sanction policy." Mogulof points out:

The right of the poor to sanction a policy must be clarified. This is important since the poor may be involved for different purposes: They may be involved

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<sup>12</sup>Arthur B. Shostak, "Containment, Co-optation or Codetermination," American Child, (Vol. 44, No. 4 November, 1965), pp. 15-19.

in policy making bodies as representatives of the groups a CAP seeks as constituents, they may be target area residents serving on an ad hoc or continuing basis as advisers, or they may be asked to give local sanction to policy created at a higher level. The difference between advice and sanction in dealing with representatives of the poor is critical.<sup>13</sup>

Mogulof doesn't even bother to deal with the issue of policy formulation (the absolute absence of the poor in this area is a given) but only with policy sanctioning. This in itself would be a step forward in providing meaningful participation. The root of the controversy over rights of the poor to make policy decisions is actually a question of power and authority and power relationships. The issue of power will be covered in the latter part of the present chapter.

There is no one single view of citizen participation, nor is there an established degree of activism or involvement associated with any particular participation model. The present discussion is designed to point out some of the types of considerations which influences social planning efforts which seek to either include or exclude citizen participation in the planning process.

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<sup>13</sup>Melvin B. Mogulof, "Involving Low-Income Neighborhoods In Antidelinquency Programs," Social Work, (N.A.S.W. Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1965), pp. 51-57.

Evolutionary Development of Citizen Participation  
in Planning Processes

The examination of citizen participation in planning and the course of its evolution has special importance in light of contemporary re-evaluation of the goals, aims and objectives of planning. The commonality of planning and citizen participation lies in the means by which these goals and objectives are formulated and the means employed to achieve stated aims. To the extent that planning has always characterized our democratic heritage - "Citizen participation is part of our democratic heritage, often proclaimed as a means to a perfect democratic process."<sup>14</sup> Stated simply, it is viewed as the ultimate voice in community decision-making.

A phase in the evolution of the planning process and citizen participation groups, that is shared is the re-evaluation of means employed in the political, decision-making and planning process to activate the vocalize citizen participation. The planning professionals only recently, and under pressure of their own memberships, sought means of obtaining in urban areas the opportunity for citizen participation and policy sanctioning that has always existed at the local

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<sup>14</sup>Burke, op. cit., p. 287.



town meeting level. In pursuing their professional methods, planners became aware of the shortcomings of planning for the poor. The consequences of these shortcomings have evidenced themselves in a need for new political, economic and social policies. The need also stressed the development of policies to re-establish forms of participation as a first step toward making planning a valid process. As the evolutionary process developed further, re-evaluations made by many divergent citizen participation groups, in reference to the means to vocalize their participation, was to consider a more militant posture.

Furthermore, both the magnitude and the complexity of urban areas today demands more than a "unitary plan" which represents a single public interest. It has been the different public interests behind the motivations which ultimately led to the re-evaluation of planning processes. A major portion of the motivation for a modification of the concept of one public interests (that of the power elite), was also largely due to the active civil rights movement of the sixties, and the beginning of federal development of social policies and planning programs with the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act. Yet, this happened only after America had for so long avoided acknowledgment of their "other America."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Michael Harrington, The Other America: Poverty in the United States (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, Inc., 1962).

Eventually, social planners and politicians began to realize the failure of their planning and its implementation; and it was pointed out (sometimes forcefully) that the inability of citizens to participate in the democratic process was due to economic, political and/or racial determinants. Urban planners began to realize that because of these kinds of restrictions, perhaps more than the technical competence of its planning, the confidence in the representation of the different public interests in the establishment of planning goals, aims and objectives had been affected by this inability of various sectors to participate.

From the simple goal of including citizen participation in planning processes, the task has become progressively confusing and complex. When a policy to provide for an active form of citizen participation is adopted, then the dilemma of knowing who participates and to what extent they participate can become the fulcrum of the planning effort.

The pragmatic consideration for citing citizen participation as a fulcrum in a number of planning efforts is based upon various legislative requirements that call for the development of planning efforts only after an attempt has been made to establish some community consensus. Since these requirements can be sidetracked by the often sundry acceptance of "representatives of the community" and judgment based on the term "consensus," the unbalancing of a

planning effort by participation can work without formal representatives and consensus. An example of this is the halting of poorly planned projects by the defacto veto of citizens. This type of participation has only been given notice when it has taken on more militant dimensions. The Village Voice reports that the following "preventive participation" occurred because of the proposed construction of a New York State Office Building (SOB) at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue:

An angry meeting at a Harlem Church, a mass of pickets at the SOB site, some frantic communications between Deputy Mayor Robert Sweet, Rocky, and Harlem State Senator Basil Paterson, and construction on the \$28 million building had been indefinitely postponed. Swift action; even in this politically hot summer.

But the protest at the site was more than just a protest. The people of Harlem have not only stopped dead the building, for which all contracts had been let but they have 'reclaimed' the land and are determined to make use of the huge empty lot as they see fit.<sup>16</sup>

The report further notes:

The sudden flame of conflict over the SOB exposes the familiar dangers of 'planning from above' and confirms the desperate need of local communities to establish their own priorities, particularly in the ghetto where the gap between the planner and the plannee is so formidable.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Jonathan Black, "This Is Our Land, We're Here to Stay," Village Voice, (July 17, 1969), p. 15.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

This type of "preventive participation" by community resident also existed in the early days of the urban renewal era, renewal by bulldozer, which were also the early days of the present issue of the validity and acceptance of the issue of citizen participation.

Many of the earliest redevelopment projects were completed with little organized opposition. Somehow, however, people learned from the experience of others, and today in cities which have been engaged in renewal for several years, physical planners often find prospective renewal areas ready and waiting for them, organized to the teeth.<sup>18</sup>

With this type of opposition in mind, one of the most important questions which should be asked is, "if the aim of having citizen participation has become so reversible, then what was the strategy of citizen participation?" A look at urban planning, one of the forerunners in citizen participation models will shed some light. An examination of the historical development of citizens in physical planning legislation appears to indicate varying degrees of participation in several stages of planning development with no consistent strategy for participation within planning.

The City Beautiful Movement (approximately 1900 to 1915) was the beginning point of comprehensive planning, and it occurred during the reform movement period of American politics and government. Each of these movements helped

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<sup>18</sup>Wilson, op. cit., p. 243.

planning achieve a semi-official stance in terms of planning's function for government at that time, and each movement in its own way was reflective of a "grass-roots" concern. The City Beautiful Movement established two aspects of local planning that remain in common use today; the professional planning consultant and the quasi-planning commission composed of leading citizens.<sup>19</sup> The effect of the movement was also to "create a special upper-middle class constituency for planning."<sup>20</sup> The City Beautiful Movement attributed its sense of grass-roots concern, since it used concerned citizens; i.e., garden and civic clubs, as a basis for "doing something" in a planned way for the physical environment.

The turn of the century planner saw governmental officials involved in the behind the scenes interplay of private interests, which created the machine-run city. Quite obviously, the machine politicians did operate on the principle of satisfying private interests. Thus, it was natural that the planner should ally himself with the municipal reformer who was also dedicated to the ideals of a "good" government, which supposedly serves the public interests in an "efficient manner."

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<sup>19</sup>William I. Goodman and Eric C. Freund, ed., Principles and Practice of Urban Planning, International City Managers' Association (Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 22.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

Additionally, during this era, the Tenement Housing Acts were passed in New York City, and the municipal reformers, saw slum removal as a method of social reform. Thus, by allying themselves with the reformers, physical planning was seeking re-establishment; based upon social concern, a true public interest, and the involvement of some citizens. The actual planning practiced since then may have deviated and lost emphasis but clearly it was there. The town meeting concept is indicative that it was once present.

During the 1920's, city planning became increasingly "popular" and in 1922 the U.S. Department of Commerce published the first edition of A Standard State Zoning Enabling Act. By 1926, the Supreme Court established the constitutionality of comprehensive planning. Then, in 1928 the U.S. Department of Commerce gave additional sanction to the use of planning commissions in its model law, A Standard City Planning Enabling Act. Yet, because the leadership of most local planning commissions fell into the hands of Chambers of Commerce and the well-to-do citizen, "their plans paid no attention to slums or poverty."<sup>21</sup> This occurred even though the legal opportunity and mechanism for "fuller" citizen participation existed in these enabling acts, in their provision for public hearings.

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<sup>21</sup>Goodman and Freund, op. cit., p. 23.

Thus, local planning on the eve of the great Depression had attained status and self-identity. Yet, the relevance of most planning programs to basic urban problems seemed questionable. "Organization for planning was in the hands of quasi-independent commissions composed of business executives, realtors, and the high priests of economic order - lawyers, architects, and engineers."<sup>22</sup> For the most part, these lay leaders looked upon planning as a citizens' effort, to be "sold" to recalcitrant politicians.<sup>23</sup>

The Depression experience provided impetus toward a redefinition of local planning when attention became focused on creating new institutional structures and coordinating their activities with old ones. The realization came about that planning could not escape questions of administration and organization. An analysis of the status of planning and a plea for an alternative model to the quasi-independent planning commission was established in Robert Walker's book, The Planning Function in Urban Government. It was then becoming favored that effective local planning required that the planning function be organized as a staff aid to the municipal executive.

In addition to foregoing new relationships to municipal government, planners during the Depression were also

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>23</sup>See Robert A. Walker, The Planning Function in Urban Government (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 143-62 and p. 205.

broadening the focus of their activities. Social problems assumed equal stature with physical oayout as a legitimate claim on professional attention. Federal programs were of great assistance in producing the new emphasis.<sup>24</sup>

However, the greatest emphasis of federal programs which related planning to citizen participation and planning was within the workable program of the Housing Act of 1954.<sup>25</sup> The importance of this legislation and reshaping of the planning process is that it gave birth to the concepts of "maximum feasible citizen participation" in the federal legislation of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and to "sidespread citizen participation" of the Model Cities Legislation."<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the strength of this legislation and its importance was placed before the public and the planning profession with the Supreme Court's re-affirmation of the rights of the Black minority.<sup>27</sup>

However, it appears that only in this period of a strong (but unclear) federal stance and the frequent occurrence of urban disorders did the urban planner seem

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<sup>24</sup> Goodman and Freund, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>25</sup> U. S. Congress, House, Title I, Housing Act of 1949, (as amended, Section 101), Public Law 171, 81st Congress, H.R. 1450.

<sup>26</sup> U. S. Congress, House, Title I, Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 (as amended), Public Law 754, 89th Congress, H. R. 3301.

<sup>27</sup> Brown V. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, 394 U.S. 294 (1954).



"to be convinced that it is both ethical and necessary to play the political game."<sup>28</sup>

Briefly, it is seen that the concepts of planning and citizen participation have had some general parallels in their development. The most important of these is with respect to decision-making. It appears that as planning processes developed plans more towards fiat planning, its role became officially adopted by the government with a corresponding increase in the size of urban areas. Emerging directly with this growth came an increase in the communicating distance between the government, its administration and the citizens of the community. As this distance increased, there was a decrease in the trust and confidence by the people of the community toward the elected and appointed officials who were responsible to larger and larger numbers of persons and more diverse public interests. The inability of some citizens to participate became greater, and their ability to protest this tendency through structured channels and make their situation known was non-existent. The changes that the federal urban renewal legislation imposed upon this condition, however, were not as far reaching as they possibly could have been.

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<sup>28</sup> Alan Altshuler, The City Planning Process, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), pp. 355-356.

The results have been generally ineffective, although it should be recognized that any efforts in this direction are to be encouraged and facilitated. The objective is worthy, although the methods, means, and techniques have not been perfected or developed to the point of becoming genuinely meaningful. However, in isolated instances, special efforts in relation to particular urban renewal projects have proved to be quite effective.<sup>29</sup>

Until federal policies made a clearer statement of the aims and goals of the community participation it expected from its programs, citizens continued to be left out of the decision-making of planning processes.

The frustration of this dilemma now partially rested upon those planners social and physical who sought to correct the wrongs in the representatives of the planning process, but were handicapped by the lack of clear policy statements by the federal government and other government units, and a lack of adequate models to follow. It was this type of clear policy statement which could have been made by local units of government to promote increased participation in planning at the local level. Thus, the concern and the burden of finding the means and methods for participation then rested with the citizens being affected by plans developed without their participation. Clearly, the desire "to take part" was developing into the most comprehensive

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<sup>29</sup> Goodman and Freund, op. cit., p. 573.

aspect that the planning process would have to concern itself with. Since the catalyst for the struggle for access to the decision-making process of planning was the federal urban renewal programs, and the unsatisfactory solutions to this participation problem has focused this struggle, an examination of this federal citizen participation legislation is in order.

Jewel Bellush and Murray Hacksnecht cite in Planning Participation and Urban Renewal:

Urban renewal programs have opened a vast complex of activities requiring the skills and knowledge of planners. At the same time, that the contributions of the planners are called upon, the urban renewal administration calls for participation of citizens in renewal programs. The law specifies that a community submit a workable program for community improvement which must include provisions for 'citizen participation'.<sup>30</sup>

As an example of this intent, a statement of the then Department of Housing is cited:

. . . and we mean by that not just a passive acceptance of what is being done, but the active utilization of local leadership and organizations which can profitably assist in the community effort.<sup>31</sup>

Of this intention, Bellush and Hacksnecht feel that as admirable as this is, a statement of values, it ignores some inevitable problems of democratic planning.

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<sup>30</sup> Jewel Bellush and Murray Hacksnecht, "Planning, Participation and Urban Renewal," in Urban Renewal: People, Politics & Planning, ed. Jewel Bellush and Murray Hacksnecht (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1967), p. 278.

<sup>31</sup> Address, Robert C. Weaver, Administrator, Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency at the Family Service Assoc. of America, November 13, 1961.

For example, if we consider planning as a continuous decision-making process, at the crudest level of analysis we can distinguish three major stages of decision-making. First, there is the decision of the community to embark on urban renewal. Second, there is the formulation of a general plan for a given area which involves decisions as to what kinds of policies are to be emphasized; e.g., a decision to convert a mixed industrial and slum area to all residential use. Third, the development of specific proposals; e.g., drawing up detailed architectural and engineering plans providing for projected land use and the design of structures in the area. Does the notion of citizen participation mean that members of the community have a chance to participate in the construction of these designs; have the power to propose revisions; and have the power to approve or reject the final plans?<sup>32</sup>

The argument of their articles goes on to question whether all individuals within a community have the necessary prerequisites or resources for effective participation regardless of their location within the social structure of the community.

However, although this type of questioning is obviously needed, much of the responsibility for planning is borne by the planner. His concept of the public interest and the planning process makes it just as important that the following questions be asked and answered. Does the planner and the planning process have the necessary prerequisites for initiating and adopting the means and methods to formulate a plan representing both a given public interest and the whole public interest? How long and how much effort will the planner spend in pursuit of each interest? What is the

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<sup>32</sup>Bellush and Hacscknecht, op. cit., p. 278

strategy of the planner towards each public interest and citizen participation?

### Planning and the Public Interest

Through some of the words of Paul Davidoff, in "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," the cry of tribunal has been aroused.<sup>33</sup> The text of the article speaks directly to the problem of "unitary planning" and the dilemma facing the planner who is to plan for two or more public interests. In addressing the planner directly, Davidoff states that:

Appropriate planning action cannot be prescribed from a position of value, neutrality for prescriptions are based upon desired objectives.<sup>34</sup>

One conclusion drawn from this is that "values are inescapable elements of any rational decision-making process."<sup>35</sup> When the "unitary plan" is defined as process whereby only one agency in the community should prepare a plan, the strategy and attitude of the individual planner towards citizen participation takes on increased importance. However, even if the unitary plan "has discouraged full participation by

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<sup>33</sup>Roger Starr, Editorial, American Society of Planning Officials Newsletter, XXXIII (December, 1967).

<sup>34</sup>Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXI (November, 1965), p. 331.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 331.



citizens in plan-making in the past, its weakness is a strength for citizen participation in another way.<sup>36</sup> That is, unitary planning can be a method of drawing into the public arena the views of both the residents and the planning agency toward citizen participation and access to decision-making in planning. This can be accomplished through controversy or confrontation.

Drawing positions on issues of importance into the public arena, which can affect the general public, is often called politics. If the planning process is to encourage democratic urban programs by its planning efforts, then it must operate to include rather than exclude citizens from participating in the process.

Inclusion means not only permitting the citizen to be heard. It also means that he be able to become informed about the underlying reasons for planning proposals, and be able to respond to them in the technical language of the professional planners.<sup>37</sup>

The mentioning of urban politics may very well be the key to a dialogue between government units, social and physical planners and potential participants of any planning effort. Although it should also arouse the fears of all those who had an underlying suspicion that political organization was the aim of citizen participation in the first place, and that the taxpayer's money is being used to promote a single

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 332.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 332.





political movement, it is extremely doubtful that questions will be publicly asked as to whether this approach is the needed solution for the participation and decision-making problem. It is not difficult to see that the political history of those groups rallying for a larger share of decision-making in planning for their community indicates a distinct breakdown in the traditional political linkage between people and the central decision makers; e.g., the old town meeting concept.

Dr. Kenneth Clark writes in the Black Ghetto:

Democratic government tends to be limited in its capacity to respond to the demands of minority or lower status groups because its necessity is dependent either upon majority support or upon those groups that already have economic, political, and social status and power. The successful politician seeks to find a balance between the demands of those who wish to change and the resistance of those who are determined to prevent it. American political history is the record of adjustment to the needs of those minorities most restless at one time and a postponement or solution of the requests of those groups that are, at the time, relatively satisfied or quiescent. The strategy of such compromise responds to tension among competing forces and is inevitable in a democratic society.<sup>38</sup>

Some of the reasons and explanations of why there are no particular breakthrough from this pattern are explained by the examination of the limitedness of the ghetto.

The effective exercise of power in the urban ghetto is crippled severely by the inexperience of the ghetto's own political leaders. Their inexperience and

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<sup>38</sup>Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1965), p. 155.

political unsophistication have a fundamental root--the psychology of the ghetto with its pervasive and total sense of helplessness. It is difficult, if not impossible, to behave as one with power when all one's experience has indicated that one has none. Because their house of political power is built on sand without a solid base of economic or social influence, ghetto politicians are likely to accept a limited jurisdiction and to seek immediate and concrete rewards. They often subject themselves to the control of others they believe to hold the primary power, and some are prepared to make petty deals and to toy with political corruption. But even in corruption the Negro is accorded second-class citizenship.<sup>39</sup>

The continuation of the breakdown of the traditional sources of political power throughout the city are also emphasized when it is considered that its present development must compete with other participants of the political structure.

American mayors today are faced with the problems of governing cities in which to a great extent the traditional sources of political power have been dispersed or eliminated. The old style political machine is gone except in a very few big cities. Party organization is generally weak. Mayors must still assemble the power to govern but they can rarely do so today by relying on loyal party lieutenants who occupy the lesser city offices and who sit on the council. Instead, the mayor must try to piece together that power out of the support he can receive from city-wide interests, such as newspapers, civic associations, business organizations and labor unions.<sup>40</sup>

Aside from having control over a political structure by position and power, the change of the political structure may

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>40</sup>Wilson, op. cit., p. 248.

be achieved by the vote. At least this is what the standard bearers of the present democratic process believe; but in actuality, does the voting power of the ghetto and unorganized groups promote itself as that much of a potential for political and social change?

The most obvious of the social sources of power is political, yet Negroes have failed so far to translate their vote into effective action in their own behalf.

There is a circular pattern in political behavior, for ineffective use of the vote limits a group's political influence while its political powerlessness may in turn seem convincing evidence that voting is useless, leading to apathy. But votes alone do not necessarily imply actual political power, in the sense of control of the direction of social change, for seldom are the issues of an election clearcut enough for a victory to imply a mandate for a particular program.<sup>41</sup>

For the planning process and for politically estranged citizens, consideration must be given to how citizen participation can work in a manner that promotes its own recognition while engaging in a strategy of improving the practice of planning and participatory democracy, to the extent that it becomes planning in participatory democracy. It must further be stated that the pursuit of a basic framework to promote citizen participation and access to the decision-making process is as complex as the human emotions of the planners, decision-makers and participants.

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<sup>41</sup>Clark, op. cit., p. 155.

The problems conflicts and needed solutions noted in the history and background of citizen participation indicate that today the sphere of activity in which the interactions of planning, politics, citizen participation and decision-making occur could be described as the "quasi-public and political arena" of urban areas. It is in this arena that the values which were associated with past citizen activism and potential citizen responses will be expressed. It will also be in this arena that the differing views of citizen participation will be expressed through various organizations, groups and social institutions. However, if change is to occur, it must involve the established institutional structures whose functional domain embodies the formal and informal facets of social control and change. In addition, this movement must occur by the interaction of institutional influences which promote access to the decision-making process which determines the ultimate direction of the planning process.

From a planning standpoint, if it were possible to become convinced that institutions, politics, planning and citizen participation and participatory democracy existed in a state of equilibrium, then the task of determining what forms and degrees of the decision-making process each public interest should have to produce the best plan, would simplify the planning issue ten-fold. However, this condition does not exist. Decision makers and planners,

social and physical, responsive to institutional influences, to a great extent, determine the strategy of the planning process. Only from this understanding can efforts be made to describe what factors, interactions and change must be occurring and provided to ensure that citizen participation means access to the decision-making process between public officials, planners and between public officials, planners and citizens.

#### Structure and Power Facets of Participation

The establishment of a participation model, although it may only consist of representatives from a selected area in a policy or advisory capacity, must develop strong governing objectives, procedures and methods. This is required in order for it to function effectively with a multitude of governmental and social agencies and institutions. Beyond ability to participate, the interaction between government and citizens in planning should not be ambiguous. Any lack of clarity renders participation irrelevant in terms of the citizen's responsibilities toward the authority of government and government toward the rights of citizens. "Experience suggests that these ambiguities underlie the demands of many neighborhood residents for group 'control' of the planning process."<sup>42</sup> It is the existence of citizen

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<sup>42</sup>U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Technical Assistance Bulletin No. 3: Citizen Participation in Model Cities (Washington, D.C.: HUD, December, 1968), p. 14.

participation among institutions and the influences and power wielded in the political process that demands that citizen participation have its role and authority known and accepted. Without such an established position, it cannot be expected that other institutions will account for the presence and interests of citizen participation, nor can it be expected that the participatory function would be willing to account for the interests of other institutions.

The brief discussion earlier of the attitudes and images associated with citizen participation begins to reveal why each and every element of an institution must be established in citizen participation. The creation of the basic condition for citizen participation as a social institution; the inability of existing institutions to broaden their membership, will continue to exist, if the planning function fails to utilize citizen participation to achieve an up-to-date planning process.

As the planning function utilizes citizen participation as a social institution, it will give more credence to goals and objectives which must be subject to consensus of interests and power of influence. Such credence will draw resisters away from compartmentalizing planning into physical, economic and social components. Instead, the improved capacities of planning to forecast probable consequences

and assess payoffs of recommended socio-economic policies will be strengthened by a broader judgment of how it will affect the daily living patterns of residents. The increased ability of planning to gain feedback and recommendations in devising meaningful alternative plans will undoubtedly approach greater compatibility in objectives. The promotion of interaction between citizen participation and vested interests, combined with political influences, will also promote the differing positions on issues to take a greater stance of practicality, and greater benefit over that of political expediency. The ability of the planning function to develop acceptable policies will broaden the potential for compromise, negotiating and bargaining with the effect that benefits of holding a position will come under greater public scrutiny and evaluation. In turn, the emphasis on the complexities of development will be better understood by the public at large. When a final plan is developed, it will reflect a greater reconciliation of diverse interests and can more readily gain public approval. The implementation of such a plan can only be more positive, since it will have been based upon the concept of political practicality in the public arena and not narrow political expediency. To follow this course, is rational and action oriented. Yet, the ability of citizen participation to succeed in providing access to decision-making hinges on the power of influence, authority, and resources,





it can meet the established institutional power structures and their resources at each phase of the planning process.

Power and Authority in its Relationship  
to Planning Strategy

The important task now is to evaluate the kinds of power, influences, authority and resources citizen participation requires, and to understand how acceptance of citizen participation as a social institution provides a foundation for these powers. Then finally, how to establish the working framework of citizen participation to achieve its position as a social institution.

However, in order to accomplish this, the evaluation of power, influence and resources, of citizen participation, must be understood relative to those possessed by existing institutions and their use in political policy-making.

The critical question of evaluating this aspect of citizen participation can only be answered when its role is seen as a form of citizen power in planning. It is the development and redistribution of various forms of power to influence policy, strategies, priorities and decisions for those citizens who at present are not included in participation and who do not have access to decision-making. It is a strategy by which all citizens will be able to rejoin the policy-making functions in determining among other things how information is shared, goals and policies set, tax

resources allocated, programs are operated, and benefits are parcelled out. It is, also, a strategy for the planning process as Rein points out:

Lack power, 'the ability to control external and internal environments and/or to counteract the consequence of imperfect control' for there it needs to win cooperation to achieve the process and to do this the distribution of influence may have to be altered or fragmented power may have to be collected and harnessed.<sup>43</sup>

For it is according to Kaplan, "Within the structure of institution responsibility (that) the planner attempts to articulate values, priorities and programs."<sup>44</sup>

When the expression "power" is discussed in planning processes it is done so in terms of power to influence that process, and not an external force per se. The citizen power to influence is an exertion of authority to promote interests in the form of participation, and this authority is based upon the ultimate consent of the participants. The exercise of authority in this sense is the promotion of a strategy. In regard to the notion of strategy, Burke states:

This is not to imply that citizen participation is a single, undifferentiated and overriding strategy.

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<sup>43</sup>Martin Rein, "Social Planning: The Search for Legitimacy," Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXV (July, 1969), p. 233.

<sup>44</sup>Marshall Kaplan, "Advocacy and the Urban Poor," Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXV (March, 1969), p. 97.

It is more accurate to speak of several strategies of citizen participation, defined in terms of given objectives.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, the power to influence, the authority to promote interests, and the strategies are the primary means of achieving participation.

To begin with, the ability to influence citizen participation occurs where there is a process of community decision-making. The form that the process takes as it affects planning has been summarized and discussed by Lawrence Mann in terms of various power model concepts.<sup>46</sup> Belief in any one particular one of these power models is not the crux of recognition of the ability of citizen participation to influence planning processes.

#### Strategy for Citizen Participation

Institutions and their ability to influence are already existing; patterns of community decision-making are already in existence and past planning policies to some extent will exist in both the minds of government and agency "officials," as well as in approved public documents.

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<sup>45</sup>Edmund M. Burke, "Citizen Participation Strategies," Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXIV (September, 1968), p. 288.

<sup>46</sup>Lawrence D. Mann, "Studies in Community Decision-Making," Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXX, (February, 1964), p. 58-65.

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The beginning of a planning effort is the most difficult time for the promotion of citizen participation. At this point, there is the greatest amount of reliance upon the planner, who in the past, when conventional "planning" functions were performed, was not in control or in any position to direct the process. Not that any single decision-making entity that could be said to have "planned" was in central control of the process.<sup>47</sup> The planning process and its functions are performed in an essentially political process. With this handicap, the planner attempting a viable program of citizen participation is promoting a program of institutional reform which has an implicitly limited appeal; and, its first results are relatively remote, roundabout and intangible.

Nevertheless, this is the time in which the effort for citizen participation and access to decision-making must begin. It must begin when the potential of citizen participation will not be an issue opposed by other institutions and organized interests. Not later, when these interests can and will become fully activated by particular issues and vested interests in programs and policy decisions.

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<sup>47</sup>See Roland L. Warren, "Model Cities First Round: Politics, Planning and Participation," Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXV (July, 1969), p. 245-252.

The "power" requirements of citizen participation at this time are least; it needs only to obtain a non-cooptable, non-manipulated working position on the first decisive decision-making body established for the articulation of the public interest. The power now required of citizen participation is the power of stimulation. This is the activation of the main purpose of citizen participation as a social institution; it is the purpose of participating.

The first interest of participation will be to prevent its first position from becoming final, since from this point, citizen participation will endeavor to strengthen its position. Next, it will further promote recognition of itself amongst the community, and as a non-threatening force of the interests of other institutions. Thirdly, it must bring into the public arena the first issues of the planning process, that of the establishment of goals. The success of these immediate steps will be noted in the ability of the planning process to become the public and political issue it realistically is.

Furthermore, the ability of citizen, participation to operate with or against community decision-making, its ability to blunt proposals of planning policy not in the interest of the whole community and to counter these proposals with other constructive proposal and efforts, and

the ability to prevent a coopted or sidetracked public interest rests upon the "power" of citizen participation to remain active.

Probably the most troublesome area of citizen participation is that of objectives, aims and strategy. This area is difficult to deal with because it begins to examine citizen participation internally; and, as this occurs, the implications of the objectives and aims of citizen participation that reach to planning programs, bureaucracy, public interests and rights of individuals become apparent. Since citizen participation is seen as a social institution, the objectives and aims are embodied within the structure of the institution. However, since citizen participation is also viewed in terms of planning and, therefore, in a process of decisions and compromises, these same objectives and aims take on the significant effect of also being viewed as elements of strategy.

The concluding part of this chapter places citizen participation in the position of attempting to enumerate a scheme for operationalizing its objectives and aims as strategy; both for the members of the citizen participation effort itself and as an influence on planning processes. In addition, an attempt has been made to relate citizen participation to a number of achievement elements, which are seen

as crucial factors in the structuring of a citizen participation organization, in that they strategically link participants to the aims and objectives.

### Objectives of Citizen Participation

Accordingly, the most important objectives in the establishment of a citizen participation effort are:

1. To strengthen and reinforce the planning process and planning programs.
2. To re-establish the best concept of the public interest.
3. To ensure a continuing responsiveness of existing institutional structures.

### Aims of Citizen Participation

1. Providing the communication of new ideas from persons previously excluded from the planning process.
2. Correction of existing and future policies which are influenced by the best intentions of bureaucrats which have not always been definable, predictable, consistent, workable or realistic.
3. The strengthening of the rights of all persons to have a voice in the planning that affects them.

The importance of the first aim, which is to provide the communication of new ideas from persons previously excluded from the planning process, is a key to effective citizen involvement. This aim is cited as being a key to effective citizen participation, because channels of communication are the means for citizens "to convert local aspirations into highly visible, creditable projects that



affect the public and private resource stream."<sup>48</sup> In addition, where past planning has failed by proposing complex, involved approaches to a problem, time should be allowed to consider simple but uncomplicated approaches proposed by persons affected by a problem area. This is not to exclude a planner's or anyone else's approach for solution, but it strives to establish a better view and consequences of alternatives.

### Summary

To briefly review what was established earlier, the primary function or purpose of citizen participation as a social institution is the ability to participate. This is seen in the components of a social institution which provide the means for individuals to participate and the means for citizen participation to function in an institutional system. The goal of citizen participation in this form is in its ability to partake in the planning process, which assumes the inherent ability to influence decisions. This requires the incorporation of citizen participation into the decision-making process. Without access to the decision-making process citizen participation cannot be considered as partaking in the planning process.

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<sup>48</sup>Kaplan, op. cit., p. 98.

From a presentation of divergent views of citizen participation and a review of past planning involvement with the grass-roots level of participation, the conflicts and problems surrounding access to decision-making for citizens in today's planning process evidenced themselves in three main areas. First, there is both an overall and specific breakdown or dysfunction of the social institutions which contribute to the decision-making process. Second, there are existing patterns of influence which tend to exclude groups of citizens from aiding in the determination of the public interest in planning. Finally, there is an apparent lack of planning strategy for planners to use in their attempts to activate citizen participation.

In acknowledgement of these problem areas, this examination of citizen participation was directed towards finding a solution and strategy for providing access to the decision-making process.

## CHAPTER IV

### DESIGN OF THE STUDY

#### Introduction

It is obvious from chapters II and III that community organization requires, (1) some form of organization, and (2) the participation of people of a given community setting. Chapter II deals with organizational structure and how organizations develop into viable entities. Chapter III focuses on the participatory processes of organized groups of people. Singularly, neither the organizational nor the participatory paradigm provides the necessary and sufficient conditions to sustain community organization as an on-going process. Given the two basic component parts as creating a form of social organization:

The task, or problem or project will be considered by some group committee, council, commission or other form of organization. This latter may be formal, with title, offices, and employed staff, or informal. But there will be some form of association through which are channeled the aims and efforts of the persons concerned. The character, structure, and methods of operation of the association are of first importance to use, since the association becomes the main channel through which the community organization process moves. . . . The association and process are not separate; the association is an instrument that facilitates the process.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Murray G. Ross, op. cit., p. 158.

It is the intent of the present study to examine the process of the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee. Concern is therefore focused on the pattern of structure, the arrangements of the different parts of the whole structure, and the various ways in which they function cooperatively or restrictively. As in any complex situation, the P.N.A.C. too has essential or dominant features with varying forces that hold it together as well as the strains that tends to weaken. In essence an attempt is being made to sort out that complex matrix of factors which make the P.N.A.C. a functional organism.

Organizational theory defines a developing organization such as the P.N.A.C. as being simply a social system with at least one specifiable goal, and which has legitimate, non-hierarchical accesses and linkages to the resources of other participant--recipient social systems. Rules must be established by the organization in order to set and achieve its goals, which are definable as for the "good of the whole" or good for the "community of interests." The theory further implies cooperative action between participant--recipient systems and developing organizations; cooperatively in beliefs, sentiments, values, and patterns of social organization. As derived from the theory, the key elements sought are the linkages the P.N.A.C. establishes and utilizes with other participant-recipient social

systems in order to achieve its goals. Careful attention is devoted to the degree or extent to which the P.N.A.C. "formally" cooperates with other organizations. Again, the theory implies that a developing organization such as the P.N.A.C. simply gains legitimate access to the resources of other organizations and social systems in order to achieve its own goals, but never allows itself to be co-opted or merged with others.

Whereas development organization theory addresses such concepts as "for the good of the community of interests," and "the fund of good will" that exists in communities, these concepts are nevertheless based on involvement processes, linkages, and certain kinds of cooperative efforts. Community organization theory in general does not differ greatly from development organization theory. In fact, the researcher tends to view the latter as an element of the former. Community organization theory dictates that the P.N.A.C., as a peoples organization, would have to proceed from a perspective of community integration--the exercise of co-operative and collaborative attitudes and practices which lead to identification with the community by assisting the community in the achievement of self determination, developing cooperative and collaborative work relationships among various groups, and the capacity to solve community problems.

### Source of the Data

In view of the needs of the field of social science to develop workable multi-disciplinary efforts to directly address urban ills, and the innovative methods and techniques employed by the P.N.A.C., and as there appears to be implications for the field, a comprehensive and detailed case study seemed the most appropriate way to identify, delineate, and analyze the salient features of the program.

The P.N.A.C. organization was chosen as the focus of the present study for two basic reasons: one, the organization appears to be indicative of or to represent a direction that social agency professionals are going to have to give very serious consideration to incorporating, into present methods of operation, if not outright adoption. Secondly, the researcher had easy access to the P.N.A.C. operation. This includes total operations: access to all files, memos, written communiques, board meetings, neighborhood or community meetings. Most important however, was the active participation of the two primary forces underlying the total operation (Mrs. Annie Watkins, and Mrs. Isabell Rushin). The P.N.A.C. organization itself is the primary source of data for this study. Secondary sources include relevant others, individuals and organizations who are in some way related to the P.N.A.C.

### Procedures for Data Collection

To collect the necessary data for analysis, trips were made to Detroit and the P.N.A.C. program over a twelve month period; August 1970 through July 1971. This was during the researcher's field training. Average length of time spent per trip was two days. Times varied with the programmatic efforts being undertaken; i.e., board meeting, community meetings, etc., some activities occurring in the evening hours and other during the day.

Data were collected through the following means:

1. Interviews
2. Participant observation
3. Direct observation
4. Case study analysis
5. Historical viewpoint

Interviews were held with Mrs. Watkins and Mrs. Rushin, the primary sources of interview collected data. Interviews were rarely scheduled, but more often occurred in relation to a regularly occurring event or crisis situation. The interviews also concerned themselves with information the researcher gained from his participation and observations, as well as cross checks of information taken from files and case studies. The purpose of the interviews (no questionnaires or interview schedules used) was to try to ascertain attitudes, perceptions, philosophies, opinions, etc., of those engaged in and primarily responsible for

the P.N.A.C. operation. This kind of information was to be gained from "event reconstruction." A secondary purpose was the cross checking of all other information.

As a participant observer, the researcher was able to cross check and validate information from both case records and interviews with the researcher's own observations. This kind of participation allowed the researcher greater flexibility in sorting out and quantifying underlying interests, motivations, conflicts, etc. Participation, as stated earlier, was in all phases of the program... from the board meetings to the neighborhood "hash out" sessions.

Data gathered by direct observation was in addition to that gathered as a participant observer. Often times, the researcher was present at meetings or other functions, but not as a participant. This kind of observation often yielded information regarding the P.N.A.C. process as it relates to other relevant and constituent parts of the total community. It allowed the researcher to view the P.N.A.C. "out of the vacuum", and in relations to other units.

Case study analysis covers two aspects: one, the total study can be considered a case study, and secondly, individual cases handled by the P.N.A.C. were analyzed in order to gather information on the on-going processes. The intention was to seek out the existence of a process, from case to case, if in fact one did exist.



Historical viewpoint, the fifth method used to gather data for the present study was concerned with reviewing documents, bulletins, press releases, etc., in order to document past conditions and occurrences of the P.N.A.C. Granted, at times, it was difficult to separate individual case analysis from historical viewpoint. No systematic effort was made to totally separate them.

The procedures used to collect data covered a rather broad spectrum of the "methodology" scale, but it was the feeling of the researcher that in order to objectify the study as much as possible, one or two of the methods listed would have been insufficient to describe the P.N.A.C. organization. Together, it was hoped that a broader, more comprehensive and objective analysis could be made.

The researcher has attempted to collect, and extract that information which may be regarded as units or wholes, subject to descriptive and explanatory analysis. For this reason, an attempt was made to restrict the kinds of data collected to the following criteria:

1. Concepts; abstract ideas, notions, and systems of thought.
2. Individual events, or people, including their characteristic properties, behaviors and attitudes.
3. Group characteristics, including their normal dynamics or behavior aspects.
4. Situations, small particularized situations, including all the ascertainable conditions or factors of significance.

5. Activities, processes, performances, the emphasis here is on sustained, ordered, processes leading to problem solving.

This list includes the totality of the kinds of variables the researcher looked at, in terms of collecting necessary data. However, equally important as what was looked at, is what the researcher was looking for; perceptions and consequences at given points in time or around given major events and/or situations. By using one or a combination of all the five basic methodological techniques of data gathering listed earlier (case studies, historical viewpoint, etc.), a detailed sequence of events was constructed for particular developments; e.g., specifically (1) The various and varied roles played in the P.N.A.C.'s initiation, (2) The P.N.A.C.'s handling of a school crisis situation, (3) Phonenix Housing Construction situation, and (4) Detroit Riot situation.

Chronicalizing these events took several forms. Step one was that of a detailed examination of the local newspapers and other written documents over the period of each situation, aiming to note persons, plans, associations and other descriptive material that provided perceptual cues of the P.N.A.C. by the larger community. The information gathered from these analysis, was cross-checked with staff and board members for discussion and validation.

The second step was the securing of data by which the general community setting reflected their perception in

regard to the situational event. The community people whose views were used to ascertain consensus around a situation, were among those who had close knowledge of the P.N.A.C. operation and who were active participants or collaborators in that operation; either as officers, advisors, or representatives of relevant other organizations which had day to day contact with the P.N.A.C. These kinds of informants were selected on the assumption that those with intimate knowledge of the P.N.A.C.'s central core could provide more fruitful information than could be gained from community wide informants. Community wide representation in the above sample would certainly have given a broader perspective, but not necessarily a more precise one for descriptive and analytical purpose.

The informants views selected were broken down into four broad categories. The first category was that of the officers of the P.N.A.C.; the second, consulting agencies in the community; the third, professional advisors to the P.N.A.C.; and the fourth and last category was that of religious and other non professional neighborhood groups. A series of intensive interviews was conducted, in an attempt to elicit information from the officers in which they had been engaged at certain selected points in the process.

The methods of investigation employed above assumes that the decisions and operations of the P.N.A.C. can best

be described, delineated and analyzed for process, using key and selected informants as a methodological vantage point, rather than tracing the reverberations and reactions of the entire community organization process throughout the community.

### Summary

As the design of the study has indicated, primary analysis will have to be done in terms of "event reconstruction" as a method in community organization research. This device is fraught with all the difficulties of viewing the historical past. However, by controlling the time span in which the event occurred, the recall of informants and the cross-check of field investigatory methods, valid reconstruction appears to be possible.

## CHAPTER V

### ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

In attempting to analyze the data, it should be kept in mind that the P.N.A.C. organization and the process are not separate; the organization is the instrument or channel through which the process is facilitated.

A more detailed look at the organizational structure of the P.N.A.C., yields a better understanding of how the process works. The P.N.A.C. as stated earlier, went through the usual informal organizational phase. All the initial works of planning and implimenting was carried out by the volunteers who initiated the project. In this phase, momentum picked up and knowledge of an impending community organization spread, through friends and other acquaintances; face to face contacts occurred, further public meetings were held, and the early volunteers enlarged the circle of participation through personal contacts and exchange of information with one another.

The P.N.A.C. likewise followed the informal organizational development pattern of developing rudimentary program ideas and community contacts, and begin to cultivate a few prominent or "strategic" people, professionals and influential laymen. In this phase, program activities were

varied, not always specific, but very pragmatic, representing innovative and often times improvised responses to new situations. The P.N.A.C. was shaping into a cohesive force. Cartwright and Zander have defined the properties of such a self help organization as being the same as those of small groups;

a collection of organisms in which the existence of all (in the given relationship) is necessary to the satisfaction of certain individual needs in each. That is to say, the group is an instrument toward the satisfaction of the needs of the individual. Individuals belong to the group because they achieve certain satisfactions made possible by its organization which would not be so readily possible for them through any other device.<sup>1</sup>

The P.N.A.C. was also experiencing another trait common to the informal organization phase; emerging leadership roles. Several key people were beginning to emerge as leaders. One of these emergent leaders was Mrs. Annie Watkins, the P.N.A.C.'s first president and the present president. With a rudimentary form of leadership added, the organization began to expand its tasks and take on more volunteers. For such a developing organization, it became necessary, due to growth in scope as well as personnel, to divide up work chores and not have the total organization working in one area. The division of labor signaled the beginning of the P.N.A.C. as a formal organization.

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<sup>1</sup>Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander. Group Dynamics: Research and Theory, (2nd. ed.; Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson, 1960), p. 75.

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In utilizing the method of event reconstruction, the present study attempts to pull out, illuminate, and focus on the multitude of perceptions, concepts cooperative - collaborative attitudes and planning orientations that constitute the process of the P.N.A.C. Major emphasis is focused on four events, all occurring at different periods of time in the P.N.A.C.'s development. The four events analyzed in detail are as follows:

1. Various and varied roles played in the P.N.A.C. initiation.
2. Detroit Riot situation
3. Neighborhood school crisis situation
4. Formation of non profit housing corporation, (Phoenix Housing Corp.)

#### Event I

Event I, and perhaps the most significant because it has much greater ramification than do the other three events. Event I deals with the P.N.A.C. initiation process; i.e. how did it come into being. It is this particular process that the researcher feels can be replicated. While Event I concerns itself with initiation processes, the other events are concerned with the on-going organization. The mere facts of time, location, people diversity, etc., dictate that "on-going" process will invariably differ from one organization to another: There are too many variables

that are uncontrollable. It is primarily for these reasons that heavy emphasis is placed on the replicability of the P.N.A.C. initiation process; how it got started.

M.S.U.'s land grant input was a crucial factor in the establishment of the P.N.A.C.<sup>2</sup> Initial research efforts, in the summer of 1966, at building an organizational base map for one area (Sophie Wright Settlement) on the east side of Detroit resulted in the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee. M.S.U. was able to enter this east side community at the invitation of the Sophie Wright Settlement House. Sophie Wright functioned in the tradition of the Settlement House concept. Sophie Wright had served this east side community for many years: It had also been a white community for many years prior to the early sixties. Faced with a changing community, white to Black, Sophie Wright was suddenly faced with the mandate of modifying its traditional program thrusts or becoming an obsolete agency. All indications point to the fact that it attempted to modify, but failed. It failed because of inter-organizational conflict which could not be resolved. Namely, it had a white board of directors programming for a Black community in much the same manner as had been done when the community

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<sup>2</sup>See: Alan S. Komins, "New Roles of University Extension," Social Case Work, Vol. 51, No. 3 (March 1970), pp. 146-150.



was white. The needs of this community, at two different periods in history, simply were not the same.

The attempt at modification, however, was not a total failure because a new community organization did evolve out of that attempt. Mr. Sidney Rosen, a social worker and Executive Director of Sophie Wright Settlement tried ardently to meet the changing needs of the community. His first move was to place some Blacks on the board. One of those Blacks was Mrs. Watkins, first and present president of the P.N.A.C. organization. Mrs. Watkins and several other Blacks only remained for a short time because of animosities, hostilities, and general inactivity on the part of the predominantly white board as it related to the Black community.

Mr. Rosen, in spite of this set back, was not yet ready to allow the Settlement to fall into a state of obsolescence. It was at this point that Mr. Rosen brought in outside consulting help; Organization Research Unit, Sociology Department, Michigan State University, in the person of Dr. Christopher Sower. In a speech presented to the Sophie Wright Centennial on June 14, 1966, Sower spelled out the role of social work organizations in urban development. (see appendix (a) for a summary statement of the remarks). Resulting from this initial meeting between Sower and Rosen, came a contractual commitment for Sower to bring the university knowledge and resources to bear on the problems facing the settlement and the surrounding community. Sower,

using the land grant, agriculture experiment station concept set about to apply strictly a knowledge base to the operations of Sophie Wright. Sower attempted to interject workable development ideas into the organization and provide needed technical assistance on how to implement them. The first step was to take a look at an aspect of the community in which community support could be gathered. Many people had heard Sowers' Sophie Wright centennial address. Added to this the fact that housing was one of the crucial issues facing the community, the people, through Rosen, requested that a housing survey be conducted. The survey was conducted in the summer of 1966, with the aid of two female students: Sandra Odom, a work study student from M.S.U.'s Organization Research Unit, and Mary Kahle a Master of Social Work graduate student from the University of Michigan. Ms. Kahle's contribution was done as a part of her field training experience, while attached to the Settlement House Program.

Appendix B gives a synopsis of the extent and nature of interviews conducted in regards to the housing survey. Because of magnitude, only a small sample of the interviews are included. However, that select sample attempts to give a cross sectional view by the total community; business, church groups, social agencies, neighborhood organizations, etc.

Appendix C contains the questionnaire used in the study, as well as a summary of consensus responses.

After the survey had been completed, Sophie Wright further contracted with M.S.U. to do an in-depth analysis of the collected data. Appendix D contains the data analysis.

Armed with sound data and analysis, several people seized on the opportunity to organize the community around a very concrete issue, housing. Though it had been the Sophie Wright Settlement that had commissioned the housing study, it was now, the people themselves who wanted somehow to impliment the findings. It was also at this time that Sophie Wright's role in the community diminished even further-a real paradox because its usefulness to the community should have been on the incline as a result of the housing study. The Settlement's role decreased because its board would not allow Mr. Rosen to pursue the case because it was out of character with the Settlement's traditional mode of operation. Mr. Rosen obviously was aware of the implications of his board's decision as well as the ramifications it had for the surrounding community. In a desperate attempt to keep the Settlement involved and viable, two social workers were assigned to work with the community people who were organizing the community around the housing issue.

The researcher has labeled this a desperate attempt because Mr. Rosen's activities were outside of his board's desires; desperate, when it should have been a part of the Settlement's normal procedures. It should not have been "out of role" for the settlement to assist the community in developing its own organization.

From this kind of beginning, the P.N.A.C. evolved (see Appendix E for minutes of first organizational meeting). Who started the P.N.A.C. is a question that the community still leaves open to debate. Perhaps at this point, that is no longer a crucial question. What is obvious to the researcher is that the P.N.A.C. did not simply "appear". It evolved and that evolution was certainly, in part, from an already established community organization; the Sophie Wright Settlement House.

Enthusiasm was high and participation was extensive in getting the P.N.A.C. organization off the ground. (See Appendix F for a 10 statement questionnaire and responses). This questionnaire was administered during the early development phase of the organization, in hopes of getting the perceptions of the people in regards to the purposes of a new organization.

The researcher has given a general overview of how the P.N.A.C. got started, i.e., based on compilation of available data. However, there are some step by step processes which

are overshadowed in the general overview. It is the systematic step procedures that are of utmost concern in this first event because it is these procedures that are most replicable and transplantable.

Procedures: Event I

1. The university, and other consulting and planning organizations provide the "knowledge" base. That is, such organizations bring to the perspective community organization certain research designs based on organization theory. The process is one of assembling all pertinent information about a given problem area. This can be done by college students reviewing census data, conducting interviews, doing surveys, etc. The housing study of the P.N.A.C. community is a case in point.
2. Research findings and interpretations of information has to be made publicly available and easily accessible. Making available of such information is done without violating rules of initiation. Dissimination of such information to the public must emanate from an organization which has a public image of being a knowledge respecting one.
3. Information must be brought to a state of being usable in community planning process. This includes the development of new knowledge and information, and helping community leaders understand such knowledge. This is the process of providing technical assistance about information usages.
4. Organizational and leadership base maps are constructed. University and agency people not only collect information around problem areas, but also about local organizations and leadership structures in the community. This step should further include information pertaining to the structure and life condition of each unit of the organizational base map.
5. The knowledge base about community problems as they relate to the community goals is constructed. University and agency personnel work with community groups and/or individuals in compiling data needed to reach stated goals.

6. The university designs and test various feasibility models of how much change can be initiated into the power and decision making structure of the community which is required for successful sponsorship and execution of the innovation.
7. The university provides technical assistance to help the community design and conduct the kinds of "application research" and systematic observation needed to help in the design of specific organization arrangements and action projects necessary to achieving developmental goals.

### Summary

These are the tested and replicable steps that in a variety of ways were applied to the initiation of the P.N.A.C. organization. The procedures used in Event I differs from the criteria set up to analyze the three events to follow. The reason being, Event I is concerned with starting a process, whereas the other three events are concerned with on-going processes.

### Event II

The Detroit riot in the summer of 1967 and the P.N.A.C.'s reaction to it provides a view of the second process. The Kerner Report described the P.N.A.C. during the 1967 Detroit disturbance:

As the riot alternately waxed and waned, one area of the ghetto remained insulated. On the northeast side the residents of some 150 square blocks inhabited by 21,000 persons had, in 1966, banded together in the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee (PNAC). With professional help from the Institute of Urban Dynamics, they had organized block clubs and made plans for the

improvement of the neighborhood. In order to meet the need for recreational facilities, which the city was not providing, they had raised \$3,000 to purchase empty lots for playgrounds. Although opposed to urban renewal, they had agreed to co-sponsor with the Archdiocese of Detroit a housing project to be controlled jointly by the archdiocese and PNAC.

When the riot broke out, the residents, through the block clubs, were able to organize quickly. Youngsters, agreeing to stay in the neighborhood, participated in detouring traffic. While many persons reportedly sympathized with the idea of a rebellion against the 'system,' only two small fires were set--one in an empty building.<sup>3</sup>

This was the Kerner Commission's account of the P.N.A.C.'s role in the riot, but there are other accounts which perhaps shed more light on the behind the scene picture. Information in regard to the riot was obtained in three ways: interview, case study, and by historical document. In attempting to determine whether the P.N.A.C. community response to the riot was ad-hoc or whether the response was the result of planned on-going programming, the researcher wanted to ascertain if the following criteria could be applied to the P.N.A.C. organization during the period immediately prior to the riot.

1. Had it established "working" relationships with other community groups to achieve common goals?
2. Was there a coordinating force among peer status groups in the community?

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<sup>3</sup>U.S. Riot Commission Report, 196. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders Bantam Books, 1968, p. 196.

3. Did it have active ties with social agencies and/or other professional consulting organizations?
4. If in fact the above relationships did exist, were they of a planned, cooperative, and collaborative nature?

Interviews were held with the following people:

1. Mr. George Kelly, local restaurant and nightclub owner, and active participant in the P.N.A.C. since its inception. (Businessman)
2. The manager of Mr. Kelly's business and one of his associates; both local residents. (Businessmen).
3. Mrs. Watkins and Mrs. Rushin, president and vice president of the organization.
4. Director and assistant director Sophie Wright Settlement (both trained social workers).
5. Two consultants from Urban Dynamics Community Programs division.
6. School-community agent-liaison man between the local high school and the P.N.A.C. organization.
7. Four block club presidents.
8. Ministers of two black churches and the local Catholic church.
9. Researcher-M.S.U. and Urban Dynamics.

As stated previously, no attempt was made to sample a large population, of community people because the intent on the study is not to evaluate the effectiveness of the organization, but rather its process. A function of the operation which can only be reflected upon by those intimately tied to the P.N.A.C.'s operation. For this reason, information



gathered from recorded interviews, has been limited to specified sources; individuals representing agencies and/or business and other social organizations.

Table 2 is an attempt to point up the degree of consensus and/or dissonance of key community people and groups about the P.N.A.C., in regards to the four previously established criteria. These criteria are all derived from the theory of what an active and viable community organization must be capable of achieving. The table itself obviously does not delve into the process of achieving the stated criteria, but rather, only with the fact of whether or not the stated criteria existed at the time of the Detroit riot.

Closer inspection of the table however, yields additional information. First, the only criteria that the data supports 100% is the fact that the P.N.A.C. did have active ties to social agencies and/or other professional or consulting groups. Significantly, all the cases studied as well as extracted historical information, likewise supports the existence of the above relationships. The case and historical data further indicate that since its inception, the P.N.A.C. had utilized the expertise of local social agencies as well as community organization consultants from Michigan State University. Specifically, the expertise of professionally trained social workers from Sophie Wright Settlement, and an M.S.U. sociology professor.

TABLE 2

## MEASURE OF CONSENSUS ABOUT THE P.N.A.C.\*

Perceptions held by	Working relationship with other comm. groups prior to riots	A coordinating force among community peer groups	Active ties with social agencies or consulting groups	Relationship other groups was of a planned cooperative and collaborative nature
Businessmen (3)	agree (++-)	agree (-++)	agree (+++)	agree (-++)
P.N.A.C. Pres.	agree (+)	agree (+)	agree (+)	agree (+)
Director Settlement House	agree (+)	disagree (-)	agree (+)	disagree (-)
Asst. Dir. Settlements	disagree (-)	disagree (-)	agree (+)	disagree (-)
Consultants Urban Dynamics	agree (++)	agree (++)	agree (++)	neutral (-+)
School Community Agent	agree (+)	agree (+)	agree (+)	agree (+)
Block Club Pres. Presidents (4)	agree (++++)	agree (++++)	agree (++++)	agree (++++)
Baptist and Catholic Ministers	agree (+++)	agree (+-+)	agree (+++)	agree (+++)
Ministers (3)	agree (++)	disagree (-)	agree (+)	disagree (-)
Researcher M.S.U. and Urban Dynamics	agree (+)	agree (+)	agree (+)	agree (+)
Case study Analysis	agree (+)	neutral (0)	agree (+)	disagree (-)
Historical view-point	agree (+)	neutral (0)	agree (+)	disagree (-)

\* (+) = agreement  
 (-) = disagreement  
 (0) = neutral  
 (0) = neutral

Significant point number two, as derived from Table 2 is the area of greatest dissonance: In criteria number four which deals with the P.N.A.C., relating to other groups on a planned, cooperative and collaborative scale. The researcher suspects that this particular criteria requires somewhat more technical and trained expertise in order to evaluate. The table shows that all the social science "professionals" agreed that the P.N.A.C.'s relationship to other groups was not always on a planned, cooperative, and collaborative basis. Information gathered from historical documents tended to support the "professionals" position. The only other area of substantial dissonance was in the second criteria which concerned itself with the P.N.A.C. as a coordinating force among community peer groups. Again, the dissonance came from among the "professional" ranks. The community organizations were fairly positive on this particular criterion. Historical information was neutral, therefore it could not support or refute either of the two positions.

Another item of significance, in Table 2, is the difference in the information extracted from case study as opposed to historical view point, as it relates to criteria two and four. One would normally expect the two to yield fairly consistent kinds of information, especially, in view of the difficulty of separating one method from the other.

The only explanation the researcher can offer is the fact that much of the historical data were written by outside sources, whereas much of the case study material was written either by the P.N.A.C. organization or by sources closely allied with it.

The last, and obviously, significant piece of information derived from Table 2 is the fact that the social workers from the settlement house presents the largest degree of dissonance of all the groups listed. Further emphasis will be given to this item as other events are analyzed.

### Summary

Analysis of "Event II" has attempted to look at the P.N.A.C. just prior to the 1967 Detroit riot in hopes of illuminating that organization and its surrounding community's positive response to a crisis situation. The data seem to indicate that the P.N.A.C. did not respond in an ad hoc fashion but rather in a continuing, on-going manner.

### Event III

Analysis of a neighborhood school crisis situation affords the third look at the P.N.A.C. in process. The following account taken from the files of the old Sophie Wright Settlement House describes how the crisis began:

Early last year (1967), without the community's knowledge, plans were made to replace the skilled Machine Shop Course At Northeastern with a landscaping program. This decision was made by the principal, and accepted by the Vocational Department of the Board of Education.

Both the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee (PNAC) and the NAACP learned of these plans and together objected to the landscaping course proposed because our children need training for good jobs, not for gardening and horticulture.

In separate meetings with Board of Education officials the NAACP and the P.N.A.C. received promises that the landscaping program would not be brought into the school and that a new Power Sources Course (repair and maintenance of small motors) would be added to the school's program in September, 1967.

P.N.A.C. met with the principal, and he told them that the skilled Machine Shop would eventually be replaced by an Electronics Laboratory (TV and radio repair) and that the Power Sources Course would also be added. Neither NAACP or P.N.A.C. considered the Power Source a substitute for the skilled Machine Shop Course because it is not equal in quality of training leading to adequate employment.

On April 10, 1967 the Machine Shop was arbitrarily removed from the school with no warning to anyone, not even the shop teacher. The principal removed the machines even though he knew that there was no vocational program to offer the students who had enrolled for Machine Shop this fall beginning September 6, 1967.

P.N.A.C. was told that the machines had to be removed because they were "obsolete" - yet the machines were sent to two other Detroit High Schools to be used in their Machine Shops and the rest were sold to private parties.

The Electronics Laboratory that was promised as a substitute for the skilled Machine Shop is only in the planning stages and may not be available until the fall of 1969. The Power Sources Course is not ready for the opening of school.

Both P.N.A.C. and NAACP have been meeting with various school officials since March in an attempt to get something done about the Machine Shop before September.

They have seen the school principal deliberately pull out the skilled Machine Shop Course knowing he was leaving the school without a vocational program to replace it. Surely he knows that unemployment in Detroit is most critical for Negro young men between 17 and 30 - 28% - yet adequate vocational opportunities for our youths are now being denied those who attend Northeastern. Although they have talked to the principal of Northeastern, the Regional Executive, the Director of Vocational Programs, and the Deputy Superintendent, they have been unable to get either a satisfactory explanation for what has happened or a specific target date for the programs they have been promised. Everyone talked to has passed the buck on to someone else. Therefore, they asked for a meeting with the Superintendent. They assured him they were available 7 days a week. Their telegram was ignored. Several meetings that he promised within the last four weeks were not kept by him. Now his assistant says he cannot see them until August 29th, a week before school starts, which will be too late to do anything about the curriculum at the school.

Throughout the past 6 months, the school officials have not taken the problem seriously, nor have they given the people their rights as Community residents to determine what is going on in their schools, information is given to them only when the schools are ready to give it. Yet this school belongs to the Community. Northeastern High School is the most important influence which shapes the childrens lives and determine their future.

How does a community organization deal with a situation such as described above, and from within what framework is the problem approached. The P.N.A.C.'s School Related Services Committee was assigned the chore of resolving this particular problem. The committee called a meeting of all parents, interested citizens, the social work advisors from the settlement, block club leaders and the local NAACP for

a planning and feedback session on where and how the community should proceed with the school problem. Resulting from this particular meeting was the identification of several "steps which must be taken as a first step toward making Northeastern a quality High School." The decisions of that community meeting which was organized and directed by the P.N.A.C.'s School Related Services Committee follows, as taken from the minutes of the meeting:

1. The vocational courses our youngsters need must be provided without delay. We want the Power Sources Course, including a teacher, ready for students this fall. If a September 6th opening of this class is not possible, we want to know why, and exactly when it will be ready, and who is responsible for seeing that a deadline is met. In the meantime, we want the necessary equipment for the course provided by borrowing, if necessary, from other schools that have this course, so that resources are fairly distributed. We want the Electronics Course to be offered to Northeastern students in 1967. Because this is a federally funded program, work should be in process now to get the course ready for next fall. We should have progress reports on the program every month beginning in October 1967.

2. A school-community agent is to be assigned to Northeastern on or before September 18, 1967. Because it is important that whoever is assigned must be responsive to the needs of this particular community and work closely with community residents, that two community representatives must set on the committee responsible for interviewing candidates for school-community agent.

This community is prepared to suggest to the Board of Education names of several qualified individuals who might be recruited for this position.

An agent is critically needed at Northeastern for several reasons - primarily because this is a school which reflects extreme degrees of all the problems common to inner city schools - and worse which has never communicated with the community it serves.

Secondly, this total estrangement between school and community must be overcome if we are to see improvements at Northeastern.

3. Many more counselors are needed at Northeastern. Vocational Counselors are immediately needed (there are none at Northeastern now).

The school should have at least 20 counselors to serve its current population. Recognizing that this number represents a sharp increase. We expect gradual additions to the counseling staff, beginning with 2 additional counselors at the beginning of the September, 1967 term and adding 2 counselors in November, 2 in January, 1968, 2 in April, 1968 and a full quota of 20 for the September, 1968 school term.

4. It is necessary that a positive relationship between the school and the local district community be established- one which will ensure that arbitrary decisions by the principal cannot be made such as the decision to remove the skilled Machine Shop Course.

5. Therefore, we propose that a School-Community Advisory board be formed composed of and selected by Community Residents: We ask that the Board of Education recognize this Board as a legitimate part of the decision - policy making structure relating to Northeastern. The Board must agree that issues affecting Northeastern and its feeder schools will be brought to the Advisory Board before decisions are made, not after, as in the case of the Machine Shop. The Committee will participate in the decision-making process through its vote on the issues brought before it. It will also bring to the school discussion of issues which are of concern to the Community it represents.

We propose that this committee be formed and that the principal be directed to meet with the Board to discuss details of its operation by October 30, 1967.

Over the past six months we have experienced the difficulties that citizens encounter when they try to carry a grievance through "channels" of the School Board. We have learned the futility of talking to officials again and again, and the improbability of being heard by the Superintendent.



We do have a promise from the Superintendent of a Meeting on August 29th. We must consider the possible courses of action that can be followed if the Superintendent does not respond to our needs, and we must let the Board know that we are prepared to take action.

We can call in the press and ask for public exposure of the conditions that exist at Northeastern and the ways in which the school personnel have responded to our requests.

We can organize a demonstration (Picket Lines) in protest of the "education" our children are getting at Northeastern and make our demands public.

We can keep our children home from school on September 6th and make public our reasons for doing so.

It is important that we let the Board of Education know that we are not satisfied with second and third class education for our children and we will no longer sit back and leave important decisions to those who think they "know what's best" for our community.

The manner in which the case has been described in the minutes above, concurs closely with information gathered from other documents from the settlement house files as the P.N.A.C. files well as from newspaper accounts of the incident. The information indicates that the P.N.A.C. did not violate any of the rules of initiation. Based on the fact that written documents as well as subsequent interviews substantiates the fact that the P.N.A.C. was successful in achieving its goals, the crisis was obviously approached in a manner consistent with what the theory describes as being proper *modus operandi* for a community organization. There are at least four principles of the community organization process that can be gleamed from the development of this case. They are as follows:

1. The P.N.A.C.'s clearly organized planning process.
2. The P.N.A.C.'s working relationship with a diversity of people and groups, both professional and non professional.
3. The P.N.A.C.'s coordination of groups on a peer-status relationship as well as those that exist in a subordinate-superordinate relationship with the P.N.A.C.
4. Fourth and most crucial is the manner in which the problem was first presented to the community. The theory states that this becomes a variable by which to predict acceptance, neutrality, or opposition by the community.

It is worthy to note in the case under analysis that one of the settlement house social workers was a key adviser and provided the P.N.A.C. with all the preliminary factual data it needed to present at the community meeting. The NAACP provided assistance in terms of what could and could not be done legally. In addition to the above two sources of help, the mayors' committee on children and youth likewise provide a social work advisor to assist the P.N.A.C. in resolving the conflict.

Had the researcher gone the same route in this event as was true in the first event, the information here seems to support the fact that the same kinds of planning and cooperative-collaborative functions prevail.

In examining the files of interviews conducted at the time of the crisis situation, several pieces of interesting information turned up. It seems that the settlement house which had assisted the P.N.A.C. from inception was under

considerable pressure from its own board as well as its funding source, the Community Chest. The settlement, although, located in a predominantly Black neighborhood, had a practically all white board. The board and the Chest felt that the settlement had a much too active role with the P.N.A.C. and demanded a cessation of the settlement's activities. This act in itself, rendered the settlement obsolete: it was no longer capable of meeting the needs of the community people. The records further indicate that it was the feeling of two of the settlement's social workers that when the settlement board could not control or dictate programs to the P.N.A.C., it wanted nothing else to do with the organization. This kind of involvement or lack of it will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Another interesting piece of information extracted was concerned with the perceptions that relevant others; on the school side of the issue, had in regards to the P.N.A.C.'s handling of the case. It seems that only the high school principal was offended. The teachers, the school-community agent, and the regional executive (now called district superintendent) were all positive about the prospect of the community having enough interest to become actively involved in school affairs. Again, the researcher attributes this kind of positive perception to the initiation process. As a result of the process having been initiated from a sound

theoretical perspective, sponsorship by the "opposition" was greatly enhanced.

### Summary

The information obtained in regards to this event clearly illustrates much of the criteria utilized in the first event. In addition the case points out very well the basic principles as well as many of the goals of a community organization. Equally important as either of these is the allusion the case makes as to what is the function and role of social agencies and other professionals as they relate to "community organizations." More on this topic will likewise be discussed in the following chapter.

### Event IV

The P.N.A.C.'s attempt to build low cost housing (Phoenix Housing Project) provides an additional look at the organization in process. The Phoenix Housing Committee was established with a rather impressive list of community participants and significant others. The committee consisted of two of the P.N.A.C. board members, two members at large (one of whom was the chairman), church representatives, business representatives, representative from the Detroit Archdiocese, social agency representatives, and a state senator.

P.N.A.C.'s first involvement with low cost housing came through Urban Dynamics a private consulting firm, and the Archdiocese of Detroit, which helped set up the initial meeting with an architect. The architect and his associates had designed a framing system which had been used in one of the South American countries and were in the process of trying to modify the frame to help bring lower priced housing to the United States.

The first efforts were centered around the securing of land on which these homes could be built. In March of 1967, pledges and drawings were held to raise money to buy the land. In total, the P.N.A.C. organization raised about \$6,000. In May or June of 1967 the land was purchased. After this, they thought it would just be a matter of a few formalities for safety engineers, architects, city government officials, etc. to give their okay. However, to the dismay of the P.N.A.C. members, and others involved, there were many obstacles yet to be encountered. In fact, the delays continued for more than one year.

Step two was the convening of a group representing the HUD (Housing and Urban Development) office in Washington, D.C., the mayor's office along with representatives of the Campbell Construction Co., and the city's Building and Safety Engineering Department. They tried to reach some decisions, but nothing concrete was achieved.

At the end of 1967, the Building and Safety Engineer, made known his disapproval of the building structure. In May of 1968, the plans for the homes were taken to the National Bureau of Standards in Gathesberg, Maryland where the structure was submitted to undergo a series of tests. Summary reports were sent back and forth between May and August of 1968, and modifications had to be made on the diagrams. Finally the City of Detroit issued the building permits on August 1, 1968.

The actual ground-breaking ceremony took place on Tuesday, October 8, 1968. This project had been in progress since August 1, 1967, so it took more than one year to get this project through the various city structures. During this time, the community met continually to try to iron out the different problems they were running into with the various agencies with which they were attempting to work.

Throughout the time of the Phoenix Homes Project, the committee had been investigating various other low cost housing possibilities. When there were continued delays in the original project, several were found and given rather serious consideration. One company offered the possibility of incorporating a factory in the community which would employ neighborhood people who would help manufacture the parts for the homes. There were obviously favorable aspects to this particular proposal. However, neither of the firms

represented had gotten the approval of the city government in all of the required departments, consequently there would probably have been additional delays once again. Indications are that no further consideration was given.

A quote by the P.N.A.C. president best sums up the presentation of the housing extent.

We needed much direction and assistance from agency professionals, in the beginning, but we have become somewhat more sophisticated and can make our own decisions. The fights, disagreements, etc., we have encountered along the way have matured the organization and proven to be good learning experiences for all of us. The community people have become intimately involved and are prepared to move forward, regardless of obstacles.

The various cooperating and collaborative units were alluded to earlier, but their roles were not dealt with to any extent. This becomes necessary in order to be able to see the process utilized by the P.N.A.C., as it relates to this particular event.

Interviews of key informants; the P.N.A.C. officers, church leaders, settlement house social workers and a consulting organization to the P.N.A.C. indicates that the ground work for Phoenix Housing was laid as early as 1966, prior to the advent of the P.N.A.C. itself. A housing study had been conducted in 1966, by a M.S.U. professor and two students. From this fairly rudimentary study, evolved the initial thrust for what eventually became the Phoenix Project. The significance of that study points up the research role that the university can play in a peoples

organization. The written materials; minutes, memos, settlement case recordings, and newspaper reports seem to support the notion of a viable university role in the development of inner city communities. There was little or no discrepancy between role perception as taken from interviews and written documents.

Urban Dynamics Corporation which primarily consults in the area of real estate and land development was able to affect a relationship between the Phoenix Housing Project and the Washington, D.C. HUD office. Urban Dynamics was instrumental in getting the Detroit Archdiocese Opportunity Program involved with the P.N.A.C. organization. A Detroit news article states:

The Phoenix Housing Project brought about by the cooperation of the P.N.A.C. and several other agencies has been successful in getting the Housing and Urban Development Department of the U.S. Federal Government to provide funds for 17 private units of low cost housing to be built in the local area. The P.N.A.C., through the cooperation with Urban Dynamics Corporation, has raised funds to buy vacant lots in the area on which the Phoenix sources. Urban Dynamics and the Archdiocese Opportunity Program act as resource agents for the local administrator the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee.

### Summary

The information, from a variety of previously mentioned sources, utilized to reconstruct three key events in the growth of the P.N.A.C. seem to overwhelmingly support the notion that it follows well established procedures.



Procedures based on the principles and theory of sound community organization practice. Though, the theory primarily concerns itself with "agency" operated organizations as opposed to "peoples" organization, there are nevertheless indications that it applies to both kinds of organizations.

In terms of those criteria which the researcher isolated and attempted to substantiate, the P.N.A.C. measures up as a very viable and self sustaining kind of community organization. The community organization basic process is prevalent throughout each of the cases analyzed; the planning process and the process orientation.

The information gathering and descriptive techniques used in reconstructing Event I is not at all unlike the techniques used in reconstructing the subsequent events. Event I is simply more detailed in terms of how the information was gathered. For instance, in collecting information for one event, if there were data available concerning one of the other events, it was collected at that point. The events described and analyzed are separate, but the data collection did not necessarily follow that pattern.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY OF RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The present study has attempted to look at a "peoples" organization in process. By reconstructing some of the major events in the P.N.A.C.'s development, the researcher believes that the descriptions have focused on the varying component parts of the community organization process. And in so doing, there seems to be significant support for the earlier assumption that the P.N.A.C. is a viable and self sustaining community organization. By isolation and delineation of the elements comprising the methods employed, it has been demonstrated that the P.N.A.C. can become a model with survival value and capable of being replicated and transplanted elsewhere.

Perhaps of equal importance with the "processes" the researcher was trying to extract from the study, is the fact that the cases illustrated and focused on a concept that is very much lacking in most "professional" kinds of community organizations. That concept is the whole issue of community planning without active community involvement. (This concept is dealt with rather extensively in Chapter III of this study.)

Finally, the study supports the notion (alluded to in Chapter I) that "agency" organizations and "social welfare," type organizations need to take a radical look, not necessarily at new methods and techniques, but at new ways of applying those methods and techniques. The modus operandi of the P.N.A.C. itself seems to indicate that basic community organization methods and techniques are very much appropriate to a "peoples" organization. The Sophie Wright Settlement in its relationship to the P.N.A.C. was indicative of an agency type organization applying old methods and techniques in a new manner, at least, until it ran into problems that had nothing to do with the application of methods and techniques.

### Discussion

Part of the discussion will relate to the P.N.A.C. organization in terms that are not readily apparent from the cases analyzed. An organization is composed of a complex set of interacting forces. The P.N.A.C. as a community "organization" has a wide variety of forces combining to make up the total picture.

The P.N.A.C. is made up of real people and each person has a definite idea of just what P.N.A.C. is. This "organization" could not exist without the community-people relationship. The P.N.A.C. without people, without support, without consensus of purpose, really has no significance;

no reason for functioning. Each individual involved in the P.N.A.C. be he a local citizen or a professional advisor has a definite idea of just what P.N.A.C. is, what its role is, and what he expects of it. It is this type of perception of the purpose of an organization that makes an "organization" viable. A lack of consensus as to the specific purpose of an "organization" would cause much turmoil and disturbance within. Some degree of dissonance is expected but a high degree will cause an organization to deteriorate, weaken and become obsolete. Thus we can see from the analyses that the P.N.A.C. has attained a high sense of agreement among individuals in the community, as well as among professionals, and is well ont its way to fostering a positive image as a community organization for positive neighborhood action.

Although each individual interviewed as well as organizations surveyed perceived the P.N.A.C. from his own vantage point of association, the perception of P.N.A.C. as an organization to keep the community together has been fairly consistant, (see appendix F). This has been true even among the various committee units. Each unit is very aware of its function in P.N.A.C., and is actually involved in the solution to specific problems they have been assigned. These smaller units, however, as is often the case in any group, are not always aware of the total operations. The mass mettings will give a comprehensive report but often the whole picture is not presented or not clearly understood,

allowing for misinterpretation. If one is to have a clear idea of his "organization," communications within the group as well as in the community-among peoples not involved in the P.N.A.C.-should be capitalized upon.

A good working consensus of the purpose of an "organization" will enable the community to accept and most probably support any committee for positive neighborhood action. Although there is some contest among the parts of the P.N.A.C., for example social workers, school community agents, Urban Dynamics etc., the president of the P.N.A.C. along with other active individuals have concentrated their efforts on assuring the democratic functioning of this Committee. These "leaders" in the P.N.A.C. seem to be aware that some force could co-opt their "organization," but are consciously trying to prevent this. In accordance with the "leaders" of the P.N.A.C., some of the advisors have expressed their role as being one that will eventually fade out of existence. It is difficult to tell if this perception of a role is actually anticipated by the professional advisors or if these individuals are simply replying in a manner expected of them. If they are sincere in their perceptions, however, added hope can be gleaned for future functions of advisors in community "organization" such as the P.N.A.C.

Each individual in a "organization" has his own insight of what his organization is. Along with a perception of the purpose of the total "organization" goes a perception of the role specific individuals should play. People will always view other individuals as having more power, individuals who must do the "dirty work," people who must coordinate all the forces at work in the "organization," people who simply add support, etc. All in all, there are multiple perceptions as to the functions of different individuals within an "organization."

The people interviewed were very much aware of this role perception issue within the P.N.A.C. Some individuals of the P.N.A.C. saw hostility, disorganization, unethical practice, distrust, non-cooperation among parts, and uncoordinated efforts. Some roles were viewed as inadequate, only partially played or played in an unethical manner. Specific roles were viewed with mistrust, a sense of mystery as to their underlying purpose in the process.

Each individual was quite sure, almost emphatic in his interpretation of his own role. People seem to understand their role, but as was determined from information gathered, the same role is often interpreted in a variety of ways. For example, Urban Dynamics, a supposedly non-profit making organization, was viewed as a money making organization, a "guinea pig" for a future development, a purely advisor agency, etc.

One can easily see how, with such a vast array of forces at work in an "organization" of this type, conflicts can arise. Although the P.N.A.C. is a community group, the magnitude of the problems confronted in this area have necessitated the use of professional advisors. All these advisors view their association with the P.N.A.C. as very important and could easily feel threatened by any control exerted by another advisor agency. Such conflicts among advisors could prove detrimental. Thus far however, the P.N.A.C. has been able to keep contest behavior at a minimum.

The P.N.A.C. as a total organization, although viewed as a committee for positive neighborhood action, is perceived as stated earlier, from several different vantage points. Some people see the P.N.A.C. as an "organization" of "poor" people, people who need help, who must be "babied" along, spoon fed, and explicitly directed for any progress to be made. Others perceive the P.N.A.C. as composite of individuals ready and capable of helping themselves. They don't want other people to do for them what they can do for themselves. They are aware that they need some direction in their endeavors but wish to keep "their" community together through their own efforts.

Through the study of an organization like the P.N.A.C. one becomes aware of the variety of forces working on and in such a unit. Through direct observation, participant

observation, interviews, one is able to view the structure, roles, conflicts, consensus, energy and innovation that combine to form an "organization." Although perceptions differ even within the same "organization" the emerging picture presented by the P.N.A.C. points up the many complexities and roles that make an organization "our" organization.

The researcher is aware that there are other variables which could have been considered in the present study, but maintains the position that in doing a descriptive study, attitudes and perceptions were crucial factors in determining the modus operandi of the P.N.A.C. organization. It is the perceptions held that not only determine whether significant others will relate to one, but in what manner or to what extent will they relate.

Role Implications for the Field of Social Science  
with Special Emphasis on the Field of Social Work

The P.N.A.C. analysis has demonstrated need for social scientists, and other social helpers to establish multidisciplinary alliances with peoples organizations as a means of achieving stated goals. The P.N.A.C. itself has shown its capability of coordinating relationships between groups of peer status as well as between groups of professional status.



What needs to be done? Earlier in this study, it was stated that the P.N.A.C. as an on-going operation could not be separated from the process. The process and the operations are one and the same. Assuming this to be correct, an on-going operation needs to be constantly fed up-dating kinds of data: without this, the process ceases. The university social scientists can provide a P.N.A.C. type of organization with a continuous, up-to-date body of knowledge about community problems. This can be done through the normal channels of off-campus research, utilizing students and community residents to collect necessary information, as was demonstrated in Event I.

The university academic units not only have a role but a responsibility to assist urban communities to develop programs of sufficient quality to meet urban needs. There is a very successful prescedent for this kind of community involvement. One has but to look at Michigan State University's Cooperative Extension Service and Experiment Station Programs as they related to the development of rural communities in Michigan.

On a limited basis, this kind of paradigm has already proven successful with the P.N.A.C. M.S.U. has provided the P.N.A.C. with some technical assistance for the past three years, under the auspices of the College of Social Science and the Center for Urban Affairs. The amount of assistance has not been sufficient to provide the on-going

community research necessary to keep the body of knowledge about the P.N.A.C. community up to date. The university's involvement in this kind of research activity can reap dual benefits. First, it will allow students to have "real world" experiences or to do the kinds of things they consider to be "relevant." Secondly, the professional, the social scientist can become actively involved in doing research that has "real world" implications and not just theoretical implications which is sometimes described as simply adding knowledge to the field. This kind of involvement precludes the recognition that urban communities in general, and not just the P.N.A.C. community, are facing a crisis "now." Social scientists, by direct application of their knowledge can more adequately help meet this crisis.

In addition to the research function that the university professionals can play in urban communities, there is also another role. The university is pregnant with knowledge and various kinds of expertise. It can bring this knowledge and expertise to urban communities in a coordinated manner. Who is more capable than the university in supplying a knowledge base for a gamet of cooperating and collaborative agencies and community groups? Inherent in any knowledge base is the university's ability to formulate new theories upon which action oriented programs can develop and be implemented.

Without going further into role implications for the field of social science, the model (Cooperative Extension) for action is already in existence. The ingredients missing are commitments to action and recognition of the pertinence and viability of the model as it relates to urban communities.

Because social workers too are social scientists, they should not be excluded from the urban community participatory process. In fact, social workers, based on their historical involvement in community organization work, should be in the fore front of professionals becoming more intimately involved. In addition to the historical aspect, most social work agencies today provide direct services to communities. The question can be raised in regards to the nature of that involvement. Sophie Wright Settlement in its relationship to the P.N.A.C. was initially an excellent example of social work providing assistance to a people's organization. The two trained social workers acted only as advisors and facilitators. The P.N.A.C. was half of their assignment. The settlement wanted to see this program work without the initiation or the base being found within the settlement. When the Sophie Wright board and its funding source, the Community Chest decided that the settlements involvement with the P.N.A.C. was not a proper function, the settlement had to revert to its traditional role which

which was totally out of character for the community it had to serve. It became obsolete and ceased to exist.

The settlement did demonstrate however the functions that a social agency can actively and successfully carry on with community groups. The type of activities the settlement social workers engaged in had no regard for the concept of boundary maintenance of professional social work. When the settlement social workers worked with the P.N.A.C., it was the P.N.A.C. which made the basic decisions and determined directions. The social workers provided the same services as did the other professions working cooperatively and collaboratively with the P.N.A.C., advisory and technical assistance.

### Summary

New role implications for the field of social science are not new at all, but rather a different application of present roles. The university professional must spend part of his time in the community in order to apply the knowledge of his trade directly, be it research, teaching, consulting, or providing direct services. The agency professional must assume an "in house" kind of function, be it advising, counseling, or providing other kinds of direct services.

The P.N.A.C. type of organization is built around the responsiveness of the people to decide for themselves. 'An organization for positive action gives people a voice in their community.

No individual can be well versed in all aspects of advise necessary for the type of problems facing an urban community such as the P.N.A.C. It therefore is necessary to seek and use professional advice: That is perhaps the role of the future for social scientists, advisor resources.

#### Limitations of the Study and Implications for Further Research

The present study suffers from two major limitations. First, the study does not have a set of clearly delineated dependent and independent variables. Secondly, because descriptive research does not create laws and conclusions that apply beyond the subject matter described, and only one organization was used in the study, generalizations can not be broad. The researcher's sole resources were whatever concepts he could borrow. He had to create his own guideposts in terms of deciding what to look at and what to ignore, what to record and what not to record, which clues to follow up and which to drop, what was important and what was valueless. The researcher attempted to objectify the subjective as much as possible, but at the same time recognizing his own biases and their influences upon the present study.

It is the hope of the researcher that the descriptions provided in this study will yield clues for subsequent

research to pin down and generalize. It is a further desire that someone examine a number of "peoples" organizations to see, if in fact, the principles and processes are functional within the kind of organization described in this study.

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## APPENDIX A

### THE ROLE OF SOCIAL WORK ORGANIZATIONS IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT\*

By

Christopher Sower, Professor  
Organization Research Unit  
Department of Sociology  
Michigan State University

#### A Summary Statement of the Remarks:

(1) When an organization or an institution loses its intellectual justification for existence, it cannot continue to survive for more than a generation or so.<sup>1</sup>

(2) In view of the evidence that since 1930 the field of social work has become increasingly unable to make effective use of new knowledge about social organization and personality organization, it seems predictable most social work agencies will be undergoing either drastic innovation mergers, or dissolution during the next decade. It seems likely, for instance, that the federal and state governments are going to allocate their resources to newer and more justifiable types of endeavors, rather than in continuing to finance the outmoded social work organization system. Also, increasing and justifiable criticism is being directed at the historic collection of agencies which are financed by community chest funds.

(3) There are two main areas of dysfunction of social work agencies. First, they have continued to concentrate their chief efforts in trying to correct and rehabilitate dysfunctional personalities despite extensive new knowledge about the natural life cycle of the development of either an effective or an ineffective person in his society. Secondly, they have failed to make effective use of new knowledge developments about the important and predictive consequences of social organization upon the personality development of the individual, much of which is predictive in early childhood. If available knowledge were utilized, it would not be necessary for modern societies to continue to produce nearly so many ineffective persons at different ages of life span.

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\*Prepared for presentation to the Sophie Wright Centennial, Sophie Wright Settlement, Detroit, Michigan. 14 June 1966.

<sup>1</sup>Lyford C. Edwards. The Natural History of Revolutions, University of Chicago Press, 1927.

(4) In fact, there is an increasing body of evidence that there are two major dysfunctional characteristics of the way that the psychotherapy disciplines attempt to treat dysfunctional or problem behavior. First, several experimental studies point to the evidence that psychotherapy (psychiatry, clinical psychology, social case work<sup>2</sup>) are not effective in reversing deviant behavior in its early stages.

Secondly, psychotherapy appears to produce the end consequence of turning the attention of the patient inwardly to try to solve his own problems, instead of making use of the extensive evidence that both the development and correction of personality dysfunction have direct relationships to involvement in close association units of social organization.

(5) Also, the field of social work has failed to give serious and systematic consideration and application to the well established knowledge about the predictive consequences which neighborhood and housing variables have upon the end product of effective or ineffective personalities and locality social systems, such as families, schools, friendship groups, and the other organizations which perform the important involvement roles in personality socialization.

(6) A new body of knowledge has developed about the systematic processes of organization effectiveness and innovation. The handout sheets which accompany this paper illustrate how one organization innovation principle, "The Normative Consensus Theory," can be applied to the Sophie Wright organization. This proposes a new type of appendage role which appears normative and sponsorable within the norms of the Sophie Wright organization. If this new role is sponsored in a serious and competent manner, it is predictable that it will be capable of setting the multi-organizational involvement forces into motion which will predictably be capable of producing a total area development program for the lower East Side of Detroit.

(7) The proposed new role is for the Sophie Wright organization to begin the multi-organizational involvement necessary to building (a) a competent knowledge system for the area, and (b) the beginnings of various programs to help other organizations understand the knowledge, and to make use of it to normatively activate the organization relevant to achieving selected development goals.

(8) There is very extensive evidence from organization science research that the organization innovation process is very difficult to achieve without the involvement of outsider roles which have technical competence in organization innovation knowledge. The innovation process

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<sup>2</sup>See for instance: C. Downing Tate, Jr., M.D., and Emery F. Hodges, Jr., M.D.; Delinquents, Their Families, and the Community. Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas Co., 1962. Also: Leo Srole, et al., Mental Health In the Metropolis. McGraw Hill Book Co., 1962. Also: "What's Wrong with Psychiatry." Current Issue of Atlantic Monthly.

becomes increasingly difficult to apply in the development programming areas where it simply is impossible to contain the process within a single line of administrative authority, or within a single subject matter discipline. Hence, it is predictable that the personnel of social work and other organizations are so personally committed to loving, operating, and defending their traditional organizations that they will be unable to design and sponsor adequate innovation systems and programs without the systematic assistance from external organizations which have subject matter competency in organization innovation knowledge, and how it can be applied to specific social systems.

There is considerable evidence, in fact, to justify the prediction that once the "problem of generations" takes command of an organization's decision making that basic innovation is not possible on a voluntary basis. Newer knowledge developments in both industrial and public organizations is showing, instead, that such kinds of innovation decisions must come from the sources of inputs into the organization, and that are not possible from internal points of decision making.

## APPENDIX B

### REPORT ON INTERVIEW WITH PERSONNEL OF SOPHIE WRIGHT SETTLEMENT

Organization: Sophie Wright Settlement

Location: Mitchell and Superior

Persons Interviewed: Mr. Thomas Stewart and Miss Ann Oliphant

Purpose of Organization: To provide recreational facilities to the children in the neighborhood and to administer individual counseling to children referred to them by the proper authorities. They also sponsor a community council and offer consultation to the Federation of A.D.C. Mothers. In addition, there is a group of about twenty teens employed there in a work-study program.

#### Attitudes and Commitments of Personnel to Organization:

Mr. Stewart (case worker):

He is mostly concerned with working with young boys and the Teen Council. He feels that he is doing his job as far as limits (time, other's interest, etc.) will permit. He thinks that the Settlement is doing a fine job in most areas (recreation) but limited work in others (organization).

Miss Oliphant (group worker):

She feels that she is a part of the Settlement, however, she sees a need for the Settlement to be more active in organizing the community. Also, she feels that the Settlement should meet more of the needs of the people they serve (i.e. having various classes for adults as had been the practice in the past).

#### Commitment of Organization:

The Settlement is very concerned with helping the community. This can be seen in the way it helps to organize block clubs, mother's leagues, teen's groups, etc.

However, I am not sure how effective an organizer the Settlement is. The turn-out at their civic meetings (block clubs, etc.) is very irregular. Sometimes they get quite a lot of people to come out and at other times very few people will come out.

#### Areas of Influence:

The Settlement has very good working relationships with the other social agency in the area. She works with TAP, Harper House, Franklin Settlement and other agencies serving the greater metropolitan Detroit area.

#### The Image of the Organization to the Residents of the Community:

The children in the area do identify with the Settlement. They see it as a place to go to have fun. The adults see the settlement as a place to send their children more than a place for them to go for civic action.

#### Commitments of the residents to the Community (Viewpoint of the Organization):

The people do not see themselves as being an important part of the greater community. Therefore, it is difficult to organize them into civic groups.

#### Additional Information:

It was the feelings of Mr. Stewart that low cost housing was not necessarily the answer to the problems of this community. He seemed to think that the people lack self respect and motivation. Futhermore, he said that the people would identify low cost housing with the Brewster and Jefferies projects.

Submitted by Sandra Odom



## REPORT ON PERSONAL INTERVIEW

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Mr. Adam Sumeracki

LENGTH OF TIME IN THE COMMUNITY: All of his life

EMPLOYMENT: Works for Juvenile Court

AGE: 50-60 Years Old

RACE: White

POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY: President of the Federated East Side Improvements, Assoc.

CHIEF REFERENCE GROUP OF MR. SUMERACKI: As I stated above, Mr. S. is president of the Federated East Side Improvement Assoc. The Association is an all polish organization. It's purpose is to fight blight in its area. It's area includes six Catholic Churches. Three of them, Sweetest Heart, St. Albertus and St. Elizabeth, are in our area. In the beginning, the pastors of the churches were active in the Association. Now, they are no longer active.

The Association fought against the expansion of the Eastern Market.

Mr. S. should be representative of the older polish people. He wants senior citizen's housing. He said that the people are disgusted with the area. He feels that the area needs to be organized around Urban Renewal. He wants to have a community meeting to discuss the problems of the area.

Mr. S. said that the Negroes and the Poles must learn to live and work together.

ATTITUDE OF MR. S. TOWARD THE COMMUNITY: Mr. S. is for Urban Renewal in the area. However, he wants a project that will make it possible for the people already living in the area to keep on living there.

He thinks that the city should be trying to keep people in the City. The city is not doing its job, because the people in the area have to demand city services. They should not have to do this.

Mr. S. would like to see nice middle class homes, (houses) built in the area. The price of these houses should be what the people there now could afford to pay. If some of the people could not afford these middle-class houses, then they should be subsidized.

SUBMITTED:

By: Sandra Odom

# REPORT ON PERSONAL INTERVIEW

PERSONS INTERVIEWED: Mr. and Mrs. David Holmes

POSITION IN COMMUNITY: Mr. Holmes is the state representative for the area. Mrs. Holmes is on the TAP Advisory Board.

ATTITUDES OF THE HOLMES TOWARD THE COMMUNITY: They feel that the lower east side is the best area in the city. Land value is going up.

According to the Holmes, older people are staying in the area. Adults (30-50 years old) who have moved away drift back to the area. However, the younger people (20-30) are leaving the area. This shows a need for good block clubs and a broader religion base.

Mr. Holmes suggested that in the area bordered by Mack, Dequindre and Gratiot private low-cost (\$8,000) homes should be built. Then a revolving fund where people could borrow money to finance a new home should be set up.

The area needs recreational facilities. There should be TOT Lots in the area.

Eastern Market is supposed to be moving (expanding) into the St. Aubin area. People should organize to fight the entrance of the Market and similar urban renewal projects.

According to Mrs. Holmes, the schools stress college training too much. Most of the children in the area do not have the potential to do college work. The schools should be technical and vocational orientated. (However, Mr. Holmes has a daughter who is a junior at M.S.U.).

Currently, there is an apprenticeship program where students are trained in skilled trades. Then employers choose some of these students to work for them as an apprentice. There is no one in the program from our area.

The Holmes' opinion of organizations operating in our area: Mr. Holmes said that in his opinion Sophie Wright needs a new Board of Director. He felt that the Present Board is out of contact with the people in our area.

Mrs. Holmes, as stated befoe, is on the TAP Advisory Board. Since, we had heard that the people are not represented on the Board, we asked Mrs. Holmes about it. According to Mrs. Holmes, the people in the area are encouraged to speak their opinions on matters, although they have no vote unless they are members of the Board.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom

## REPORT ON PERSONAL INTERVIEW

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Mr. Kelly

OCCUPATION: Owns and operates Mr. Kelly's Ballroom.

LOCATION: 4466 Chene

AGE: About 40 years.

GENERAL INFORMATION: Mr. Kelly lives above his ballroom, he is a Negro.

ATTITUDE OF MR. KELLY TOWARD THE COMMUNITY: Mr. Kelly enjoys living and working in the community. He participates in the East Side Chamber of Commerce. He is planning to join a community council. He keeps up with what is going on through his association with Fred Burton (Chairman of the 13th District) William Banks (Candidate for State Representatives), Mr. Heading (Candidate for Judge), and State Representative Holmes.

Mr. Kelly's desire to improve his neighborhood can be seen by the fact that he was disturbed about some vacant vandalized store fronts on Chene. The area around the store fronts was so dirty that Mr. Kelly went out and cleaned up around the buildings.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: Mr. Kelly would like to see a neighborhood conservation program put into action in his community. He feels that the people would remain in the area if they had the financial means to repair and remodel their homes.

Mr. Kelly's influence in the community can be seen in his fight to get a liquor license. His license was opposed the Federated East Side Improvements, Assoc. Mr. Kelly was supported by the East Side Chamber of Commerce and several other influential people in the neighborhood.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom

(13)

REPORT ON PERSONAL INTERVIEW

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Mr. Brown - President of the Moran Street Block Club.

ADDRESS: 4106 Moran

GENERAL INFORMATION: Negro, 64 Years Old, owns home.

CHIEF REFERENCE GROUP OF MR. BROWN: Mr. Brown's block club is inactive right now, however, they are still registered as a block club. The club was active for 1½ years. While the club was active, they got two street lights installed. They also forced the Faygo Company to clean up the area around their plant. Mr. Brown said that the alleys in his neighborhood are spotless.

The boundaries of the club are from Superior to Leland on Moran.

Mr. Brown's attitude toward his neighborhood: I also talked to Mrs. Brown. She said that they had no intentions of moving out of the area. They enjoy living in the area. The only troubles they have are with the Faygo Company. It seems that the workmen from Faygo, litter the streets around the plant. They also must pressure Faygo into keeping this area clean.

On Tuesday, (8-9-66) Faygo is going before the zoning commission to see if they can expand their plant. The neighborhood is fighting this expansion.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom

## REPORT ON PERSONAL INTERVIEW

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Mrs. Palmer  
ADDRESS: 3610 Mitchell  
GENERAL INFORMATION: Negro; between 45-55 years old,  
housewife; president of the #7th  
District Community Club, homeowner.

CHIEF REFERENCE GROUPS OR MRS. PALMER: The #7th. District Community has 60 members. Its boundaries are from Hale to Leland and from McDougall to Grandy. Mrs. Palmer has a hard time getting the people in her block to cooperate with the community club.

The club is two years old. They have had area clean-up days. They have cleaned the alleys several times. Their aim is to bring up the area.

Mrs. Palmer is a strong leader.

ATTITUDE OF MRS. PALMER TOWARD THE COMMUNITY: Mrs. Palmer likes her neighborhood. However, there are a few things that need to be corrected in the community. First, Mrs. Palmer says that a few of her neighbors are carrying on an illegal business. Second, too many of the people in the area do not take care of their homes. Third, some of the teens have become uncontrollable.

Mrs. Palmer suggested that a stronger community council might help the area.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: I'm not very sure how many people in the area support Mrs. Palmer. I was under the impression that Mrs. Palmer is not well liked by her neighborhood.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom

## REPORT ON PERSONAL INTERVIEW

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Mrs. Rhymes

## GENERAL INFORMATION ON MRS. RHYMES:

Mrs. Rhymes has lived in the community for 15 years. She is employed as a secretary at the Campbell Elementary School. Mrs. Rhymes is on the TAP Advisory Committee, she is president of the Handusaw Block Club and she is secretary of the Blecki Block Club Council.

ATTITUDE OF MRS. RHYMES TOWARD THE COMMUNITY: As I stated above, Mrs. Rhymes belongs to several community organizations. This makes me think that she is devoted to improving the area. Mrs. Rhymes mentioned to me several vacant, vandalized buildings that are eye sores in the area. I think that this shows her interest and involvement in the community.

Mrs. Rhymes also mentioned a possible playground site in her neighborhood. She said that in order to get to the nearest playground, children had to cross a very dangerous street.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: Mrs. Rhymes is a relatively new community leader, she just became active in the area in the past year.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom

## REPORT ON PERSONAL INTERVIEW

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Father Thomas

POSITION: The Father is on the Archbishop's Committee on Human Relations. Also, he is chairman of the Urban Parishes subcommittee.

## COMMENTS OF FATHER THOMAS:

Builders are looking for prime areas in the city, areas which have something unique to offer, (i.e. Lafayette Park is in the heart of the city with easy access to the river, good restaurants, shows, expressways, etc.). What is there about our area to attract builders.

People can not afford to move out of our area, their homes are not worth enough.

The Father wonders how really committed to the area are the people. If you offer them much more money for their homes, than they are worth, would they take it? The older have ties (memories) with the area. For others, what is there to be committed to?

Father Thomas said that the area needs organization. The people need to be motivated to use their political power. The Negroes in the area feel that what they say or want doesn't count.

Certain conditions which exist in the area are responsible for the apathy of most of the Negroes. One of these conditions is the Police Department. It seems that the police ask if the person calling is white or colored, when a complaint call comes in. Also, the police in the area have a very negative attitude about the Negroes. They reflect this attitude when dealing with Negroes.

Father Thomas and I discussed whether or not moving these people from a slum ghetto into a "clean" ghetto would really get to the bottom of their problems. The Father felt that decent housing was the primary problem, but living in a "forced" ghetto created problems no matter how nice the houses were.

Father Thomas believes in organizing the people to get what the government owes them (clean alleys, playgrounds, street lights, etc.). Block clubs have not been very effective in this respect. Also, the existing organizations in the area are ineffective in organizing the people. The best way to organize people is over a specific issue that will get the people "fired-up". Father Thomas mentioned the work that the nuns at Blecki are doing as being a good job.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom



## REPORT OF PERSONAL INTERVIEW

NAME: James Shirley, Community Organizer  
St. John's Presbyterian Church  
1410 Jos. Campau

GENERAL INFORMATION: Mr. Shirley is working as an individual in the Elmwood renewal area to accomplish the 14 points listed on the attached papers. He was formerly with the Detroit Board of Education but left that job to do work in the area. He is a resident of the Virginia Park community.

ATTITUDE OF THE PERSON INTERVIEWED TOWARD THE COMMUNITY, AND HIS COMMITMENT TO THE COMMUNITY AND ITS FUTURE: Although Mr. Shirley is presently concerned with the Elmwood area, we wanted to speak with him regarding the possibility that he might be intending to do work in the Sophie Wright area in the near future. When we spoke of a possible community development project on the entire East Side, he thought we were referring to his present area and noted that there would be the City Plan and established organizations in the neighborhood to fight, and that there is nothing that could possibly be done to change the course of events in that area.

It was made clear that we were concerned primarily with the area on the other side of Gratiot; Mr. Shirley said that he had plans to go into that area including the Chrysler Expressway to the railroad tracks beyond Mt. Elliot, and from Warren to Gratiot. He said that although that area was scheduled for clearance, it would not be in the near future; therefore, it might be possible to get some project going. In contrast to communities surrounding the Sophie Wright neighborhood, the latter area is quite devoid of organization. The block clubs that exist are narrow in scope and therefore not effective in dealing with large-scale problems. To Mr. Shirley's knowledge there is not effective leadership in the area; however, he gave us the names of persons who are somewhat active.

In giving his ideas on organizing this area, Mr. S. seemed to have a good bit of knowledge of and concern for the problems there. He would enlist the support of the Churches, in particular, the Catholic Church and its urban parish project. He mentioned the Bleck Center as doing work in the neighborhood. Most important he would contact individually all the persons in the neighborhood to find out their needs and create enthusiasm around issues. This type of contact would have to be made repeatedly until the organization was off the ground, and even here, it would be necessary to keep relevant issues before the community. People doing the interviewing must be themselves most acceptable to those being interviewed so that the most reliable information concerning attitudes and needs be determined. Mr. Shirley speaks from experience in saying that the outsider goes into the community with ready made barriers between him and the residents. In interviewing door to door, he would evaluate the situation as he proceeded

and where possible, would get neighborhood people to do the surveying. He would get the support of all groups and organizations possible in the community. When asked about working with the political organization, he said that this would not be necessary, in fact, it would be detrimental to become too closely tied up with this group. The politicians are responsible to the voters, so that what is needed is an organized vocal group that will make them see and act upon this responsibility.

#### OPINION OF VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN NEIGHBORHOOD:

Mr. Shirley said that the Churches and block clubs do not provide a reliable base of organization in the community but their support should be obtained for any project.

When asked about WCO, he said that he didn't expect that they would be coming over to the East Side, because they were having enough trouble keeping their head above water on the WEST side and getting something concrete accomplished.

Mr. S. wondered what group or persons would come into the area initially to get the people interested in areas of improvement possibilities. It was suggested that Sophie Wright might do this. This possibility was not particularly well-received by Mr. S. It would be necessary to include other groups in a sponsoring organization.

#### ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

Mr. Shirley seemed anxious for a group with a comprehensive plan to come into the area, but is very skeptical in some respects about the success of a project. The problems are infinite and must be attacked at all levels. It was pointed out that it was the idea behind Urban Dynamics to bring together specialists in many fields to apply their know how.

It would be a good idea to keep Mr. Shirley in mind when the time comes for going into the Sophie Wright area for extensive surveying and organization.

SUBMITTED BY: Mary S. Kahle

INTERVIEW WITH COUNCILMAN NICHOLAS HOOD  
July 12, 1966

Coun. Hood stated that the community was similar to other old neighborhoods in the city; the old houses should be replaced. Some of the people in these neighborhoods want to stay and some want to go; most of them would leave if they could get enough money for their property. However the appraised value isn't enough to buy another house. This situation has been a problem for Common Council.

In speculating on why so many new schools were built in the Sophie Wright area, Hood said he didn't know the reason, but that the Board of Education is an agency not under the jurisdiction of Common Council, so that the City really has no control. The Common Council has control over displacing people.

When asked about the possibility of different types of housing in the area, Hood said that 22ld3 housing was not feasible because it is too expensive, unless rent subsidies are provided, and tax abatements given by the state. He said he ran into problems in his own housing project because of building costs, and now the rents have gone up. A one-bedroom unit is \$102; 2-bedroom, \$120; 3-bedroom, \$130. This means total rent, including light, heat, gas, and water. This is, according to Hood, is 20% less than anything comparable in the city.

He said that the housing in Inkster is a "gimmick", because the low-rent (\$60-\$80) is minus light, water, etc.

When asked about influential organizations in the community he said that he is not familiar enough with the community organization structure in the Sophie Wright area to say. He did say that the Polish-American Alliance is very strong along Chene. If he were to go into the neighborhood to get the groups together he would not try to get them into an org., but would interest them in the same types of services. Some of these needs would be housing, education, open space. The type of housing he recommends is 22ld3 provided that rent subsidies and tax abatements from the state would be given. Single family housing is absolutely not feasible.

Hood asked if we had contacted the Michigan Housing Associates, because they had done a great deal of work with the idea of developing the area. There was some type of plan to redevelop 500 acres that we contact Rose Kleinman at the FCH Corporation, to get more information on their work.

I asked him if they did any kind of CO work and he said no, they were business people. No one is doing CO in the area, except Sophie Wright, or perhaps NSO, according to Hood. (NSO is not as yet directly involved in the area. Also, Councilman Hood, remarked earlier in the interview that he was not familiar with the community organization structure in the area.

I told him that we had spoken with Tom Olechowski about orgs. in the area and he said that at least two power orgs. were planning to move in the area to do the same type of work that we were doing. Hood made kind of a face and said that Olechowski was a filibusterer, and that no other orgs. were working in the area.

He asked if we had seen Cong. Diggs, and said that Mr. Medlock, his assistant would know just as much about the situation.

Regarding the East Side Chamber of Commerce, Hood said its purpose is good; he said that there is little or no business in the Sophie Wright area, and that the group would be concerned primarily with business along Mack and Gratiot. The new A and P which is being built in the area would not necessarily be indicative of the future of the neighborhood. They would be appealing to outside business; businesses would not appeal exclusively to a buried community.

I asked him if he thought the area could be improved, and he said of course it could, but that this would require alot of rebuilding.

Regarding Neighborhood Conservation, Hood said that the Sophie Wright area was one in which the new Housing Act and its provision for code enforcement could be set up, along with the 3% loans, direct grants of up to 1500 dollars, and architectural services in the community.

He had no comments about the participation on the TAP advisory board; he started to comment about it, but then seemed hesitant to say anything.

SUBMITTED BY: Mary S. Kahle

## INTERVIEW WITH AGENCY PERSONNEL

NAME: Jim Bush, supervisor, field services  
Community Relations Commission  
1106 Water Board Building

PURPOSE: To investigate claims of discrimination, especially in connection with ineffective city services. Also works for improvement of relations between various racial, cultural, and ethnic groups. Area served is metropolitan Detroit.

Attitude of person interviewed toward the organization's work and the commitment toward the community.

At first, it seemed that Mr. Bush was going to give us only routine information about the organizations in the Sophie Wright area without recognizing the problems that exist there. After talking to him awhile, he indicated a real concern for the needs of this area, and also a good deal of knowledge of what is being done to answer similar needs in other areas of the city. He mentioned that Don Parsons, a Detroit financier of independent means, would be interested in some type of low-cost housing development.

He told us of some community organization efforts that were being done by some; Jim Shirley, is paid by the churches to deal with the Forest Park project to see that the peoples needs are answered. He worked out of St. Johns Presbyterian Church. Other people interested in organizing this area include: Mr. Weatherbee, pastor of St. Mary's Episcopal Church; Rev. Charles Butler, pastor of New Calvert Baptist Church; Ed Davis, who is interested in blvd. redevelopment and is trying to stimulate some of the small businesses in the area, and training youth; Inspector Grubbs, of the seventh precinct, who is about the "best there is" and is trying to make the police-community relations committees work in his area.

Mr. Bush had a poor opinion of block clubs as community organizations, because they are founded by the city, made up of mostly women and older people, and fail because of petty jealousies, and their social orientation.

His opinion of WCO is that they are essentially doing a good thing that few people can fight, but that their tactics are often poor and unconstructive. Anyone going into the East Side to organize people for a project would need professional training and the support of the politicians in the area.

Mr. Bush knows a good deal about the general characteristics of the people in the community but I could not say how much personal contacts he has had with the people in the Sophie Wright area. The Commission on Community Relations is doing relatively little in that particular area.

He mentioned the Greenleigh report as a possible source, of information on low income groups in the city. Another would be, the Community Renewal Study, working out of the old International Village Building at Michigan and Second, where we might contact Harold Black or Harold Bellamy.

AREAS OF INFLUENCE OF ORGANIZATION: This is a city organization which apparently has influence everywhere, but might need more contact with people in the inner city.

APPARENT COMMITMENT OF RESIDENTS TO COMMUNITY FROM VIEWPOINT OF ORGANIZATIONS: The average community person does not have the scope to realize what contribution they can make toward greater community improvement.

SUBMITTED BY: Mary S. Kahle

## REPORT ON INTERVIEW WITH THE EAST SIDE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Mr. Matlock

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA SERVED: From Woodward to Altar Road east  
and from the river to Seven Mile Road.

PERSONS SERVED OR INVOLVED AS MEMBERS: Professionals and small business men of the east side. They now have 200 members. By the end of the year, they intend to have a membership of 400. By the end of next year, their membership should be about 1,000.

PURPOSE FOR EXISTENCE: Last year, there were 150 business failures in the area described above. Most of these were caused by lack of guidance to the "little" businessman from an authorized source. The East Side Chamber of Commerce is set up to advise and assist any and all small businesses in their area. They also want to bring more business into the area. They are going to set up a scholarship fund for east side students majoring in business.

LENGTH OF TIME: 8 Years

APPARENT COMMITMENT OF PERSONNEL TO THE ORGANIZATION: Mr. Matlock feels that the east side is still growing industrially and socially. He feels that the future of the east side will surpass any future it had in the past. He feels that the East Side Chamber of Commerce will be intramental in uniting the east side.

APPARENT COMMITMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION TO THE COMMUNITY: The organization is committed to serving the community. This can be seen by the proposed scholarship fund. Also, the organization was instrumental in helping Mr. Kelly of Mr. Kelly's Ballroom to secure a liquor license. This license was opposed by another group representing a segment of the east side's population, Federated East Side Improvement Association.

AREAS IN WHICH THE ORGANIZATION HAS INFLUENCE: As I stated before the organization played in important part in Mr. Kelly getting his liquor license. Also, they plan to sponsor a series of mid-day luncheons where the people may discuss the problems of the east side.

APPARENT COMMITMENT OF RESIDENTS TO THE ORGANIZATION: As I stated before the organization has 200 members. However, I can not say to what extent the community recognizes the organization.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: Mr. Matlock said that his organization would support a low-cost housing development such as 221D3. Also, the organization plans to unite the area through the many churches as well as through economic ways. The central office is located at 9356 Mack.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom

## REPORT ON INTERVIEW WITH PERSONNEL AT W.C.O.

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Conrad Egan - Community organizer  
LOCATION: 3535 Grand River  
AREA SERVED: Detroit's West Side  
LENGTH OF TIME IN EXISTENCE: Two years, (for additional information,  
see other report on W.C.O.)

PURPOSE: W.C.O. is fighting the kind of Urban Renewal that turns people out of their homes before preparing adequate housing for them.

W.C.O. fought against Wayne State University's buying of all the Urban Renewal land called University City #1. They felt that part of the land should be used to build low-income housing for the people in the area. The Common Council voted against W.C.O. Right now, they are working around three housing projects (Ash, Humboldt, Seldon Courts, and Calumet). If these projects are completed they will house 433 families. Their goal is to have the residents of Urban Renewal areas have a say in the planning for the area.

W.C.O. contacts slum landlords to get them to fix-up their inner-city properties. If these landlords refuse to cooperate, W.C.O. picket them at their suburban homes.

W.C.O. is also forcing the issue of police brutality to be viewed by the public. They are working on a case now.

OTHER COMMENTS: Mr. Egan said that 22,103 housing is not the whole answer to the inner-city's problems. Housing is too expensive. W.C.O. is interested in Dr. Blair's (of St. Clair Shores) new way of building houses. Using a special rosin and any cheap building material (sand, clay, etc.) houses can be built at half the present cost and twice as fast.

Mr. Egan feels that many inner-city Detroiters do not relate to their neighborhoods.

Mr. Egan has contacted Mr. Walsh to talk to him about the idea behind Urban Dynamics.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom



REPORT ON INTERVIEW WITH CHAIRMAN OF THE TAP

ADVISORY BOARD - AREA 1

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Mr. T. Greenwood

ADDRESS: 3306 Leland

PURPOSE OF ADVISORY BOARD: The Board is composed of 36 people from area 1. It is supposed to advise the policy makers of the TAP program of what the area needs. Recently, the Board suggested that TAP start a dental program in the area.

The Policy - making Board consist of 40 members. Twenty four are representatives of city-government departments (i.e. Board of Education, etc.). Sixteen are representatives from the four target areas. The four members from area 1 are:

1. Mr. Fred Burton
2. Mrs. Lena Bivens
3. Miss Harriet Scott
4. Miss J. Harrel

This policy board meets once a month. There are three members of the Advisory Board that work for TAP. Two of them are Mr. Lena Bivens and Mr. Jackie Curry. Both of these ladies are members of the Membership Committee. Mrs. Curry is Chairman of the committee. The membership committee has the say-so over who joins the board.

So far, the federal government has spent \$20,000.00 on the poverty program.

ATTITUDES AND COMMITMENTS: Mr. Greenwood says, that TAP is not doing what it should to help the poor. He says that the community doesn't have a say in the decision making and they should have one.

One fault of TAP is that some of the people working at the center also work at Fords, and Post Office and other good paying jobs.

Also, TAP administrators do not arrange the meetings at a convenient time for the community (the meetings are at 9:00 a.m.).

Mr. Greenwood has written several letters to the government complaining of the faults of the program. He says that another organization is investigating TAP and its effectiveness.

According to Mr. Greenwood, it is very difficult to get community participation.

APPARENT INFLUENCE OF THE BOARD: Miss Olephant - Sophie Wright Settlement, Miss Merle Z. - Harper House, Mr. L. White - Gleiss and Mr. A. Boer - Franklin Settlement, are members of the Board. Mr. Greenwood is a member of the Sophie Wright Council and former president of his block club.

Councilman Hood appeared at a block club meeting last February.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: Mr. Greenwood wants many things for his community. Some of them are: 1. funds from which people may secure a loan to repair their homes; 2. conservation of property, 3. inspection of homes to make sure that they meet certain standards, 4. a program for the handicapped, 5. a school for retarded children, 6. indoor swimming pool, 7. roller skating rink, 8. more playgrounds, 9. neighborhood recreational facilities; 10. arts and crafts enrichment program and 11. clean alleys.

Mr. Greenwood said the neighborhood needs strong leaders.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom

## REPORT ON INTERVIEW WITH ORGANIZATION PERSONNEL

NAME: Erma Jean McSwain

ORGANIZATION: Detroit's Total Action Against Poverty, Eastern Community Action Center, Mt. Elliot and Charlevoix

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA AND PERSONS SERVED: Area 1 consists of the "hard core" areas on Detroit's East Side. Agency goals are to serve all persons in this geographical area through referrals and programs for all ages.

PURPOSE AND SERVICE OFFERED: Administers federal programs dealing with community action projects. Offers clinic service, Neighborhood Youth Corps., Job Corps., employment counseling, family counseling and referral, community studies and organization.

COMMITMENT OF PERSON INTERVIEWED TO THE ORGANIZATION AND TO THE COMMUNITY: In the past year, Mrs. McSwain has held various positions with TAP; she was originally a community aide in sub-area F and is now working in Sub-areas B,D,F. She seems committed to the type of work she is doing, but is not always certain of the overall goals of TAP. She is critical of the organization where it has shortcomings; viz., in the area of communication within, participation of the area residents. She is committed to finding area needs from the residents and to getting the people to voice their wishes through organizations. Another function of her position would be to gain support for specific TAP programs. I would say that Mrs. McSwain is committed to the community, has a fairly good awareness of its needs, but is often puzzled about the means by which these can be met, because of the ambiguous nature of her job. She also has answered general criticisms that have been made about TAP concerning the fact that they are not accomplishing anything of importance in the community, or that they care about what is really needed. In this regard, she mentioned the summer day camp program and trips to Belle Isle last summer which the community enjoyed, but which were not always associated with TAP.

COMMITMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION TO THE COMMUNITY: The goals stated in TAP's general policy and held by each individual member, do, as far as I can see, indicate a real commitment to the community, a desire to fulfill its needs as stated by the residents. However, the size and complexity of the organization and the means by which the federal programs are initiated and approved, cause these goals to be redirected in practice. There has been a great deal of concentration in the area of employment, which answers a real need. But there is the difficulty of fitting the job to the person, and vice versa, which can be done only by a good deal of personal contact. Time and organizational requirements do not always permit this.

AREAS OF INFLUENCE: The organization itself is under the Mayor's Committee for Total Action Against Poverty, so that one might say that it is influenced by the political groups in the city; it is not really possible to say under what degree of independence the organization is able to operate.

APPARENT COMMITMENT OF RESIDENTS TO ORGANIZATION: It seems that residents contact TAP for information on a variety of problems and receive referral services, legal aid, employment counseling, and the various publicized programs. The stated goal of "maximum feasible participation" on the Advisory Board is up for questioning, since it is not clear just how much the community recognizes TAP's position as not only a place to go for help, but an organization where they can participate in its operations.

SUBMITTED BY: Mary S. Kahle

## REPORT ON INTERVIEW WITH ORGANIZATION PERSONNEL

NAME: Mr. Louis Taliferro

ORGANIZATION: Archdiocesan Opportunity Program  
Canfield and St. Aubin

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA AND PERSONS SERVED: Detroit Metropolitan area. Persons in "hard core" areas; not restricted to work in any one delineated area in the city.

PURPOSE AND SERVICE OFFERED: Administering of federally aided programs (OEO), such as Neighborhood Youth Corps, Head Start, Fresh Start, remedial reading, library, tutorial program, Parolee training program, SCOPE (day camp program). Community relations program are a part of these to promote awareness, participation, and support from the area residents.

COMMITMENT OF PERSON INTERVIEWED TO THE ORGANIZATION AND TO THE COMMUNITY: As Mr. Taliferro explained, AOP's services are not restricted to one specific area in the Detroit area, so that the org. could not be said to be based in any one neighborhood; it seems that there is not a great deal of contact at the present time between AOP and the few organizations in the immediate Sophie Wright area but that Mr. T. is trying to change this. There is probably considerable contact with the people in the pre-school and Head Start program--mothers of the children have their own group and activities.

Mr. T. is quite enthusiastic and idealistic in his concern for the success of his programs and for meeting the needs of the poor. He is also proud of the efficiency with which this org. is operated, in comparison with some other large organizations.

COMMITMENT OF ORGANIZATION TO THE COMMUNITY: AOP has, according to Mr. T., an interest in any community activity and would support some sort of community project for neighborhood improvement. Such a project, however, would not necessarily be initiated by them. All of their programs are ultimately directed toward that end.

AREAS OF INFLUENCE: According to Mr. T., the org. is fairly well recognized as an efficient and effective part of the poverty program. If so, they would probably have the respect of social and political organizations in the city.

APPARENT COMMITMENT OF THE RESIDENTS TO THE ORGANIZATION: From conversations with members of the community immediately surrounding AOP offices, the people associate it with the poverty program as a whole, and also with Guardian Angel pre-school and the Felician library. The attitude of residents, especially mothers, toward these programs, is quite favorable.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: It seemed that Mr. T. regarded us as community relations people; since he works in that same capacity for AOP, he was interested in maintaining contact with us, and in finding out more about Sophie Wright's programs.

SUBMITTED BY: Mary S. Kahle

## INTERVIEW WITH ORGANIZATION PERSONNEL

NAME: Miss Dee Potts, School Community Agent

ORGANIZATION: Knudsen Jr. High - Chene and Leland

PURPOSE AND FUNCTION OF HER POSITION: To raise the achievement level of students attending Knudsen by bringing the school and neighborhood closer together through better lighting, litter collection, police protection, etc. She is also working in the area of adult education; Knudsen sponsors classes in various skills during the school year. This summer, Miss Potts is helping with trips, classes, and the Neighborhood Committee, in addition to attending the meetings and discussions of other groups interested in community activities.

COMMITMENT OF PERSON INTERVIEWED TO THE ORGANIZATION AND TO THE COMMUNITY: Miss Potts is very dedicated to her work at the school as indicated by the extra hours she spends on projects there, and on participating in other community affairs. Other sources indicated that the school principal is inflexible and doesn't show a great deal of interest in work outside the school. Miss Potts tried to organize a human relations committee within the school to improve internal communication; however, the response from the principal was not as enthusiastic as hoped, according to this source.

Miss Potts has personal contact with a good many adults through the students. She describes their participation in school-sponsored activities as uneven.

Her concern for the community also includes a realistic attitude regarding the response of adults and children to these activities, stating that it is necessary to invite 15 in order to expect 8 at any function.

COMMITMENT OF ORGANIZATION TO COMMUNITY: As stated above, the principal of Knudsen does not always support extra-educational activities so that the school is not united in its commitment to the community. It was noted by other sources that the assistant principal was more sympathetic to the needs of the area as a whole, but that it is difficult to express his opinions.

AREAS OF INFLUENCE: Part of the Detroit Public School system. Miss Potts appears to have good relationships with other groups within the community.

APPARENT COMMITMENT OF THE RESIDENT TO THE ORGANIZATION AND COMMUNITY: Within the past year, several communities have begun working in the school as teacher aides.

Many of those who are active in the neighborhood are involved in some way in school activities., whether it be in the above capacity, in adult education, or in the PTA or Neighborhood Committee. It is difficult to estimate, however, what portion of the whole community the people attached to the school represents.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: Miss Potts feels that the neighborhood is fairly stable, primarily because people who are established there cannot afford to move out. She felt that they would want to stay if some sort of improvements, such as general cleaning up, enforcement of housing codes, removal of abandoned cars, police protection, removal of vacant houses, etc.

She noted that it is difficult to tell what groups of people are united and what areas organized because they don't always follow logical geographical boundaries and also because they do not remain constant in membership, or alliances. She cited as an example Mr. Russell, who is beginning a new community organization in the area called CURE, which is funded by some foundation, and Mother Waddles, a preacher in the area. These two people are sometimes at odds and sometimes working together, depending on their mood.

SUBMITTED BY: Mary S. Kahle



## REPORT ON PERSONAL INTERVIEW

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Miss Hill

POSITION: School Community Agent at Campbell School

LENGTH OF TIME IN NEIGHBORHOOD: About two years

CHIEF REFERENCE GROUPS OF MISS HILL: Miss Hill does not live in the area. Therefore, her viewpoint on the community does not necessarily represent that of the people living in the area. However, as school community agent, Miss Hill has the opportunity to become acquainted with the feelings of the people in the area.

PURPOSE IN THE COMMUNITY: As school community agent, Miss Hill is supposed to help raise the achievement level of the children in the neighborhood. She does this by keeping the community informed of what the school is doing and by keeping the school informed on what the community is doing.

Miss Hill is not very active in organizing block clubs, but she has a family night once a month at the Campbell school. On family night, all youngsters must be accompanied by one or both of their parents. Family night offers a variety of recreational activities to both parents and children. These activities include card games, games, movies, television, volley ball, basketball and dancing. The turnout ranges from 60-117.

ATTITUDE OF MISS HILL TOWARD COMMUNITY: Miss Hill feels that the area was very stable and it will not change (physically or socially) in the next ten years. She does not think that the people want to stay in the neighborhood.

APPARENT INFLUENCE OF MISS HILL: Miss Hill has contact with several professional service agencies in the area. She is also a member of the Council of East Side Professionals. Councilman Hood will be speaking at the school Thursday (7-7-66) morning.

OTHER COMMENTS OF MISS HILL: Miss Hill would like to see an area clean-up, fix-up campaign started. Also, she suggested that TAP should have some type of recreation for teens in the area. She also feels that the TAP Advisory Board should not have TAP employees on it because their interests conflict between keeping their jobs and helping the community.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom

REPORT ON PERSONAL INTERVIEW

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Mr. Lucius May

POSITION IN COMMUNITY: School Community Agent at Eastern High School

CHIEF REFERENCE GROUPS OF MR. MAY: Mr. May seems to be very active in the community. He works with several block clubs. He also sponsors a Parents Community Club. He works with the adults evening classes.

He helps the block clubs find meeting places. He helps them to get their newsletters printed and distributed.

He sponsors field trips and tries to interest the students in the career programs going on in the school.

Mr. May has contact with Franklin Settlement. He had been active in helping their people on ADC. He also has contacts with TAP program.

MR. MAY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COMMUNITY: Mr. May feels that the Eastern High School community is well organized (very few students from our area attend Eastern High). The strength of the area lies in 1) the Neighborhood conservation program which was started quite some time ago; 2) the Ralph Bunche Council and 3) the Eastern Community Council.

Mr. May does not think that the churches would make a very good base for organization.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom

## REPORT ON INTERVIEW WITH PERSONNEL AT GLEISS CENTER

NAME OF ORGANIZATION: Gleiss Center

LOCATION: 2931 Jos. Campau

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Bob Conway - Arts and Craft Director

PURPOSE: Mr. Conway believes in working with the people to find out what they want. He has initiated a cultural enrichment program in the area. The program strives to develop the already existing subculture in the area. Mr. Conway, together with the NYC, has sponsored a program, DSACE, for the summer. DSACE is composed of Negro professionals interested in enriching the lives of Negro youths. Groups of 5-10 meet with artists in their studios for three hours a week. Another program at Gleiss that is closely related to DSACE is the Wide World of Work. Under this program teens go out to find out about new opportunities for Negroes. They visit places like Councilman Hood's office, a lawyer's office, and a dentist's office. "Kids" must volunteer for these programs.

Gleiss offers group work services during the regular school year. They have one group worker. They once had an adult recreation program. Now they are trying to get to know the people by names and desires.

APPARENT COMMITMENT OF GLEISS TO THE COMMUNITY: Gleiss is an integrated part of the neighborhood. In the 2 years that Mr. Conway has been at Gleiss, he has gotten three scholarships for students in the area.

Mr. Conway is concerned with the educational opportunities in the area. Gleiss is developing a working relationship with the school enrichment program.

AREAS OF INFLUENCE: Gleiss works with the NYC, TAP, and the schools. They also sponsor the Miller Workshop which is a parent's organization for better schools.

APPARENT COMMITMENT OF RESIDENTS TO GLEISS: I feel that the people in the area think of Gleiss as being a part of them. I made the conclusion on the basis of what I observed and heard when I visited Gleiss. Presently there are 75 "kids" involved in different art projects at Gleiss.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: We are preparing two reports on Gleiss. The other one will be on an interview with Mr. White, Director of Gleiss.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra A. Odom

## REPORT ON INTERVIEW WITH PERSONNEL AT GLEISS

NAME OF ORGANIZATION                      Gleiss Center

LOCATION:                                      2931 Jospheh Campau

PURPOSE: In January, 1965, the parents of students attending Bellevue, Harris, Bunche, Duffield, and Chrysler along with representatives from People's Baptist Church, St. John Presbyterian Church, and A.M.E. Church and with the help of Mr. White from Gleiss started the Miller District Workshops. The parents were concerned with the quality of education offered at Miller Jr. High.

Groups of representatives from the Miller District Workshop went down repeatedly to talk to the Board of Education. They wanted the Board to improve the quality of the school. They wanted competent teachers, smaller classes, more visiting teachers, a curriculum aimed at the needs of the community and some of the modern conveniences that the "white peoples' schools have.

Their efforts resulted in the Board authorizing the Miller District Demonstration Project. It is still too soon to tell if this project is really going to improve the Miller School or if it was just the Board's way to keep the people quiet. (this last remark is the opinion of the interviewer).

ATTITUDE AND COMMITMENTS: Mr. White has been at Gleiss since February, 1964. He views the neighborhood as the client. He says that the best way to help the community is not to go in to the area with a master plan for improving it. He lets the people come to him and tell him what they want and what bothers them. Then he helps them to find a solution.

AREAS OF INFLUENCE: The Miller District Workshops have the support of CORE, NAACP, Urban League, Unions, DEA, DFT, WCO, and the Ralphe Bunch Council. The City Council also endorsed their project. Mr. White said that congressman Charles C. Diggs Jr. did not give them his support.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: The discussions and decisions made by the Workshops were made by the people in the area, not by professionals. Mr. White said that resource people from outside the area were used to qualify some details. This emphasizes Mr. White's attitude about professionals and their place in the decision making. He feels that there are too many social-workers on the TAP Advisory Board.

Among other things, Mr. White noted that: 1) there is no library in the neighborhood; 2) PTA's are not effective; and 3) more Negroes need to be involved in the school administration but not just any Negro in order to say that there are Negroes in the administration.

Mr. White says that schools need more visiting teachers. Counselors do not have enough time to counsel. They have too many behavioral problems and too much paper work.

Mr. White does not see a need for visiting teachers to have a teaching certificate.

Mr. White is in favor of some type of low-cost (\$50-\$70 a month) housing in the area.

SUBMITTED BY: Sandra Odom

REPORT ON INTERVIEW WITH PERSONNEL OF BLECKI COMMUNITY CENTER

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Dan Neal (Director)

LOCATION 4610 St. Aubin

PERSONS SERVED: Blecki is a grassroots type of an organization. It deals with the organizing and advising of neighborhood block clubs.

PURPOSE FOR EXISTENCE: To Assist the community in organizing itself into block clubs, teens clubs and other organizations. Also Dan is working with TAP on Project Overchamp. This project consists of finding temporary employment for boys and girls, 17 years old and up. Blecki is part of the Archbishop's committee on human relations.

LENGTH OF TIME IN EXISTENCE: One (1) year

APPARENT COMMITMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION TO THE COMMUNITY: Dan Neal lives in a small apartment above Blecki. He works with the people as well as for them.

AREAS IN WHICH THE ORGANIZATION HAS INFLUENCE: To my knowledge, Mr. Neal does not have a great deal of contact with other agencies except TAP. However, Mr. Neal does work for the Neighborhood Youth Corp. Also, Blecki will have 20 Vista volunteers working for them this year.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: The names of the Blecki Block Clubs are:

- Hanausaw - Mrs. Rhymes, President
- Dubois - Miss Martin, President
- Garfield - Miss F. Fair, President
- St. Albertus - Garfield - Mrs. Pearson, President
- Bakers Pioneers - Mr. Baker, President

Debbie Horner is president of the Teen Club. The Blecki area was well represented by 14 people at the June 27, 1966 meeting of the TAP Advisory Committee.

## INTERVIEW WITH SISTERS AT BLECKI CENTER

## ST. AUBIN AND GARFIELD

GENERAL INFORMATION: There are approximately 20 sisters working in East Side neighborhood; they are rotating as residents in the Blecki building, with five living there at a time. Their work involves visiting in the community thus establishing friendly contacts with the people. Another aspect of their work is to break down the barriers present in the parishes in the area where there is a great deal of racial prejudice.

ACCOUNT OF INTERVIEW: This contact was a very informal one in which I spoke to five of the nuns living in the Blecki building. They described some of their contacts, and said that it seemed that the neighborhood people were accepting them, although some of them didn't know what they were. The sisters are going very slowly in their work with the people and are trying not to give the idea that they are there to give help.

In speaking with residents, they pick up various types of information about the community. Some people would want to stay if there could be improvements made, while others would just as soon move out.

The sisters seem to be very committed to the work being done, and feel that they are in a real area of need. At this point, their relationships, with the community are on a very personal individual basis, and have not yet given rise to a consideration of a specific community-wide project.

SUBMITTED BY: Mary S. Kahle

## REPORT ON CONTACTS WITH SMALL BUSINESSES IN THE SOPHIE WRIGHT AREA

NAME: Mr. Earnest Jolley  
Manager of market at 3701 Jos. Campau  
Owner: Lee Tremble (?) lives at  
Heidleberg & MacDougall  
Two flats upstairs; one in rear of  
store

Mr. Jolley lives at 2202 Chene, outside the neighborhood. He has been manager of the store for 14 years.

## ATTITUDE OF PERSON INTERVIEWED TOWARD THE COMMUNITY; HIS COMMITMENT TO THE COMMUNITY AND ITS FUTURE:

Although Mr. Jolley lives outside the neighborhood, he has a great interest in the community, not only for business reasons. He noted the drastic changes in the neighborhood with the building of Knudsen Jr. High. The clearance of these homes caused business to drop off. Right now they don't have groceries, but only packaged snacks and sundries.

His suggestions indicate an interest and commitment toward the community. He pointed out several vacant lots around his store, and suggested that small apartment buildings be built there, and that the good homes be fixed. Mr. Jolley estimated that 50% of the people in the area are homeowners.

He complained quite bitterly about the way the city clears areas and does not give residents sufficient compensation. He wondered why "they" did not take the wishes of the residents into consideration. It was his opinion that the area was fairly stable because the owners did not want to move. He said that most of those in his block had children and were Negro.

Mr. J. felt that the landlords that have been owners of the building has been very cooperative, and try to keep the place up.

## HIS OPINION OF THE WORK OF VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN THE COMMUNITY:

Mr. Jolley mentioned that a block club was organized in the neighborhood and that the president could probably be of great help in giving information on the community. He knows about Sophie Wright's; he was not aware of any other organizations work in the area.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: This block looked quite substantial. Mr. Jolley pointed out properties where residents were already making improvements. He plans to stay in business and feels that if the area were organized and if more houses were put up, his business would improve.



## REPORT ON CONTACTS WITH SMALL BUSINESSES IN THE SOPHIE WRIGHT AREA

NAME: Mr. and Mrs. Davis, owners.  
Market, 3802 Jos. Campau

LENGTH OF TIME IN AREA: 15 years - Home on west side

ATTITUDE OF PERSON INTERVIEWED TOWARD THE COMMUNITY; HIS COMMITMENT TO THE COMMUNITY AND ITS FUTURE:

When asked if she could tell about the area Mrs. D. indicated that she came into business and left. without having a great deal of concern for the community. She rents the upstairs flat but does not like to do a great deal of repairing because the tenants do not take care of the place. She said about the area residents are home owners, and they probably want to stay. Those who rent move in and out a great deal.

## OPINION OF THE WORK OF VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN THE COMMUNITY:

Mrs. Davis was not aware of, or especially interested in any organizations. However, she did seem interested in the East Side Chamber of Commerce when I mentioned it.

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NAME: Sunoco Station and Garage - Mack and MacDougall

OWNER: Lives at 3702 MacDougall. Also owns Harry's Bar, 2 houses next to that and two homes on the other side of MacDougall.

OPERATOR: K. D. Lacey

INTERVIEWED: Mr. Leonard Perkins, employee 22 years

Business is 35 years old. Mr. P. noted that there were plans to fix up the building. He felt that the neighborhood was in pretty good shape and that the business would stay there for a good while longer. They have a good location and get business from outside the neighborhood as well as from within.

ATTITUDE OF INTERVIEWEE TOWARD THE WORK OF VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY:

He was not aware of any particular org.; however, one of the customers noted that some of the members of the church on the corner of Mack and MacDougall were organizing a campaign to fix it up since it is one of the few eyesores in the immediate area. It seems that this business place is itself a gathering for some of the area residents.

PERSON INTERVIEWED: Mr. L. C. Harbin  
BUSINESS: Small grocery store  
LOCATION: 4701 St. Aubin  
LENGTH OF TIME IN AREA: 12 years

ATTITUDES AND COMMITMENTS OF Mr. Harbin: Most of Mr. Harbin's business is local. He feels that most people are staying in the area. Most people in the neighborhood are renters. Mr. Harbin rents his store from a Miss Emily A. He says that he is staying in the area for awhile. Mr. Harbin couldn't get insurance on his business because of the high rate of vandalism in the area. Mr. Harbin has another job also.

Mr. Harbin told us that there once was a Dubois Block Club.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: The area needs improvements (physical) and the kids need somewhere to go. Mr. Harbin said that the houses are pretty run down.

Mr. L. C. Harbin has heard of the East Side Chamber of Commerce, but he is not a member.

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PERSON INTERVIEWED: John Leach  
BUSINESS: Shoe Repair Store  
LOCATION: 4714 St. Aubin  
LENGTH OF TIME IN AREA: 5 years

CHIEF REFERENCE GROUPS OF MR. LEACH: Mr. Leach doesn't live in the neighborhood.

ATTITUDES AND COMMITMENTS OF MR. LEACH: Mr. Leach isn't a part of the area. He only stays in his location because he is too old to move. He doesn't own the building. The owner, a Mr. Robinson, lives on Kirby. Mr. Leach said that the area is a bad business area. He has virtually no business.

According to Mr. Leach, people are moving into the area.

Also, a few places are being torn down in the neighborhood. He didn't know why or who authorized their destruction.

PERSONS INTERVIEWED: Mr. and Mrs. Anglewicz

BUSINESS: Service Station

LOCATION: 2170 Forest

CHIEF REFERENCE GROUP OF THE ANGLEWICZS: They do not live in the area. Therefore, they may not be representative of the people.

COMMENTS MADE BY THE ANGLEWICZS: They would like to see a recreation hall in the neighborhood. They said that there are too many children on the streets.

They said that the people could use low-cost (\$50-\$60) per month housing.

They have heard that the city is going to build a bus terminal between Chrysler, Russell, Forest, and Warren.

They know Dan Neal of Blecki. They think that he is doing a "swell" job in the neighborhood.

The Anglewiczs have thought about moving out of the area. They can't get insurance on their property because of vandalism.

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PERSON INTERVIEWED: Samuel Posey

BUSINESS: Very small grocery store (rents)

LOCATION: 4871 Dubois

LENGTH OF TIME IN NEIGHBORHOOD: 10 years

CHIEF REFERENCE GROUP OF MR. POSEY: Mr. Posey lives behind his store. Therefore, he could be a good representative of the people.

ATTITUDE OF MR. POSEY TOWARD THE COMMUNITY: Mr. Posey thinks that the neighborhood is a good place to live. He said that people are still moving into the area. He thinks that many of the people own their own home.

Mr. Posey named Mrs. Picket of 4864 Dubois as a good neighborhood leader. Once, someone tried to start a block club.

Mr. Posey also mentioned getting something for the youth to do.

INTERVIEWERS OPINION: I feel that Mr. Posey was not being very truthful with us about the neighborhood.

## APPENDIX C

### CONSENSUS OF RESPONSES GIVEN BY SMALL BUSINESSMEN, BLOCKCLUB LEADERS, CHURCH GROUPS SCHOOL GROUPS, AND NEIGHBORHOOD PEOPLE

1. How long have you been in our community? This question had very little effect upon the quality of the answer we received. People who had not lived in the neighborhood for any length of time simply told us that they couldn't answer our questions.

2. Can you give us some idea of what the community has been like say in the past ten years? There were a variety of answers to this question. Some people said that the neighborhood has really deteriorated in the past ten years. They stated that the streets, parks, playgrounds, etc. were not safe. They said that the children were out of control. Many of the Polish people and even some of the Negroes blame these conditions on the lower-income Negroes who have moved into the community. Other people feel that the area is improving. More people are taking better care of their property. There are nice new schools in the neighborhoods. The neighborhood is conveniently located. There are many nice people living in the area.

One possible reason why there is such a difference of opinion is that most of the people think of their neighborhood as being just those houses that they can see while standing on their front porch. Since some of the physical conditions of our community vary from block to block, attitudes about the area may also vary from block to block. However, the general attitude was that the people liked their neighborhoods and that they intended to stay.

3. Has there been much moving in and out in the neighborhood? Most people think that their neighborhood is pretty stable. There is some moving in and out. This is done by the people who are renting.

4. Do you know most of the people around here? Usually, the people in our area know only those people that they can see from their front porch. As a rule, they are not acquainted with the people on the next block.

5. Do you think that it would be fairly easy to get people interested in a community improvements project? Yes, it would be easy to get them interested, but it is hard to get them actively involved in doing something about the problem. It is difficult to organize the people and harder yet to keep them organized. This can be seen in the block clubs and the troubles that they have been having in keeping their membership.

6. Would most people prefer to stay here? Yes, but with conditions. Most people said that they would stay in the neighborhood if certain things were improved. I understood this to mean better city services, better police protection, more recreational facilities, and better housing. Also, there are many good things about the area that would keep the people there.

7. What groups, clubs or organizations are active in the community? The answer to this question depended upon which sub area of our community we were in. In the area immediate to Sophie Wright, Sophie Wright was most often named. In the area surrounding Blecki, Blecki was most often named. TAP, AOP, Harper House, Federated East Side Improvements Assoc. and others were also mentioned.

8. Can you name any person who is active in the community (i.e., a leader in the community)? Right now, there is no one person with sufficient contact throughout the whole Sophie Wright community, to be considered a leader in the entire area. A list of some of the people that we found to be especially interested in community affairs is attached.

## QUESTIONNAIRE

Sophie Wright Settlement

Community Study

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Age \_\_\_\_\_
3. Husband/wife's name \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Age \_\_\_\_\_
5. Address \_\_\_\_\_
6. Home owner \_\_\_\_\_ Renter \_\_\_\_\_
7. Race: White \_\_\_\_\_ Negro \_\_\_\_\_ Oriental \_\_\_\_\_
8. Children - number and ages \_\_\_\_\_
9. Number of bedrooms in house \_\_\_\_\_
10. Does anyone other than your immediate family live at home?  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
11. (If #10 is answered yes) what is relationship to you? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
12. If you could move from the community would you? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
Reason for answer \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
13. Do you plan to move from community soon? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
14. (If #13 answered yes) when (Month, Year) \_\_\_\_\_
15. Monthly rental or mortgage payment \_\_\_\_\_
16. Source of income: Wages \_\_\_\_\_ A.D.C. \_\_\_\_\_
17. Public Welfare \_\_\_\_\_ Social Security \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_  
Monthly income \_\_\_\_\_
18. Place of birth: A. Husband \_\_\_\_\_ Wife \_\_\_\_\_
19. If you could rent a new apartment in the area at \$85/month would  
you move into it? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

20. (If #19 is no) why not? \_\_\_\_\_

21. How many bedrooms do you need? \_\_\_\_\_

22. Do you think there are enough recreational activities available  
in the community? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

23. What kinds of things would you like to see? \_\_\_\_\_

24. Check list (select 5 programs that would interest you the most)

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| ( ) Drawing                           | ( ) Slimnastic  |
| ( ) Painting                          | ( ) Singing - Glee Club   |
| ( ) Woodcraft                         | ( ) Dramatics   |
| ( ) Metalcraft                        | ( ) Discussion & Planning groups  |
| ( ) Ceramics                          | ( ) Ballroom dancing  |
| ( ) Jewelry making                    | ( ) Square danding  |
| ( ) Photography                       | ( ) Family night (participation in<br>dinner & activities with your<br>children |
| ( ) Cooking                           | ( ) Pool and ping-pong  |
| ( ) General homemaking &<br>budgeting | ( ) Family trips  |
| ( ) Sewing                            |   |
| ( ) Clubs                             |   |

25. When you have things that bother you like family problems, getting  
into trouble, difficulty in finding a job, and trouble with  
children would you like a place to go to so that you can get help.

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

26. Do you know of any place now where you can go? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

27. Have you ever heard of:

	Yes	No
Sophie Wright Settlement?	_____	_____
Franklin Settlement?	_____	_____
Detroit Family Service?	_____	_____
Gleiss Center?	_____	_____
Eastern Community Action Center?	_____	_____
Children's Center?	_____	_____

28. If you had a serious problem which of the above would you go to  
for help? \_\_\_\_\_

29. Do you attend Church? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
30. Which denomination? \_\_\_\_\_
31. Table of present leisure time interests. (Check 3 in which participation most often occurs).

- A. Lounging around
- B. Having a beer
- C. Watching television
- D. Going to night clubs
- E. Watching sports
- F. Participating in sports
- G. Reading the newspaper or magazine
- H. Reading books
- I. Participate in clubs/lodges
- J. Sew
- K. Play cards
- L. Other \_\_\_\_\_

32. How long have you lived at your present address? \_\_\_\_\_
33. Interviewer's reactions/comments:

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## APPENDIX D

### COMMUNITY SURVEY ANALYSIS\*

#### I. Introduction

Community development can be defined as a process designated to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest possible reliance upon the community's initiative.

While the United Nations intended this definition to emphasize the need to right wrongs, or to improve lives, it could also be the starting point of a community development program, and the program will be successful only if much of the required action is taken by members of the community who will be affected.

Services provided by government and/or private agencies may be essential to self-help, but they will rarely be efficient in removing the causes of suffering unless they are fully understood and used by the people whose lives are to be improved. Community development then, tackles both effect and cause by encouraging local leadership which will bring about the changes needed to make general programs effective and outside 'charity' unnecessary.

A primary requirement is that volunteer agencies, administrators or any other group of individuals must be dedicated to the idea that efficient change must come about by encouraging local leaders inside a community rather than by well-meaning but paternal action from the outside. Community development is more than a tool of an anti-poverty program: no anti-poverty program can be successful without community. The whole process of fighting poverty and developing opportunity can thus be seen as a community development program in which the people meet their needs by taking individual action when it is within their capacity, or by taking action through their government when it is beyond the capacity of local individuals or groups.

To determine the effectiveness of such a program and the possibility of accomplishing its objectives, the Sophie Wright Settlement House contracted the Organization Research Unit, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University to analyze a series of interviews held in the summer of 1966. The purpose of the interviews was to determine

\*Conducted for Sophie Wright Settlement House Organization Research Unit, Dept. of Sociology, Michigan State University.

the concerns, problems and interests of community leaders: clergymen, businessmen, members of block clubs, politicians and professionals and agency representatives working in the community. Awareness of mutual problems and a confirmed desire to cooperate must be substantiated before the implementation of a community development program.

## II. Methodology

### 1. The Area

The boundaries of the area to be considered are Warren E. on the North, Mt. Elliot on the East, Gratiot on the South and the railway tracks adjoining Dequindre on the West. This portion of the lower east side of Detroit will henceforth be referred to as the 'Sophie Wright Area' as that organization's zone of influence roughly coincides with those boundaries (see Map 1).

A windshield survey indicates that the Sophie Wright Area is obviously a blighted and substandard portion of the city, characterized by the following factors:

- (a) the incompatibility of the existing land uses which has persisted for many years;
- (b) the physical deterioration of buildings, many of which were constructed before the first world war and have become functionally obsolescent;
- (c) the roads which formerly gave good access to properties in the area have been transformed into main traffic arteries to the convenience of downtown and the detriment of this immediate district;
- (d) the area is underused, having regard to its proximity to the retail core, the variety of transportation facilities and the capacity of downtown utility installations;
- (e) the run-down appearance and the undesirable social problems of the area have a depreciating influence upon adjacent districts.

Although no major land-use survey has been undertaken, Map 2 (Number of Houses for Sale in each Block), 3 (number of Vacant Lots), 4 (Number of Buildings Vacant and Vandalized) and 5 (General Condition of Each Block) substantiate the claim that physical blight exists.

The community can be spatially identified as a contiguous physical area but we are still unaware if the population within has certain distinctive social characteristics more similar than in adjacent socio-economic areas. Identified areas are not necessarily neighborhoods in the traditional sense of the concept; that is, they are not usually viable social entities with significant unique social structures and where life style and intermingling of population is common. The interviewees do represent, however, enough positive identification and potential for 'neighborhoodness' so that we may consider the physical area as a social unit. The area referred to as the 'corridor' is an exception in the physical sense but this has not yet been demonstrated to be the case sociologically.

## 2. The Interview

Simply stated, the purpose of the interviews was to obtain information with respect to social needs in the Sophie Wright Area. Social need is, in large part, a matter of experience and judgment; few measures of absolute need exist. What a community perceives as a problem and what it will do about it constitutes a basic indicator of need for community resources. Clearly, definitions of problems--and therefore concepts of social need--change with the changing social and economic makeup of communities and with increasing knowledge of human behavior.

The specific needs for community resources here were identified by judgments of 'community leaders' knowledgeable about the area and about human needs. Informal leaders were contacted and the question can be raised whether those who allowed themselves to be interviewed were necessarily the leaders or only the more boisterous members in the community. This does not infer that their perceptive ability is less credible, rather that their opinions may not reflect the views of other members of the community.

A second condition to bear in mind is that the interviews were 'focused interviews'. Any divergence within or between response groups could easily be due to the fact that respondents were asked different questions.

Not only are our answers as good as the questions we ask but also a great deal depends upon the calibre of the interviewers. Two female interviewers undertook the project of interviewing representatives of all major agencies and commercial enterprises where possible in the Sophie Wright Area. Their relative inexperience led them to make certain errors in reporting their findings, especially value judgments. Two examples are:

"The people that are involved in the organization are quite committed to its existence, and herein lies the danger in such a group."

"She doesn't understand why some of 'these people' (Negroes) are lazy, unambitious and without regard for family life. She described, in contrast, her own sons, who worked their way through college and have achieved a great deal of success in spite of their difficult beginnings."

The latter example can generally be the case in reporting an interview where the interviewer is Negro and is appraising the statement(s) of somebody who is prejudiced against Negroes.

### III. Results

No sensitive statistical technique could be applied to the data, but by grouping the data in various ways, we do obtain definite clusters of information.

Table 1 lists the more apparent concerns by priority. "High" concern was designated if the different groups (professionals and agency representatives working in community, politicians, business men and clergymen) agreed or disagreed on the same subject or if there was high inter-group agreement. To obtain this ranking, concern had to be expressed with strong agreement as to a solution given in all of at least one group and mention to it given by all the other groups. A "medium" ranking was given to problems and concerns having strong agreement in one group only and some mention of it by other groups. A "low" ranking was given when casual reference was made to the existence of some problem or concern but no position or a neutral stand was taken.

The ranking is somewhat arbitrary in that a frequency count would be invalid due to the varying nature of the interviews. Also, the number of interviews in each group was too divergent, so any logical analysis based on a strict comparison (by percent, for example) would be statistically unfeasible. The degree of emphasis and concern is therefore the main measuring devise.

Table 1. PROBLEMS AND CONCERNS BY PRIORITY

<u>Priority</u>	<u>Problem or Concern</u>
High	Housing Recreation Deviance
Medium	Organization of existing facilities Representation by delegates, block clubs, etc. Cooperation in and between organizations
Low	Prejudice Politics Unavailability of social workers

Table 2 distributes these concerns by priority within each group. Priority here is based upon the number of times mentioned and the degree of emphasis placed upon the problem or concern by the various groups.

Table 2. PROBLEMS AND CONCERNS BY PRIORITY WITHIN GROUPS

	A (30)	B (11)	C (23)	D (7)
Housing	H	H	H	H
Recreation	H	L	L	L
Deviance	L	H	H	L
Organization	H	L	L	H
Representa- tion	H	L	L	L
Cooperation	H	H	L	M
Prejudice	M	L	L	M
Politics	M	L	L	M
Social Workers	M	L	L	L

H--high

M--medium

L--low

A--Professionals and agency representatives working in community

B--Block clubs

C--Business men

D--Clergymen

(30) Number of interviews in each group

## 1. Housing

There was high agreement among all interviewees that housing was the most pressing need of the community. Although block clubs have sparked voluntary 'paint and repair' drives and alley clean ups, the amount of participation by community members is not sufficient to significantly enhance the general appearance of the area.

Urban renewal is not destined for the Sophie Wright Area in the immediate future. Reverend Crudup felt that even with the hint of urban renewal, people will not take care of their property. The elimination of blight would obviously be advantageous for business men and as Mr. Kelly (of Kelly's Ballroom) points out, "The people would remain in the area if they had the financial means to repair and remodel their homes."

General awareness of the problem was not accompanied by comprehensive suggestions for implementation of a housing scheme. A conservation scheme and low-cost housing were some suggestions. The unfeasability of other suggestions is a result of the relative naivety of the interviewees. Of the disadvantages of any scheme, Councilman Hood suggested that the appraised value of homes might not be enough to purchase another home.

## 2. Recreation

Recreation facilities, another major need in the community, was voiced by representatives of all four groups. TAP representatives, school community agents and long-term residents were more aware of the necessity of recreation sites. The Sophie Wright facilities are not sufficient for the entire area and the unavailability of a substantial program of recreation and cultural enrichment for children and teenagers was noted by many. In the words of a block-club president, "There is not enough in the neighborhood for children to do. The few playgrounds that are there are not safe."

## 3. Deviance

The unavailability of recreation programs and facilities was suggested by most as a contributing source of deviancy in the area. As Reverend Payne points out, "The teens are idle most of the time and although there are programs for them in the neighborhood, they are not being reached properly . . . any type of activity begun by the church is faced with the obstacle of lack of cooperation in the community. It is difficult to get volunteers to help. Some group offered them equipment for a baseball team, which they had to refuse because there were no men in the area who could supervise practices for the boys."

Business men are the most severely affected by vandalism. Many of them felt the neighborhood was 'dangerous' and the high vandalism rates made insurance too expensive or impossible to obtain.

Block clubs have made some attempt to reduce vandalism by demanding more police protection and more street lights. Members felt that the provision of teen clubs would promote interests other than delinquency. Abandoned houses and vacant homes provide the potential for criminal activity.

## 4. Organization

Criticisms of many organizations (notably block clubs, TAP, WCO and the church) were common amongst professionals, agency representatives and clergymen working in the community. Ineffective communication and coordination between agencies or the unawareness and anxieties from the knowledge that other groups participate in identical endeavors in the community led to gross inefficiency. The need for large-scale revision of organizations by utilizing an organizational approach to bring community resources and the community together is a necessity.

Many of the comments by the interviewees indicated considerable thought and insight on their part. The impressions of various groups and organizations can best be examined by providing a series of excerpts from the interviews. Names have been deleted to protect the anonymity of those who represent the agencies they criticize.

"TAP not effective in meeting needs churches not effective"

"Area needs organization--block clubs not very effective in this respect"

"Sophie Wright devoid of organization. The block clubs that exist are narrow in scope and therefore not effective in dealing with large-scale problems. Sophie Wright not O.K. as initial agent--it would be necessary to include other groups in sponsoring organization."

"To keep an organization going it is necessary to have a full-time paid staff because volunteer help has proven unsatisfactory."

"WCO unconstructive--they are essentially doing a good thing that few people can fight, but that their tactics are often poor. He has a poor opinion of block clubs as community organizations, because they are founded by the city, made up of mostly women and older people, and fail because of petty jealousies, and their social orientation."

"WCO dramatizes the problem of the inner city residents in their area--the tactics they employ sometimes serve as a setback to their work because of bad publicity. Not a 'people's organization'--predominance of professionals."

"TAP is a racket--ADC does not do a proper job."

"WCO's goal is to have the residents of urban renewal areas have a say in the planning for the area."

"TAP is not doing what it should to help the poor. Therefore, the community doesn't have a say in decision making and it should. TAP administrators do not arrange meetings at a convenient time for the community. Neighborhood needs strong leaders."

"Critical of organization of TAP. Goals are redirected in practice due to size and complexity of the organization and the means by which federal programs are initiated and improved. TAP recognized as place to go for help not an organization where people can participate in its operations."

"Block clubs should be organized to foster understanding between divergent ethnic groups in the community and sponsor neighborhood improvement projects at grass roots level."

"Churches would not make a very good base for operation."

"Lack of organization in area--only a few and ineffective block clubs."

## 5. Representation

Agency representatives were most critical of other organizations and their own in their failing to effectively represent the community. Precinct delegates, TAP advisory board and the Sophie Wright Council were mentioned most as examples of unrepresentative representation.

In general, staff services have not been geared to meeting residents in a manner that will enable them to develop cooperative patterns of action. Professional people, most of whom are responsible for administration of services in a larger area, have been unable to devote sufficient time and energy to social planning in this community.

One community aide, active on various councils and residing ten years in the community, aptly stated the view of many others in this regard, "There is a necessity to reorganize the community so that it will be truly representative of the block clubs, rather than reflect the wishes of only a handful of people." We are not suggesting that the block clubs could provide the most appropriate base for such reorganization but the point that the 'people' are not effectively represented is well taken.

## 6. Cooperation

The desire of citizens of the Sophie Wright Area to participate collectively is not as strong as some might have it. Obviously, the question of ineffective representation could easily be related to the fact that the people themselves are unwilling or apathetic. As a vice-president of a block club points out, "My neighbors are nice but they do not cooperate with the block club the way they should."

[Cooperation can be a 'social thing' and the degree of attainment of some objective can be limited if personality clashes occur especially within an organization.] An interviewer relates the reply of a school community agent when the latter was asked about the natural organization of people in the Sophie Wright Area:



"She noted that it is difficult to tell what groups of people are united and what areas organized because they don't always follow logical geographical boundaries and also because they do not remain constant in membership, or alliances. She cited as an example Mr. Russell, who is beginning a new community organization in the area called CURE, which is funded by some foundation, and Mother Waddles, a preacher in the area. These two people are sometimes at odds and sometimes working together, depending on their mood."

## 7. Prejudice

Language barriers between the members of the indigenous population and divisions in the resident population itself, especially between partially assimilated families and recent immigrants, further handicaps attempts for cooperation in the community.

The interviewers did not intend to gather evidence for or against this proposition but comments by representatives of service agencies in the area raise suspicion. For example, an executive of the Federated East Side Improvement Association stated.

". . . you can't help the Polish community and the Negro community at the same time. Deterioration of the neighborhood should be blamed on the Negroes who moved into the area."

Because of the large proportion of Negroes in the area, some prejudice is inescapable. Father Thomas explains that now the Negro feels that what they say or want does not count. Police were said to have a very negative attitude toward the Negro.

There is no documentation of present and/or potential prejudice in this community. If hostility is too great and not reducible, attempts at coordination and cooperation at the community level would certainly be inhibited.

## 8. Politics and Politicians

The grouping of interviewees did not include politicians as only two (Councilman Hood and State Representative David Holmes) were contacted. Any attempt to combine their responses with the responses of agency representatives with political aspirations is clearly invalid.

While some felt that politicians are responsible to the voters so that what is needed is an organized vocal group that will make them see and act upon this responsibility, others were more inclined to surrender in the face of adversity. The latter is not uncommon behavior in low-income areas and leads to apathy. One reverend stated, "The powers that be must be bucked to obtain what the people want and need but are too overwhelming to overcome."

Political interests were considered to be served whenever an agency is perceived as being differentially favorable. This appeared in many interviews regarding one association that "got people all stirred up in order to get votes; the people don't really know what they're getting upset about."

#### 9. Social Workers

Clergymen, professionals and agency representatives in the Sophie Wright Area agreed that there are too few social workers per capita. Although private services are available, there is a two-to-three week waiting period for an initial appointment.

### IV. Conclusion

Regardless of the antagonisms within and between the various agencies working in or representing the Sophie Wright Area, there is a definite feeling of commitment generated, if by nothing else, the concern for the future of that portion of Detroit's Lower East Side.

The business men obviously have a larger stake in the community. Not only do they have a sense of pride, but also a larger financial investment than most other residents. Many of them would move if they could afford it; however, if there were improvements made in the neighborhood (social and physical), they would prefer to stay on.

Homeowners are also committed to the improvement of the community as they cannot afford to move and/or it is more convenient to remain. Where resident commitment was high, evaluation of the present or future state of the community was also high. A more refined definition of what they like or do not like about their neighborhoods in reference to the point at which the balance is tipped and the area becomes a mobile community should be pursued further.

Jim Bush, Community Relations Commission, aptly stated, "The average person does not have the scope to realize what contribution they can make toward greater community improvement." A great deal of encouragement is required and although many would never become leaders, they could learn to work along with those who are. By capitalizing on the effort of those who have a commitment now and encouraging those who are currently apathetic or uninvolved, we can begin to guarantee the eventual success of a community development project.

### V. Recommendations

#### 1. Development programming

The adoption of a sound development programming policy is the heart of a sound renewal planning venture. Aspects of programming such as preconditions for effectiveness and method for evaluating

programs' ability to achieve success are critical to a continuing overall assessment. We must identify criteria in human and social terms, a type of social costs and benefits analysis, paralleling economic costs and benefits, which form the basis for measurement and ultimately establishment of successful urban renewal programs and plans.

## 2. Citizen participation

The fact that the neighborhood will be undergoing urban renewal presents a special focus for community organization. It is important that local people be assisted to understand the changes taking place and, if possible, have some say in determining the shape of the new community. This reaching out to encourage the involvement of local citizens has importance in terms of democratic values; however, it also has a utility value for the redevelopment program. By some degree of participation in the affairs of the community, residents can overcome alienation from one another and from the institutional structure of society. No longer suffering from feelings of powerlessness, it is conceivable that many local citizens will begin to think positively in terms of community improvement.

## 3. Major study

Practical considerations of pressing problems demanding immediate answers continue to force data-gathering into partial and fragmentary efforts and rarely provide an opportunity for an intensive view of the problem at hand. The present study has provided some valuable insight. In order to more accurately measure and project need it is necessary to determine present and potential use of services by ascertaining through survey procedures the awareness on the part of the general public of problems, knowledge concerning existing services, attitudes toward using services and actual use of services.

Other than the usual geographic and socio-economic concerns, the study should establish the intensity, direction and influence of opinion-makers or 'leaders' in reference to urban renewal. Although unpopular by nature, such inquiries promise to be fruitful in identifying the gross impact of leadership on the ultimate goals of municipal policy and action. Knowledge then, concerning leadership structure, organizational behavior, local issues, identification with local area, social structure, aspirations and relationship to the larger community are important to study as the plan unfolds, as well as prior to its initiation, if information on the impact of change is to be gained and reliable.

We also require further insight into the degrees of effectiveness of organization, as related to the social structure, attitudes and behavior of social characteristics of different types of small areas. Criteria for measuring participation would need to be developed, taking into consideration an understanding of the methods of operation of community organizations. Other factors to be considered would be means of communication and leadership structure which line the organizations to participants and others in the neighborhood under study.

#### 4. Neighborhood Development Committee

The interviews demonstrated the existence of a concrete awareness of problems and a desire to cooperate. To increase the possibility of accomplishment and to promote the opportunity to provide a leadership training ground, a Neighborhood Development Committee is strongly urged. Such a committee would command some degree of involvement by most, if not all, major agencies serving the area. Definite proposals for community improvement could be better formulated through a localized planning process.

All decentralized social planning having relevance for the entire area would take place under the auspices of the area council. This would include matters such as development of recreation and social adjustment services. However, the Neighborhood Development Committee would be given special responsibility for relating to problems connected with redevelopment and relocation in that section of the area. In addition, it would be in relation to the Neighborhood Development Committee that indigenous participation would be sought, it being more feasible to encourage citizen involvement in tackling the major identified problems of the immediate neighborhood, rather than in relation to the diverse affairs of a large social planning council.

Membership in the area council could conceivably be mainly of a representative nature--that is to say, members could be solicited on the basis of representation according to institution or profession, while at the neighborhood level emphasis could be placed on participation by all citizens with an investment in the neighborhood. Provision could be made for inclusion in the council itself of representatives from the Neighborhood Development Committee and other neighborhood-based bodies within the council's area.

In addition to its connection with the area council, the Neighborhood Development Committee should strive to relate itself to city-wide bodies concerned with urban renewal. This could provide such a city-wide body with the kind of impetus that springs directly from a concerned neighborhood committee trying to cope with the renewal plans.

## APPENDIX E

### COMMUNITY MEETING SUMMARY

By way of background the meeting held at Mr. Kelly's Ballroom on September 14, 1966 was planned by a group of community leaders. After years of having had opportunities to voice complaints and talk about neighborhood problems while having at the same time had no channels by which constructive action could be applied to the solution of these problems, the group decided to hold a community meeting. They decided to invite other community leaders, groups and organizations to see what the feeling was concerning the many crucial problems facing our community and try to seek more means by which these concerns could be tackled on an action level. They, also, wanted to obtain some sort of agreement on "what are the real problems?" "Do other concerned people identify the same problems we feel?"

Thus, after several meetings at Sophie Wright Settlement the group decided to temporarily be known as the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee which would exist until a community meeting could be organized.

The committee decided to delineate geographical boundaries. These boundaries include: Dequindre on the west, Warren - north, Mt. Elliott - east and Gratiot (to include the Charlevoix loop) on the south.

The committee members were:

Mrs. Annie Watkins, (Chairman) Pres.,  
St. Joseph Block Club

Mrs. Rachael Simmons - neighborhood resident

G. L. Kelly - Proprietor Mr. Kelly's Ballroom

Mrs. Elizabeth Jones, Pres. Hancock Block Club

Mr. L. Frazier, Pres. Leland Block Club

Carl Busch, neighborhood resident

Louise Palmer, Pres. 7th Dist. Community Club

#### Consultants

William Walsh and Company

Ulysses Boykins and Associates, Inc.

In sequence, the resource people and the body, through each foreman urged us all that it was time to "wake up and act" while there is still time before our neighborhood decays to a slum level and it is too late to do anything but to accept the "bulldozer." They identified the following problems and issues we should actively be combating:

1. Problems of Urban Renewal - "Can we save our neighborhood?"  
"Are there alternative plans we can fight for?"
2. The "adult delinquent" (us), not only morally but in shirking our responsibilities to do something about the many crucial issues damaging our community. Not only must we do something about ourselves, we must do something for ourselves.
3. Sanitation (garbage and rubbish) is a problem we must tackle new, i. e. inadequate service. It was noted that services have not increased to keep up with (approximate) twice the number of the people in our neighborhood. This 100% increase, of course, is caused by urban renewal.
4. Absentee landlord property problems caused because they "milk" the property but do not keep it in good repair thus creating the first signs of physical neighborhood decay. This eventually contributes to development of a slum neighborhood.
5. Vacant and vandalized property which is an inviting attractive nuisance for children. It defaces our community. And was described as the second step on the road to development of a slum .
6. The disorganized families dislocated into our neighborhood from the Renewal areas.
7. These disorganized families lack the knowledge, motivation and the concern to properly raise their children. As a result these children are the ones we see committing all sorts of delinquencies, vandalizing buildings, setting fires, etc.
8. The inadequacy of services by local TAP and other social service agencies which do not provide programs to:
  - a) educate disorganized families in child rearing who cannot raise their children.
  - b) launch adequate housing programs which are solely needed in our neighborhood due to the great influx of people into our community by families who have been dislocated by Urban Renewal.
  - c) day care and cooperative nurseries.

9. Our neighborhood schools were focused upon as failing our children. A comparison of achievement levels between inner city and suburban schools was made to emphasize this point. The immensity of the problem was recognized since education is the tool by which we prepare our youth to face the ever increasing educational demands of the world. Specifically mentioned were the following points:
  - a) Several student needs which the schools are not providing for such as hot lunches for deprived children. "Who can study and learn on an empty stomach?"
  - b) A branch library - since there is none in our neighborhood. "Why doesn't the city provide one instead of a bookmobile once a week?"
10. Recreation and Youth Service Programs. It was felt that immediately needed were recreation and youth service programs to reach the kids in the streets and alleys. These are the kids who are constantly in trouble. Specific points on these were:
  - a) Adequate personnel to reach out to these kids.
  - b) Adequate recreational programs and supervisory personnel.
  - c) Facilities such as in-door, out-door swimming pools, tot-lots, open play spaces.

Finally, before the meeting ended the entire body decided to allow the committee to form a steering committee. This was done by calling for from the floor. The Steering Committee would classify, designate priorities to these community problems and assign each person at the meeting into a committee to work on one of the specific problems identified.

The Steering Committee consists of the following persons:

Mr. Lloyd Blue  
 Mrs. Annie Watkins  
 Mrs. Louise Palmer  
 Mrs. Elizabeth Jones  
 Mr. Titus Greenwood  
 Mrs. Hattie Talbert  
 Mrs. Effie Pearson  
 Rev. O. M. Oates  
 Rev. John Payne  
 Mr. G. L. Kelly

Adviser

Robert P. Mejia, Sophie Wright Community Worker

This committee will meet Monday, September 26, 1966, 1 p.m. at Sophie Wright.

Please contact any one of us if:

- 1) You have a preference as to working in specific problem area.
- 2) If you know of anyone who was at the meeting and did not receive this summary or other interested persons who want to involve themselves in our efforts.



## APPENDIX F

### P.N.A.C. QUESTIONNAIRE

In the numbered spaces below, just write 10 different things you think about the question to follow. Don't worry about how important they are or the order you put them in. Just write the first 10 comments or answers you think of to the question: WHAT IS PNAC? (Positive Neighborhood Action Committee)

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_
6. \_\_\_\_\_
7. \_\_\_\_\_
8. \_\_\_\_\_
9. \_\_\_\_\_
10. \_\_\_\_\_

Also, will you please answer the following questions?

- (1) Your age range: \_\_\_\_ 24 or under; \_\_\_\_ 25-44; \_\_\_\_ 45 or over.
- (2) How far did you go in school:    \_\_\_\_ 8th grade or less  
  \_\_\_\_ Some high school, but did not  
  graduate.  
  \_\_\_\_ High School graduate  
  \_\_\_\_ Attended college  
  \_\_\_\_ Business or technical school
- (3) Do you hold an office in PNAC?    \_\_\_\_ Yes    \_\_\_\_ No
- (4) Are you a member of a block club?    \_\_\_\_ Yes    \_\_\_\_ No

- (5) What is your occupation, or the occupation of the head of your household?

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- (6) List a few things with PNAC has done:

a. 

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b. 

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c. 

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d. 

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e. 

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## Response to Question; What is PNAC?

## Schedule 1

1. An org. to better the community
2. To help the community help itself
3. To preserve the community
4. To save the property
5. To fight delinquents and help them to seek a better way of living
  - a. Organized quite a few committees
  - b. For the betterment of the
  - c. Raised funds to build better homes

## Schedule 2

1. PNAC is an org. to help the people
2. Keep the people together
3. Help our children grow up to be better citizens
4. Provide better homes for the aged.
5. Keep the area in which we live beautiful
6. To help our young children
7. Cut down crime
8. Provide better jobs
9. Also help education of our children
  - a. PNAC has helped in getting a place started for a playground
  - b. A big start for the housing

## Schedule 3

1. Cooperation
2. Work
3. Play
4. Sing
5. Sleep
6. Enjoyment
8. Laughter
9. Good judgement
  - a. PNAC has helped to bring some communities closer together
  - b. It has brought about a better understanding in the community

## Schedule 4

1. A community organization
2. A grass-roots organization
3. A self-help organization
4. A federation of block clubs
5. A group of concerned citizens
6. Although new, has become a community power on the eastside
7. The result of the organizaing efforts of professional and community persons
  - a. Obtained the Phoenix homes
  - b. Solidified the community
  - c. Involved the community
  - d. Confronted the power structure
  - e. Has become a voice in the community.

## Schedule 5

1. Neighborhood Action Committee
2. Persons interested in aiding others who are not able to express their views, problems, etc.
3. Getting better acquainted with families living in our community
4. Being interested in others who are more unfortunate through no fault of their own
5. Setting good examples--which usually are a form of education in caring for one's property
  - a. Phoenix homes beginning
  - b. Jobs available

## Schedule 6

1. Positive Neighborhood Action Committee
2. A group of people working together in the neighborhood for the betterment of each.
3. For better housing
4. Cleaner streets
5. Beautiful yards
6. Pretty flower gardens
7. Better children
8. How to live a better life and get along with people
  - a. Have helped to bring the people together in the area
  - b. Organized different groups of people
  - c. Have collected a nice sum of money
  - d. Have offered and given several jobs

## Schedule 7

1. To help neighborhood children
2. To build better housing for the community
3. To bring together a group of people for better understanding
4. To do things that cannot be done unless we work together
5. Pooling our thoughts and coming up with an answer
6. Better understanding in the community
7. Togetherness where we need it
8. Working together when we thought we could not

## Schedule 8

1. A neighborhood group working for the community
2. Trying to build back the community

## Schedule 9

1. Is help to the neighborhood
2. Would like to see everyone active
  - a. It put people to think
  - b. Put many to work at home
  - c. Made with others

## Schedule 12

1. A group of concerned neighborhood residents
2. A group interested in community welfare
3. A concern for people
4. An urge to better the neighborhood
5. Positive thinking people
6. A group interested in all the people
7. An action group
8. A group where all people can solve problems
9. A group concerned about urban renewal
10. A group seeking a better tomorrow for its youngsters
  - a. A project on low-cost housing
  - b. Interceded for more equipment on playground
  - c. Given the community brighter hope
  - d. Solved some community problems

## Schedule 13

1. A community organization
2. A head of all the club, church and businesses
3. A place to meet and discuss problems
4. A working group of interested people
5. An institution
6. A business combination and working org.
7. A building organization
8. Future rehabilitation of community
9. Learning how to salvage and redo.
10. Financial insurance at low rates
  - a. Working on lowcost homes
  - b. Working on sanitary conditions
  - c. Working on recreation
  - d. Working on social services in community
  - e. Working with youth in community

## Schedule 14

1. PNAC is an organization for better community
2. PNAC helps                for improvement
3. PNAC is for better living
4. For better schools
5. Helps young adults
6. Helps small children
7. Better sanitation
8. More recreation
9. Better organized groups (community)
10. More improvements for everyone
  - a. Received grant from gov. for homes
  - b. Organized community relations
  - c. Combined all block clubs which help community

Schedule 15

1. PNAC is for a better community
2. I hope to learn more about it

Schedule 16

1. A group of persons cannot explain himself so very well
2. Something you have a desire to do
3. Someone you have a desire to be nice with
4. Someone that cannot do very well
5. Someone always keeps you upset
6. Someone who just can't think very well
7. Some children do not think very well

Schedule 17

1. A group of people
2. Interested in improving community
3. A power bloc in birth
4. An action group
5. A group attempting to coordinate community action
6. Interested in stopping deterioration in the community
7. Attempting to stir community self-help
8. Attempting to interest outside help in community development
9. Raising money
10. Helping community spirit
  - a. Became organized
  - b. Voiced an objection to Faygo Co.
  - c. Brought in Phoenix homes
  - d. Brought pressure on Parks & Rec. for help in area

Schedule 18

1. An org. that will help our community
2. A coming together of people with the same ideas
3. To enlighten people to want a better life
4. Going to help the community economically soon
5. Will help our children have a better image of themselves
  - a. Held meetings
  - b. Kept people on the track to obtaining some goals
  - c. Helped with info that we might not have learned elsewhere
  - d. Encouraged the community
  - e. Taught us to seek news constantly from all medias

Schedule 19

1. People working together
2. Social Action group
3. Political action group
4. Group to rehabilitate community
5. Group to rehabilitate people
6. A growong institution
7. A positive institution
8. A resistant group--self-help group
9. The common man's organization
10. A mobilization group

## Schedule 19 (Cont.)

- a. Low-cost housing--Phoenix homes
- b. Recreational improvements
- c. Sanitation improvements
- d. Worked to ease big city business pressure against community

## Schedule 20

1. An org. for betterment of mankind
2. It helps poverty-stricken areas
3. It helps people to find a new life
4. It helps raise the community relations
5. It helps neighbors to improve their property
6. It helps organize community leadership
7. It helps build a better city
8. It helps bring jobs to the unemployed
9. It is made up, due to block clubs, etc.
10. It is a stable organization that puts forth action to accomplish a goal, a better citizen.
  - a. Has neighbors plant grass
  - b. Made landowners fix up their property
  - c. Held meetings to discuss community problems

## Schedule 21

1. Neighborhood improvement
2. Recreation
3. School relationship to community
4. Business
5. Jobs
6. City planning for neighborhood
7. Voice of community
8. Sanitation
9. Bringing together all city services for betterment of the community
  - a. Helped solve school problems
  - b. Individual block club problems are studied
  - c. Parks & Rec. are working with them
  - d. Business of the community work together through PNAC
  - e. A leadership for the community

## Schedule 22

1. A group of people working together to build and help the neighborhood to be a better place in which to live
  - a. Secured land to build new homes
  - b. Raised money to buy land
  - c. Helped to make the area a safer place to live

## Schedule 24

1. A group of community people
2. Self-help org.
3. Tackles jointly problems which can't be attacked alone
4. Housing, recreation, jobs, community self
5. It seeks to get the city to recognize our community as being as important as any other

Schedule 24 (cont.)

6. A group that needs more
7. A group that needs to capture the imagination of the young people of the community
  - a. Got the Archdiocese to come to terms on the community
  - b. Getting housing
  - c. Getting machine shop
  - d. Got Parks and Rec. to tackle recreation in our area
  - e. Is trying to preserve community from big business harassment (Moran St. Issue)

Schedule 25

1. A club that is building homes

Schedule 26

1. Designed for neighborhoods and to enlighten the community on various subjects that should be enlightened
2. To make absolutely sure that the action is carried out
3. To keep the community decent
4. To dispose of dirty yards
5. To find homes of small value for large families of little income
  - a. Housing development

Schedule 27

1. Something wonderful
2. Makes you think more for yourself it is good for everyone
3. It is rebuilding our neighborhood if we would help and we can. It is needed very much.
4. Something new and great for our community
  - a. Has one more than I can state, such as rebuilding almost the entire neighborhood with the young and adults

Schedule 28

1. It is a help to the community
2. It helps the
3. It works together
5. One of the best things that ever happened to the community
6. A working organization

Schedule 29

1. An organization
2. A group of community people
3. A group of people concerned with similar problems
4. An organization seeking to help those unable to help themselves
5. A group of people concerned with their surroundings
6. An org. willing to raise standards
7. A groups of people representing many people in a specific area
8. A group of people wanting facts concerning the future of their neighborhood
  - a. This is my first visit to PNAC



Schedule 30

1. About children playing in alleys
2. What disease or germs they can catch
3. What about a clean surrounding
4. Must we have drunkards in our neighborhood
5. How can we avoid such habits

Schedule 31

1. Positive Neighborhood Action Committee
2. A committee formed by all people of all races and creeds in the neighborhood who joined together to work for the benefit of all people
3. To improve living conditions
4. To get more effective services for this area from city departments for their tax dollars
5. To help the uninitiated to learn how to live within the community to become better neighbors
6. To help one another. To improve the lot of the needy and keep up what we had before the neighborhood started to run down
  - a. Started Phoenix homes with the Archdiocese
  - b. Organized block clubs
  - c. Arranged for job availability for neighborhood people

Schedule 32

1. Positive Neighborhood Action Committee
2. People interested in our community
3. Trying to keep our alleys and streets clean
4. People working together to help others to build low income housing
5. To form youth clubs and have recreational facilities

Schedule 33

1. Neighborhood Action Committee
2. A group of people working together
3. People trying to beautify their homes
4. A committee to keep the community clean
5. Help the neighbors in time of need
6. Build homes of low income
7. Keep the alleys clean
8. Lighting on the blocks
9. Trim trees

Schedule 34

1. An organization to improve the community
2. To make better citizens
3. To draw the community people together
4. To rehabilitate
5. To organize cleaner neighborhoods
6. To improve housing in the community
7. To clean alleys, etc.
8. It teaches you to communicate with others
9. To build a stronger and better neighborhood
  - a. Started to buy land for houses
  - b. Have started to buy for tot lots for children from 5-10.

## Schedule 35

1. An organization
2. Dominated by a few
3. A section of the city
4. Sophie Wright
5. Half action
6. Not much direction
7. Little planning
8. Block club
9. Churches
10. White leaders
  - a. Brought people together
  - b. Model homes
  - c. Worked on recreation
  - d. Had a raffle
  - e. Has a newsletter

## Schedule 36

1. To help people with their problems
2. Help build homes for poor people
3. Help old people get jobs
4. Young people off the streets
5. Give them something to do and a place to go and play
6. All work together with the children and see that they will not have so much trouble
7. I think it is a good idea

## Schedule 37

1. A group of people
2. Trying to help themselves and others
3. I think PNAC has bettered the community
  - a. Help with Parks & Rec.
  - b. Bought land to build homes
  - c. Help with neighborhood problems

## Schedule 38

1. A committee in our neighborhood that helps
2. A help to better our neighborhood
3. Helping to get better housing in the community
4. Getting playgrounds for our children
5. This community is helping to bring people together
  - a. Helped sanitation problems in the community
  - b. Helped the block clubs come together

## Schedule 39

1. It is a plan to better the community
2. Keep up the neighborhood
3. To make more friends
4. To learn more about better living
5. To help our children
6. Get a better understanding
7. Upkeep of our streets and alleys
- a. Building homes

## Schedule 40

1. An organization that was organized by the people, for the people.  
To make the community a good place to live
2. Positive--the key meaning of the approach
- a. Has started to tell the city community agencies what they want
- b. Cleaning up the city
- c. Building homes for people of low income levels
- d. Attacking crime, school delinquency, etc.

## Schedule 41

1. Organized the community to help solve their problems
- a. Has taken a positive position on the community problems
- b. Has assumed a moral responsibility for its neighbors
- c. Has spared no pains to see that their problems be dealt with
- d. Has given guidance which has brought results

## Schedule 10

1. A self-help organization
2. An asset to our neighborhood
3. Very interesting
4. Is unique
5. Ideal
6. Of value to all
7. Something different
8. An improvement to Detroit
9. It is grand
- a. It has helped in preventing the city from forcing a family to sell on Meldrum St.
- b. It is interceding for the homw owners on Moran St. that are pressured by Faygo Co.

## Schedule 11

1. Is an organization for the people, by the people.