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ENVIRONMENT: HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSIONS IN
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The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1972
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INTEGRATING MECHANISMS IN A COMMUNITY CONFLICT ENVIRONMENT: HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSIONS IN SEVENTEEN CITIES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Erwin Bernard Teuber, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1972

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Recognizing the impossibility of acknowledging all those who have contributed in a variety of ways to the culmination of this project and this phase of my education, I choose to follow both remaining alternatives -- to extend a general sincere expression of gratitude to all who have been helpful and to single out some individuals for thanks, knowing very well that others whose names are omitted have often helped as much, but their contributions were not as recent.

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Introduction

This study of human relations commissions presents a comprehensive picture of a type of community organization not previously examined by sociologists, and uses the new information in an evaluation of aspects of contemporary sociological theories. What is presented here represents the results of a continuous process of comparing theory and data to arrive at a model of community systems appropriate for analyzing human relations commission phenomena. The model is used as a general guide in the data presentation and, in the final chapter, its adequacy is assessed. A general theoretical question underlying the research is, What are the forces within community systems which hold the system together?

A motivation for the study may be found in the growing concern that has been expressed in recent years about a perceived increase in urban crises which threaten the future existence of American cities. Numerous and varied forces are seen as contributors to the mushrooming urban problems which have been investigated and reported by social and other scientists as well as all of the media of mass communications. Taken together, these concerns, whether based on empirical study of urban areas or not, may be seen as worried appraisals of urban communities' ability to withstand, as enduring social organizations, the onslaught of threats to community continuity. That is, are community social systems capable of maintaining system integration?

One of the more significant perceived threats to most American cities in recent years has been the widespread eruption of racial conflict and civil disturbances related to racial issues. The degree of concern about these matters across the nation was epitomized in the appointment by President Johnson, on July 27, 1967, of the "President's Commission on Civil Disorders." The fear of many has been that unless something is done to correct this malady of American cities, they could face complete disintegration, and along with the demise of cities goes the demise of this society.

At all levels there have been, in fact, many actions undertaken to confront the crises in American communities. With regard to problems deriving from the heterogeneous mixture of urban populations, efforts have been put forth by governmental and private groups alike to reduce the possibilities of threatening conflict and to resolve conflicts when they arise. Whether these varied efforts prove to be adequate or appropriate in light of urban problems is not the concern motivating this study. Underlying this research is the belief that by studying some of the organizations and actions that have been developed to counteract disintegrative forces in communities, we may learn something about the social processes operating within on-going communities as social systems.

The Research Problem

Among the adaptations that many community systems have made to problems in intergroup relations are the development of local public human relations commissions (HRCs) whose task it is to ease or resolve the problem generating stresses and strains in the relations between heterogeneous community groups. On a practical level HRCs are public groups initiated to "do something" about problematic intergroup relations, and, on a theoretical level, HRCs are among the adaptive "integrating mechanisms" which community systems have evolved to maintain system viability in the face of disintegrative threats. The research focuses on the emergence, goals, structures, and strategies of HRCs in a sample of seventeen American cities, with the objective of understanding their roles in community systems.

Because HRCs have not been examined from a sociological perspective, and little has been done on the subject from other vantage points, a large part of this study represents an effort to answer such questions as, What are HRCs? In what forms do they exist? Why were they established? What do they do? and, How do they do it?

It was known prior to the study that HRCs were often visible and were presumed to play some social control role during periods of civil disturbance, in communities studied over the years by staff of the Disaster Research Center. But, a broader understanding of their overall activities and where they "fit" in the community structure was not an object of study. That HRCs were present in communities to do something about inadequate conditions in the area of intergroup relations was known, as was the conception of HRCs as "grievance-response mechanisms" held by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.[1] Thus, a part of this study is devoted to learning whether HRCs are simply social control agents and grievance mechanisms, how they might perform these functions, and whether there may be other roles they play in communities. Toward the beginning of the study it became apparent that HRCs might most fruitfully be viewed as integrating mechanisms, promoting not just racial integration but social integration in a broader social systems sense. But to approach them in this way required the development of a model of community systems which includes a conception of integrating mechanisms like HRCs. Given the nature of the problem, then, this study has four basic objectives:

1. To portray and understand the internal structure and operations of HRCs in a sample of communities.
2. To portray and understand the larger social setting and sets of forces giving rise to HRCs and influencing and shaping their structure and operations.
3. To portray and understand, conversely, some of the ways HRCs influence and shape their immediate external environment and that of the larger community context within which they operate.

4. To develop a model of community systems which guides the above objectives, depicts some of the factors and relationships between them, and shows some utility for broader application in community systems research.

The overall manner in which these objectives are reached is described in Chapter II. In this introductory chapter, some further elaboration of objective number four above may add clarity to the design of this research project.

The Model

Three basic theoretical "orientations" in the extant sociological literature were considered as points of departure for guiding this inquiry toward fruitful understanding of HRCs in communities, but for various reasons none of them alone seemed appropriate to the task. Functionalism,[2] the dominant theoretical viewpoint in the discipline, generally implies certain assumptions about the nature of social reality which makes it difficult to study processes of social conflict and change. Additionally, it conceives of social integration in primarily normative terms[3] and sees dissensus as essentially some form of aberration in social systems. But it was apparent early in this study that from this perspective HRCs were not best illuminated, since they seemed to be heavily engaged in processes of conflict and change, and often they appeared to be promoting dissensus as well as consensus in the community.

There are those who argue, as Dahrendorf does, that social reality has two sides, consensual and conflictual, and that social analysts should choose a theoretical perspective which emphasizes one side or the other, depending on the phenomena under investigation.[4] The conflictual "face" of social reality is stressed in the theoretical discourse in sociology that may generally be referred to as the conflict school.[5] Here, the processes of conflict and change, involving differences in power, authority, values, interests, etc., are given high priority by analysts, but at the expense of discounting the role of consensus in social relationships. Again, observations of the actions of HRCs and of their context indicated that to ignore consensual relations would distort our conception of these organizations. It had become apparent that there were elements of consensus and conflict, as well as collaboration, exemplified in HRCs and the community contexts they were operating in.

A third theoretical orientation in sociology, that of social systems analysis, is most often associated with functionalism, but in recent years has shown less reliance on some of the functionalists basic assumptions. Modern social systems theory, primarily as articulated by Buckley, offered an additional perspective from which to view and account for HRC phenomena in communities.[6] Exclusive reliance on this perspective, however, was considered unwise because of its relatively undeveloped nature, its relative lack of emphasis on conflict processes, and its rather vague conceptualization.

What was needed, it was concluded as this study unfolded, was a model of community systems which included elements of three basic social processes -- consensus, collaboration, and conflict. Also required was a conception of social integration which was not unidimensional and which did not simply reflect the latent outcome of social processes directed toward other ends. We wanted a model of communities which includes reference to their systemic feature of interrelatedness of parts, but which also recognizes basic differences, differential autonomy, and conflicts among system parts. Needed too was a conceptualization which includes not only passive integrative processes but also actions which are consciously designed to affect the integration of community systems. Thus, in the model constructed in Chapter II, all of these elements are included, along with discussion supporting their inclusion, and considerable theoretical attention is devoted to a conceptualization of social integration and integrating mechanisms.

The Significance of the Research

Theoretically, the present study may be suggestive of the need and potential means for development of broad or mid-range models and theories in sociology which include processes of consensus, collaboration, and conflict. There has long been sought a synthesis of functionalism and conflict theory and, while that grand synthesis has not been reached here, some of the theoretical problems involved have been underscored. What has been achieved is a kind of amalgam of elements from the three major theoretical orientations in sociology and an empirical exploratory study guided by that model. Whether the model ultimately stands, falls, or is revised, its development and application in themselves become a contributing part of the legacy of theory construction and research in sociology. Included in that legacy are numerous failures and successes, and from each of these sociologists have learned and progressed.

Considering more specific sections of this research, we may point to areas in which conceptual obfuscation of sociological terms may have been relieved somewhat, as in the discussion of the concepts _social integration_ and _integrating mechanisms_. The theoretical utility of this latter concept for understanding the dynamic processes of social systems should be enhanced by this research.

Two other areas of great interest to sociologists -- the community and social change -- may also be advanced by this research. The conception of community accepted here is somewhat novel and the emphasis on integrating mechanisms which promote change has been related to empirical examples. Viewing change and, simultaneously, integration as partially the products of purposive goal-seeking organizations is shown here to have theoretical utility.

On a practical level the present research should be of assistance to practitioners in the fields of intergroup relations, community organization, and community development, for the actions of HRCs described here resemble in many ways the methods employed by practitioners in these fields. It may be of particular value to those working in, with, or alongside HRCs, since the perspective taken here places these agencies in a broad community systems context, possibly providing new insights about sources of difficulties in doing their jobs.

And, for those unfamiliar with HRCs, the information presented here may provide the comfort of knowing that something is being done about urban intergroup problems. It is also possible, of course, that this information will lead the reader to the conclusion that what HRCs are doing is insignificant or meaningless in view of the nature and magnitude of the problems confronting them. Whatever one's conclusion, there is value to be derived from the fact that new systematically collected data is presented here about a common urban formal organization not previously reported on in the extant sociological literature.

Outline of Chapters

The foregoing brief overview of this study should provide the reader with a general conception of the directions taken in the following chapters. In Chapter II is found detailed discussions of the methodological approach to the study, including an account of the research design, data collection, and modes of analysis. Chapter III provides the basic framework for most of what follows in subsequent chapters. The first two sections offer a discussion and critique of some of the earlier theoretical and empirical work related to the general thrust of this study. The third section develops in logical sequence a series of premises constituting the model guiding the study and the last section identifies some of the researchable implications of the model. Chapter IV begins the presentation of data, portraying the history, goals, and structures of HRCs. This material is included for the dual purposes of setting the context for the more intensive analysis to follow and illustrating, to some extent, the relevance of the model guiding the study. The reader who is quite unfamiliar with HRC phenomena might find it beneficial to skip to Chapter IV even before reading the earlier chapters. Chapter V is the most basic data analysis chapter, presenting empirical illustrations and support for a conception of HRCs as integrating mechanisms which exemplify the purposive processes of consensus management, collaboration management, and conflict management. In Chapter VI the major conclusions are presented, the model is assessed, and suggestions for further research are offered.

Notes: Chapter I

1. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 138-139 and pp. 291-292.

2. So much of the sociological literature is influenced by the functional perspective that it would be virtually impossible to single out the references which influenced my conception of the perspective. Nevertheless, three books used extensively during the course of this research which related to issues in functionalism are Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, enl. ed. (New York: Free Press, 1968); Marvin E. Olsen, The Process of Social Organization (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), esp. chaps. 14 and 15; and N. J. Demerath III and Richard A. Peterson, eds., System Change, and Conflict: A Reader on Contemporary Sociological Theory and the Debate over Functionalism (New York: Free Press, 1967).

3. See, for example, Robert C. Angell, "The Moral Integration of American Cities," American Journal of Sociology 57 (July 1951): 1-40.

4. Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 157-165.

5. As with functionalism, there are too many conflict theorists whose writings have influenced my view of conflict. Among those writers are R. Rahrendorf, L. Coser, K. Marx, T. B. Bottomore, D. Lockwood, G. Lenski, and W. Gamson.

6. Walter Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967). Also consulted were three other books which apply the systems perspective to communities. These are Blaine E. Mercer, The American Community (New York: Random House, 1956); Irwin T. Sanders, The Community: An Introduction to a Social System (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1958): and Roland L. Warren, The American Community (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963).

CHAPTER II

METHODS OF RESEARCH

Introduction

This research was initiated because of an interest in learning more about the nature and role of HRCs in urban communities. Due to the limited familiarity with the phenomena, the study was intended to be exploratory, searching for a relatively complete description and better understanding of HRCs. Interest in these organizations grew out of the author's affiliation, as a Research Associate, with the Disaster Research Center (DRC) at the Ohio State University. This study of HRCs was a natural outgrowth of an accumulating series of DRC inquiries into the behavior of organizations concerned with natural disasters, and in recent years, civil disorders. In DRC field studies of civil disturbances HRCs appeared to play a prominent role in the organized community response to disruptive events, so it was felt a more intensive study of their operations was warranted.

For this particular type of investigation, a qualitative methodological approach seemed most appropriate. The term qualitative methodology, in the words of Filstead,

> refers to those research strategies, such as participant observation, in-depth interviewing, total

> participation in the activity being investigated, field work, etc., which allow the researcher to obtain first-hand knowledge about the empirical social world in question. Qualitative methodology allows the researcher to "get close to the data," thereby developing the analytical, conceptual, and categorical components of explanation from the data itself -- rather than from the preconceived, rigidly structured, and highly quantified techniques that pigeonhole the empirical social world into the operational definitions that the researcher has constructed.[1]

The most obvious advantage of this approach is found in the freedom that it allows for perusing and sifting the data itself for suggestions and clues as to their most significant meaning, rather than artificially imposing a priori assumptions and schemes of explanation upon social reality. Research based on qualitative descriptions plays the important role of suggesting possible relationships, causes, effects, and even dynamic porcesses; and it can be argued that only research which provides a wealth of miscellaneous, unplanned impressions and observations can play this role.[2] These observations on the utility of the qualitative approach seem especially germane when, as in the case of HRCs, little is already known about the phenomena under study. The qualitative procedures employed will be further elaborated in the sections below where we present the approach taken to the data collection process and to data analysis. The latter section outlines and explains, chronologically, the steps taken in the overall research design.

Data Collection

The Sample

A non-random sample of seventeen cities with HRCs was utilized for this research. With two exceptions, the cities comprise a purposive sample selected, in 1968, by DRC as part of its continuing research on community emergencies.[3] DRC included sixteen cities in its purposive sample on the basis of: (1) size -- all are between 100,000 and 750,000 population with most around 200,000, (2) disaster and civil disorder experience -- cities having experienced a major disaster and/or civil disorder were matched with others without such experience, (3) location -- to maximize travel monies a variety of cities in only the middle regions of the country were chosen, and (4) prior contact -- cities in which DRC had already conducted extensive research were given priority. One city in the sixteen city DRC sample was dropped for this study simply because it did not have an HRC. Two additional cities, both within the size range noted above, were added to the sample, now numbering seventeen, for different reasons. The first addition was originally designed as a safety measure to keep the sixteen city sample intact. It was felt that a pilot study should be employed initially to test the interview guides developed for the study, so a separate nearby city was chosen for the testing. As it turned out, the interview guides worked quite adequately and were given only minor revisions; thus, the additional city was retained as an integral part of the sample. The seventeenth city was added because this author had to travel to an additional city to interview the HRC director about his past HRC experience in another city. Data were also collected in this city; thus, the sample was expanded to seventeen since it was desirable and convenient to do so.

Given the purposive nature of the seventeen city sample, any conclusions deriving from the study must necessarily be qualified to apply only to HRCs and cities within the sample, even though the cities may in fact be representative of a much larger population. Three of the cities are in the South, two in the Great Plains states, one on the west coast, two in northern states, and the remainder in the Midwest. Cities along the middle and upper reaches of the east coast and in the North West are conspicuously absent from the sample. Nevertheless, the cities included vary considerably in size, location, type of basic economy, ethnic composition, climate, politics, and age, among other variables. Thus, while generalizations may actually apply to most HRCs in the country, such conclusions may not be reached on the basis of this study.

Sources of Data

From previous DRC field contact with HRC personnel, enough was known about HRCs at the outset of this study to construct a series of questions designed to elicit comprehensive descriptive data about the agencies. Also, past DRC experience in studying a variety of organizations helped to design questions that were likely to yield ample, accurate, and useful information. In addition to face-to-face questioning of HRC personnel, with the aid of previously constructed interview guides, other sources of data were personal observations made by the interviewer and documentary material collected from the organizations. Each of these data sources is discussed briefly below, as are the issues of reliability and validity of this kind of data.

Interviews

Two separate interview guides were constructed to deal with "current operations" and with "emergence" of HRCs. The interview guides may be classified as of the semi-structured type; meaning that they contain both highly focused questions with a set of pre-formed answers to choose from and questions that are quite unstructured, or "open-ended," allowing the interviewee to give broad, sweeping, or detailed answers.[4] Open-ended questions were in the vast majority since they allow for the greatest likelihood of serendipitous findings and give the greatest freedom to interviewees to pursue matters they feel are important -- both crucial aspects of qualitative research. Questions were ordered in each of the interview guides under several topical areas of interest, with care given to internal continuity, elimination of leading questions, and identification of areas to probe for items that might not be mentioned in the interviewee's spontaneous account. Two major dimensions were explored: (1) emergence and (2) current operations. Designed to provide a historical account of HRCs, the emergence interview guide had basically three parts:

1. Community contextual factors leading to the emergence of HRC
2. Characteristics of HRC during early years of operations
3. Major changes since inception

Topics around which the current operations interview guide was organized were:

1. Purposes of HRC
2. Programs
3. Internal structure
4. Formal responsibilities
5. Function and structure of board and committees
6. Procedures
7. Interorganizational relationships
8. Image of HRC in community
9. "Crises" operations
10. Financial matters

Appendices A and B contain exhibits of the complete interview guides.

As the headings of the interview guides imply, they were designed to tap dimensions of the history and current operations of HRCs to give us a better understanding of how and why they were initiated and what they are currently doing. Those HRC participants, past and present, who were actively involved and/or knowledgeable about the formation of the agencies were sought out for intensive questioning with the aid of the emergence interview guide. In all, twenty-four people were interviewed about the emergence of HRCs in their respective cities. Most of these were board members at the time of inception, but some were members of the early HRC staff. In several cases the interviewee was no longer affiliated with the HRC and had to be located elsewhere. Forty-six individuals responded to all or part of the questions in the current operations interview guide. All of these interviewees were currently employed on the staff of their agencies. In all cases the executive directors of the HRCs were interviewed about current operations, and sometimes about emergence as well. Other staff interviewed occupied a variety of positions within HRCs. In many cases, parts or all of the questions were repeated among different participants within one HRC, thus giving some basis for cross-checking answers. In addition to the above, seven participants were informally interviewed without the use of an interview guide due to time limitations. Thus, seventy-seven interviews, averaging about one hour and fifteen minutes in length, were conducted in all. The number of interviews in each city is positively correlated with the size of HRCs. Seven interviews were conducted in two cities, in one city there were only two interviews, and the average number was about four interviews per HRC. In several of the smaller HRCs, all staff were interviewed while in larger agencies only key functionaries were tapped for interviews.

In some cities DRC researchers had had prior contact with HRC personnel, thus facilitating the process of scheduling interviews. Letters were usually written to the directors indicating the nature of the study and asking for their cooperation and that of the other

HRC participants. These were generally followed by telephone calls to directors for purposes of determining which HRC personnel would be interviewed and deciding upon a schedule amenable to all concerned. There was virtually no resistance or even reticence to being included in the sample or to being interviewed.

All of the interviews were tape recorded in the interests of (1) preserving the interview, (2) freeing the interviewer to give full attention to the flow of the interview, (3) enhancing the accuracy of the interview record, and (4) saving time which would otherwise have been spent laboriously writing down what was being said. Brief hand-written notes were usually made in the course of the interview as an aid to "keeping on top" of what was going on in the interview. Since the written questions were only interview "guides," there was often occasion to deviate from the chronological format of questioning in order to pursue some important point or to maximize the information gained in a limited period of time. Tape recording the interviews made this type of flexibility in the order of questioning much easier without sacrificing adequately recorded responses. Permission to tape the interview was requested of each interviewee and granted quite readily. Care was taken to assure each person that everything said would be held in confidence and that names and places, to the extent they would appear in the final written report, would be completely disguised.

With about three exceptions, the assembled interview tapes were of adequate fidelity and general quality to give a complete replay of each interview. The three exceptions occurred because of overwhelming background noise (i.e., air conditioner and train sounds) in two cases, and in one case because of a malfunctioning tape recorder. For the most part, the physical settings in which interviews were conducted were quiet and afforded adequate privacy to allow interviewees the freedom to express their views without fear of being overheard. A few people were excessively self-conscious at the outset of interviews due largely to the presence of the tape recorder, but after a few minutes its presence was generally forgotten. At the close of each interview, interviewees were thanked for their time and assistance and were assured that their agencies would be informed of any reports emanating from the study. Where time permitted interviewer notes and observations made during the interview were tape recorded after each interview. Time constraints, however, often necessitated postponing this procedure until the end of the day at which time several interviews were usually summarized in one sitting. Within a week following the personal contact, personalized thank you letters were mailed to each study participant, in part to help maintain a good relationship in the event additional data would be needed in the future.

Other Data Sources

Other data sources included documents, researcher observations, and extraneous literature concerning HRCs. Attached to each current operations interview guide at the back was a checklist of potential documents printed by HRCs (see Appendix A). Interviewers made a special point of acquiring any items available, including enabling ordinances, organization charts, annual reports, newsletters, special reports, job descriptions, public relations leaflets, budgets, xeroxed copies of news clippings, etc. Every agency had at least one annual report and some had them from past years as well. Copies of the enabling and governing legislation were also available from each agency. These items, plus newsletters and special reports printed by HRCs proved to be extremely informative about a variety of factual matters such as size, structure, goals, and claimed achievements of the organizations.

Summary observations were made by the researcher after the end of each trip. Since the trips had usually involved interaction with most, and sometimes all, HRC staff, it was helpful in rounding out a general picture of each agency. Observations covered such aspects as the apparent moods, knowledgeability, cooperativeness, and racial/ethnic background of HRC participants. Often subtle items such as the "atmosphere" of the offices, general demeanor, or age of informants were noted. Other factors like location and accessibility of HRC offices to citizens, or the volume of public relations material available for distribution, were also noted.

To help place the data in a broader perspective and to provide clues of what to look for, a variety of relatively esoteric background publications were read. Among these were all available library copies of back issues of the Intergroup Relations Journal, an official publication of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. The articles, mostly by HRC personnel, generally dealt with program descriptions and prognoses for future HRC needs. One book which describes HRC activities in three non-sample cities, from the perspective of a social critic and reformer, was read for its suggestive value.[5] National newspaper articles with references to HRCs were clipped and saved also. Publications of the United States Community Relations Service offered tangential information about local HRCs, as did a 1968 national directory of human rights organizations. A final, and less esoteric, source were various publications acquired opportunistically from several HRCs in non-sample cities. Altogether, these various data sources provided a mountain of information relevant to HRCs in the seventeen cities as well as several other American cities.

Field Trips

Data collection with the aid of the two interview guides began in March of 1970 and ended in June of 1971. During this period a total of twenty-three field trips to HRCs in seventeen cities were completed. For six of the cities two trips were required in order to get complete data. Field trips lasted from two days to a week, depending upon interview scheduling arrangements, the size of HRCs, and the number of interviewers. This author made field trips to all but four of the cities. After being carefully briefed about the study and thoroughly familiarized with the data collection procedures and interview guides, three sociology graduate research assistants carried on the data collection in those four cities. One of the assistants who handled two of the four cities had become quite familiar with HRCs and the study through working directly with this author on earlier phases of the research. Upon return from the field the assistants were "debriefed" in order to take advantage of their recall about any aspects of the trip that might otherwise not have been recorded. In four of the other cities these same assistants worked with this author in completing the data collection process. While it would have been most enlightening to conduct all field trips and interviews personally, the sample could not have been as large if this had been done.

Gaining entree to HRCs was remarkably easy in all instances but one. Even in the exceptional case entree was partially granted, but the executive director would not make himself available for an interview. This particular agency was the newer one of two existing in a large city and the original intent was to include both in the sample. But, because of the director's non-cooperativeness (it is not clear why he would not grant an interview -- he claimed he was simply too busy preparing a new budget), this HRC was not retained in the original sample, even though interviews were held with two of the staff members. Nevertheless, the other (county) HRC, much larger than the new city agency, was studied completely. There is no reason to believe that the exclusion of this one agency biased the sample in any way. Most of the HRC personnel were quite willing to participate in the study, probably for one or both of the following reasons: (1) HRCs depend heavily on a favorable public opinion and generally cooperate with anyone who asks for assistance that they are in a position to give, and (2) HRCs had not been systematically studied before and most personnel felt that something positive might derive from such a study. There were a few skeptical comments made, but even these were by people who had earlier committed themselves to cooperating in the research.

Data Collection Issues

The previous sections described what was done, while here we address some basic issues about the procedures. Among the canons guiding social scientific research are those which hold that research data should be both reliable and valid. Reliability refers to the likelihood that a study could be replicated and achieve the same results. Validity of research data is assured when reasonable proof is given that the study does in fact measure what it is alleged to measure and the findings are generalizeable to other contexts. Both are difficult canons to uphold in either qualitative or quantitative studies.

Taking the problem of reliability first, we can assert that it would be relatively easy, mechanically, to replicate this study, but it is unlikely that the same results would be achieved. However, this is not due to the research design employed but, rather, because of the rapidly changing nature of HRCs and their personnel. Furthermore, if a sample other than the purposive one selected here were utilized different results are quite conceivable. This research was designed as an initial exploratory venture and it seems that replication actually would be far less desirable than further studies which extend or corroborate, in a different context, what was done here. Yet, if replication were attempted, the researcher would probably find each of the HRCs receptive to further study; and if the same relatively standard procedures as used in this study were employed, results may be quite similar. There is no way of knowing for sure; we can just be confident that the methods described above were seriously and honestly applied and have yielded very informative data.

The question of validity is somewhat more complex. With regard to interview data, the primary data source of this study, the question that continuously arises is, How do we know interviewees were telling the truth? Ultimately, we can never be absolutely certain that our data is undistorted, but there are several possible checks on the accuracy of information conveyed. First, in all cities more than one individual was interviewed. Generally, the interview questions overlapped at least partially, providing a basis for cross-checking responses to certain items. Second, documentary materials frequently provided information also gleaned from interviews, again providing a means for cross-checking information. Third, sometimes interviewer observations did not correspond with what the interviewee was saying, stimulating the interviewer to further check his observations and to inquire of others regarding the same issue. Finally, interviewees in this study were treated as both "informants" and "respondents." As informants they were often called upon to provide factual information about other HRC participants and events. This, too, provided a check by comparing personal accounts with those of other "witnesses" to the event or action at issue. Some of these validity checks were performed in the data collection phase while others occurred in the analysis phase of the research. There were really no apparent incidents of deliberate deception, although there were obvious cases of differential knowledgeability about certain subjects. It is also relevant to note that a sizeable share of the informant/respondents were no longer affiliated with the HRC and, presumably, had no vested interests to protect through deceiving the researcher. One additional measure taken in the interviewing process was to ask HRC participants who in the organization was most knowledgeable about selected segments of the interview guide questions.[6] Wherever possible those persons so identified were interviewed. On some questions, interviewees were treated as respondents, meaning that we were interested in his own subjective feelings about a subject. As with the results of informant interviewing, there is no evidence to indicate that responses were contaminated to any appreciable degree.[7] Respondent data helped to give an indication of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of perceptions and feelings within and between HRCs.

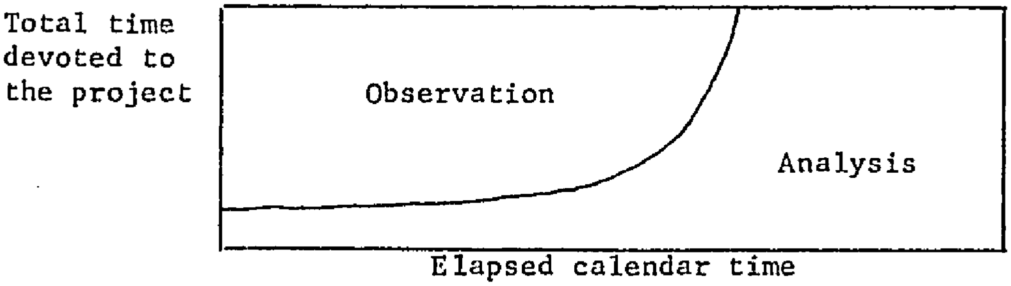
The other aspect of validity, the extent to which conclusions may be generalized to other contexts, is problematic. It seems that our sample is fairly representative of American cities, with the exceptions noted earlier. But because our sample does not conform to the requirements of probability sampling, conclusions are made only for those cities included in the study. Another criterion determining generalizability has to do with whether the data collection techniques were employed systematically, comprehensively, and rigorously.[8] Our approach has already been described and we believe it meets this criterion.

Data Analysis

For ease of presentation, the data collection and data analysis phases of the research are treated separately here. In the actual research, however, the two phases temporally overlapped considerably. Diagrammatically, this is a feature of qualitative research well-conveyed by Lofland.[9] Figure 1 implies that analysis and data collection may run concurrently, with data collection occupying the major portion of time up until all the data is in. In qualitative analysis there tends to be a continual blurring and intertwining of these operations from the beginning of the research until near its end.[10]

FIGURE 1

PHASES OF QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS



In the present case, the research was begun with only a handful of descriptive data categories in mind (i.e., internal structure, interorganizational relations, crises operations, etc.), but as the data began to emerge and accumulate, new categories more analytic in nature were developed. The data was continuously inspected as it came in, for new properties, insights, and theoretical ideas. Thus, rather than beginning with a theory, logically deriving hypotheses, and then setting out to empirically test them, we opted for an inductive approach to theory. Particularly suitable for exploratory studies such as this, the qualitative inductive approach relies on the data to suggest to the analyst the most appropriate theoretical framework. This occurs in part as a product of interpreting the incoming data and partly as a result of carefully classifying, reclassifying, and coding the data from the beginning. Another process employed in this research was to begin searching the theoretical literature in sociology for general concepts, propositions, and ideas for assistance in interpreting the data. In other words, the data were "taken apart intellectually," scrutinizing events, beliefs, and patterns of conduct in order to see new patterns and relationships among them.[11] These observations, in turn, were related to existing theory in search of an interpretive framework for analysis of HRCs. The best means for conveying to the reader the direction the analysis took seems to be to recreate, in brief outline form, the chronology of actual steps taken in the course of this research.

Chronology of the Analysis

Although each of the stages of analysis was not anticipated at the outset of the study, in retrospect it appears that there were essentially nine discernable steps from the beginning to the end of the project.

1. Initial observations and questions regarding HRCs were formed on the basis of information (gathered for other purposes) available in the DRC files. From this information the initial impression was formed that HRCs were involved in intergroup relations matters, were active during civil disorders, and were growing in number and size. They seemed to be very new organizations which would develop increasing salience in communities since this was a period of heightened racial tensions. At this stage the study was crudely conceived, supported by DRC, and inaugurated.

2. The interview guides covering aspects of current operations and HRC emergence were constructed as tools to utilize in collecting essentially descriptive data. These guides have already been discussed and are included as Appendices A and B. Also included is the checklist of documentary materials thought to be potentially available from the agencies.

3. The data collection process was begun and we began shortly thereafter to form more complete and complex impressions of HRCs. Notes were made while in the field and analytic memo writing was begun in the office. These were filed and re-filed under various

and changing categories. This was the beginning of a search for a useable theoretical perspective.

4. Literature searches yielded the conclusion that there was too often an incongruity between the theoretical frameworks and the emerging data. The major models in sociology seemed to be too constraining and sometimes misleading to use as interpretive guides for portraying HRCs in communities.

5. A decision was made to use the preliminary observations and impressions from the data as suggestive clues in building a new broad theoretical framework for interpretation of the substantive area of inquiry.

6. Focusing particularly on the key concept of social integration, we continued to consult major theoretical works in sociology for concepts, ideas, critiques, etc., that would be useful ingredients in a framework that could portray HRCs as evolutionary products of community systems, and as products which not only were affected considerably by their immediate context and broader environment, but which also had considerable impact on that context and environment. At this stage it became almost painfully apparent that what began largely as an attempt at HRC description had become a major abstract theoretical task as well.

7. A broad theoretical framework was completed which conceived of HRCs as "integrating mechanisms" in community systems. The framework also conceives of integrating mechanisms other than HRCs, thus giving the theoretical guide for this study much broader

applicability than to just HRCs. By this time there had also begun a laborious task of "transcribing" the taped interviews to put the data in more readily useable form. This process was completed by the author and two sociology undergraduate research assistants. The procedure was to write out on five-by-eight-inch cards the responses to all interview questions as well as other matters discussed in the course of each taped interview. Some summarization of interview material occurred at this stage, but the "essence" of every item discussed was retained, including retention of literally hundreds of interviewee quotations. Data cards were sorted, coded, and filed according to a variety of conceptual schemes.

8. The implications of the developed theoretical framework were used as a guide to an intensive analysis of the total data which was now completely recorded on thousands of data cards. The data cards, field notes, memos, and document analysis cards were sifted, shuffled, sorted, and coded many times over as the process of writing the analysis commenced. The presentation and interpretation was guided by concepts and implications of the theoretical framework developed from preliminary observations of part of the data. The results of analysis are found in Chapters IV and V.

9. The very last stage was to summarize some of the findings, assess the adequacy of the framework for depicting HRCs and other integrating mechanisms in community systems, and suggest further theoretical and empirical work to improve on the content of this study.

What has been described above seems quite clear, but it should be emphasized that the procedure is not without its limitations. One in particular which should be noted is that the same data was used for ideas in generating a theoretical framework as was used in illustrating and elaborating the framework in the analysis chapters. While the volume of data utilized in the latter stage and the intensity of the analysis were both much greater, the ideal would have been to use new data in the final analysis. To do so would, of course, have required sizeably more resources of time and money, neither of which were available. It must be recalled that this was an exploratory study and an attempt at theory generation, elaboration, and improvement. Hopefully, other methodological techniques will be used in a verificational study of HRCs and other integrating mechanisms at some point in the future.

In summary, these pages have described and interpreted all of the theoretical and empirical tasks performed in the course of developing and implementing to conclusion an exploratory study of HRCs. The process and the results have given this researcher an immeasureably greater understanding of these organizations, an understanding which is hopefully conveyed in the following pages.

Notes: Chapter II

1. William J. Filstead, Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement with the Social World (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970), p. 6.

2. Allen H. Barton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Some Functions of Qualitative Analysis in Social Research," in Sociology of a Decade, ed. Seymour M. Lipset and Neal Smelser (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961), p. 108.

3. On purposive sampling, see Claire Selltiz, et al., Research Methods in Social Relations, rev. ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1959), pp. 520-521.

4. For a good discussion of procedures to follow in constructing interview guides for qualitative analysis, see John Lofland, Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971), chap. 4.

5. James Bayton, Tension in the Cities (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1969).

6. For a discussion of the kinds of informants generally more helpful than those selected by chance, see John P. Dean, et al., "Fruitful Informants for Intensive Interviewing," in Issues in Participant Observation: A Text and Reader, ed. George J. McCall and J. L. Simmons (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969), pp. 142-144.

7. Good treatment of potential data-contaminating factors is found in John P. Dean and William Foote Whyte, "How Do You Know if the Informant is Telling the Truth?" and George J. McCall, "Data Quality Control in Participant Observation," both in Participant Observation, ed. McCall and Simmons, pp. 105-114 and pp. 128-141.

8. McCall and Simmons, eds., Participant Observation, p. 77.

9. Lofland, Analyzing Social Settings, p. 118.

10. Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, "Discovery of Substantive Theory: A Basic Strategy Underlying Qualitative Research," in Qualitative Methodology, ed. Filstead, p. 291.

11. Severyn T. Bruyn, The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Methodology of Participant Observation (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 34.

CHAPTER III

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF A FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The ultimate purpose of this chapter is to develop a coherent, integrated, conceptual framework that will provide an appropriate theoretical context for the analysis of HRCs to follow in succeeding chapters. Since HRCs are immensely diverse among cities and different time periods there is a richness of observations that could be made about them. To give these observations some unity and to aid in understanding them, a focused theoretical perspective is essential. Conversely, theory construction in any science is largely dependent upon the empirical application of concepts and theories to phenomena of the real world. Through a repeated process of linking theory with empirical observations, the concepts and relationships comprising the theory can be continuously refined and improved.

Research for this project was begun from a virtually "atheoretical" stance, since it was first necessary to learn more about what HRCs are and what they do in a normal workweek before we could conceive of an interpretive framework to account for them. Using a set of interview schedules with broad-ranging open-ended questions, data collection was carried on primarily by this author, searching for a generalized conception of HRCs which encompassed the diversity within and among them. As the interview, documentary, and observational data accumulated, it was perused, mulled, and sifted -- not in any rigid or particularly systematic way -- looking for patterns that would conform to the views of social reality suggested by any of the major theoretical orientations in sociology. What was concluded from this largely intuitive and impressionistic process is that the emerging picture of the social reality of HRCs, and their contexts, could not be properly subsumed, for interpretive purposes, under structure-function theory, conflict theory, or social systems theory, as these orientations currently exist in sociology. The conclusion, then, was that to adequately portray and understand HRCs, a new model would have to be constructed, using some of the elements of each of the three orientations.

In what follows immediately below, we present a very abbreviated version of the kind of approach to HRC research and analysis that is suggested by the three major theoretical orientations, each rejected in part because of particular inadequacies. It should be emphasized that the three orientations are not mutually exclusive; there are considerable areas of overlap or interpenetration. The essential difference is that each views social phenomena from at least a slightly different perspective, emphasizing different aspects, making different assumptions, and sometimes utilizing different concepts. And each raises distinctive questions about social reality and leads to particular kinds of insights and understandings.

Structure-Function Theory

"In its broadest sense, functional analysis involves simply looking for the consequences of a given activity or phenomenon for the organization in which it occurs, the actors involved, or other related social phenomena."[1] Social organizations as a whole are assumed to have basic functional requisites or problems which must be satisfied for survival. Any given social activity, functionalists have come to realize, however, may have positive functional consequences (eufunctions), dysfunctional consequences, or no consequences at all for social organizations. HRCs, then might be examined for their eufunctional or dysfunctional consequences; but to explain consequences tells us nothing about why and how HRCs came to exist in the first place, a problem which functional theory is inadequate to address.

The functional consequences of an organizational activity are also considered to be either manifest (intended and recognized by the participants) or latent (neither intended nor recognized). This, of course, raises the question, Are the consequences of HRC activities manifest or latent? But there is a problem with this approach, as Olsen notes:

> . . . the fact that so many social functions are latent, or unintended and unrecognized, totally invalidates most theories of this sort. To explain the origin of any social phenomenon, the sociologist must investigate the specific historical events, trends, and situations that existed prior to the phenomenon in question and that in some way affected it.[2]

Related to this criticism is the matter of accounting for the persistence over time of social phenomena. What is being suggested is that to account for emergence and persistence of HRCs we need to look not at their functions or consequences, but to the social conditions, in a broad sense, which gave rise to them and sustain them.

Functionalists place great emphasis on processes of integration and strains toward equilibrium in social organizations, resulting in an overriding concern with value and normative consensus. While conflict is admitted, its presence is generally considered a manifestation of inadequately performing integrative processes. Social institutions have, somewhere along the line, failed to properly socialize elements of the population, values and norms have not been adequately internalized, or social control mechanisms have not operated properly. Conflict, in this view, is to be "managed," guiding it toward socially acceptable forms with the longer-range objective of minimizing it or eliminating it altogether. But HRCs, it was observed quite early, sometimes are engaged in actions which stimulate conflict, as well as actions to reduce and eliminate it.

Finally, functionalism suggests that in complex heterogeneous social organizations, including communities, participants are bound together by certain common values and norms commonly held. There is a central core of unity integrating the various elements into one whole entity. In the face of observations, in the communities studied, of apparent extensive segmentation, value conflict, and normative conflict, along with a willingness by some to attack central values and institutions in the community, it was indicated that this perspective could not properly encompass or interpret the accumulating data on HRCs.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory,[3] which emphasizes change, conflict, and constraint may be seen as a balance to the emphasis on stability, harmony, and consensus in functionalism. The social process is viewed not in terms of cooperation among consensually united groups and individuals, but in terms of disagreements and differences in interests, power, and other resources. Conflicts may have subjective bases, such as resentment, hatred, and the like, or objective bases according to a differential distribution of power, privilege, and prestige among groups. While there is still some conceptual confusion over the nature of conflict phenomena, all such phenomena are claimed by Mack and Snyder to possess the following five fundamental properties:

1. Conflict requires at least two actors (individuals or organizations), since it is by definition an interactive relationship.
2. Conflict arises from some kind of "scarcity," or desired but limited resources, activities, positions, or goals.
3. Conflict actions are designed to limit, thwart, destroy, control, or otherwise influence another actor, and a conflict relationship is one in which the actors can gain only at each other's relative expense.

4. Conflict requires interaction among actors in which their actions and counteractions are mutually opposed.
5. Conflict relations always involve attempts to acquire or exercise social power.[4]

Conflict theorists tend to conceive of social organizations, or systems, as held together not by a general consensus, but by enforced constraint, or coercion. Those groups with the greatest power control others in less powerful positions, and changes in the social order come about as a consequence of conflicts and clashes between different power and interest groups. Conflict analysts often assume a dichotomized separation, or polarization, between elite elements of the population in positions of power and the masses who are relatively powerless and dependent upon the elites. The problem with this general conception is that is significantly downplays the role of consensus and cooperation in promoting integration and change. In the preliminary data on HRCs and their community contexts it was quite evident that consensus and cooperation were important elements in their attempts to affect integration and change in their environments. While we accept the ubiquitousness of conflict throughout communities, we are unwilling to reject the simultaneous consideration of continuous interactions involving consensus and collaboration.

Social Systems Theory

In actuality one could be either a functional theorist or a conflict theorist and simultaneously adopt systems theory. In other words systems "theory" is basically a model of social reality -- a very general, content-free, conceptual framework within which any number of different substantive theories of social reality may be inserted. Buckley and others are coming to view the model as an increasingly integrated, substantive, and separate theory; however, it is still at a relatively undeveloped stage.[5] Thus, the systems orientation was not considered, in itself, to be an adequate guide to the analysis of HRC data.

A good deal of what is generally considered to be a part of the systems model is useful, nevertheless, in the construction later in this chapter of a model adequate for analysis of HRCs. Therefore, considerably more discussion of literature and problems is given to systems analysis than to the previous two orientations.

Stallings, in a recently completed comparative study of the community as a crisis-management social system, measured the "sensitivity" of local political structures to twelve urban "crises," including intergroup relations crises. Fundamental to his work is the premise that communities develop "crisis-management mechanisms," such as HRCs, to assist in group survival and well-being in the face of threats from the environment of the community system.[6] This research is suggestive of the utility of applying a systems framework to the analysis of community problem-solving efforts, but, like most systems analysis in sociology, the systems model employed conceives of the community as basically reactive in the face of threats. What is needed to portray social systems more realistically is a model which allows not only for homeostatic system-maintaining processes but also morphogenic system-elaborating processes.[7] Morphogenic systems are proactive in the sense that they do not simply react to deviations from system goal orientations, but interact with elements of the system's environment, often leading to adaptive change in the system's form, structure, or state. "A social system is morphogenic (or developing) if the system as a whole moves toward increased order, complexity, adaptability, unity, or operational effectiveness."[8] The model of open morphogenic systems assumes that systems can react to and act upon elements in a varied and changing environment in a way which alters contingencies that could affect the system in the future. In Buckley's terminology:

> . . . the behavior of complex, open systems is not a simple and direct function of impinging external forces, as is the case with colliding billiard balls or gravitational systems. Rather, as open systems become more complex, there develop within them more and more complex mediating processes that intervene between external forces and behavior. At higher levels these mediating processes become more and more independent or autonomous, and more determinative of behavior. They come to perform the operations of: (1) temporarily adjusting the system to external contingencies; (2) directing the system toward more congenial environments; and (3) permanently reorganizing aspects of the system itself to deal perhaps more effectively with the environment.[9]

Examples of these mediating processes are found in the cases of social planning units and research units within social systems.

The significance of the above is not in terms of a criticism of Stalling's research, but to aid in developing a model that will allow an extension of his work. He identified HRCs as one type of crisis-management unit of local polities and his basic interest was to measure the organizational size, expenditure, growth of expenditure, planning, and special resources of HRCs for use as indicators of community crisis sensitivity, the basic dependent variable.[10] His objective was not to account for the emergence and actions of HRCs, as is the present study. This aim can more readily be achieved with a conceptualization of the community as an open adaptive morphogenic system. But the model is in need of still further conceptual refinement.

Any conceptualization of system "crises" stemming only from forces in the system's environment is only partially complete. Tensions may also arise from the interaction among interrelated system parts. Before proceeding on this point, a general definition of social systems is needed. Olsen defines a social system as "a model of a social organization that possesses a distinctive total unity beyond its component parts, that is distinguished from its environment by a clearly defined boundary, and whose subunits are at least partially interrelated within relatively stable patterns of social order."[11] In this view, a social system has three crucial elements: (1) an overall unity, (2) more or less open boundaries, and (3) interrelated subparts. So as not to commit the error of deemphasizing the significance of environmental factors for systems, it should be noted that modern systems analysis has moved from earlier conceptions of relatively "closed" systems to one of "open" systems, referring to the degree of interchanges between the bounded system and its environment. To say that a system is open, Buckley suggests, means "not simply that it engages in interchanges with the environment, but that this interchange is an essential factor underlying the system's viability, its reproductive ability or continuity, and its ability to change."[12]

But to focus exclusively on environmental relationships would constitute the reverse error of ignoring the relevance of interrelations among system units. What is being suggested here is that in the drive to develop open systems models sociologists should not lose sight of the fact that a closed systems model has some virtue, particularly for viewing intra-systemic relationships. Implied here is that tensions which may lead to crises have their sources in both endogenous and exogenous system relationships.[13]

There is another problem with the view of communities as crisis-management systems responding to threats in the environment. An implicit theme of this view and many others which utilize a homeostatic conception of systems is that there is a continuous strain or tendency toward dynamic equilibrium of the system. This assumption has prompted critics to refer to the model as a "survival model." Implied in that view is that a system preserves its overall unity and stability (i.e., achieves a "steady state") by effective homeostatic mechanisms that protect key system features against disruptive threats from the environment.[14] As the system operates to protect key features through time, adaptive system changes are made in response to threats. Thus, the equilibrium which is restored is dynamic since it is seldom precisely the equilibrium which existed before the impact of exogenously produced threats. Adherents of this view normally assume, as Parsons and Zelditch do, that systems "seek equilibrium," a teleological conception. A state of dynamic equilibrium exists when a system is "able to react to a change in such a way as to minimize that change's impact on the relation of the units in the system."[15]

One major weakness of the above functional-equilibrium model of systems is that is does not allow for the common cases where response of a system to a change in one of the elements (whether internally or externally induced) may be such as to bring about greater change rather than minimizing it. A further weakness, the perception of which Buckley attributes to Homans, is that

> a system does not have "problems," and structures do not arise because they are "needed" by the system -- because they are "functional imperatives" -- but because there are forces producing them, forces manifested in the nature of the elements of the system and their mutual relations. Structures may disappear for the very same reason.[16]

Both of these points suggest that functional-equilibrium systems models have excluded consideration of certain forces or processes operating within systems that must be understood to utilize a systems perspective profitably. Homans also gives the further clue that these forces are manifested in the nature of the elements of the system and the nature of their interrelationships. It will be argued later that these relationships can most generally and fruitfully be viewed in terms of their consensual, collaborative, or conflictual nature.

The Need for an Alternative Framework

Here we address the issue of the significance of the preceding theoretical critique. What does it all mean in terms of the present study. To answer this question we should recall that the study was initiated primarily to learn more about HRCs so that we could better understand them. Certainly, after the data were in, we could have utilized any one of the three orientations discussed to enhance our understanding of the phenomena. But while certain aspects of HRCs might easily have been accounted for, or "understood," from any one of the orientations, we firmly concluded that to employ these approaches would misconstrue and misrepresent the total picture of HRC phenomena. HRCs, as we were coming to understand them, simply did not "fit" the major models in sociology. Put most succinctly, HRCs appeared to be something more than consensus promoting agencies, as might be deduced from the functional model; they seemed not to be just "buffer" agencies to protect the interests of elites, nor social movement organizations serving the interests of the powerless, as might be suggested by the conflict model; and, their role did not seem to be completely described by viewing them as reactive crisis-management mechanisms, as inferred from a social systems model of communities. What did appear to be the case was that HRCs were all of these things, and possibly more. In other words, to subscribe to any one of the existing models would have resulted in limiting too much the exposition of the data. To knowingly impose those limits seemed extravagant and perhaps unethical, in view of the accumulating large body of "rich" data about an organization virtually unknown to the sociological discipline.

Beyond this, it seemed that the data provided fruitful ground for working toward an eventual synthesis of the three theoretical orientations in sociology. Besides being a magnanimous task, even for powerful intellects, complete synthesis may well be impossible or undesirable. Yet, it seemed desirable to work in that direction, for even in failure there could be some payoff for future theoretical and empirical ventures. Thus, what was decided upon was to construct a framework, combining some elements of each of the orientations discussed, for viewing HRCs in a community systems context. Within that context, HRCs are seen as purposively generated, maintained, and operated system integrating mechanisms. Required for this perspective is a particular conception of social integration and integrating mechanisms, as elaborated in the framework below. The framework is presented in terms of a series of premises outlining , first, the nature of the community systems context and, second, the dynamic processes of community system integration and change. Following each explicitly stated premise there is some further critique of previous sociological work and justification for utilizing the premise is offered.

Premises of the Framework

Contextual Premises

Premise 1: The community is a social system to the degree that it possesses the following characteristics: (a) a distinctive total unity beyond its component parts, (b) boundaries distinguishing it from its environment, and (c) subunits which are at least partially interrelated within relatively stable patterns of social order.[17]

While each of these characteristics is highly variable, the importance of the systems perspective is that it places great emphasis on the wholeness or totality of the entire system. Nevertheless, it is still imperative to recognize that there are degrees of unity, degrees of entitivity or "systemness," and degrees of integration. These are matters to be settled not by arbitrary imposition of the systems model, but by empirical examination. The question we need to raise is, Do communities generally possess the identifying characteristics of social systems? Warren has offered perhaps the most thorough attempt to view communities as social systems, cautiously concluding, "We have found the major dimensions of social system analysis to be applicable to the community in a degree sufficient to give us reassurance that further exploration along these lines is worth-while."[18] The distinctive total unity and boundaries derive essentially from the common community name and location of community elements. The "wholeness" of the system, in this conceptualization, refers basically to a "belongingness" of elements constituting American cities. We do not assume a common community spirit or loyalty, we simply recognize that we can analytically (and practically) refer to the city as a system, having unity and boundaries.

The matter of interrelatedness among the parts is not as easily dispensed with. Sanders notes that

> the basic unit of analysis for the study of a community is the subsystem (combined into major systems) and the behavior of a community as a total system is greatly dependent upon the interaction among the subsystems. These subsystems are in turn made up of widespread networks of groups which give expression to the kinds of activities associated with each subsystem; the groups are for their part made up of social relationships.[19]

In the premises below the important subsystems are identified and the nature of the interaction and relationships between and within them are posited. In view of the earlier discussion of systems, it should be stressed that this premise implies that communities, as systems, have morphogenic features, are subject to "tensions" emanating from the environment and from interaction within the system, and they do not seek equilibrium.

Premise 2: The community is "that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance."[20]

Social functions here refer to those broad areas of activity which provide the necessities for day-to-day living. Warren identifies five such functions, but for present purposes it is quite insignificant what labels are assigned to the functions. The important point is that community residents have basic human needs which are to a considerable extent satisfied by various social units and systems at the community level. One common way to categorize these activities is to isolate institutional areas within communities, such as family, polity, education, religion, and economy. Each of these may, in turn, be viewed as systems comprised of subsystems, sub-subsystems, and so on. Most modern communities are highly differentiated with a vast number of groups, both formally and informally structured, performing the varied tasks necessary to meet basic human needs. This division of labor has long occupied the attention of sociologists concerned about the social processes that hold the overall system together as a unitary whole in the face of extensive differentiation and specialization of activities. It is normally assumed that differentiated system parts are unified by symbiotic relationships of functional interdependence. But this type and degree of systemic integration is, too, a subject for empirical examination.

Gouldner has alerted sociologists to be aware of the possibility that system parts may not be symbiotically interrelated to the degree often assumed, and the parts may in fact experience a considerable degree of autonomy from the system as a whole.[21] Thus, where functional reciprocity is not symmetrical, systemic interrelationships may produce tension and conflict rather than togetherness and a functionally interdependent system. Gouldner also offers the sensitizing observation that those system parts with the greatest functional autonomy, that is those most willing and capable of surviving separate from the system, do not have much of a "vested interest" in maintaining the overall system.[22] Not all system parts, then, whether formally or informally structured, contribute toward the maintenance of a well-unified integrated system. This issue of system maintenance, or integration, will be picked up again later, after discussing several other premises of this model of community systems.

Premise 3: The community does not have a single central organizational structure which coordinates all the community system parts.

There are, however, a variety of centralized control structures serving specialized groupings within the community. Public schools, for example, are coordinated by a centralized bureaucratic office comprised of administrators and elected board of education officials. Chambers of Commerce exercise some limited control and influence over member economic units, as does the Council of Churches over member religious units, and so on. One major implication of a lack of a central organization is that whatever community system order and stability exists must be a product of other internal or external forces. One local subsystem which most closely approximates a central control structure is municipal government, a point that will be picked up again in premise number thirteen.

Premise 4: The organizations comprising each of the major institutions in the community meet basic human needs with differential effectiveness so that not all segments of the population benefit equally.

Productive activities of each of the specialized groups and organizations in communities serve the interests of the various population subgroups unequally. A vast body of research accumulated in the sociological fields of racial and ethnic relations and social stratification support the view that there is a hierarchical distribution of rewards throughout the major institutional areas of community systems.[23] This premise is one likely to be acceptable to functional, conflict, and systems theorists alike. The major implication of the premise for this framework is that the community is conceived as highly stratified, with valued organizational outputs being allocated unequally among community groups.

Premise 5: The organizations comprising each of the major institutions in the community are themselves comprised of population subgroups which have differential powers, interests, norms and values.

Community organizations are often not homogeneous within themselves. The several social classes and ethnic groupings in communities are to varying degrees represented in numerous community organizations. Functional analysts have often glossed over the extent of this heterogeneity, preferring to focus on the normative consensus present in groups. Any framework which ignores the diversity in powers, interests, norms, and values, basic contextual factors giving rise to dynamic elements of social systems, is not very applicable to the problems of stability and instability, order and disorder, integration and disintegration. In a critique of Parsonian systems analysis, Lockwood notes that what may be called the "substratum" of social action, which conditions interests which are productive of social conflict and instability, is ignored as a general determinant of the dynamics of social systems. Substratum is defined as the factual disposition of means in the situation of action which structures differential "life-chances" and produces interests of a non-normative kind -- that is, interests other than those which actors have in conforming with the normative definition of the situation.[24]

A term that more clearly conveys what is suggested in the substratum notion is that of "ethclass," formulated by Milton Gordon.[25] The term refers to the "subsociety" created by the intersection of ethnic group and class interests. Examples of ethclasses are upper-middle-class white Protestants, or lower-middle-class Irish, or working-class Negroes. Not only do ethclasses share, within themselves, similar ethnic and class backgrounds, but their common location in a hierarchical community structure produces similar powers, interests, norms, and values. It is implied in the above premise, then, that community organizations including HRCs, may be quite heterogeneous in membership.

Premise 6: Within each major institutional area in communities there is conflict over appropriate ends and means regarding allocation of goods and services to meet basic human needs.

This should not be taken to imply that there is always conflict or that it occurs in all organizations. Rather, and in view of the previous two premises, where ethclasses do not equally benefit from the output of organizations and where there are within the organizations representatives of various ethclasses with divergent interests and values, then conflict is likely to occur. The goals of organizations and the means used to achieve them may be contested by groups pursuing self-interests or collective ethclass interests. This is not to deny that consensus may often occur also. The essential point is that normative consensus on issues, when it occurs, reflects only one of the several dynamic elements operative in social organizations. Buckley presents the argument well:

> Blau develops the important principle that the cultural values serving to legitimize institutions also contain the seeds of destruction or reorganization of these institutions. "Opposition ideals" may form around accepted values which are unrealized and apparently unrealizable under given institutional arrangements. These opposition ideals, which are "culturally legitimated" for some groups, come into conflict with existing institutions and the authorities or the recognized power groups supporting them. The opposition ideals legitimate the leaders of opposition movements "and thus produce a countervailing force against entrenched powers and existing institutions in the society."[26]

Thus, community organizations may at one time be legitimated to make decisions and implement actions on behalf of the community within their respective functional areas of endeavor, while at other times this prerogative is no longer legitimately conceded. When the dynamics of differential powers, interests, norms, and values are included in systems models of communities, the kind of "dialectic forces" alluded to above can be more readily understood.

It must also be recognized, of course, that as perceptions of organizational legitimacy change, so may the organizations themselves morphogenetically change in a direction that makes them more palatable to otherwise critical groups or ethclasses. Organizations which permit the populace to voice its dissatisfaction tend to neutralize any extreme dialectical theory of change.[27] Nevertheless, some adaptive changes leading toward improved legitimacy of organizations are assumed to occur as a result of dialectic community system forces.

Premise 7: Community population subgroups, or ethclasses, with similar powers, interests, norms, and values tend to form coalitions, or interest groups, to help meet their needs.

An "interest" is defined by La Palombara as a "conscious desire to have public policy, or the authoritative allocation of values, move in a particular general or specific direction."[28] Actions by interest groups play an important part in providing a balance between stability and change within community institutions. They may function as agents of innovation or as defenders of the status quo, and struggles between these factions provide much of the dynamism in social systems.

A point to be emphasized by this premise is that not only do hierarchically ordered groups create tensions within specific community organizations, but they also form independent, often community-wide, interest groups to promote their particular interests. A variety of interest groups, in fact, are organized on broader bases -- state, national, or international levels. A major objective of interest groups at the local level is to assert whatever power or influence they can mobilize to protect the collective interests and values of group members.

Of course not all members of a community are also members of local interest groups, even though there are usually interest groups existing to promote almost anyone's interests. Nevertheless, interest groups serve even non-members in at least two ways. They may effectively protect or acquire certain benefits that affect broad classes of people, even non-members, and they articulate ideological positions which may be individually subscribed to by members and non-members alike. For members, their participation in interest associations will often provide a sense of solidarity with others similarly positioned in the social structure and will reinforce their sentiments on various issues relevant to their own lives, interests, and values. In other words, interest associations help to define "they" and "we," thus clearly demarcating "battle lines" on community-wide or organization-specific issues.

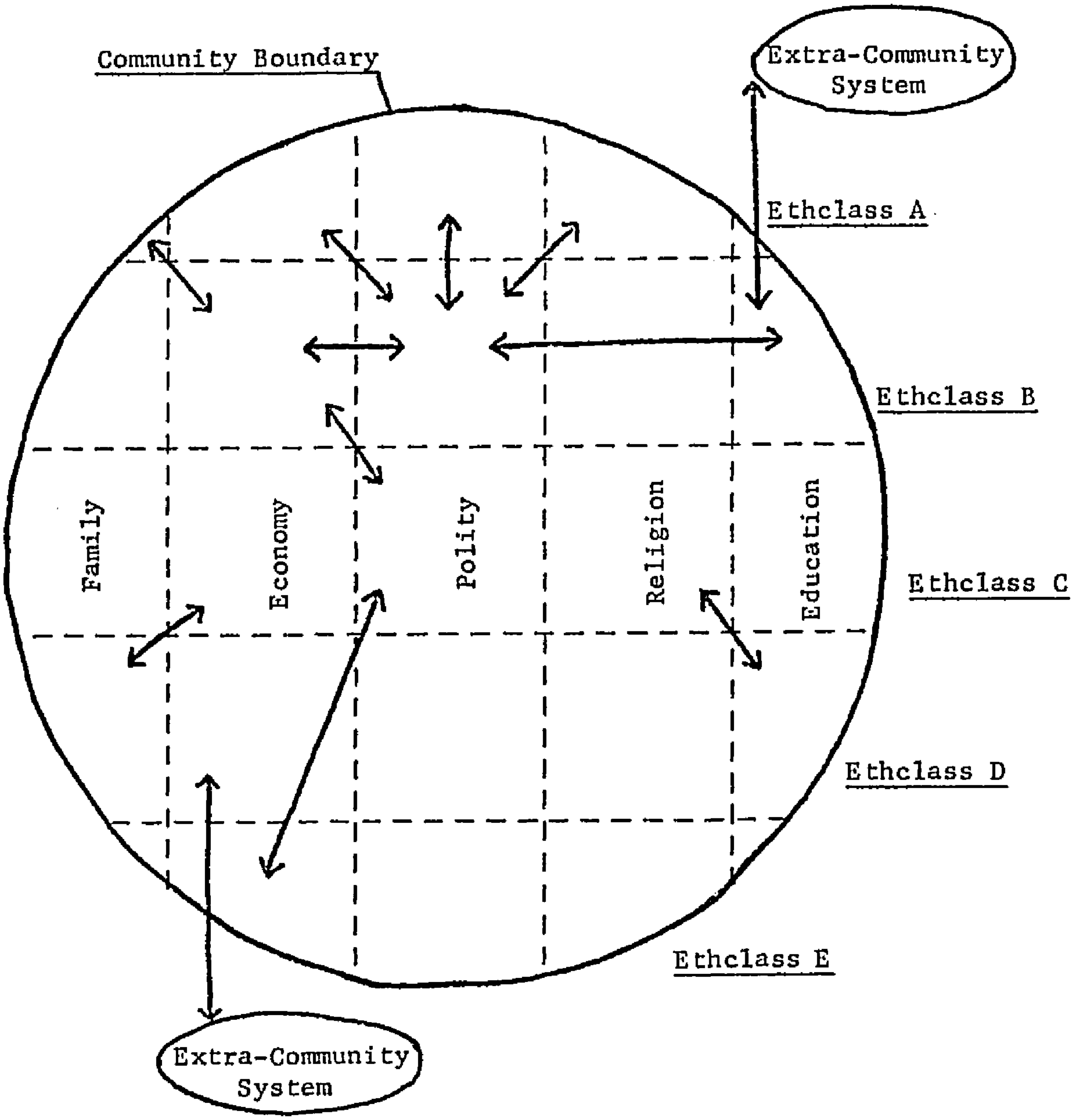
Premise 8: Diverse and often conflicting interest group positions and "need orientations" are expressed across all institutional areas in communities, giving rise to conflict within and between institutions and their component organizations.

Since specialized tasks are performed in each of the institutional areas, any segment of the population, unless completely autonomous, is at least partly dependent on all of the institutions for fulfillment of needs. Sometimes, however, the degree of need fulfillment is differentially allocated among population subgroups from one institutional area to another. The religious needs of group A, for example, may be relatively well fulfilled by religious organizations while the economic needs of group A are not well met by economic organizations. In this case conflict over A's needs could easily develop in the relations between religious and economic groups. Or labor organizations, components of the economic institutional area, representing interests of a particular ethclass may attempt to exercise influence in the political institutional area to promote certain ethclass interests there.

The several contextual premises presented above can be partially conveyed in diagrammatic fashion as in Figure 2. The diagram basically shows: (1) the community as a bounded system of interrelated subparts, (2) five basic functional or institutional divisions of the community, each hierarchically ordered within itself, (3) the vertical division of the community into ethclasses, and (4) examples of the various points of potential interaction and interrelationship between

FIGURE 2

DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF COMMUNITY, SUBPARTS, AND INTERRELATIONSHIPS


Community Boundary
Extra-Community System
Ethclass A
Ethclass B
Ethclass C
Ethclass D
Ethclass E
Family
Economy
Polity
Religion
Education
Extra-Community System

⟷ implies potential interaction relationships community parts and with extra-community systems. Extra-community systems are any systems lying outside the analytical boundaries of the local, geographically-based community. It should be noted that each of the cells in Figure 2 is comprised of organizations and that the potential relationships depicted may be entered into by individuals, groups or formal organizations.

Dynamic Premises

The preceding premises set forth many of the basic assumptions guiding this study and they set the context for a closer look at the dynamic processes of system integration and purposive integrating mechanisms. Having discussed the major parts of community systems, we now begin to address the issue of what it is that holds them all together in some relative state of order and stability, thus leading to a concern with the nature of the relationships among the parts.

Premise 9: Relations between and within community system parts are of the following basic types: consensus, collaboration, and conflict relationships.

A good part of the present model's improvement over the functionalist's and the conflict theorist's selective emphasis derives from the above premise. Here it is assumed that not only consensus, but collaboration and conflict are ubiquitous throughout social systems. Some theorists critical of functionalism, or integration theory as Dahrendorf refers to it, commit the reverse error of the functionalists by overstressing conflict relations at the expense of consensus and collaboration.[29] Neither the conflict nor the functional theorists, however, deny the omnipresence of both conflict and consensus, as Dahrendorf notes, "using one or the other model is therefore a matter of emphasis rather than of fundamental difference; and there are . . . many points at which a theory of group conflict has to have recourse to the integration /consensus/ theory of social structure."[30]

What this discussion seems to be leading toward is the cogent question that Dahrendorf raised thirteen years ago and that has puzzled thinkers ever since the beginning of Western philosophy: "Is there, or can there be, a general point of view that synthesizes the unsolved dialectics of integration (consensus) and coercion?"[31] Dahrendorf observed that there was no such model; as to its possibility he reserved judgment. In the present work it would be more than slightly pretentious and mistaken to claim the grand synthesis has been achieved here. But, there have been accumulating in the extant sociological literature some works which point toward the direction that sociological theorizing may have to go to gain at least a partial synthesis. This matter will be discussed at greater length under the following two premises, but at this point a hint of partial synthesis is offered by Schermerhorn, in a discussion of the dialectic between integration and conflict.

> In the area of ethnic relations it is possible to bring out this duality by denying that integration is inevitably harmonious, or conflict necessarily disruptive. There are times when integration can only occur in and through conflict,

> and conversely, other times when conflict is necessary to reach a new order of integration. Whether relationships like these are modal or whether they are exceptional is a matter to be determined empirically. . . .[32]

Schermerhorn has developed a systems model which includes the three basic social processes -- unalloyed integration, unalloyed conflict, and overlapping or compounded processes of integration and conflict.[33] The latter processes may generally be comprised under the concept label "collaboration," which brings us back to the essential focus of this premise. Some central terms need to be defined.

Consensus is perhaps one of the most widely used and abused terms in the lexicon of sociology.[34] To use a trite phrase, since there is no consensus on consensus among sociologists, a widely used but not necessarily agreed upon definition is arbitrarily adopted here. Consensus is "agreement and acceptance by group members on values, beliefs, sentiments, norms, and goals."[35] In relational terms, two or more parties in a consensual relationship will interact harmoniously and to the satisfaction of each because of their congruity of values, beliefs, etc. There is a basic conformity to particular appropriate patterns of behavior in consensual relationships. At least brief recognition should be given the fact that, like most terms in sociology, consensus is variable in intensity and scope, but that need not concern us greatly here. Let it generally be conceded that, in a consensual interactional transaction, the parties voluntarily enter and maintain the relationship because of some degree of common orientation and definition of the situation. There is here agreement on the ends and the means to achieve the object of the interaction.

Relationships based on collaboration are those in which a cooperative joint effort is voluntarily directed toward some goal on which there is agreement while differences and even fundamental disagreements may persist. In collaborative relations there is a toleration of basic differences, while in consensual relations fundamental differences are denied. Thus, elements of both conflict and consensus may be joined in a collaborative relationship. This is essentially what was implied in Sumner's concept of "antogonistic cooperation" which is the cooperation "of two persons or groups to satisfy a great common interest while minor antagonisms which exist between them are suppressed."[36] What are frequently referred to as utilitarian exchange or bargaining relationships may generally be conceived as collaborative.

Conflict relations exist where joint action on some goal is undertaken against the will of one of the interacting parties. Power differences existing in these relationships are utilized by the more powerful to exact certain behaviors from the less powerful. It is implied that if power and all other things were equalized, the conflictual relationship would dissolve -- probably into a consensual relationship or none at all. Assumed also is that the interacting parties in a conflictual relationship have basic differences of interest, thus the underlying basis for interaction is a sheer power differential. Conflict relationships also include, however, cases where joint action is not undertaken because the will of the more powerful is not imposed on the less powerful; nevertheless, there may be tensions, disputes, and clashes between the conflicting parties.

It should be recalled that a basic concern of this study is the question of what it is that makes community social systems cohere. That question becomes even more important now that conflict relations have been recognized as ubiquitous throughout communities. This issue of the meaning of social order, or social integration, is addressed in the next several premises.

Premise 10: Social integration refers to those characteristics of a unit system's structure which explain the maintenance of the system as a relatively stable and ordered entity under a range of internal and external conditions.[37]

Structure here means a set of relationships among the parts of the system. Community system parts and the nature of the relationships among them have already been spelled out in earlier premises. On the basis of those relationships -- consensus, collaboration, and conflict -- three types or processes of integration are characteristic of community systems as whole entities. These are, respectively, cultural integration, functional integration, and coercive integration. Before discussing each in detail, however, the general sociological conception of integration should be more carefully considered.

There is a commonly held view that integration "is the process in which the component parts of an organization become united so as to give unity to the total organization," implying that it "can act as a single unified entity" greater than the sum of its parts.[38] In large, complex, heterogeneous social systems such as communities, with no central organizational structure to coordinate the multitudinous parts, such an assumption appears highly questionable and may involve an element of reification. It is quite difficult to conceive of New York City or Los Angeles, for example, taking some independent action apart from the acts of one or more of their system parts. We can, however, conceive of the mayor of either of these cities taking some action "on behalf of" the community as a whole. But, while the mayor is the formal head of the polity, he is not the "president of the community," representing the interests of economic, educational familial, and religious groups alike. We might infer from this that the idea of integration, in the sense of a unified entity with independent action capacity transcending that of its parts, is a persisting myth.

Two basic theories of social integration have pervaded sociological thought since Durkheim's introduction of the notions "mechanical solidarity" and "organic solidarity." The definition of mechanical solidarity is similar to the more modern value/normative integration which means that a system becomes integrated as norms based on common values are imbedded within it and internalized by its members. The systemic "unity" here, then, is a matter of extensive agreement and consistency among values and norms. But what is the system level action component based on this version of integration? Organic solidarity, currently referred to as functional integration, implies complementary relationships among specialized and interdependent parts that are established and maintained through unified coordination.[39] Again, at the community systems level, there is no central unit which coordinates all the complementary relationships among the parts. Government is perhaps the closest approximation to such a unit, but its domain only partially covers the community system.

An alternative conception of what is meant by an integrated unity may rest with a distinction between the parts according to whether they pursue self-interests or collective interests. The greater the degree of collectivity orientations in a system, the greater the degree of integration. Banfield and Wilson's theory of "public-regardingness" and "private-regardingness," based on the above distinction, conceives of public-regardingness (concern for the community as a whole) as contributory to system integration.[40] A problem with this distinction is that it essentially divides the community into those who are selfish and those who are unselfish, a value-laden distinction. One could easily argue that the "unselfish" public-regarding group or groups in a community are really selfish protectors of the status-quo in which they have a favorable vested interest. In sum, neither the organic nor the mechanical solidarity versions of social integration give a clear picture of what form the assumed unity really takes. Nor does either of them allow that pursuit of self-interests or personal values may contribute to system integration. Internal conflict, in these views, is completely non-integrative for the system as a whole.

Also prominent in theoretical considerations of system integration is the view that an integrated system is in "equilibrium." Equilibrium generally implies a system condition in which the parts are interdependently related and change is minimized. But, if the unnecessary assumption of minimization of change is dropped from the conception of equilibrium, as many functionalists have begun to do, there remains only the requirement that parts be interdependently related.[41] This leaves integration and equilibrium essentially synonymous. But, as noted earlier, equilibrium is not sought by systems and is therefore not a very helpful concept. To whatever degree it may exist, in the sense of a state of interdependence, it is a product of underlying dynamic forces or processes operative in systems. The same may be said for the general notion of integration. The key forces may be seen as the continuously shifting relationships occurring among system parts; that is, consensus, collaboration, or conflict relationships.

Cultural integration is a system characteristic which stems from widespread occurence of consensual relationships. The latter maintain the system as a relatively stable and ordered entity by promoting common definitions of events. Locality-relevant functions which meet basic human needs are performed by interrelated system parts simply because they believe it is right that they be performed.

Functional integration is a system characteristic which stems from widespread occurrence of collaborative relationships. A relatively stable and ordered community is maintained because certain need-satisfying activities are performed by system parts which can mutually benefit from the actions, in spite of differences in other regards.

Coercive integration is a system characteristic which stems from widespread occurrence of conflictual relationships. Relative order and stability is maintained by the exercise of power. Alternative interest-seeking actions of the less powerful are circumscribed and held in check by the more powerful. The rewards of the system, with the exceptions of power as a reward, may or may not be equally allocated among subparts of the system. Thus, integration is here viewed as a multi-dimensional phenomenon with each type occurring, to varying degrees, within any community system.[42]

Premise 11: At any given point in time, community integration represents a "negotiated order" of relatively stable relationships (consensus, collaboration, and conflict) among community system parts.

The community, it has been observed, is both vertically and horizontally differentiated. It is comprised of a large number of heterogeneous organizations, groups, ethclasses, and individuals with divergent powers, interests, norms, and values. But the community is also the locale for an ongoing complex of need-fulfillment transactions among differentiated types of actors. The rules governing these transactions are not complete or totally binding, allowing significant room for discretionary action by community parts. In this discretionary sphere of action, rules are continuously subject to negotiation -- to be argued, stretched, ignored, or lowered as the occasion demands. The community is seen as a transactional milieu in which relationships are "continually being established, reviewed, revoked, revised."[43] In this transactional process, conflict plays as central a part as does consensus, a point often made by Simmel.

> The extent and combination of antipathy, the rhythm of its appearance and disappearance, the forms in which it is satisfied, all these, along with the more literally unifying elements, produce the metropolitan form of life in its irresolvable totality; and what at first glance appears in it as dissociation, actually is one of its elementary forms of sociation. [Yet,] Relations of conflict do not by themselves produce a social structure, but only in cooperation with unifying forces. . . . Neither love nor the division of labor, neither the common attitude of two toward a third nor friendship, neither party affiliation nor subordination is likely by itself alone to produce or permanently sustain an actual group.[44]

The continuous negotiative process characterizing our conception of integration allows the day-by-day performance of locality-relevant functions to get done, but it also involves continuous change in the structure of communities. This important assertion must, though, be followed by two significantly related points -- premises twelve and thirteen.

Premise 12: The "negotiated order" may be altered at any time by events (specific incidents or occurrences) related to basic human needs of system parts and these events may be products of internal or external system dynamics.[45]

In fact, it is assumed that the negotiated order is in a continual state of change and transformation within fairly broadly conceived limits, such that order and change coexist and reflect some of the same processes. The powers, interests, norms, and values of system parts are continually shifting in the course of interaction with others. With these shifts, the nature of relationships may be altered, developing a new negotiated order subject to this continuous change process. An environmental context also may affect the negotiated order of communities. Changes in technology, the natural environment, other related social systems, and population, for example, impinge on the transactional milieu of community systems.

Premise 13: In addition to the regular renegotiation processes of individual system parts, a continuous purposive renegotiation process is carried on by "integrating mechanisms" in the community, especially in the polity.

In this context, an integrating mechanism is a group or organization which purposively intervenes in the ongoing interaction process in some way to affect the relationships among interacting parties. Relationships of a consensus, collaboration, or conflict type may be purposively initiated, enhanced, sustained, or severed by the interventive actions of integrating mechanisms. We reject the view that some "invisible hand" automatically guides the innumerable daily transactions toward systemic order; the latter being something that must be "worked at" and continually reconstituted -- along cultural, functional, or coercive integration lines, or any combination of the three. This is not to deny that laissez faire transactions may yield a degree of order; the essential point is that in modern social systems efforts are made to guide and direct interactions so that they are ordered in particular ways.

Concern with integrating mechanisms is not new in sociology. What may be new here is the recognition of units which have as their primary purpose the integration of diverse system elements. Most other conceptions of integrating mechanisms see integration as basically a byproduct or a "latent function" of unit activities primarily directed toward other functions.[46] Or, the label integrating mechanism may be applied to ongoing normal processes of social systems, such as differentiation, interdependence, and development of voluntary associations.

In relation to the earlier discussion of the structural context of community systems, we may point to examples of purposive integrating mechanisms in each of the five institutional areas. In the economy there are the chambers of commerce, in religion the councils of churches, in education the parent-teachers associations, in family the family service associations, and in polity the HRCs. Given that communities are not centrally organized, there is no integrating mechanism that cuts across all the interests and functional diversity of communities as systems. There are, on the other hand, several somewhat specialized integrating mechanisms that are active in selective spheres of community activity.

The one major community subpart with the greatest responsibility and concomitant authority for maintaining and promoting overall community system integration is the polity. As MacIver notes: "Government . . . exercises authority for two main ends. . . . one end is the maintenance of the established code. . . . The other end of government is the readjustment of this order to new conditions and to emergent needs."[47] But the institution of government is also rife with heterogeneous groups (premise number five) who quarrel about the legitimate role of government (premise number six). If this type of dissensus within government were not so common, we might assume, as is often done, that government actions simply reflect the interests and values of that privileged elite who control government -- and thus "manage" conflict to protect the status quo. But local American governments, while perhaps significantly affected by influences from privileged elites, are affected by a plethora of conflicting and often contradictory pressures (suggested in premises six through nine). In fact, the fundamental democratic structure of local government is designed to negotiate conflicting claims and devolve at least a temporary order. Thus government, in the broadest sense, is itself an integrating mechanism. But beyond the basic processes, such as balloting, for meeting democratic principles, local governments have created arms or subsystems with the explicit purpose to promote integration of certain system parts. HRCs are such purposive integrating mechanisms. The emergence of these mechanisms represents an attempt by governments to meet one of the ends noted above by MacIver, the readjustment of the order to new conditions and to emergent needs. This is accomplished in part by the integrative structures and activities of HRCs and partly by utilizing the feedback given the governmental subsystem by the HRCs -- feedback regarding developments in the area of intergroup relations, citizen's views of government, and recommendations for new or altered public programs.

Earlier it was argued that the most appropriate model of community systems is one which allows for morphogenic processes of change which often lead to adaptive change in the system's form, structure, or state. One manifestation of these processes is the emergence of a new political structure, the HRCs. Once developed, HRCs themselves may be viewed as morphogenic integrating mechanisms which attempt to adapt not only the polity but the community system as a whole to new conditions and to emergent needs. This means not only reacting to but also acting upon elements in the communities varied and changing environment in a way which promotes long-range system order and stability. The type of fluid integration referred to here derives from Buckley's modern systems model.

> Modern systems analysis suggests that a socio-cultural system with high adaptive potential, or integration as we might call it, requires some optimum level of both stability and flexibility: a relative stability of the social-psychological foundations of interpersonal relations and

> of the cultural meanings and value hierarchies that hold group members together in the same universe of discourse and, at the same time, a flexibility of structural relations characterized by the lack of strong barriers to change, along with a certain propensity for reorganizing the current institutional structure should environmental challenges or emerging internal conditions suggest the need. A central feature of the complex adaptive system is its capacity to persist or develop by changing its own structure, sometimes in fundamental ways.[48]

It must be remembered, however, that HRCs too, as subsystems of the polity, may not have the luxury of agreement on goals. Thus the adaptive system altering actions of these integrating mechanisms may not be uniformly pursued.

Buckley's reference to the system characteristics of flexibility and stability should not be bypassed without noting its relevance to an increasingly common hypothesis regarding the relationships between system "rigidity/flexibility" and the processes of conflict and change. The major hypothesis is perhaps best expressed as two sub-hypotheses summarized by Olsen:

> 1. If an organization suppresses conflict and resists change, these processes will occur only sporadically. (rigid organization)
> 2. If an organization encourages the expression of conflict through established procedures and allows as much change as possible, these processes will then occur relatively continuously. (flexible organization) [49]

It is assumed that where conflict and change processes are inhibited, tensions mount and eventually explode the system. Where conflict and change is encouraged, the underlying sources of tension are resolved and, while numerous "minor" conflicts will occur, great stability is earned in the long run, "because it resolves stresses and strains as they arise and is capable of adjusting to new conditions."[50] At the risk of belaboring the obvious, we note here a parallel between the "flexible organization" and a community system with morphogenically adaptive integrating mechanisms. To the extent that the latter allow and even encourage conflict and change, they are ultimately promoting system integration.

Integrating mechanisms seem to have several basic options open to them as means for promoting any of the three types of integration. Generally conceived, these are the purposive integrating strategies of consensus management, collaboration management, and conflict management.[51] By way of partial summary of preceding premises, several parallels among sets of concepts discussed here are depicted in Table 1.

TABLE 1

SYSTEM INTEGRATION, UNIT RELATIONS,
AND STRATEGIES OF INTEGRATING MECHANISMS

Types of System Integration	Types of Relationships among System Parts	Strategies of Purposive Integration
1. Cultural	Consensus	Consensus Management
2. Functional	Collaboration	Collaboration Management
3. Coercive	Conflict	Conflict Management

Consensus management involves efforts to affect relationships of a consensual nature, including actions to initiate, enhance, sustain, or sever such relationships. Internal consensus relations, those involving only HRC participants, are managed as are external relationships. External management, though, covers two spheres of action -- relationships integrating mechanisms form to simply maintain themselves, and relationships among other community units in which integrating mechanisms actively intervene as a third party. Overall, then, three spheres of interaction involving consensus management on the part of integrating mechanisms are conceivable -- internal relationships within the organization, external maintenance relationships with various other groups and organizations, and external interventive relationships involving two or more other social actors and the interventive interaction of the integrating mechanism.

Both collaboration management and conflict management occur as well in the internal and external spheres of interaction. Collaboration management refers to purposive efforts to guide or steer cooperative endeavors between otherwise dissensual social actors. In this effort there is a recognition of conflicts of interests, values, or norms as well as cognizance of mutual gain through collaboration in at least some delimited interactional areas. Conflict management refers to actions designed to initiate, enhance, sustain, or sever the expression, or "working out," of underlying opposed interests. Conflicts may be negotiated so that one or both parties "give in" to some degree, but basically conflict relationships are affected by the exercise of power and coercion, whereas consensus and collaboration management, respectively, imply actions to persuade and bargain among interacting parties.

Specific tactics employed by integrating mechanisms may be numerous and varied within and between the three basic strategies. Among these are efforts to facilitate, promote, and guide communication processes. Related to this are actions to increase the volume of certain kinds of information through research, investigation, and information dissemination programs. Another possible tactic is to provide structures for promoting desired types of interaction. Integrating mechanisms may, for example, provide "grievance machinery" in the sense of bringing together antagonistic parties to allow them to "air" their true feelings in a personal encounter. The very title of "human relations" commissions gives some clue that this integrative approach may be utilized by them. Of course airing grievance, while helping the parties to reach at least a temporary accommodation, does nothing to alter the underlying distribution of rewards giving rise to many grievances. An additional option does this by engaging in actions which redistribute rewards in the community, thus changing the interests and resources of interacting parties. Thus, integrating mechanisms by continually negotiating and renegotiating relationships, facilitating communication, creating specialized structures, and redistributing rewards are simultaneously promoting system integration and change.

Summary and Implications

Emerging from the preceding premises is a conception of communities in which the component elements are extremely heterogeneous; resource inequality is widespread, groups compete over allocation of system rewards, consensus exists on some matters but is not universal, collaboration occurs between divergent groups, conflict occurs regularly, but, still, a semblance of order and stability is continually negotiated. In these communities, integration and change processes occur simultaneously as the result of normal ongoing interaction and the activities of purposive system mechanisms which consciously promote both processes. What appears in general terms is a model of communities in which certain parts actively attempt to guide, coordinate, and change other parts for the purpose of maintaining a morphogenetically adaptive and flexible community system in which the relationships among the parts are constantly shifting. Structure, then, is relatively fluid, given that the structure-defining relationships change from time to time; so, the essential focus here is on process rather than structure. And within this framework we find traces of the systems model, functionalism, and conflict theory, selectively bound into a conceptual scheme which realistically, we believe, portrays the elements and dynamic interactions of community systems existing as a negotiated order. The negotiated order, at the community system level, exhibits characteristics of cultural, functional, and coercive integration.

Any complex community, it is assumed, contains regular and recurrent conflict interactions in which each party may frustrate the normative expectations or goal-seeking of others. This is considered to be normal and "healthy" -- rather than a sign of system disorder or malfunctioning. Correlatively, when an integrating mechanism interventively promotes a conflict relationship, this is not automatically seen as a threat to system order and stability, for without some degree of conflict and change long-term order and stability is improbable.

What is commonly seen as deviance by functionalists in sociology has virtually no place in the present model. It is accepted here that internalized and formalized social controls generally allow wide variation in behavior and beliefs, and that innovations along these lines occur as a consequent of normal social processes. These somewhat "irregular" patterns, in fact, serve as a stimulus for continuous renegotiation and elaboration of a flexible social order.

The reader may justifiably be asking by now, If it is the case that conflict and all the other processes discussed here are contributors to system integration, what is it that tears a system apart -- that disintegrates it? There are, of course, natural forces such as devastating fires, floods, tsunami, hurricanes, or earthquakes which could, conceivably, totally eliminate a community -- at least temporarily. But the major concern here is with social forces. Within the parameters of the model under discussion, the basic social processes which could lead to disintegration are, again, consensus and conflict, but of extreme forms.

Taking consensus first, it is conceivable that there could develop a high level of community consensus on a system of reward allocation which it is impossible to fulfill. Out of this contradiction between goals and means could evolve a consensual transformation of the basic organizations in the community. But, such a transformation is not necessarily disintegrative. Disintegration is more likely to occur where consensus on most matters is so great that little or no change is introduced or allowed. In this case, contingent forces from extra-community systems may have such an impact as to force disintegration of the community system. The community may consensually resist exogenous change and fail to adapt, either by remaining static or by introducing reactionary change, thus leading to a cummulative cycle of malintegration and ultimately, revolutionary change.[52] Basic consensual relationships could also exist simultaneously with disintegrative forces if, for some reason, there is little or no communication among system parts allowing for effective coordination. Such communication breakdowns would seem more likely in systems that are not constantly threatened by dissensual elements. Two other ways, noted by van den Berghe, in which consensus can lead to disintegration are, first, strict widespread adherence to "impractical" norms like celibacy and, second, normative consensus of uncompromising opposition to an external group with greater power.[53] All of these are quite extreme forms of consensus -- generally much greater than that existing in community systems -- and not highly likely to lead to community disintegration under normal circumstances.

The integrative role of conflict processes in systems was noted earlier, but conflict may also engender disintegrative processes. Conflicts that attack basic widespread values and beliefs may split a system into warring camps, particularly where both camps have at least some modicum of power. For example, and to paraphrase Coser, if major strata of a community's population are permanently excluded from participation in the community's benefits, they will tend to reject the very assumptions upon which the community is built, and, if the systems of legitimation no longer fully operate, they will attempt to attack the social order through revolutionary violence.[54] In other words, if those community organizations which control the principal rewards are not collectively viewed by a specific group as performing legitimately, then that group may mobilize and apply force to achieve basic organizational changes. This type of challenge to those who support the organizations as legitimate is, naturally, resisted. This type of conflict, while being expressed or enacted, introduces disintegrative forces in the community.

Collaborative relationships are basically integrative, although exceptions occur in those instances where accumulated collaborative relationships lead to what functionalists call "dysfunctions." Since in the present model assumptions of "systems needs" are not made, the term dysfunction is useless. But, it does sensitize us to an awareness that collaborative interaction may yield unintended effects which could create disintegrative strains in other areas of the system.

A major issue which remains to be addressed as a prelude to the ensuing data analysis is, What are the implications of the foregoing premises and discussion for understanding integrating mechanisms in general and HRCs in particular? Since they will serve as a guide to the data analysis, the implications here will relate only to HRCs. Some broader implications for integrating mechanisms in general will be included in the concluding chapter.

An inference that can quickly be drawn is that HRC integrative mechanisms would be the result of some identifiable events which were disruptive to the negotiated order at the time of HRC inception. This matter should be illuminated by the data, as should the related and interesting questions, What was the nature of the events? and Whose initiative is responsible for HRC establishment? We would expect the disruptive events to be of either an internal or external source, or both. These issues are addressed in the analysis found in Chapter IV.

Also in Chapter IV is a descriptive analysis of HRC goals and structures. As organizational units of the polity we would expect HRCs to reflect the diversity of values, interests, norms and powers of the community. The extent of this diversity is a question to explore empirically, as is the question of what effects this diversity has on the operations of HRCs. Do they disproportionately reflect the vested interests of a particular group in the community? It seems most probable that HRCs would exhibit extensive diversity and disagreement over their goals and structures.

Chapter V explores in detail the purposive HRC integrating strategies of consensus, collaboration, and conflict management in three spheres of interaction -- internal relationships, external maintenance relationships, and external interventive relationships. In addition to managing, or renegotiating, internal and external maintenance relationships we would expect to find them intervening in relationships among ethclasses, between ethclasses and organizations, among and within organizations, and perhaps between community units and units of extra-community systems. The intervention should take the form of initiation, enhancement, sustenance, or severance of relationships that are either consensual, collaborative, or conflictual. In addition to direct intervention in community relationships, we would expect HRCs to consider efforts to redistribute the benefits of major need-fulfilling organizations in the community, for it is over these needs that most of the interactional transactions occur. Redistribution of benefits alters the interests and resources underlying relationships between groups.

Viewing HRCs as morphogenic adaptive integrating mechanisms in the community, we should expect them to be providing "feedback" and information flow to those units attempting to steer or guide the system toward certain goals. As subunits of the polity this process would probably manifest itself in terms of HRCs offering recommendations and criticism to political leaders regarding the "outputs" of local government. Part of this feedback process should involve deliberate attempts by HRCs to become "sensory organs" in the community to detect reactions to and effectiveness of political activities. The structures and strategies of HRCs should exhibit indications of feedback processes operating. Data analysis will also be addressed to this issue in Chapters IV and V, in an exploratory descriptive manner. In one sense, this explanation will be directed toward the question of whether HRCs are, by their feedback processes, promoting greater flexibility in the larger system of which they are a part, and what means are used.

The systems framework developed here does not preclude the possibility of homeostatic system-maintaining processes as well as morphogenic processes. The structure and activities of HRCs should be observed with a sensitivity toward detecting traces of homeostatic processes as well. To the extent that HRCs defensively respond to disruptive events with the objective of renegotiating order and minimizing system change, they represent homeostatic adaptive mechanisms of the system. Thus the extent and manner of response to events that HRCs define as threatening (also to be empirically determined) need to be quite carefully explored. The actions, and preparations for action, of HRCs during "civil disorders" seem particularly relevant to this issue and are explored in Chapter V.

An implication that is especially difficult to corroborate but is worth exploring follows from the suggestion, by Gouldner, that system parts are not necessarily reciprocally related to the larger systems, and the parts may experience varying degrees of functional autonomy. Viewing HRCs as system parts, we would expect that if reciprocity exists then the larger system would reciprocate, or "repay," the HRCs for their contribution to the larger system. The degree of reciprocity in this relationship needs to be explored. Also, HRCs may be more or less autonomous -- the probability that it could survive separation from the political subsystem. Presumably, those parts which are most autonomous have less of a vested interest in maintaining the larger system.[55] A situation such as this could create considerable tensions between HRCs and the larger polity, for it is assumed that relatively autonomous parts attempt to maintain their autonomy. If the larger system tries to subordinate and control autonomous parts (a common tendency), the stability of the larger system may be threatened.[56] Thus, to understand the integrative role of HRCs we need to explore their degree of autonomy and political reactions to such autonomy.

There are undoubtedly many other implications that may be drawn from a framework as broad as the foregoing, but to explicate more of them here would be painful and unnecessary. The framework provides a set of orienting ideas for analytic description of HRCs in Chapters IV and V. Wherever appropriate in the analysis, reference is made to the interpretive framework -- for purposes of enhancing understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny and for purposes of showing the applicability of the framework. Given our initial objective of developing a comprehensive portrait of HRCs, the framework developed in this chapter guides the process of abstracting, conceptualizing, and ordering the data to make its presentation in Chapters IV and V more meaningful. The analysis, however, is not constrained extensively by this manner of presenting the data. A conscious attempt is made to allow the data to suggest new insights and generalizations -- even those which may not be supportive of the present framework. Through this descriptive analytic technique we are able to arrive at a fairly comprehensive initial portrait of the operations of HRCs in American communities.

Notes: Chapter III

1. Marvin E. Olsen, The Process of Social Organization (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), p. 222. Other works which have influenced my view of functionalism are cited in Chapter I, note 2.

2. Olsen, Social Organization, p. 226.

3. For the major influences on my conception of conflict theory, see Chapter I, note 5.

4. As paraphrased in Olsen, Social Organization, p. 136.

5. Walter Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967).

6. Robert A. Stallings, "A Comparative Study of Community as Crisis Management System," (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1971).

7. Buckley, Modern Systems Theory.

8. Olsen, Social Organization, pp. 232-233.

9. Buckley, Modern Systems Theory, p. 58

10. Stallings, "Community as Crisis Management System," chap. 3.

11. Olsen, Social Organization, pp. 228-229.

12. Buckley, Modern Systems Theory, p. 44.

13. A criticism made of the Parsonian systems model is that is implies that the sources of change are always external to the system, despite the explicit declaration that the model allows endogenous change. See Buckley, Modern Systems Theory, p. 30.

14. Olsen, Social Organization, p. 232. Olsen notes that key system features protected "might be any characteristics of the system that are important for its survival, although the most common foci of homeostatic activities are boundaries, patterns of internal order, decision-making procedures, communication channels, and power centers. As the system experiences threatening stresses and strains, it takes whatever actions are necessary to maintain those key features."

15. Roland L. Warren, The American Community (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963), p. 144.

16. Buckley, Modern Systems Theory, p. 32.

17. This premise is adapted from Olsen's definition of social systems in Social Organization, pp. 228-229.

18. Warren, American Community, p. 165. Two other works which have applied, to varying degrees, the systems perspective to community studies are Blaine E. Mercer, The American Community (New York: Random House, 1956) and Irwin T. Sanders, The Community: An Introduction to a Social System (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1958).

19. Sanders, Community, p. 192.

20. Warren, American Community, p. 9

21. Alvin W. Gouldner, "Reciprocity and Autonomy in Functional Theory," in System Change, and Conflict: A Reader on Contemporary Sociological Theory and the Debate over Functionalism, ed. N. J. Demerath III and Richard A. Peterson (New York: Free Press, 1967), pp. 141-169.

22. Gouldner, "Reciprocity and Autonomy," p. 161.

23. To list these sources here would be cumbersome and wasteful. The reader is referred to almost any text in the sociology of racial and ethnic relations or social stratification.

24. David Lockwood, "Some Remarks on 'The Social System,'" in System Change, and Conflict, ed. Demerath and Peterson, pp. 339-345.

25. Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 46-54.

26. Buckley, Modern Systems Theory, p. 204.

27. Gideon Sjoberg, "Contradictory Functional Requirements and Social Systems," in System Change, and Conflict, ed. Demerath and Peterson, pp. 339-345.

28. Henry W. Ehrmann, "Interest Groups," in International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), 7: 486-492.

29. Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 157-165.

30. Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict, p. 164.

31. Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict, p. 164.

32. R. A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 57-58.

33. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations, pp. 50-64.

34. Horowitz identified at least seven shadings of meaning attached to the term consensus. See Irving Louis Horowitz, "Consensus, Conflict, and Cooperation," in System Change, and Conflict, ed. Demerath and Peterson, pp. 265-279.

35. Melvin L. DeFleur, W. V. D'Antonio, and L. B. DeFleur, Sociology: Man in Society, brief ed. (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1972), p. 408.

36. As cited in George A. Theodorson and Achilles G. Theodorson, A Modern Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969), p. 78.

37. This definition is adapted from Burkart Holzner, "The Concept 'Integration' in Sociological Theory," Sociological Quarterly (Winter 1967): 51-62.

38. Olsen, Social Organization, pp. 157-158.

39. Olsen, Social Organization, p. 161.

40. Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), pp. 33-60.

41. Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Dialectic and Functionalism: Toward a Synthesis," in System Change, and Conflict, ed. Demerath and Peterson, pp. 293-306.

42. Others have also conceived of social integration as a multidimensional phenomenon, but the taxonomies employed vary considerably. Foremost among the classifications of integration is the following: Werner S. Landecker, "Types of Integration and their Measurement," American Journal of Sociology 56 (1951): 332-340. Landecker's major types of integration are cultural, normative, communicative, and functional integration. Three other major attempts to classify integration are Myron Weiner, "Political and Social Integration: Forms and Strategies," in Politics and Society: Studies in Comparative Political Sociology, ed. Eric A. Nordlinger (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 197-209; Philip E. Jacob and Henry Tenne, "The Integrative Process: Guidelines for Analysis of the Bases of Political Community," in The Integration of Political Communities, ed. Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964), pp. 1-45; and Holzner "'Integration' in Sociological Theory," pp. 51-62.

43. Buckley, Modern Systems Theory, p. 15. The idea of a "negotiated order" originates with Anselm Strauss, et al., "The Hospital and Its Negotiated Order" in The Hospital in Modern Society, ed. Eliot Friedson (New York: Free Press, 1963).

44. Georg Simmel, Conflict, trans. Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), p. 20.

45. The definition of "events" here is adapted from a definition of conflict in Gary A. Kreps and Dennis E. Wenger, "Toward a Theory of Community Conflict: Factors Influencing the Initiation and Scope of Conflict" (unpublished paper, 1972).

46. See, for example, Everett K. Wilson, Sociology: Rules, Roles, and Relationships (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1966), p. 388.

47. Robert M. MacIver, The Web of Government (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947), p. 87.

48. Buckley, Modern Systems Theory, p. 206.

49. Olsen, Social Organization, pp. 154-155. The general hypothesis regarding the consequences for conflict and change of the structural characteristics of flexibility and rigidity has grown largely from the work of James Coleman, Lewis Coser, and William Gamson.

50. Olsen, Social Organization, pp. 154-155.

51. This conceptualization of purposive integrating strategies has some interesting parallels to three modes of community organization practice identified by Rothman. While it is beyond the scope of the present study, it seems that community organization and community development agencies could be conceived as integrating mechanisms. For a good collection of articles in the growing profession of community organization, see Fred M. Cox, John Erlich, et al., eds., Strategies of Community Organization: A Book of Readings (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1970).

52. Van den Berghe, "Dialectic and Functionalism," p. 298.

53. Van den Berghe, "Dialectic and Functionalism," pp. 303-304.

54. Lewis Coser, "Conflict: Social Aspects," in International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences 3: 235.

55. Gouldner, "Reciprocity and Autonomy," p. 161.

56. Gouldner, "Reciprocity and Autonomy," pp. 159-160.

CHAPTER IV

EMERGENCE, GOALS, AND STRUCTURES OF HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSIONS

Emergence of HRCs

This chapter begins with a brief, descriptive, historical overview of the processes and patterns of emergence of HRCs as viable formally-constituted organizations in American cities. The reader is here given an initial acquaintance with HRCs since (1) they have not been sociologically studied before, (2) descriptive materials about their existence and operations do not appear frequently in popular media of communications, and (3) the analysis to follow focuses basically on contemporary operations of HRCs, and many have experienced significant changes even in their relatively short histories.

The earliest formally created municipal HRC in this country, according to several informants, was established in 1941 in Chicago, a city not included in our sample. Among the sampled cities, however, several HRCs were established shortly after 1941. Of the seventeen cities, five developed official HRCs during the period 1942-1944, four emerged between 1950 and 1953, and eight arose between 1961 and 1968. One commonality among these three time periods is that they each overlap, at least partially, with periods during which the United States was engaged in a war effort, implying a war-stimulated economy. This coincidence could be taken to signify that with the booming national economy there was heavy migration of minorities, especially blacks, to the cities -- in search of new jobs and better incomes. An influx of minorities may have altered the existing negotiated order in communities -- by multiplying tensions over such issues as access to housing, public accomodations, employment, and schools -- creating the kinds of local conditions conducive to emergence of HRCs.

The data provide some further insights regarding the existence and nature of order-disrupting events leading to the establishment of HRCs. While it is likely that a multitude of diverse factors coalesced to produce each HRC, respondents have pointed to what they felt were some of the primary reasons for creating these organizations. In four of the cities, industrial employment tensions between blacks and whites were pointed to explicitly. Another four cities experienced race riots or "racial incidents" which were immediately followed by the creation of official HRCs. Two of the cities cited efforts by local Jewish human rights organizations (i.e., Jewish Community Relations Council and the American Jewish Committee) which were aware of, and abhorred by, extensive discrimination patterns. Political influence was mobilized and exerted in these cases to pressure local officials to implement corrective measures. Action along similar lines was taken by a variety of ministers and church leaders in several cities. In addition to influences from religious groups, other groups which allegedly encouraged and pressured political figures included those representing business, university, citizen, civil rights, social welfare, and media interests. In one city the HRC emerged in response to a survey, conducted by the League of Women Voters, which disclosed extensive patterns of discrimination across the city. On a few occasions, demonstrations were held in and outside of political chambers, asking for HRCs and/or financial and legal resources for HRCs. Establishment or upgrading of HRCs was a contested political issue in the campaign oratory of local politicians in several cities. Several informants in various cities cited a general awareness of race riots in other cities as a reason for developing HRCs as protective measures. In general, the actual precipitant for emergence was often a riot or disturbance of some kind, but in several cases HRCs were created simply in response to adequately mobilized pressures on city officials, by various interest groups concerned about growing community "tensions" in the intergroup relations arena.

Most of the earliest HRCs were first established as committees by executive order of the Mayor and, after a few years of operation, were given by city or county ordinance the status of official divisions of local government. Before the enabling legislation dubbed them Human Relations Commissions,[1] they went under various labels such as "Mayor's Committee on Community Relations," "Joint Committee for Interracial Progress," and "Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee." Labels such as these connote, justifiably, a heavy emphasis on promotion of harmonious, peaceful, consensual relations, a characteristic of the early HRCs. Until established by ordinance, the mayors' committees were generally funded, to the limited extent they were given money at all, out of "discretionary funds" available to the mayors. Many operated for years with only one or two paid personnel, and several had no staff at all. The committees themselves were comprised from 9 to 100 members, all of whom served without compensation, and were representative of religious, business, labor, ethnic, racial, and other special interest groups in the communities. Established community leaders were well represented, but there is no evidence that representatives of the "hard-core disadvantaged" lower ethclass groups were offered membership in the new committees.

Executive directors of the earliest HRCs were generally white, while clerical staff usually included at least one black or other minority representative. Backgrounds of directors most often included some previous work in the broad field of social welfare or the ministry. In one city, all of the staff were affiliated with the county's probation department since, in this case, the HRC was a subdivision of that department. As we move forward in time from 1942 we find increasing numbers and proportions of minorities employed by HRCs. In many, but clearly not all, HRCs the occupant of the executive director's position changed with shifts in the political administration following an election.

With minor exceptions, all the HRCs were created with a mandate to initiate some corrective action against discrimination patterns.

At inception, however, only a couple of more recently established HRCs were given legal and enforcement powers to take action against discrimination. The alternative to legal channels for HRCs was basically to use "moral influence" in their attacks on discrimination problems. For some HRC commissioners and staff this was perceived as adequate for effecting changes, but for others it was not. Much of the effort during the first several years of many HRCs was devote to acquiring legislation that would prohibit certain discriminatory acts and would provide the HRC with enforcement machinery and resources. For certain essentially political reasons, several HRCs did get legal powers, and in some cases they have been viewed as inadequate by HRC personnel. Innumerable political contests have occurred over this issue. In one medium-size city an HRC director quite actively campaigned for a certain nondiscrimination ordinance, was successful, and lost his job as a result. In another large city the HRC enabling legislation specifically stated that the agency was created to "discourage discord" among differing groups "solely by voluntary and pursuasive methods," since "tolerance cannot be forced upon unwilling groups and persons." In brief, HRCs over the years have been embroiled in the debate over whether nondiscrimination is best achieved by means of attitude change or means of coercion. By the time of data collection for this study, six of the HRCs had been granted explicit anti-discrimination law enforcement powers, some quite extensive. Some of the remainder had given up any desires they may have had to acquire such power, largely because of a significant growth in federal and state civil rights laws during the decade of the 1960's.

Another heavy share of the effort of early HRCs was devoted to establishing and defining their own roles in the community. This meant not only developing their own set of expectations regarding their "mission," but also helping to form public opinion, or simply awareness, of the HRC. As with any new organization, they had to establish a public credibility and legitimacy to enhance their effectiveness, or even to just maintain themselves. Thus, there were extensive "public relations" activities carried on through the news media and "contacts" in the community. On some occasions this objective was facilitated through conducting studies of discrimination patterns in the community which were then publicized. Perhaps a more common approach was to sponsor and conduct seminars, workshops, and institutes on some aspect of intergroup relations. In 1945, for example, one large city's HRC sponsored a four-day institute for county civil service employees, the purpose of which was to "achieve understanding and improve the efficience of county employees in dealing with people of different races, creeds, and national origins." Speaker's bureaus were also formed to address intergroup relations issues and to publicize the existence and role of HRCs. An additional means used to establish legitimacy was for HRC personnel to serve on boards and committees of various other community agencies and groups.

A significant part of the HRC public relations activities were directed specifically toward minorities in the communities, attempting to convince them that the HRC existed to serve their interests, as well as those of the larger community. HRC personnel felt that they needed especially the support of black groups to help the agency get adequate legal and financial resources to do an effective job. Through influential people on the boards of commissioners HRCs also directed their public relations campaigns toward the more advantaged white community, for their cooperation was also viewed as essential.

The primary goal-seeking actions of the older HRCs appears to have been of two general types. One of these was to seek out cases of discrimination against individuals, investigate the circumstances, and attempt some form of conciliation satisfactory to both parties. To facilitate this process, minority populations were encouraged to file complaints with the HRC. To the extent that HRC conciliation attempts were successful these actions helped to legitimate the agency. On the other hand, due to their meager powers and resources, when they were not successful their credibility was subjected to serious doubt, even ridicule. To supplement their complaint processing for individuals, another type of goal-seeking action focused on specific problem areas in intergroup relations which affect larger numbers of people. Specific projects, such as the racial integration of downtown department stores, the "opening" of theatres to minorities, or the opening and integration of certain restaurants were undertaken, often in cooperation with other community groups interested in civil rights. Persuasion and informal pressures were the normal means to achieve voluntary compliance on the part of owners and managers of the target establishments. An important factor that sociologists usually attempt to identify in studies of formal organizations is the "target population" of the organizations. From the above it should by now be evident that the target population of HRCs is extremely broad. It potentially includes all organizations and everyone who interacts with another whose group identification is different from their own. The domains of HRCs are extremely broad, which is one of the reasons for utilizing a general theoretical perspective, such as that in Chapter III, to aid in understanding these complex phenomena.

Hearing and reading the various sources of information about the emergence and early years of HRCs leaves this writer with the distinct impression that HRCs were extremely amorphous organizations which came about partly as a defensive response by community influentials to disturbing frictions between groups and partly because of the "moral outrage" of other community leaders over the growing awareness and evidence of widespread inequality in the community. Neither of these differing motives, however, seems to have been expressed forcefully enough in the chambers of government to yield well-supported HRCs. Nevertheless, over time the resources and "know how," or technology, of HRCs gradually increased, as they became institutionalized in the community. It appears that their growth was gradual up to the time of this study, with the exception of several cases of rapid growth immediately following a major civil disorder in those communities.

The institutionalization of HRCs, in part, was aided by the emergence of three national organizations serving their interests. The oldest, the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO), was formed in 1947 and has subsequently published, somewhat sporadically, a journal called The Journal of Intergroup Relations. This medium of communication along with national and regional meetings of the Association has linked the local HRCs into a larger network, sharing experiences, ideas, observations, etc., and giving support to locals when called upon. The second national organization was created by Congress in Title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help communities cope with "disputes, disagreements, or difficulties" arising from discriminatory practices based on "race, color, or national origin."[2] A large part of the Community Relations Service's work has been dedicated to helping local municipalities develop and improve HRCs. Speakers and various publications have been used to promote this effort in local areas. A third organization, formed in 1949, is the National Conference of Commissions for Human Rights, changed in 1968 to the International Association of Official Human Rights Agencies. Like NAIRO, its purpose is basically to assist and improve local HRCs, but, unlike NAIRO its membership is limited to "official governmental human rights agencies, commissions, or boards from the United States and Canada."[3]

The more recent HRCs, then, have had the distinct advantage of benefitting from easily acquired, and sometimes unsolicited, information about the experiences, problems, and recommendations of other established HRCs. For this reason and because of changing social, cultural, and political conditions some of the newest HRCs were able to successfully avoid much of the floundering of the pioneers.

Summarizing this section briefly, the data dealing with the emergence of HRCs gives the impression that the agencies were inaugurated not so much by forward-looking public officials as because of the influences and pressures of special interest groups, some concerned about advancing their own interests or those of some "disenfranchised" group. The composition of the HRCs reflected the interests of the relatively advantaged groups moreso than those of the disadvantaged. Those with little or no vested interest in maintaining the existent community structure were essentially not included in the neophyte HRCs. These comments, combined with an awareness that some HRCs were developed and expanded in response to riots or incidents in the community, suggests that HRCs may signify the homeostatic system maintaining processes in community systems moreso that the morphogenic system changing processes. Both processes are exemplified in HRCs, but at least during the earlier years homeostatic processes appeared to be strongest. In one sense, though, the efforts of HRCs spent on developing their own strengths may be viewed as a preliminary move toward adopting a stronger change-oriented stance. The trend to acquire strong laws and enforcement powers is an indication of movement in this direction. This section has set the basic context for discussion of other issues related to HRCs and some rough patterns have emerged, but the crux of the analysis -- dealing with the seventeen contemporary HRCs -- follows in the next two sections and the following chapter.

Goals of HRCs

The rationale for including in this analysis chapter a section dealing with goals of HRCs is succinctly expressed by Etzioni.

> Organizational goals serve many functions. They give organizational activity its orientation by depicting the state of affairs which the organization attempts to realize. They serve as sources of legitimation which justify the organization's activities and its very existence, at least in the eyes of some participants and in those of the general public or subpublics. They serve as a source for standards by which actors assess the success of their organization. Finally, they serve as an important starting point for students of organizations who, like some of the actors they observe, use the organizational goals as a yardstick with which to measure the organization's performance.[4] (emphasis mine)

It might be added that an organization's goals also will often, by implication, delimit the means that may be utilized in the pursuit of agreed upon ends. In the discussion to follow some of the implications for understanding the role of HRCs in a community systems context will be drawn out from an examination of their goals. The formally stated goals of HRCs, expressed in their enabling ordinances, should provide some insights regarding the expectations held by the legislative creators and an indication of the community system characteristics which HRCs were developed to be responsive to.

Careful perusal of the ordinances under which HRCs are currently operating reveals several patterns. While the explicit goal statements are articulated in a variety of ways, content analysis of the goal statements has yielded five basic categories of goal orientation. These categories are presented below along with the thirteen goals which appeared most frequently.[5]

A. Redistributive goals
    1. Develop programs and techniques to reduce inequalities throughout the community.

B. Feedback goals
    1. Serve as a resource and/or consultant to local government officials (i.e., mayor, city manager, city council, county manager, etc.) on matters relevant to intergroup relations.
    2. Advise city officials with regard to soluations of existing problems in the field of intergroup relations.
    3. Recommend legislation to city officials which is designed to improve intergroup relations.

C. Fact-finding and communication goals
    1. Conduct studies of existing patterns of intergroup relations (i.e., employment discrimination, housing conditions, health problems, welfare needs, etc.).
    2. Publicize findings regarding undesirable conditions in the state of intergroup relations.
    3. Conduct educational programs designed to promote understanding of group differences and harmony among groups.

D. Conflict intervention goals

1. Receive and investigate citizen complaints of discrimination or improver treatment.
2. Act as a conciliator or mediator in conflicts which occur between racial and other groups in the community.

E. Collaboration intervention goals

1. Enlist the support of civic, religious, labor, industrial, and commercial group leaders dedicated to the improvement of intergroup relations.
2. Seek to coordinate the activities of private agencies concerned with intergroup relations.
3. Cooperate with and assist federal, state, and local agencies, both public and private, whenever such actions seem proper and appropriate in the promotion of better practices in intergroup relations.
4. Assist other public and private "human services" agencies (i.e., schools, churches, social work agencies, health agencies, etc.) in dealing with problems of intergroup relations in their areas of operation.

Purely on the basis of their goals, an image easily formed is that of HRCs as purposive organizations monitoring a variety of community attitudes and behaviors and actively seeking to guide change processes in a direction which would reduce or eliminate inequalities and hostilities between diverse community groups. The basic manner in which it is expected that this type of community system "manipulation" will occur is conveyed in the headings of the five goal categories.

Redistributive goals are generally stated in general and diffuse terms such as "to reduce inequalities," "to take appropriate steps to deal with conditions which strain relationships," and the like. Directives such as these, apparently based on the premise that the common good of the community would be advanced by achieving greater equality among constituent groups, offer HRCs an open mandate to seek basic community change, for a community's structure is largely based on unequal distribution of rewards. While we cannot discern the actual legislative intent of these goal statements on the basis of present data, it would seem that their political framers had more modest objectives in mind. This is corroborated to some degree when we look at the actual strategies used by HRCs in a later section of this chapter. Nevertheless, these goals give some indication of a formal HRC orientation toward seeking change.

As morphogenic adaptive integrating mechanisms in the community, we expected HRCs to be constituted, in part, for the purpose of providing feedback and information flow to those units attempting to steer or guide the system toward certain goals. The explicit feedback goals of HRCs gives sustenance to that expectation. They also may be seen to indicate where the crucial decision-making about adaptive response to problems of intergroup relations is conducted -- in the councils of government and not in the HRCs themselves. The latter are expected by city officials to funnel information and recommendations to them for consideration.

Fact-finding and communication goals, in terms of the model guiding this study, relate to each of the three modes of integration presented earlier, but particularly cultural integration which is based on relationships of consensus. Communication is essential to any relationship and when new or different information, and in larger volume, is communicated throughout communities the various interaction relationships in process may be further solidified, weakened, disrupted, or altered in some way. New information may lead to changes in value norms, and interests, or the perception of these in others, thus affecting the bases of relationships and the negotiated order. Conceivably, conflictual, collaborative, and consensual relationships could each be altered by new "knowledge," but an assumption often underlying efforts to promote communication is that if people or groups that are dissensually related are given all the "facts" they will be able to reach agreement, or at least accord. It is not clear whether this assumption was made by HRCs goal formulators, but the communication goal to "conduct educational programs designed to promote understanding of group differences and harmony among groups" is a slight clue that it was. Certainly, the communication of some facts, for example regarding the extent or location of patterns of discrimination, could lead some social actors away from consensus or collaboration and toward conflict. Thus, communication goals cut across the three modes of integration in communities but may have been designed to promote cultural and, possibly, collaborative integration.

Conflict intervention goals suggest fairly directly that HRCs were created partly in response to conditions of conflict existing in communities, specifically conflict relationships which were held to be undesirable. The latter are not spelled out in the ordinances but reference is often made, obliquely, to discriminatory relationships (where one party exercises his ability to deny another certain need fulfillments or system rewards) and to conflict relationships where differences are openly and violently expressed. HRCs are expected to intervene in these relationships to guide the contesting parties toward some accord. It is interesting to note that interventive goals with regard to conflict relationships are to reduce or eliminate them, whereas with collaborative relationships the objective is to promote them, toward the end of "improving" intergroup relationships.

Collaboration intervention goals suggest that HRC integrating mechanisms are to actively initiate, enhance, and sustain collaborative relations involving individuals and groups, both intra-community and extra-community such as federal and state agencies. Despite their diversity in some respects, the various groups are to be "enlisted" and "coordinated" in a "cooperative" effort to promote a common good -- improvement of intergroup relations. It is intended that this effort by HRCs not be limited to strictly governmental agencies and affairs, but should include intervention to promote collaborative relations within other institutional areas.

Thus, the formal goals of HRCs conform rather closely to those we should expect to find for any community system integrating mechanism.

Generally, they seek to intervene in relationships, to affect the distribution of system benefits, to provide feedback to the larger system, to maintain a sensitivity to ongoing actions and problems in the system, and to promote communication among the system parts.

It has, of course, been well-documented that formal organizational goals are often quite different from the operational goals guiding the day-to-day work of organizations, since they have to adapt to the environment within which they function.[6] It seems appropriate, then, to examine at least briefly some of the goals directing contemporary actors within HRCs. One rough indicator is provided in the responses to the question,"What is the main purpose of the HRC as far as you are concerned?" The variety of responses to this perceptual question are given in Table 2. Several of these statements of purpose conform to the general and diffuse nature of the formal goals, but others focus on more particularized objectives. For example, "to enforce civil rights ordinances," a case where a developed means has become an end. Or, "to make city government understand and communicate with all elements of the community," a specific focus on making government more viable and responsive to the needs of community constituents.

Some of the stated general purposes relate to what we can term "tension management," a homeostatic system characteristic, while others relate to "change attempts," more characteristic of morphogenic systems. This distinction was more directly addressed in a separate question on the interview guide, asking whether the "proper" role of HRCs is to "smooth tensions and keep the peace" or to "provide services

TABLE 2

MAIN PURPOSES OF HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSIONS

Philsburg*	1.	To eliminate adverse effects of racism
	2.	To use status and power of city government to eradicate problems stemming from racism
Hanston	1.	To create a climate in which all elements of the community can live and work together
	2.	To make city government understand and communicate with all elements of the community; to make it more viable and responsive
Thomasville	1.	To help create amiable relations between races and cultures
Watertown	1.	To eliminate discriminatory practices and policies than exist
	2.	To promote equal rights and responsibilities
Aronsville	1.	To investigate complaints and find the cause of them
	2.	To provide necessary expertise to city officials than can curb potential trouble
Northtown	1.	To modify and change attitudes and especially behavior towards minority groups
	2.	To keep the peace
Rickton	Not available	
Barbwood	1.	To try to help groups achieve cultural identity and self-image
Bordertown	1.	To insure law enforcement and protection of everyone's civil rights
	2.	To promote a climate of good will and cooperation within city and county

TABLE 2--Continued

Bordertown--continued	3.	To provide a legal vehicle for people to find recourse for civil rights violations
Margrove	1.	To promote full participation of all members of the community in community affairs
Herbana	1.	To keep trouble from happening
	2.	To keep the situation cool
Plainville	1.	To go beyond ordinances and become focal point for those things wrong in the community
	2.	To be method or tool to affect social change
	3.	To promote better communication between city government and community
Bayside	1.	To enforce civil rights ordinances from individual standpoint
	2.	To create good atmosphere for inter-racial relations
Crescent	1.	To keep the peace
	2.	To educate the total community and promote "living together"
Lakeville	1.	To work to end racial discrimination
Sherriton	1.	To insure rights of the individual as related to ordinances
Millertown	1.	To promote inter-racial harmony

*The names of the seventeen cities are disguised here and throughout this report to assure confidentiality.

to help achieve longer-range social changes." None of the respondents perceived the proper role of their agency to be strictly that of tension management, six felt that change attempts constituted their sole function, and the rest suggested the propriety of both roles. Of the latter group, however, half believed the two roles should be emphasized equally and the other half said that while both roles are proper, change attempts should receive the greatest emphasis. Thus, as far as HRC operating personnel are concerned change goals are considerably more important objectives for their agencies than tension management goals.

One additional indicator of the contemporary goal emphasis of HRCs is offered in the identification of "top-priority programs." All of these, as identified by respondents, are listed by city in Table 3. Among the areas of HRC programming considered most important are: police-community relations; enforcement of anti-discrimination laws; rumor-control centers; affirmative action in employment, housing, etc.; resolution of school tensions; promotion of ethnic pride; drug education; and public relations. Each of the five formal goal categories listed near the beginning of this section are represented in the areas of priority programming. Also indicated is the development of specific task areas which HRCs concentrate on, such as resolution of school tensions or affirmative action in housing for example.

Responses to a number of relatively open-ended questions suggest that many HRCs have experienced considerable internal conflict over what the primary goals of the agency should be. Premises six, eight,

TABLE 3

TOP PRIORITY PROGRAMS OF HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSIONS

Philsburg	1. Police-community relations 2. Responding to crisis incidents 3. Affirmative action in employment 4. Rumor control
Hanston	1. Police-community relations 2. Employment 3. Education
Thomasville	No real, specific programs; rather HRC works with existing agencies 1. Housing 2. Employment
Watertown	1. Compliance program (law enforcement) 2. Affirmative action in employment
Aronsville	1. Public relations 2. Educating public about HRC 3. Stricter interpretation of the law 4. Implementation (of the law)
Northtown	1. Contract compliance 2. Tension control 3. Police-community relations 4. Educational problems
Rickton	1. Maintenance (working within 10% of the budget)
Barbwood	1. Housing 2. School integration 3. Stimulation of other agencies, public and private, to develop and conduct needed programs 4. Help schools resolve intergroup relations issues which may lead to conflicts 5. Helping groups achieve cultural identity and self-image

TABLE 3--Continued

Bordertown	1. Housing 2. Public accommodations 3. Employment and contract compliance
Margrove	Not available
Herbana	1. Police-community relations 2. Recruit training programs 3. Complaint investigation
Plainville	No real programs; however, city government is tearing down old, condemned buildings due to HRC pressure
Bayside	1. Fair employment 2. Community relations (black and white)
Crescent	1. Education 2. Police-community relations 3. Youth advisory committee 4. Municipal services program
Lakeville	1. Hometown plan (unspecified) 2. Community centers (recreational) 3. Reviewing of the public transportation system
Sherriton	1. Handling and following through on complaints 2. Affirmative action program for employment
Millertown	1. Preventative drug education 2. Afro-American studies program 3. Apprenticeship training program for construction industry 4. Affirmative action program for municipal government

and nine of Chapter II suggested this phenomenon should be expected. Internal conflicts seem to have several sources and involve some basic issues. Included among the issues is, Should the HRC serve to guide change processes toward an assimilationist or a pluralistic community system? In recent years there has been an apparent increase of HRC participants oriented toward pluralism, and we noted in Table 3 that some HRCs place a high priority on their ethnic pride development programs. Those opposed seem to feel a greater emphasis should be given to programs which develop employability and general or vocational education levels of minorities rather than ethnic identification and pride levels. Whether this is an issue debated between black and white HRC participants is not evident from the data.

Another issue commonly contested within HRCs is, Should the HRC seek and promote voluntary compliance with non-discrimination norms or should it force compliance with anti-discrimination laws? There are those who feel that if it becomes a law enforcement agency, the HRC's positive image in some important circles would be impugned and its long-range change impact reduced. Others counterargue that without strong laws the effectiveness and very existence of HRCs is in question. Again, the general social characteristics of the parties to this debate are undiscernable.

Concluding this section, the data on goals shows little shift in orientation between early and contemporary HRCs. What changes have occurred include a slightly greater emphasis on community change goals, an increased reliance on legal means to attack discrimination, and the selection of new task goals which reflect changed social conditions, as exemplified in programs to inhibit drug abuse. While we partially concur with Perrow that the study of organizational goals is a complex matter in which "there is no certainty about what should be labeled a goal, where it comes from, how it changes, and what impact it has," we nevertheless feel the effort is quite worthwhile.[7] It is important to gain some conception, as has been done here, of the variety of ends toward which HRC behavior is patterned and motivated. It is quite evident that there are significant inconsistencies and disagreements over goals, both within and between HRCs. Morphogenic change goals are clearly discernable, as are homeostatic tension management goals. In general, the lack of congruency among goals of HRCs reflects the heterogeneous composition of community systems and the organizations operative within them. Some of the specific sources of this variety within HRCs are discussed in the section below. Since organizational ends and means are not always clearly distinguishable, a later chapter on purposive integrating processes of HRCs will add to the level of understanding acquired here.

HRC Structures

The objective of this section is to show the patterns of HRC organization and point out the relevance of their structures for the integrative role they play in the community system. While many HRCs are quite small in relation to other formal organizations, they do, nevertheless, exhibit some common structural patterns.

There are essentially four types of participants in HRCs in terms of the positions in their structure -- commissioners, committee members, staff, and volunteers. Not all of the agencies utilize committees (outside of the commission itself) and volunteers, but all have at least a board of commissioners and a staff. The only salaried participants are the staff. Three typical hierarchical participation structures of HRC components are depicted in Figures 3, 4, and 5. Distinctions are made according to whether committees other than subcommittees of the board are affiliated with the agency, and in the two structural types with committees, whether the committees exist to address specialized topics and problems or to represent the values, interests, etc. of varying constituents in separate geographic areas of the city. In the functionally specialized participation structures there is a tendency to recruit committee members who possess particular knowledge, powers, and interests relevant to the task at hand while simultaneously forming a committee somewhat representative of the heterogeneous ethclasses in the community. Committee members of geographically differentiated participation structures are selected on the basis of their areas of residence and articulateness on issues affecting aggregates of residents in their areas. In one case, members of these committees are elected by residents of the target areas. Here, rather than using the committee as a means to attack a specific problem, the committee is a means for

FIGURE 3

LIMITED PARTICIPATION STRUCTURE

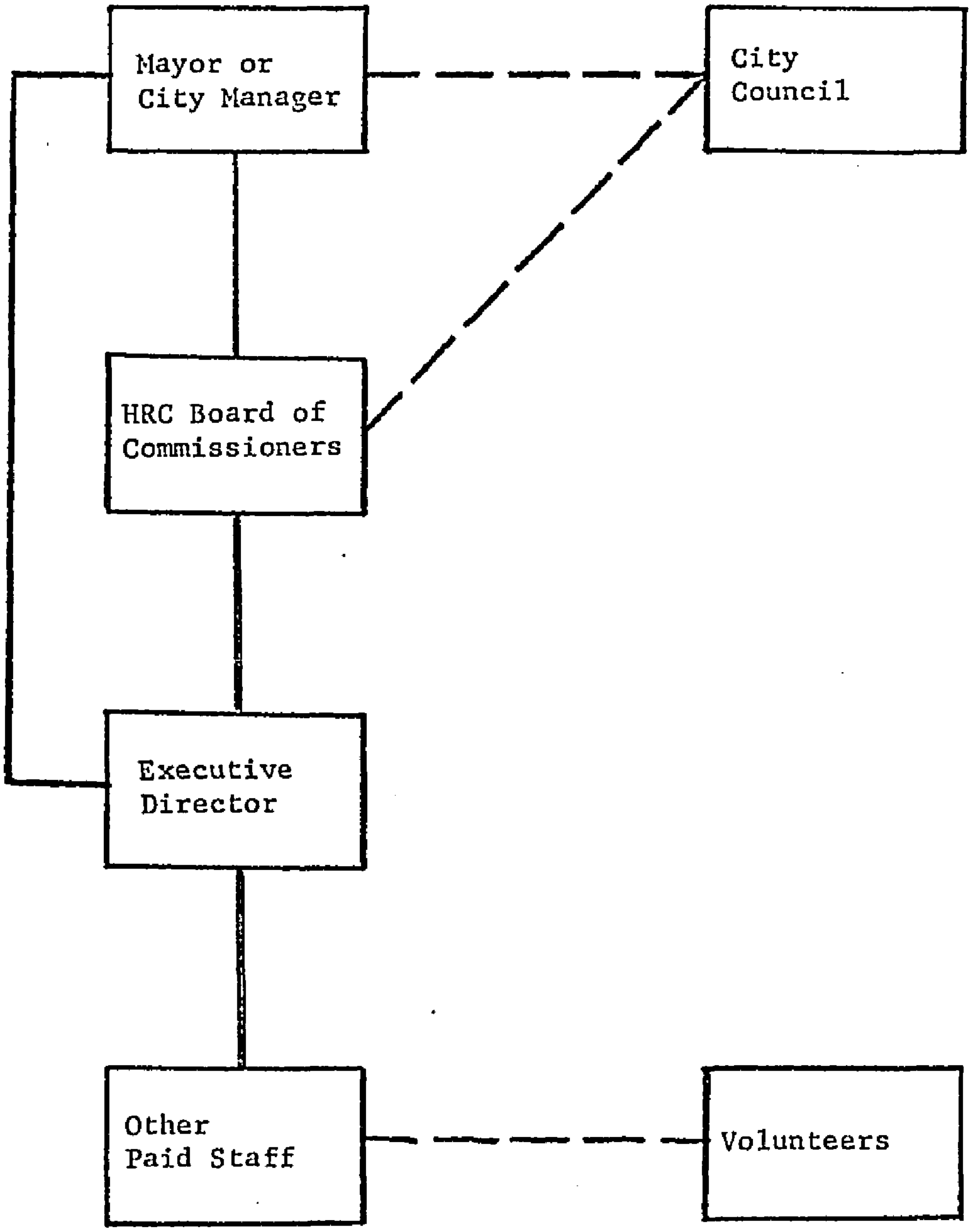

Mayor or City Manager
City Council
HRC Board of Commissioners
Executive Director
Other Paid Staff
Volunteers

FIGURE 4

BROAD FUNCTIONALLY SPECIALIZED PARTICIPATION STRUCTURE

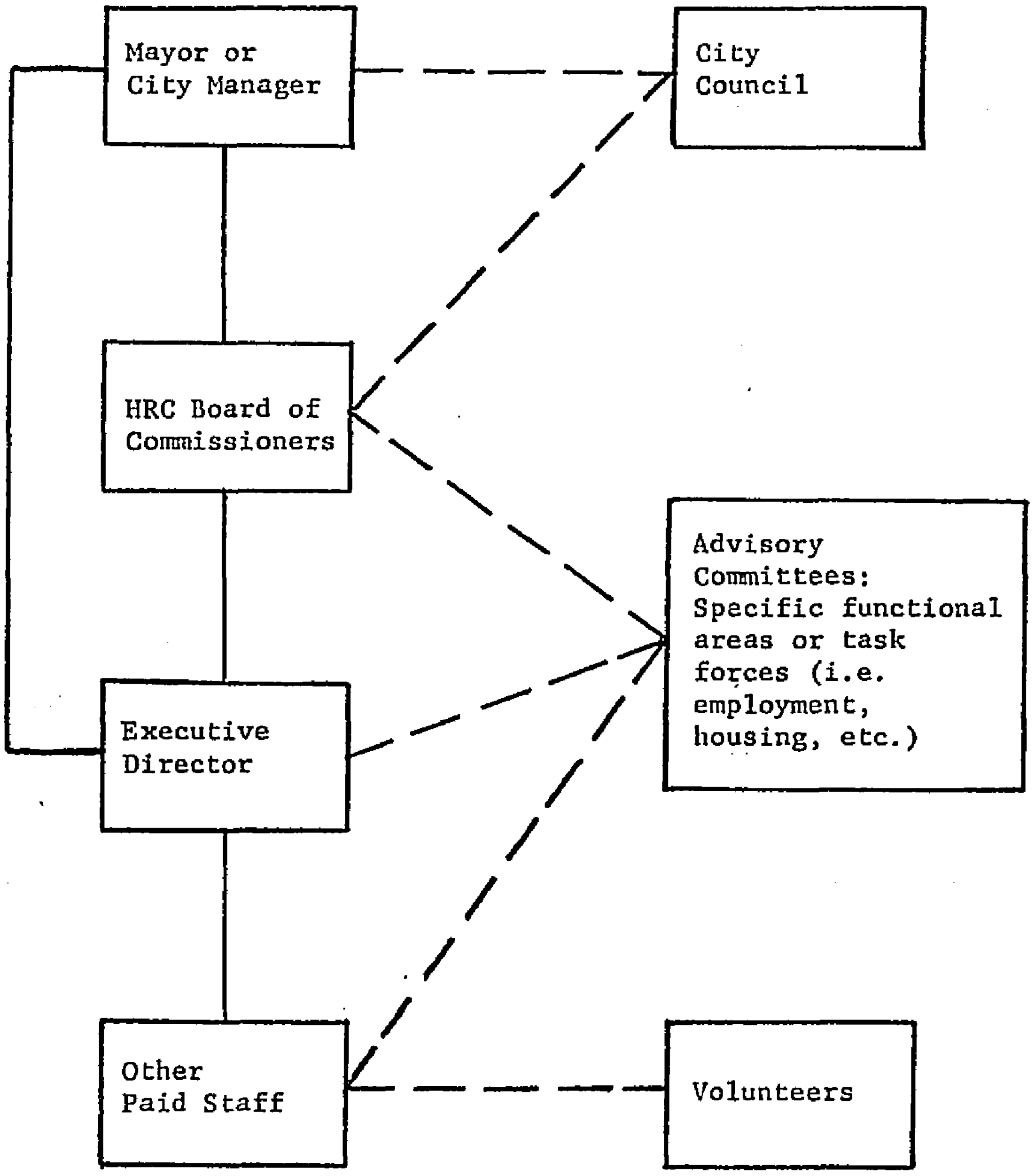
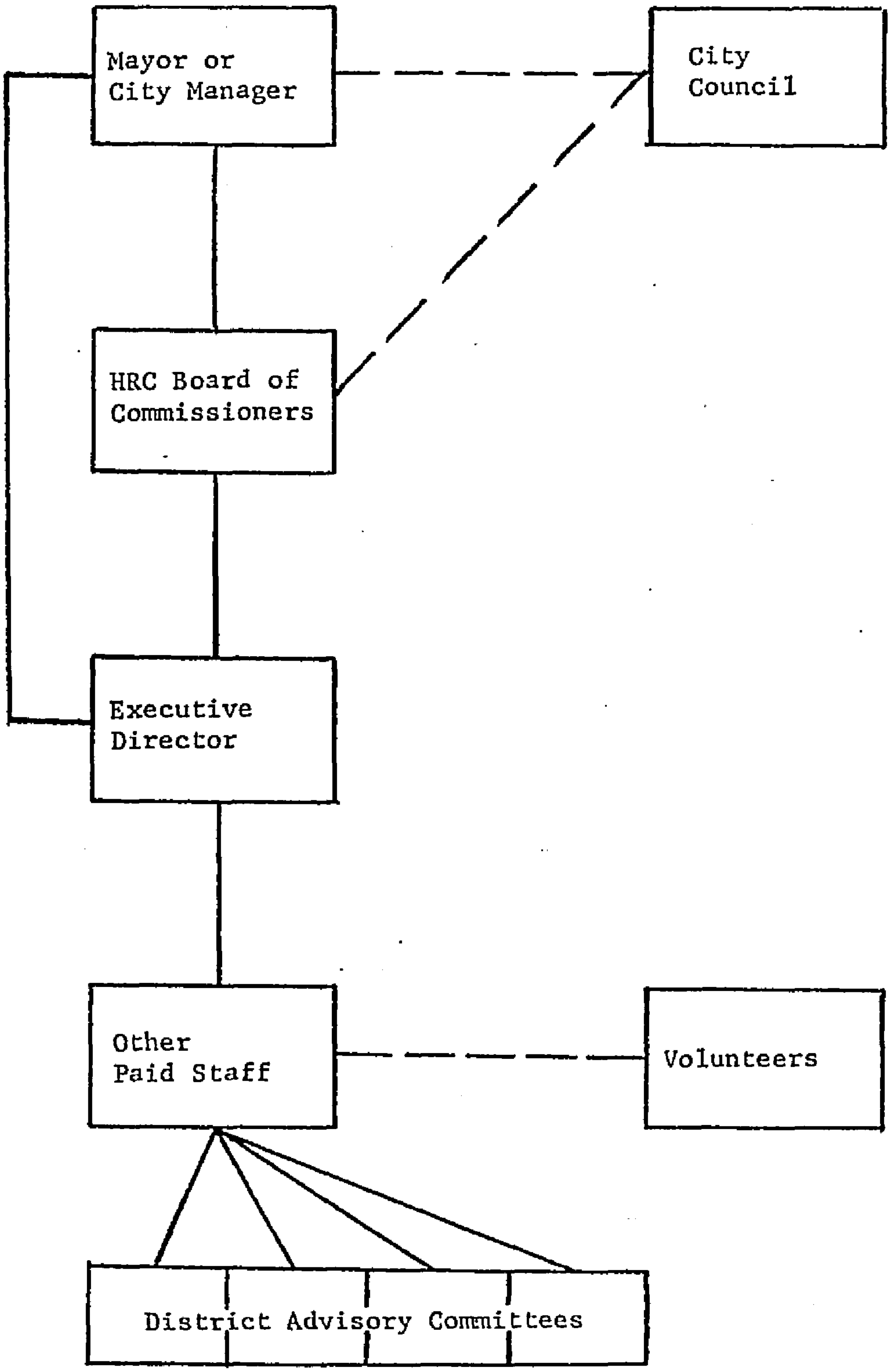

Mayor or City Manager
City Council
HRC Board of Commissioners
Advisory Committees: Specific functional areas or task forces (i.e. employment, housing, etc.)
Executive Director
Other Paid Staff
Volunteers

FIGURE 5

BROAD GEOGRAPHICALLY DIFFERENTIATED PARTICIPATION STRUCTURE


Mayor or City Manager
City Council
HRC Board of Commissioners
Executive Director
Other Paid Staff
Volunteers
District Advisory Committees

promoting communication between the local government and the governed, often revolving about specific issues, and for increasing the participation of the citizenry in governmental decision making. Slightly more than half of the HRCs, however, make no use of affiliated committees. While it might seem likely that those HRCs without affiliated committees would have larger boards of commissioners, the data shows no such association.

Contemporary HRC boards of commissioners range in size from thirty to ten, with the average being about twenty members. In all cases these boards reflect, to greater or lesser degrees, the racial, ethnic, and religious diversity of their communities. Deliberate efforts are made to keep these bodies representative. Some, however, have concluded that HRCs deal essentially with black/white intergroup relations and, accordingly their commissions should approximate a simple 50/50 representation of blacks and whites rather than proportional representation of all salient interest groups. Members are appointed, usually to overlapping terms, by the mayor and/or the city council in all but four cases. In two communities "metro" government has been formed and its officials make the appointments, and in one area the HRC is a joint city/county agency so both bodies make appointments. The most interesting mode of acquiring commissioners is in Herbana, where sixteen of the twenty-eight commissioners are appointed by the mayor and twelve are elected by community residents. In almost all cases where appointments are made, various civic organizations and interest groups make recommendations for appointments to the responsible political officials. Beyond reimbursement for expenses incurred, in only one community, where the chairman is on a full-time salary, are commissioners compensated for their work.

All HRCs employ executive directors and other professional and clerical staff, with total staff size ranging from four to thirty-six. A majority have ten or fewer staff and many of these have only aroung five or six. All but five of the executive directors are black while, on the average, lf of the remainder of the paid staff are black and half are white. Orientals, American Indians, and chicanos are also included in small numbers in a few of the HRCs. Among the whites, a sizable proportion are Jewish and several other white ethnic categories are represented as well. In about half of the HRCs, none of the professional staff are civil service employees, in three cases all are civil service personnel, and in the remainder some are civil service, usually excluding the executive director or his assistant. These arrangements facilitate use of HRC positions as political patronage to some degree, an allegation made by several respondents.

Given the variety of intergroup relations problems addressed by HRC integrating mechanisms, most have developed a division of labor and specialization within the agency. Only one of the boards has no subcommittees at all, while the vast majority have several, usually including employment, education, housing, and police-community relations subcommittees. Frequently there are roughly corresponding divisions among the staff with a specialist in each of these areas.

In those HRCs with enforcement powers there is generally a person, or division in the larger agencies, with the designated responsibility for this function only. It is here primarily that HRCs make use of personnel with training or degrees in law. Among the agencies with a broad geographically differentiated participation structure (Figure 4), staff are assigned to work with specific area committees, rather than along functional lines. We also find scattered staff specialists in fields such as communications, community resources, public accomodations, Indian affairs, Spanish affairs, and health and welfare. Of course it is usually the larger agencies that have the greatest degree of specialization, yet some HRCs with only three to five staff members are also specialized. In these cases, while each staff member is a specialist in one to two areas of activity, they are expected to be knowledgeable enough about the overall operation to allow considerable shifting of duties as emergent occasions demand. Executive directors of these agencies seek to recruit "generalists" to their staff rather than those with highly developed but narrow skills. Often too, staff are selected not for their expertise in problem fields of intergroup relations, but for their "contacts" within certain target populations and the respect they have already earned there. In this way the legitimacy of the HRC may be enhanced in special sectors of the community. Even executive directors are often chosen more for their reputation in the community than for their academic or experiential credentials. It is noteworthy that in one HRC each of its three executive directors over the years had previously been employed by the local Urban League. Here these men had developed a high degree of "visibility" in the community, as well as relevant experience for HRC employment.

The backgrounds of HRC staff are quite diverse overall, but a large proportion have had previous experience in social welfare agencies, schools, churches, and government agencies. Most common among educational backgrounds are social work, behavioral sciences, education and an increasing number of law backgrounds. With one exception, at least some of the staff (and sometimes commissioners, too) in all agencies attend national or regional meetings of intergroup relations associations, such as NAIRO. A number of executive directors in particular attend national meetings of social work professionals. Staff hiring is generally done by executive directors but is subject to approval by the commissioners. Executives, and sometimes their assistants, are usually selected by the mayors or city managers, in consultation with the HRC board.

A relatively new phenomenon occuring among HRCs is a move to physically decentralize their agencies by establishing small satellite offices in ghetto areas of the city. Often the smaller units are staffed by only one person whose major function is to work intensively with the area residents and to improve two-way communication between residents and various governmental agencies, including the HRC. These are largely "outreach" offices of the HRC undergirding its "sensory organ" function in the feedback relationship with the larger system, providing input about whatever is happening "out in the streets."

Financial support for HRCs comes primarily from the local governments, but this is sometimes modestly supplemented by federal and/or private funds. Total annual budgets ranged from $681,000 to $28,400. A majority have received federal grants during the last few years for special projects -- usually dealing with affirmative action in employment or with police-community relations. A smaller number have acquired private funds on occasion, most often for short-duration projects such as summer camping programs for ghetto youth.

While interorganizational relationships will be discussed in the following chapter, it is appropriate here to identify some of the organizations with whom HRCs interact most commonly. As integrating mechanisms with broad domains, the list is extensive, but as governmentally sponsored agencies HRCs find interorganizational relationships with other governmental organizations to be the most frequent. This includes government agencies at the local level as well as state and national levels. Taking the latter first, HRCs find fairly frequent occasions to interact with the Federal Office of Contract Compliance, the U. S. Justice Department (among other divisions, the Community Relations Service is lodged here), the office of Housing and Urban Development, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, the U. S. Department of Labor, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. State agencies often interacting with HRCs include the Departments of Education, Welfare, and Human Rights.

At the local level almost every division of local government is involved in some type of interaction with HRCs. The two noted most often, however, are the mayor or city manager's office and the police and/or sheriff's department. Other local private organizations or groups included in the networks of HRCs are diverse but commonly include social welfare agencies, civil rights groups, business and economic organizations, church groups, youth-serving groups, settlement houses, neighborhood organizations, schools, labor unions, social movement organizations, self-help groups, and HRCs in other nearby cities. Some of the relationships with other organizations are relatively sporadic while others have endured for long periods. In some cities, for example, HRC staff regularly conduct "human relations training" for police recruits and veteran officers. And, at any given time, the relationships between HRCs and others include those of a consensual, collaborative, and conflictual nature.

In this section we have outlined some of the structural patterns of HRCs, reflecting an intricate involvement with various actors in the community, which influence and are influenced by the dynamics of everyday activities. Clearly, these agencies do not neatly fit the extant typologies of organizations in the sociological literature, nor do they resemble the degrees of participant homogeneity found in many other types of organizations. Perhaps they are most similar to other community purposive integrating mechanisms, but such a conclusion must await the collection of data on those organizations. What has been conveyed here is essentially a static picture of HRCs, a prelude to the dynamic perspective discussed in the following chapter.

Notes: Chapter IV

1. The name "Human Relations Commission" appears most frequently, but some go under the labels "Community Relations Commission," "Human Rights Commission," "Board on Community Relations," etc.

2. United States Department of Commerce, Annual Report of the Community Relations Service, Fiscal Year 1965 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 1.

3. International Association of Official Human Rights Agencies, "Articles of Organization and By-laws of the International Association of Official Human Rights Agencies" (as amended and adopted at the twentieth annual meeting of the Association, Portland, Oregon, July 11, 1968).

4. Amitai Etzioni, "Two Approaches to Organizational Analysis: A Critique and a Suggestion," Administrative Science Quarterly 5 (September 1960): 257.

5. The thirteen goal statements are given in my own words since the wording, but not the essential content, varied from city to city.

6. Etzioni, "Organizational Analysis," pp. 258-273.

7. Charles Perrow, "Organizational Goals," in International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), 11: 305-311.

CHAPTER V

PURPOSIVE INTEGRATIVE PROCESSES OF HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSIONS

Introduction

In this chapter we examine what HRCs actually do in their day-to-day operations, thus illustrating the theoretical discussion of community system integrating mechanisms in Chapter II. It should be recalled that in the discussion of purposive integration three basic strategies were conceptualized -- consensus management, collaboration management, and conflict management. This chapter is organized around those three strategies, presenting illustrations, examples, and discussion of each, and linking this material to the model of community systems guiding the study.

Under each major strategy heading an attempt is made to present data covering three spheres of HRC activity -- internal relationships, external maintenance relationships, and external interventive relationships. For clarity, these spheres are briefly identified and diagrammed in Figures 6, 7, and 8. Internal relationships refer to those occurring within the HRC as an organized entity, and they may be of a consensual, collaborative, or conflictual nature. They

FIGURE 6

INTERNAL SPHERE OF HRC ACTIVITY

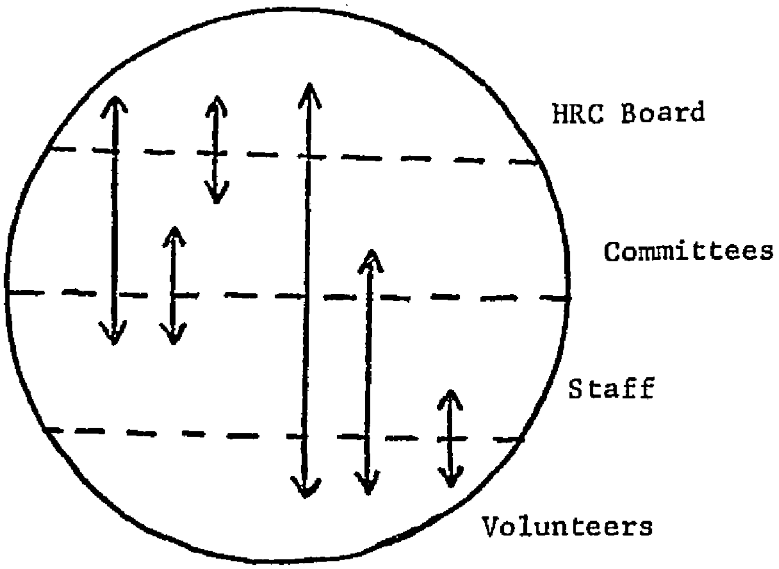

HRC Board
Committees
Staff
Volunteers

FIGURE 7

EXTERNAL MAINTENANCE SPHERE OF HRC ACTIVITY

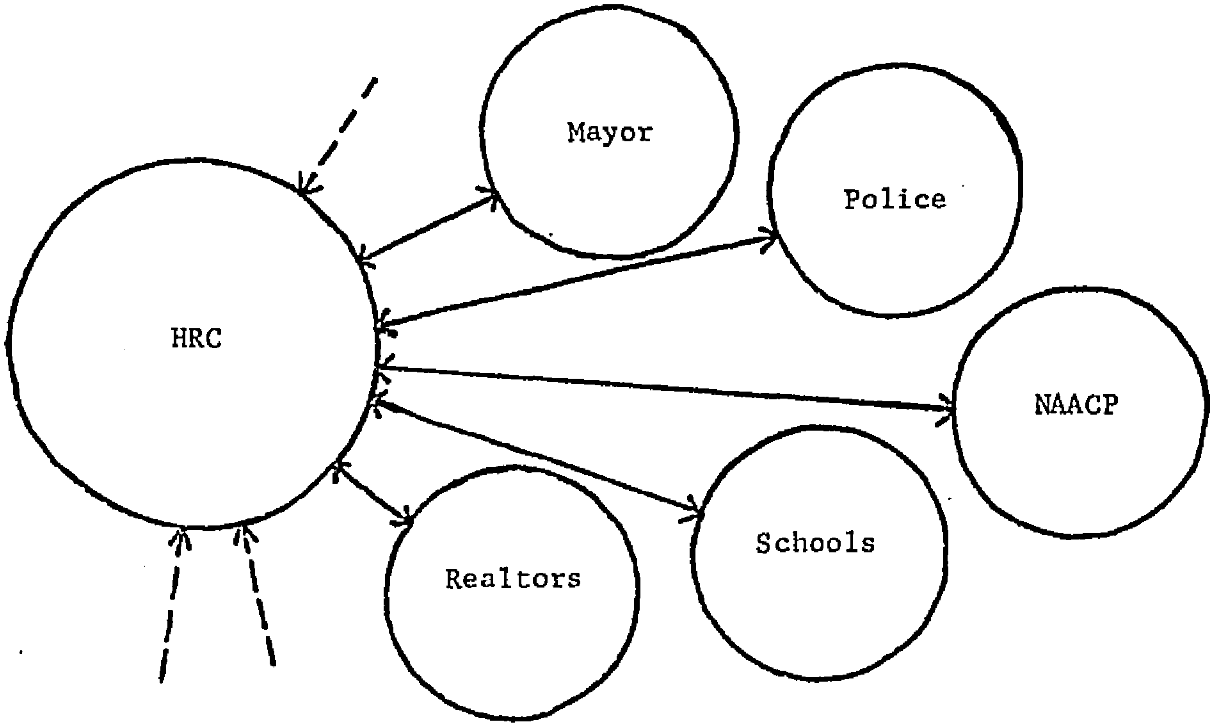
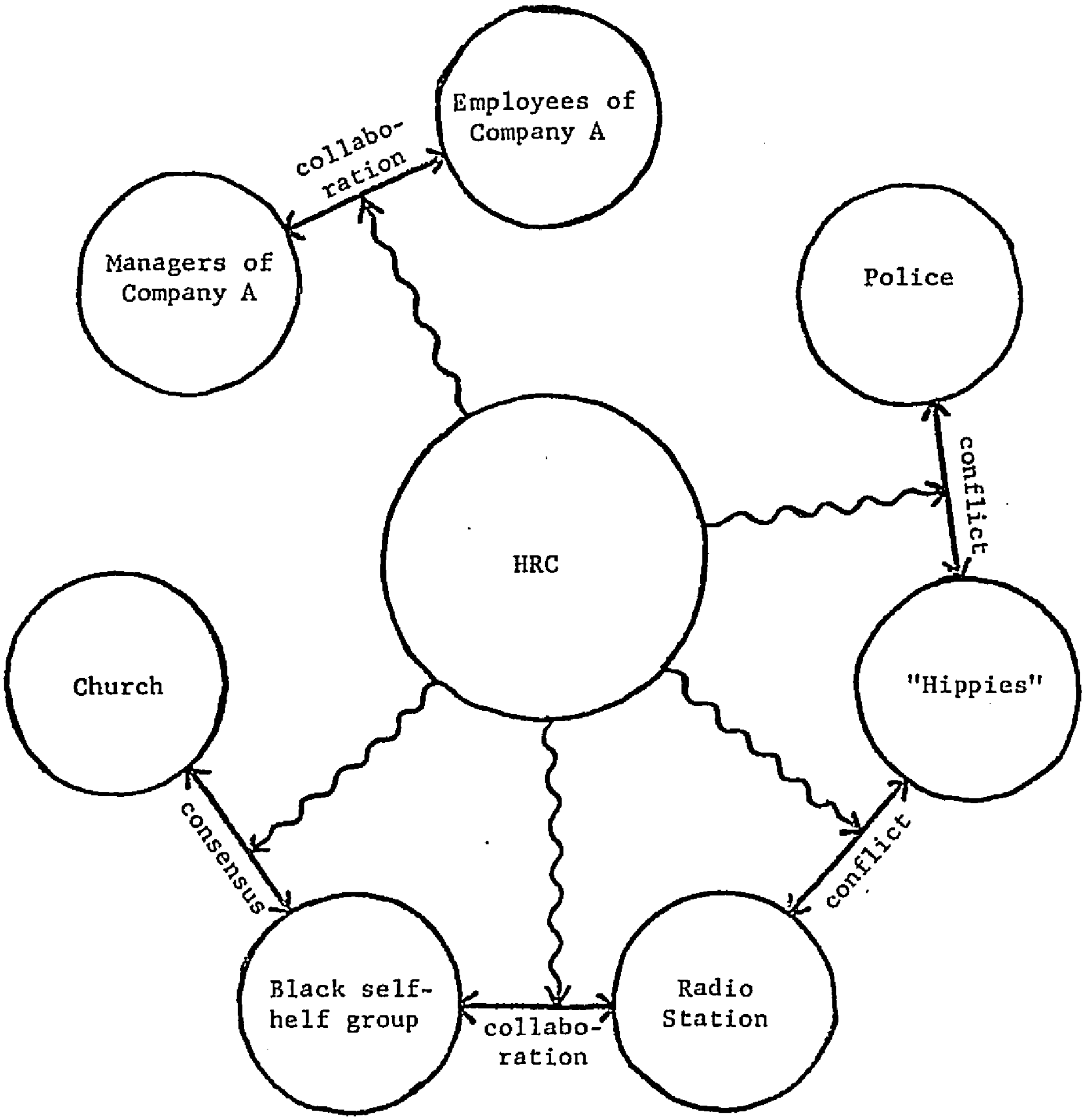

Mayor
Police
HRC
NAACP
Schools
Realtors

FIGURE 8

EXTERNAL INTERVENTIVE SPHERE OF HRC ACTIVITY


Employees of Company A
collaboration
Managers of Company A
Police
conflict
HRC
Church
"Hippies"
consensus
conflict
Black self-helf group
collaboration
Radio Station

involve relations among the various participants within the agency -- the boards, committees, staff, and volunteers (see Figure 6).

External maintenance relationships are those in which the HRC has become involved in order to exist and maintain itself. Obviously since all the HRCs are dependent, for finances and other resources, on local government, relationships exist between the agencies and local political officials. In the process of publicizing, legitimating, and institutionalizing itself it has developed "working relationships" with a variety of other community organizations and groups. Here again, the relationships as diagrammatically depicted in Figure 7 may be either consensual, collaborative, or conflictual.

External interventive relationships refer to those in which the HRC is a third party to a more basic relationship which may be consensual, collaborative, or conflictual. For example, a conflictual relationship may exist between the administrators and the residents of a local public housing project. Where the HRC actively intervenes in that relationship to affect it in some way (i.e., initiate, enhance, sustain, or sever) we have a case of an external interventive relationship. HRCs may also, of course, intervene in consensual and collaborative relation. Some examples of this sphere of activity are depicted in Figure 8. For the HRC to intervene in a relationship normally implies that it is related in some way to each of the involved parties, but not necessarily. It may, for example, provide information, advice, support, or resources to one party which has an effect on the relationship that that party has with another. In this sense, an interventive relationship may involve redistribution of system benefits, as when the HRC provides a black youth with the prerequisites for entrance to a building-trade labor union which previously denied blacks entrance. The illustrations and discussion of each of these spheres of action under the major integrating strategies will offer greater clarification and support for the conceptual framework discussed here.

Consensus Management

Purposive efforts by HRCs to manage consensus involve attempts to affect relationships of a consensual nature, including actions to initiate, enhance, sustain, or sever such relationships within the various spheres of HRC activity. In this process of continually renegotiating the consensual aspect of the social order, integration and change of a flexible community system is actively promoted by the HRC integrating mechanisms.

Internal Relationships

The very existence of an HRC with its heterogeneous board, committees, staff, and volunteers often represents an adaptive system response to differences, by forming a structure within which differences are to be worked out and the various participants brought together in a common cause. Within this structure consensual relationships are initiated among diverse HRC participants where such relations had not existed before. Commissioners, usually including people in leadership roles in business, labor, churches, civil rights groups, and civic affairs, are expected to arrive at common definitions of intergroup situations through the process of group interaction. To some extent there occurs a cross-fertilization of ideas, learning, attitude change and an emergent consensus. For some, participation as a commissioner offers an opportunity to have certain values, norms, etc. reinforced by group interaction with those of a similar mind. Where an orientation toward unanimity or "togetherness" exists, the dynamics of group interaction serves as a means to this end, negatively sanctioning any tendencies toward disagreement. These same group processes operate in HRC committees and to some extent, among the staff.

Even where agreements may not exist or be reachable, the HRCs often try to give the impression that they speak with one voice. Several HRC boards require that all statements issued to the press, whether by commissioners, staff, or committee members, be "cleared" by the board or its executive committee first. Similarly, some see the function of the executive committee of the board as one of working out internal matters that "are better not discussed in public."

Selection of staff by the boards and executive directors generally involves screening and choosing only those people who have demonstrated viewpoints that are in concurrence with theirs. Very frequently reference is made to the importance of the "commitment" criterion in selecting new personnel, a commitment to views that are in accord with those of existing participants in the agency.

Conversely, certain people are explicitly rejected from consideration for membership because of their opposing views.

What often emerges from HRC group interaction is a resolve to set policy and implement programs or activities that are "good for _all_ the people" in the community, rather than the alternative of serving the interests of a specialized group. But, one black executive director notes, serving all of the people generally implies supporting the interests of white people. In these cases executives and other staff will often try to "educate" board and committee members about the special needs of blacks and other minorities, suggesting that the majority is aided best by attending to problems or deficiencies in the system which militate against full participation and benefit on the part of growing minority groups. In general, internal consensus management involves actions to promote unity and agreement -- apparent or real -- within the confines of the HRC.

External Maintenance Relationships

In the previous chapter it was noted that many HRCs spend considerable time in the pursuit of support goals, trying to maintain themselves as viable entities in the community. This involves actions that intricately involve HRCs in a network of interorganizational relationships. In the consensus management strategy, supportive relations in which external groups "get behind" the HRC are most important. Where this support is not readily forthcoming special efforts are directed toward mobilizing it. When support for the agency is generally given, HRCs spend time nurturing and sustaining it. A large part of the effort here may be considered to be a public relations endeavor designed to maximize the image of the HRC.

Thus, HRCs sometimes maintain supportive relations with others by carefully wording public pronouncements and by avoiding certain issues which are potentially divisive. The thrust of this strategy is to focus on issues and policies which can encompass general agreement and support from the broadest segment of the community. Communications emanating from the HRC often stress common values and norms which the HRC positively upholds, such as "to involve all citizens in making democracy work, to promote justice, and to achieve equality."

HRC participants exhibit a strong concern over perceptions of their legitimacy in the eyes of external group members. The views of those in local civil rights, business, church, etc. groups as well as government and social welfare agencies are considered important to the maintenance of the HRC. Board, committee, and staff participants actively develop and nurture "contacts" in these groups and agencies, emphasizing the common cause to which they are all committed.

HRC maintenance relationships usually involve a two-way flow of communication. As integrating mechanisms, the manipulation of this information flow -- much like a broker -- is a crucial aspect of HRCs. The feedback function that HRCs fulfill for political superordinates is dependent upon the maintenance of continuous communications with various community elements. "Contacts" are instrumental in providing HRCs with information on "moods," attitudes, problems, etc. occurring in various sections of the communities. Thus, to maintain its credibility in the views of political officials, HRCs provide feedback information about what is happening in other system parts and, conversely, HRCs inform the parts on developments within the political structure or in other parts of the community system. All of the HRCs, in fact, are expected to submit annual reports to the mayor, and some submit quarterly or even more frequent reports about what the HRC is doing and about events in the community which might be of interest to political figures.

There are, it is being suggested here, various groups and organizations that are in basic agreement with what the HRC stands for and the actions it undertakes. Articulation of that consensus, however, requires the "management" initiative of the HRC, an effort they all engage in to some degree, for without it their legitimacy, credibility, and resources would be modest at best. By virtue of their contacts and acceptance in various organizations, their resources, and thus their effectiveness, are often increased. Many HRCs, for example, share information on specific discrimination complaint cases with state and federal anti-discrimination law enforcement agencies. Additionally, they will often refer cases to those agencies since there is basic agreement among the agencies on the ends and means of case processing.

External Interventive Relationships

Admittedly, a distinction between maintenance and interventive relationships is not always easy to draw; nevertheless, we do recognize that there are two separate organizational processes involved here so this section focuses on the interventive aspects of relationships which may also have maintenance overtones. In the present context, intervention by the HRC as a "third party" occurs in a consensual relationship between two or more external parties. This includes actions to initiate such a relationship where none existed before as well as to enhance, sustain, or sever already existing relations. The numerous activities and programs outlined by HRC respondents and documentary materials give ample indication of the occurrence of this sphere of consensus management.

For example, several HRCs worked intensively with hospitals, businesses, and other organizations to draw up affirmative action program procedures to facilitate faster recruitment and hiring of greater numbers of blacks, a goal shared by black labor market participants and these employers alike. Or, in some cities HRCs have established housing opportunity and referral centers to assist, on the one hand, those blacks looking for non-ghetto housing and, on the other, residents of white areas who welcomed moves by blacks to their areas. These are essentially interventive acts which serve to enhance already existing consensual relationships.

Actions to initiate consensus seem even more numerous. They often take the form of educational films, talks, television shows, brochures, etc. directed toward acquainting unfamiliar audiences with information about "institutional racism," black history, black cultural and scientific achievements, potential solutions to intergroup problems, etc., with the objective that attitudes, beliefs, or even values be altered in a direction toward greater consensus on "common concerns." This is basically an endeavor to mobilize and mold a unified public opinion on what must be done in the arena of intergroup relations. Consensus initiating intervention is also well exemplified in the frequent cases where HRCs have interceded in schools and factories to set up "mini" human relations councils, structures which facilitate the consensus-achieving group dynamics referred to earlier. Similarly, a large number of HRCs have actively sought to establish police community relations units within police departments, and in some instances the HRC staff provides "human relations training" for police officers.

A good part of consensual interventive activities of HRCs involve the community organization objective of getting other agencies to improve their services or to inaugurate new services for which there is a demonstrated and agreed upon need. Through research, contacts, and gentle persuasion, the relations between agencies and clients dependent on their services are improved.

Collaboration Management

Collaborative relations are based on essentially utilitarian considerations of individual gain. One party collaborates with another in a cooperative venture when there is "sometings in it for him," even though major disagreements may exist between the collaborating parties. Collaboration management refers to purposive efforts to guide or steer cooperative endeavors between otherwise dissensual social actors. It involves recognition of conflicts of interests, values, or norms as well as cognizance of mutual gain through collaboration in at least some delimited interactional areas.

Internal Relationships

While internal consensual relationships exist in HRCs, there is also ample indication, perhaps even more frequent, of collaborative relations. This is particularly evident where board and committee members serve in those positions not because of a committment to the goals of the HRC but because of considerations of personal gain to be derived from their participation -- on the order of access to powerful figures, boosts in personal prestige, gains in "visibility" for advertising or political purposes, etc. Politics is often involved in securing a commission appointment, and the appointment is often viewed as a "stepping-stone" to more prestigious politically appointive offices or to elective office. Most HRC boards contain members who either have been active in politics or intend to be in the future. Some, in fact, were compaigning for elective office at the time of data collection. From the standpoint of the staff or other "committed" board and committee members, the political opportunists can be an asset to the HRC because of the prestige, power, and visibility these figures lend to the agency. Collaboration on HRC projects occurs here in spite of some basic existing disagreements. In two cities there were board members whom the executive directors "knew" were John Birch Society proponents. In one case the director tried to get the board member removed, but the other director decided to "use" him and opposed efforts by others to have him removed. One executive director, referring to both internal and external relations of HRCs said, "It's a very very political thing, and you have to be politically astute to get along in this agency."

Sometimes, of course, complete collaboration between boards and staff, the daily operating arm of the HRC, is not achievable so other arrangements are attempted. An executive director who had formally resigned his post reminisced about problems of working with the board:

> I should have gotten a hard-core five or six of them [commissioners] together in regular caucuses, strategizing -- the interested ones -- and explaining everything to them, especially getting the one "big-mouth" who's the strong personality type who can push the message, and I could have done everything. I, at least I could have gotten the board to go in all of the directions that I wanted. But I didn't do this. This is what I think is necessary. . . . I naively assumed that if I did a meritorious job, I wouldn't have any difficulty, the commission would be appreciative and what not. This isn't exactly true. . . . What you can do for their re-election is what they're primarily concerned about.

There is some evidence of similar collaboration management of relations between committees and staff.

Collaboration on joint endeavors also occurs among HRC staff due to the normal process of attrition which brings in people whose orientations may be significantly divergent, for example, regarding values of assimilation of minorities into the mainstream or accomodation to diversity in a pluralistic system. Since many of the HRCs are not very internally specialized, staff collaborate on a variety of joint endeavors to uphold the general image of the agency. Also, of course, formal divisions of labor and authority within the agency, to the limited extent they generally exist, compel a certain amount of collaboration among the staff.

External Maintenance Relationships

Security for the maintenance of the HRCs is, in part, achieved by making the agency functionally indispensable in the community system. Once it has a foot in the door, so to speak, it can use that foot to jar the door open further. Some elements of the political context of HRCs have already been noted, but the significance of that context is even more evident here. Particularly in the relations between HRCs and local political officials (i.e., mayors, councilmen, etc.) we find extensive interdependence. As one staff respondent observed, "The future of the HRC depends on politics." The dependence of the HRC on the city "treasury-keepers" for finances is everywhere obvious, and often lamented by HRC staff, but the dependence of city officials on the HRC may be less apparent to the casual observer. While some HRC personnel have noted, "they /̲city officials̲/ could completely wipe us out whenever they want to," the fact remains that they choose not to do so. The primary reason given is that volatile groups, mainly black, in the city would register extreme displeasure toward such a move, and the political security of elected officials would be jeopardized. It is often assumed that blacks and others would protest the abolishment of an HRC not so much because it represents their only hope for securing greater system rewards, but because it is symbolic of a public concern over the state of intergroup relations. And, to whatever extent HRCs have achieved favorable public opinion, the public "outcry" would be that much greater. Additionally, many political officials recognize that HRC participants, by virtue of the nature of their work and the structure of the agency, have numerous "contacts" among the citizenry who may do irreparable harm to their political ambitions.

If there is any indication at all of a prevailing attitude of elected officials toward the HRC it seems to be one of, "As long as you don't enter partisan political contests and don't create more turmoil than you prevent, you may attempt any programs or activities you want." Some participants, however, assess the views of officials even more negatively, such as, "they let us know that they can't get along without us, but they don't want us." Or, in more colorful language, two participants said of the HRC relationship with city officials, ". . . HRC is a bastard department . . .," and "The HRC is kind of the unwanted step-child of city government." Nevertheless, HRCs have remained a formal part of local governments, even though in several instances the effectiveness of the agencies has apparently been diminished by limited cooperation from city officials, particularly financial.

This should not be taken to imply that political officials do not ever personally agree with the objectives and strategies of HRCs, for often they do. Yet, while their values and beliefs may be supportive, they often recognize overriding political considerations that cannot be ignored. For example, one executive director, talking about how the mayor supported the HRC but had to publicly conceal his support, said of the mayor:

> I think he's concerned about it /_HRC_/, but lets face it, politically most of the things that need to be done in a community where you have less than 20 percent of the population as the "target community" -- the persons who would benefit by us -- it's not politically wise to do most of the things that we want to do. I think he stuck his neck out in some instances where others wouldn't have.

This director commented further that he thought he could get about everything he wants from the mayor if there were political support for those things in the community. But, he acknowledged that it is incumbent upon the HRC to show that support.

Collaborative relationships are also maintained with a variety of other groups and organizations. Outstanding among these are relations between the HRC and local police departments. Because of increasing minority citizen complaints about police brutality, partisan administration of justice, and others, HRCs have deliberately initiated working relationships with the police. Other than that some HRCs have achieved a modicum of cooperation with the police, there are few, if any, generalizations to be made about their relations. In some cities there is virtually no relationship at all, in others it is mostly conflictual, and in still others so unpredictable and qualified that little can be said about it. Again, in those cases where collaboration has been achieved it is largely for political reasons, such as that the mayor requires them both to cooperate. Or, in some cases the HRC is allowed to train new police recruits in human relations, but is not allowed to give in-service human relations training to police veterans, a sensitive issue in police departments.

What often happens is that HRC personnel will carefully cultivate amicable relations with well-chosen police officers in the upper echelons of the department, trying to get an "inside man" to apply leverage in negotiating collaborative relations with the heads of the department. There has been some cooperation between HRCs and police in developing police community relations programs, public relations programs to improve the image of the police in ghetto areas, agreements to share information about tension situations in the community, and agreements to allow certain HRC personnel to go through police barricades in areas affected by civil disturbance. But even where these collaborative arrangements have been reached there seems to be an uneasy truce between the two departments. As expressed by one HRC staff member:

> The police? On the surface the police are cooperative. They never ask for assistance from the HRC, but they listen when we give advice. But a lot of them would like to see us go away. . . . there is a realization in the higher levels of the police department that we are here to stay.

Maintenance of collaborative relations with the police may be one of the more difficult tasks facing HRCs, and what has been done here may be most aptly described as maintaining "diplomatic courtesy," the wry observation of one respondent.

Among the numerous and diverse groups in HRC networks, the most extensive type of maintenance relationship seems to be that of collaboration. To discuss each of these would interject a high level of redundancy to this discourse, so only one more relationship will be discussed here -- that between the HRC and civil rights groups. This is not a unitary relationship in most cities since usually there are several and ideologically diverse civil rights organizations, from Black Panthers to Urban Leagues. Some of the relations are almost purely consensual and others involve continuous basic conflict, as between HRCs and militant civil rights groups who see the HRC as strictly an arm of the "establishment" which they fundamentally oppose. With several civil rights groups, however, HRCs have acquired collaborative relationships of a classic nature, uniting elements of both consensus and conflict into an interdependent relationship of complementarity. This is best illustrated in those cases where civil rights leaders, openly concurring with the goals of HRCs, publicly criticize the agency for not performing adequately. Such actions enhance the credibility of civil rights leaders among their constituencies and simultaneously gives the HRC favorable public opinion resources to use in its negotiations with city officials for larger budgets, staff, support, etc. In one medium-sized city the HRC director said he feels that they "don't get enough criticism of the type, 'you aren't doing enough,' and get too much of the type, 'you're doing too much.'" So, to offset adverse public criticism of the HRC, its personnel sometimes covertly solicit public criticism of the agency from civil rights spokesmen. HRCs try to manage relations in which they are vehemently criticized, but not opposed.

A final point of relevance to this section is that many HRC professionals and some other participants are themselves personally committed to a faster pace of social change than their agencies are able to maneuver, they are weary of the compromises of collaboration in a political context. Several have arrived at the conclusion that HRCs must be totally independent of political control if they are to be effective. This is so, they believe, because much of the change they seek either directly involves local government or in some way implicates it. Emphasizing this point metaphorically, a respondent intoned, "Afterall, the tail can't bite the dog," and, continuing his metaphor, some feel the dog has bitten the tail often enough.

External Interventive Relationships

Without a doubt, there are far more collaborative relationships in any community than those HRCs intervene in, and it is not always clear why some are singled out for intervention and others are not. The determination of criteria involved in this selective intervention process would seem to require much more prolonged and intensive study. A series of truncated examples of collaborative intervention actions of HRCs are given below:

1. Facilitated collaboration between police department, street department, and ghetto youth to provide clean-up work for 175 young men during summer months.
2. Added technical and political support to an effort between the recreation department and a poverty area neighborhood organization to develop a new playground in the neighborhood.
3. Set up a program to promote dialogue between black youth, white youth, teachers, and administrators in a high school anticipating but not yet experiencing conflict.
4. Offered technical and other support to growing collaborative relations between city government purchasers and new black contractor's association.
5. Assisted the "Mayor's Task Force" in their work to "improve the quality of life" in a tourist section of one major city. HRC particularly defended the rights of "hippies" and other "undesirables" to live in the area.

6. Offered technical and program assistance to local colleges and universities who were collaborating with others in the community to promote greater involvement of colleges in community affairs.
7. Helped police community relations officers coordinate regular meetings with residents in selected areas of the city.
8. Provided technical assistance and coordinating services between Urban Teachers Corps of local university and ghetto area schools.
9. Sponsored and assisted neighborhood councils of residents setting up meetings to resolve local problems.
10. Helped to initiate and sustain a collaborative broadcast service between local Spanish speaking residents and an area radio station.
11. Joined and assisted a coalition between the Urban League, Fair Employment Practices Committee, and Building Trades Council to provide pre-apprenticeship training for minority group youth seeking entrance to local craft labor unions.
12. Entered a three-way working agreement between the Office of Crime Control Planning, Model Cities Program, and HRC to provide grievance machinery, social services, and advocacy services for residents in central city poverty area.

Generally, collaborative intervention seems to imply offering technical services, information, advice, coordination, or support in relationships among collaborating groups where each is promoting its own interests. Often the intervention takes the form of entering a relationship to seek more of whatever is the product of the collaboration, and sometimes to seek less. While there is obviously collaboration management intervention on the part of HRCs, the rationale and rationality involved in these efforts remains problematic.

Many HRCs have attempted to create an image of themselves in the community as a form of ombudsman where grievances of various types, especially those involving city government agencies, can be lodged, deliberated and resolved in one form or another. Complaints cover a broad spectrum of concerns from overt employment discrimination to police brutality to inadequate garbage pick-up service and many others. A number of these involve dissatisfactions among parties to collaborative relations, as when a public housing resident has a gripe about the way Housing Authority personnel treat him. The HRC will intervene in these situations to re-establish satisfactory working relationships between the affected parties. There are some cases where HRC legal powers are used to resolve the grievances, but these are treated in the next section. What is significant about the intervention under discussion here is that the HRC, because of its publicized grievance handling role, does not have to seek out these episodes since the affected parties take the initiative in bringing the issue before the HRC. It is also significant to note that a large number of executive directors volunteered to interviewers their aspirations to have HRCs become firmly established in an ombudsman role in the community. Most also suggested that to be effective ombudsmen they would need greater powers than they possessed. In the following discussion of the conflict management integrating strategy, power plays a more central role.

Conflict Management

Conflict relations are those where the interests of interacting parties are incongruent and, in dynamic perspective, the actions of one party to the relationship affect the condition of the other party. Power differences are opportunistically utilized by the more powerful actors to exact certain behaviors from the less powerful. Conflict management refers to actions designed to initiate, enhance, sustain, or sever the expression, or "working out," of underlying opposed interests. Conflicts may be negotiated so that one or both parties "give in" to some degree, but basically conflict relationships are affected by the exercise of power and coercion, whereas consensus and collaboration management imply actions to persuade and bargain among interacting parties.

Internal Relationships

While it was noted under the previous major heading that there are conflicts of interest, values, etc. among participants in the HRCs, and that collaboration still occurs, there are also cases where conflict persists. In these instances the conflict management technique is usually to rid the agency of the troublesome member or members. This kind of internal strife among participants is not uncommon, and it seems that the staff is more likely to lose at it than the board, for it is relatively easy for the board to replace undesirable staff but the reverse procedure is often nearly impossible. The conflict most generally occurs over some action that a staff member has taken, or intends to take, that is offensive in the opinion of one or more board members. A clear example is the case where a staff member participated in a strike called by hospital workers, was arrested, had his picture on the front page of the newspaper, and the following day was asked to appear before a special meeting of the commissioners. In this instance the man was not removed from his position, because the director covered for him, but there a few known cases where staff have been dismissed for similar reasons.

Instances where board members are virtually forced to resign also occur, however. One HRC that was using its influence to gain anti-discrimination law enforcement powers had two prominent board members who said they could not serve on a board that had enforcement powers -- their private industry bosses would not let them. Thus, when others in the agency continued their drive for enforcement responsibilities and were successful, the two members had to resign. About a year later, though, the enforcement function was shifted to another city agency, separate from the HRC. This action may have been taken to prevent this kind of built-in conflict relationship between those who favor the legal approach in attacking discrimination and those who oppose it. In several other HRCs there has been internal turmoil over the same issue, but sometimes the opponents of law enforcement strategies are opposed not because it is too forceful, but because they view it as too slow and ineffectual. As in most organizations there is an ultimate authority for managing these conflicts -- the board -- but largely because of the open boundaries and political nature of HRCs, the conflict does not stop there. If the troublemakers are not summarily dismissed from their duties, there are numerous ways they can "sabotage" an agreed-upon policy in this kind of organization.

External Maintenance Relationships

Extreme difficulties are created for HRCs by virtue of their dependence on the city for funds, their heterogeneous composition, their mixed goals and strategies, and their need for support from a quite fragmented constituency. With one HRC, for example, besides the normal ideological differences in its network of relationships, there was a growing sentiment in the Mexican-American barrios that the HRC was an organization for blacks in the community. "Browns" in the area were generally feeling that too much public concern focused on black needs, at the expense of overlooking the browns. Thus, if the HRC publicized its successes in aid of blacks, it automatically engendered greater resentment among Mexican-Americans. To counter this tendency, in another city the Mayor and commissioners replaced a virtually all black staff with one that was virtually all brown. This of course enraged many vociferous black leaders and their expressed opposition, incidentally coupled with the allegation that the new brown HRC director was "fooling around" with the mayor's personal secretary, led to the replacement of the brown director with a black, labeled by other blacks as a "moderate" and politically safe director. One point to be made here is that HRCs generally cannot appeal to the various groups for support in a unidimensional way, for to do so could result in greater opposition than support. Illustrating this is the instance where, after a civil disturbance, the HRC issued a report summarizing its observations on the background and causes of the riot. Thier report included a segment that was critical of the police response to the situation. Consequently, the HRC was sharply criticized by whites in the community and was highly praised by blacks. A somewhat frustrated staff member observed, "This in itself indicates the precarious role we have to play and the tightrope we have to walk in issuing any public . . . statement that might be construed as advocacy."

Even with regard to only the black segment of a community's population where is great diversity and disagreement on values, norms, etc. There are conservative, moderate, liberal, and radical blacks, and a single appeal for black support will often result in mixed reactions. In large measure this diversity and associated conflict simply is not managed by HRCs, but to the extent that it is, it is a result of personal contacts and relationships with leaders of various community factions. There may be only one staff member who can relate, for example, to the Brown Berets, and another may relate to Black Panters, and so on. These individualistic relations at least give the HRCs access to some information they otherwise may not get, and they enhance the feedback the agency might give to political superordinates.

Relationships with local police departments sometimes involve open hostility, a situation that may contribute to the maintenance of a positive HRC image among anti-police groups, and/or detract from its image in other circles. Generally, HRCs try to resolve conflict relations with the police to allow at least a modicum of collaboration, but it is difficult because, as an HRC participant observed, ". . . it is the nature of our job to be critics of the police." To manage better relations, some HRCs make a point of publicly praising the police whenever they show exemplary performance of their duties. Several HRCs have also participated in the development of written plans for community response to civil disorders. To maintain their own stature and protect themselves against later misunderstandings, they have tried to set a significant HRC role written into the disorder plans. Such plans often include provision for formally authorizing HRC personnel to freely move about a disturbance area, to participate in strategy meetings with political officials, and to attempt conciliation among the conflict participants. Disturbance plans tend to institutionalize the primacy of the HRC's role in community conflict situations. However, the written HRC disturbance role and what the police and political officials actually allow during real disturbances are sometimes completely different. In one riot situation, for example, after being rebuffed by police at the barricades around a disturbance area the HRC director went to City Hall to participate in a quickly called meeting of the Mayor, Chief of Police, and other cabinet officials. To his dismay, a police sergeant guarding the elevator to the mayor's office adamantly refused to allow him to enter the meeting, even after identifying himself with his "official pass." Thus, conflicts between police and HRC participants sometimes persist, despite written arrangements for collaborative relations.

There is a generally delicate organizational maintenance problem deriving from HRC intervention in conflicts, as will be elaborated in the next section. The point here is that because of the general chaos of disturbance situations and the need for rapid decision making, HRCs often find themselves in a very defensive posture in the post-disturbance period. While many of the negative criticisms made of HRC interventive actions are viewed by agency participants as preposterous and misconceived, they nevertheless feel compelled to defend themselves against adverse public opinion. After disturbance involvements, detailed written accounts are usually forwarded to the mayor. Often, too, mass media are called upon to present the HRCs' actions in proper perspective, but success here seems generally limited.

Another type of maintenance effort by HRCs involves a form of political lobbying for passage of legislation giving HRCs stronger law enforcement responsibilities and powers. Such actions place HRCs squarely in the center of political contests, and on several occasions participants have lost their jobs because of it. In a few cities it is expected that when the political party in power is changed following an election, the HRC directorship, and sometimes staff positions, will change hands as well. These changes occur not only because of mayoralty differences of opinion on the "proper" role of HRCs, but also because the HRC directorship is the biggest "black patronage" position in many city governments. In any event, efforts to secure greater and greater powers and resources to intervene in intergroup conflict relationships consumes a considerable proportion of many HRCs' maintenance activities.

External Interventive Relationships

Recalling that interventive relationships of HRCs place them in a third-party relationship involving at least two other social actors, the discussion below includes illustrations of this sphere of purposive action in a conflictual context. It may be said at the outset that interventive actions occur at two levels -- relationships involving individuals and relationships involving groups. All HRCs operate at both levels, but to varying degrees. Those agencies emphasizing grievance-handling and law enforcement functions tend to deal at the individual level moreso than others.

Older HRCs helped to establish themselves in the community by receiving, investigating, and conciliating individual complaints of discrimination in community institutions, as noted in Chapter IV, but contemporary HRCs have been able to concentrate more heavily on problems affecting large aggregates of people. Nevertheless, individual cases are still brought to the attention of HRCs, and are solicited by some, for help in achieving some sort of resolution. The most common complaints involve charges of discrimination in employment, housing, and police administration of justice. The ten agencies that have enforcement powers will generally exercise those powers, after a long period of investigations, attempted conciliation, and processing of complaints, to achieve a resolution of the conflict. More often than not, the legal sanctions are not applied to the alleged offending party because no probable cause is uncovered in the investigation, charges are dropped, the HRC finds it does not have jurisdiction, the grievance is adjudicated before penalties need be imposed, or the alleged violator is found innocent. The whole process of complaint handling is a long, arduous, and often tedious task which, overall, has resulted in only a small number of "convictions" with imposition of penalties. Actual enforcement powers vary somewhat from city to city, but the strongest cases include the powers to initiate investigations as well as respond to complaints, conduct hearings, subpoena witnesses and records, issue cease and desist orders, require affirmative action reports, secure injunctive relief through the courts, and impose fines and penalties. While the strongest means of coercion are seldom used by HRCs, many participants believe that simply having the power to use if necessary is a significant deterrent to many employers and other potential civil rights law violators.

A much greater share of HRC interventive attention is devoted to group level conflict relationships. To help guide the data presentation and analysis, we conceive of the interventive actions at this level as of two basic types -- reactive and proactive. Reactive conflict intervention occurs as a response to some disruptive event in the community defined by the HRCs as threatening or potentially threatening to overall community welfare or the welfare of some segment of the community. Examples of such events include group expressions of hostility such as in schools, protest demonstrations (especially those involving blacks, students or youth), large milling crowds, small incidents or skirmishes with police (especially in ghetto areas), and large-scale outbreaks of violence and destruction.

Included in our conception of reactive intervention is what HRCs often refer to as "tension control" activities, designed to "de-fuse" growing conflicts before violence erupts. HRC field workers and agency "contacts" throughout the community are generally viewed as an "early warning system," to alert HRCs to tensions and potentially threatening conflicts. An additional device used by HRCs is their rumor control centers, operative in seven of the agencies. These are essentially comprised of elaborate telephone hook-ups with a publicized phone number for anyone to call to report or verify rumors they have heard -- particularly rumors of actual or impending violence and destruction. When HRCs learn of tension situations, by whatever means, there are several alternative responses. They may verify the information with respected contacts, consult with and/or inform the police, inform the mayor, alert board and staff members, send out staff, commissioners, or volunteers to investigate and/or mediate, call meetings of the parties to the tension, simply observe the situation, and make policy or tactical recommendations to the police or other agents of social control. Some or all of these responses are taken by all HRCs at one time or another. When tensions are verified and HRC participants are at the scene, a common interventive approach is to immediately stimulate a dialogue between opposing factions; or when only one party to the conflict relationship is present they will try to dissuade the potential rioters from using violence by either pointing to alternative means of relieving hostilities or persuading the crowd to go home.

There are some cases where what appeared to be a volatile racial confrontation on the surface turned out to be relatively inconsequential upon investigation by HRC field teams. In one instance, for example, police were called to break up a fighting crowd of black and white youth. The HRC intervened, found it to be an innocent snowball fight, and persuaded the police to withdraw completely. In another instance where "contacts" and the HRC did in fact anticipate a major disturbance involving a college crowd, the HRC arranged for a "rock band" to perform at the scene, thus feeling they de-fused a potential riot.

A large number of HRC participants do not like to perform a tension control role. As one director said, "It's a 'con-game' and I don't like it, but I guess we do it because it works." He was referring specifically to a meeting the HRC set up to air grievances between a police "strike force" intensively patrolling an area and residents of the area. He dislikes these tactics, he says because no lasting changes come out of them, there is no carry-over to prevent recurrences. A simple venting of emotions, in other words, does nothing to change the conditions that cause antipathy or other hostile feelings.

Another common area of reactive conflict intervention occurs when HRCs attempt to play a part in quelling actual civil disturbances of riots. Almost all HRCs have had experiences in actual riots, but some have concluded after the experience that they will no longer become involved until the riot is over. This decision was motivated by several considerations -- involvement is too dangerous, the police resent and/or prevent their involvement, it is futile, and it is not the proper role for an HRC. When asked what he would do if another riot occurred in his city, one director said he would "Go home, and sit down and watch television." Others, however, still believe they have a responsibility to intervene. Most feel that there is no role for commissioners in riotous situations, other than to support the staff, unless they are residents of the affected area or are leaders respected by riot participants. Most actions during the heat of a disorder are directed toward achieving peace, such as speaking to crowds, trying to isolate suspected crowd leaders, or advising the police. When leaders can be located they will often be asked to meet with city officials or other parties to the conflict to work out some resolution. But generally, it is only after the violence has subsided that meetings and negotiations can be carried on.

At this point in a disturbance all HRCs agree they have an important interventive role to play. In some cities, however, the HRC mediating or negotiating role in the aftermath of a disturbance is pre-empted by political superordinates who deal directly with supposed representatives of the conflict partisans. Sometimes, too, not the authorities but the riot participants feel the HRC has no legitimate role in negotiations. For example, "Blacks ask, 'What can you do for us? . . . got any money?' etc." Nevertheless, when involved, HRCs attempt to get both sides to air their feelings and articulate their positions on the issues; then they strive to arrive at positions which are negotiable. In the process HRC spokesmen will sometimes take stands themselves on the issues and use whatever influences they have to secure concessions from the opposed party. Negotiations following a disorder are often very extended, lasting weeks or months. During this period HRCs generally hold numerous meetings, use the power and influence of commissioners to secure concessions and effect changes deemed desirable, and keep reminding city officials that it could happen again unless certain corrective actions are taken, often including a recommendation that the HRC be expanded or additionally financed. Also, some HRC participants have clandestinely helped to organize and coordinate civil rights leaders to continue their pressures on city officials, in pursuit of greater concessions. In one of these instances the organized leaders decided to attempt impeachment of the incumbent mayor, so the HRC quickly took steps to completely dissociate itself from the group -- no doubt a rational protective move.

The communications and feedback functions of HRC integrating mechanisms are also quite evident in their conflict intervention spheres of action. In tension and in riot situations many people see HRC participants as representatives of and channels to government leaders. They are often singled out to carry particular messages or demands to those in charge of city affairs. Rumor control centers, always operative during riots, facilitate better communication, and they provide HRCs with information that may be useful to the agency in their programming or to city officials. Additionally, HRCs are frequently asked to conduct post-riot investigations to determine the causes, courses, and consequences of the event. This type of feedback to city officials is usually accompanied by recommendations for changes that local government could effect.

Proactive conflict intervention does not occur as a response to a disruptive event; rather, it engages the HRC in change-seeking actions that are deemed necessary to attain or preserve justice, freedom, equality, etc. in the community system. Underlying these actions is a strong sense of what is "right" and "good," and an awareness that some aspect of reality does not conform to those conceptions. This awareness may often be a result of experience in reacting to community disruptions, but other common sources are the results of focused studies and investigations conducted by the HRC, information gleaned from other agencies and community contacts, and problems brought to the attention of HRC participants by citizens expressing grievances. These sources of information and learning, combined with the participants own orientations and values, congeal to yield the conclusion that conflicts of interest among elements of the communities must be reduced or eliminated to achieve a system state that it good and just -- and, secondarily, is less tension prone. Proactive interventions include advocate, organizer, and catalyst roles.

Advocacy actions are fairly common in several HRCs and, in others, are engaged in sporadically by particular individuals in the agencies. What advocacy implies is that the HRC takes a side in a controverted issue, publicly proclaiming its support for one alternative solution or party to the conflict. The form of advocacy taken may include position papers, policy statements, news releases, or public speeches supporting or opposing, for example, specific pieces of legislation or certain administrative actions of some public or private organization. For public employees to engage in advovacy, very akin to partisan politics, is a delicate matter; and it is not uncommon that their right to be advocates is resented and resisted by the interest groups being opposed. HRCs practicing advocacy are thus embroiled in political "gaming," and the advocates generally continue their tactics until they are fired, repressed, or they resign. But they fight back too, as indicated in one newsletter stating, ". . . HRC makes no apologies for policy positions it has taken to rectify some of the injustices which exist in the . . . community." It is significant to note that many of those using advocacy tactics have expressed a genuine concern for the security of their jobs. Yet, because of their commitment to the necessity and legitimacy of the tactic, the threat of losing their job is relatively immaterial to most.

A proactive intervention tactic similar to the above is to organize one of the parties to a basic conflict of interest (in all cases the less powerful party) so that they can more forcefully represent themselves and their needs in contests with more powerful groups or organizations whose actions affect their lives. This is essentially the approach of "confrontation politics" in which powerless groups mobilize what few resources they have (usually large numbers of people) in order to confront the more powerful for the purpose of contesting issues, negotiating, and securing concessions. From an HRC perspective, the objective here is not simply to open lines of communication between the disadvantaged and advantaged, but to use "political" means to gain advantages from the latter. Thus, HRCs have expended considerable effort to, in a sense, create conflictual relationships in communities. Actually, the objective conditions for conflict are already there; HRC intervention only brings them to the surface. Organizational efforts have been directed toward Indians, chicanos, Japanese-Americans, Puerto Ricans, blacks, the poor, and students. It is not generally assumed that once organized these groups will utilize only conventional political channels, and even the possibility that violence may be a result is sometimes acknowledged, as in the HRC staff organizer's comment, "I'd probably be involved in setting up the disturbances." This orientation is not typical of HRC participants, but it exists among some and is more evident in some cities than others.

The previous two paragraphs portray interventive actions in which conflict relationships are sustained and initiated, respectively, while the following discussion relates to interventive actions which enhance conflict relations -- with the objective of working them out and resolving them through change. A catalytic role is played by agencies which set up a structure for bringing parties to a conflict in face-to-face contact to resolve differences. The best example of this tactic is a structure called the "Platform," established as an integral part of the HRC in Margrove. The Platform, briefly, is a public forum in which citizens may freely express specific grievances directly to the heads of any local government agencies and get an immediate response. The HRC manages the Platform by identifying articulate members of a community group with common grievances, asking them to serve as spokesmen at the next Platform meeting, developing an agenda for the two-hour open-admission meeting, inviting government officials to be there (especially those implicated by grievances on the agenda), publicizing the monthly meetings by mailings and media releases, requiring all HRC commissioners to be there, and having the chairman of the HRC moderate the meeting. Press and broadcasting representatives are always at the meetings and the proceedings are always televised, at least in part. Illustrating a typical Platform meeting is an instance where residents of a particular slum area were being evicted from the homes and apartments without due-process or proper notice. The matter was brought out at the Platform meeting, appropriate city officials were identified, and they publicly committed themselves to an immediate corrective course of action. Past experience showed this HRC that without the catalytic interventive structure of the Platform, it was very unlikely that the agency could manage as many conflicts, or manage them as quickly and as effectively. Two byproducts of this tactic are that it gives commissioners a significant role to play and it increases the power of the HRC, as well as perhaps improving its image in at least some circles.

In sum then, conflict interventive actions of HRCs are varied yet basically of two types, reactive and proactive. Sometimes an initial reactive intervention ends up becoming proactive, but the distinction is useful in helping to assess the degree to which HRCs, as integrating mechanisms, represent the community system processes of homeostatic adaptation or morphogenic adaptation and change. As has been shown here, both processes are indicated in the conflict management external interventive sphere of action of HRCs.

Summary

In this chapter we have outlined and illustrated the purposive integrative processes -- consensus management, collaboration management, and conflict management -- of one kind of community system integrating mechanism, HRCs. Overall, the dynamic processes described may be viewed, in all their complexity, as purposive attempts to alter or effect a negotiated order among interrelated system parts. Whether considering, as in the subheadings under each type of integrating strategy, the HRCs internal relationships, external maintenance relationships, or external interventive relationships, the dynamics of their activities illustrate a number of the properties of community systems, as outlines in Chapter II.

In each of the spheres of action we demonstrated the existence of the three basic types of relationships -- consensus, collaboration, and conflict -- and we illustrated some of the ways HRCs do, in fact, attempt to manage those relationships. Given the broad domain of HRCs in community systems, their management actions extend far beyond their own boundaries, thus affecting relationships throughout communities. Not only are community relationships affected directly by HRCs purposive actions, they may also be affected by the political subsystems sponsoring HRCs -- subsystems to which HRCs provide a variety of "feedback" secured through the extensive and intricate network of interactions characterizing any HRC. Through providing feedback and through their own actions, HRCs foster a higher level of community system flexibility than would otherwise be obtained. By stimulating interactions, whether of a consensual, collaborative, or conflictual nature, HRCs are mobilizing latent forces and guiding them toward a continuous renegotiation of the social order.

What emerges is not a picture of an organization rationally pursuing carefully delimited objectives in an agreed upon way, unencumbered by unanticipated contingencies. Rather, what we have is a picture of a floundering organization caught in a multiplicity of cross-currents and contradictions trying to keep its head above water. HRCs do not easily "steer" elements and processes of systems down a clearly marked road. They persuade, bargain, and even coerce often recalcitrant and unwilling elements and processes down one or more rough and unmarked paths. We cannot evaluate their successes in this endeavor. All that may be said is that they do serve to illustrate some of the properties and processes said to characterize social systems.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

What began initially as an effort to gain substantive knowledge of the structure and functioning of HRCs in American cities evolved into an extended theoretical and empirical treatment of some critical issues in sociology. While the treatment has not been conclusive, there are conclusions that can be made regarding initial objectives of the study. Those objectives were really two-dimensional: (1) to come to a greater understanding of the nature of HRCs and (2) to interrelate theory and data for the purpose of improving theory. This distinction is not the same as that commonly made between the practical and the theoretical implications of a study. Here, theoretical development and "practical" understanding grew simultaneously, each aspect complementing and "feeding on" the other. This researcher collected data, adopted the orienting concepts of integration and integrating mechanisms, constructed a broad conceptual framework, and used that framework to guide the more intensive ordering, analysis, and interpretation of the data. Thus, what has theoretical implications may also have practical implications, and vice versa. More appropriate to this chapter, then, is a discussion of conclusions relating to the nature of HRCs and conclusions relating to the adequacy of the framework.

The Nature of HRCs

Emerging from all of the preceding is a composite picture of HRCs as organizations which serve a community integrative function, are actively involved in promoting a number of systems processes, exemplify some of the common characteristics of system subparts, and are significantly affected by interactions with other system subparts. Each of these features of HRCs is summarized in the discussion below.

Integrating mechanisms were defined as a group or organization which purposively intervenes in the ongoing interaction process in some way to affect the relationships among interacting parties. HRCs, as was illustrated, do this in several ways and the integrative objective was found to be evident in their goals, structures, and strategies. Conflict intervention and collaboration intervention goals were prominently articulated in the enabling legislation, but consensus intervention goals were not made formally explicit. That is, HRCs do not formally seek to intervene in consensual relations already existing, yet they do attempt to initiate new consensual relations among groups. Conflict and collaboration intervention actions are often taken with the objective of negotiating consensual relationships as the outcome. There seems to be conveyed in the formal goal statements of HRCs the judgement that conflict is undesirable and should be eliminated, collaboration is useful in many cases and should be improved, and consensus is most desirable. Formal goals also indicated a recognition that HRCs cannot focus exclusively on manipulating the forms of interaction between groups; they must also give attention to redistribution of system benefits, give feedback about recommended actions and changes to city government officials, and conduct fact-finding and public education programs. There was, in other words, a recognition that situational changes were necessary to promote system integration. At least in terms of formal objectives, then, HRCs support the dual conception of integration and change as simultaneously occurring processes in a community order which is continuously being renegotiated.

The internal structure of HRCs, too, illustrates the integrative role they play in heterogeneous communities. While there were found to be three basic types of structures, each was designed to "bring together" in one interactive body representatives of many of the diverse groups to arrive at some form of agreement about what steps to take toward solving various intergroup problems. HRCs might be viewed as a kind of "crossroads" organization, providing an intersection where social actors traveling in various directions must take each other into account to avoid a collision course. The structures were also designed to provide grievance machinery and communication "funnels" to city government for citizens who have complaints and suggestions. Specialized personnel who resolve discrimination cases and specialized structures, like the Platform described in Chapter V, facilitate interactions which are likely to achieve needed changes, at least to a certain degree. These aspects of HRC structure are conducive to the renegotiative integrating role they perform.

Strategies of consensus, collaboration, and conflict management, in each of the three spheres of activity (internal, external maintenance, and external interventive relationships), were quite clearly demonstrated to be oriented toward affecting integration. The three types of integration -- cultural, functional, and coercive -- are achieved not just as a result of "passive" social processes, but also as a product of the purposive actions of HRCs. Consensus, collaboration, and conflict relationships are each influenced, or managed, by their activities, including initiation, enhancement, sustenance, and severance of these relationships.

Other than social integration, the community systems processes in which HRCs were shown to play an active part are morphogenesis, homeostasis, feedback, and flexibility maintenance. The very emergence of HRCs represents a morphogenic, structure-elaborating, adaptive response to perceived threats on the part of the political subsystem. And, once formed, HRCs continued the process of organizing, improving, extending, and developing new structures for a variety of purposes, but all generally related to goals of integration and change. The emergence of HRCs could also be seen to show homeostatic system characteristics in that some advocates for an HRC saw it as a means of minimizing change. Similarly, their "crisis intervention" or "tension control" activities might be conceived as essentially efforts to forestall significant social changes. As parts of the political subsystems of communities, HRCs have devoted considerable effort to providing "feedback," in the form of recommendations, observations, research findings, consultations, etc., to political leaders. While often HRC inputs were not sought, and when received were sometimes ignored, the agencies have served this subsystem function. Related to this system process is that of flexibility maintenance. Through offering feedback, grievance machinery, interaction intervention, improved communications, fact-finding, and other outputs, HRCs have affected community systems in ways which should promote flexibility. This, however, is essentially a theoretical prediction rather than an empirical observation. It was observed, however, that a number of HRCs were active in mobilizing latent groups and forces in communities to openly "work out" structural strains existing among them.

Elements of community systems themselves, HRCs were shown to exhibit some of the characteristics of system parts as discussed in the theoretical framework. In fact, as an example of the premise that "organizations . . . are themselves comprised of population subgroups which have differential powers, interests, norms, and values," HRCs may be close to the ultimate possible illustration. Participants in HRCs were shown to represent a fantastic variety of ethclass, religious, occupational, educational, residential, and other groups. Consequently, too, it was indicated that HRCs experience an appropriate share of internal dissensus and conflict. And it was not clear, as some might expect, that those participants most powerful in traditional community affairs, were the primary controllers of the directions and actions taken by HRCs. In these organizations the influences of the usually powerless elements of communities did have an impact, partly because the "disadvantaged" comprised the major constituency whose support and respect was needed by HRCs.

Systems are also characterized by an interdependence among their constituent parts. The data analysis showed a variety of ways in which elements of communities, especially disadvantaged elements, were dependent upon HRCs, at least in part. Civil rights groups, for example, were often dependent on HRC personnel for needed information, coordination, advice, and access to community leaders. It was also shown that for basically political reasons, government officials were often dependent on HRCs. The ways in which HRCs were dependent on others seemed much more numerous, partly because many had still not achieved extensive legitimacy in their communities and partly because of the role they were performing. Promotion of change sometimes creates more conflict than it alleviates, and those whose vested interests are threatened by change generally resist such efforts. In order to overcome these resistances HRCs needed to mobilize as much and as many kinds of support as possible.

Related to the interdependence characteristic of systems is that of the relative autonomy of system parts. The dependence we have noted precludes significant autonomy for HRCs. The point at which HRCs might achieve greater autonomy from local government, an objective held by many agency personnel, is likely to be when government officials feel that the autonomous work of HRCs is adequately beneficial to those officials to warrant underwriting the cost of HRC operations. There are indications, however, that many political officials were wary of HRCs and, in fact, sometimes viewed them as political adversaries. There was, actually, some indication that HRC staff in particular were regularly engaging in actions quite contrary to the presumed or expressed interests of political leaders. For some HRC personnel the challenge of achieving at least a modicum of autonomy from the larger political subsystem of which they are a part has been met with some success. Yet, their goal of becoming independent ombudsmen monitoring the actions of local governments seems a great distance away from realization.

The data analysis of preceding chapters and the concluding summary drawn above relate to three of the four basic objectives of this research listed in Chapter I. The fourth objective, to develop a framework, was achieved in Chapter III, but what remains is to assess that framework.

Adequacy of the Framework

Theoretical frameworks in any discipline are not judged on the basis of their validity or invalidity, but they should be evaluated for their usefulness. In considering alternative frameworks for this analysis we concluded that this new synthetic version of three major models in sociology would serve our interests best. But the framework developed here is not without its own limitations, at least some of which are indicated below.

As it presently stands, the framework is difficult to operationalize. In a rather general sense it sensitizes us to a variety of apparently significant static and dynamic features of community social systems and it suggests ways in which the component theoretical elements are interrelated. Its empirical utility would be enhanced, however, if the conceptualizations and interrelationships of concepts were sharpened and refined moreso than they are.

Dealing as it does with a basic concept as broad as social integration, the model itself must be broad and abstract. But in addition to the wide scope imposed by the substance of the framework, other broadening elements are introduced. Encompassing consensus, collaboration, and conflict relationships as well as the three types of integration, integrating mechanisms, and system properties may make the framework so unparsimonious as to limit its applicability. In the interests of theoretical parsimony and utility, perhaps the framework should be "pared down" to deal only with a subset of the elements included here. There was an occasional feeling in the course of this study that the various assumptions underlying the framework were cumbersome to manage.

While we must continually remind ourselves that this theoretical and empirical effort was an initial exploratory venture, there is always the hope and wish that more had been done. In this regard it would have been desirable to explicate more completely and clearly, in propositional form, the precise processes involved in system integration and in the actions and interrelations of integrating mechanisms. No doubt other variables not included here do intervene in the dynamics described in the framework. To isolate and control for these variables would vastly improve similar projects along this line, but the ability to do this awaits further research and theoretical reflection.

A last obvious shortcoming is that the framework focuses too heavily on integration in a positive sense. That is, it focuses on those characteristics of a system's structure which explain the maintenance of the system as a relatively stable and ordered entity under a range of internal and external conditions. But what about those characteristics which tend the system toward instability and disorder? This "negative" end of the integration/disintegration continuum needs to be more explicitly and completely incorporated into the framework.

None of the limitations identified above seem intrinsically insurmountable, although obviously additional work would be required to overcome them. But aside from these recognized limitations, there are also a number of apparent advantages of the model, as discussed below.

A feature of the present framework which reflects one of the major reasons it was constructed is its multidimensional conception of social integration. In the past it was recognized that integration may be a product of differing processes, but no encompassing framework existed for incorporating this diversity. Relating the three basic types of integration, social relationships, and integrating mechanism strategies in one interrelated schema helps to cope with the multiple aspects of social integration. The functional theorists' exclusive emphasis on cultural and functional integration and the conflict theorists' stress on the integrative functions of conflict each seem too narrow and constraining. It seems evident, on the basis of our present knowledge of HRCs, that a unified model incorporating the several types of integration and their underlying processes is a useful advantage over previous options. Furthermore, the concepts of integration, change, and conflict are not here viewed as counterposed. Functionalists often view integration and conflict as inversely related because of a conception of integration which does not include conflict. Change, too, is generally excluded from primacy in functionalist models. Here, all three processes are integral aspects of a negotiated order in a continuous state of flux.

Another advantage of this perspective is that social processes are considered the central focus for analysis. This is aided by the conceptions of negotiated order, system feedback, and, most importantly, purposive integrating mechanisms. Integration is viewed as a product of not only "passive" interactive processes, but also of organizations whose explicit purpose is to promote community system integration. These morphogenically evolved system units may be rather recent developments of continuing processes of bureaucratization and urbanization, and sociological frameworks are needed to help account for their activities in contemporary social systems. This requires a framework that allows for deliberate integration goal-seeking actions on the part of integrating mechanisms. The present framework offers at least a first step in that theoretical direction.

An advantage which is not unique to this framework accrues from its reliance on a general systems perspective. Systems conceptions allow for dealing with the extensive interrelatedness of community parts and the shifting and variable nature of that interrelatedness. Also helpful is the conception of systems consciously "steering" themselves (with varying degrees of rationality) toward specific goals, not simply reacting defensively to externally induced changes. The never systems view that tensions, or stresses and strains, are internally as well as externally induced is also advantageous in studies of community integration as well as other substantive areas.

Finally, an advantage of the present framework is that, substantively, it is not limited just to HRCs. While it was generated and illustrated with the use of HRC data, it appears to have applicability to other organizations as well. We identified several other organizations, such as Councils of Churches or Chambers of Commerce which could be analyzed as integrating mechanisms which purposively intervene in particular spheres of interaction in communities. In those organizations identified it would seem that collaboration management or coordination efforts would predominate, but other types of renegotiation of relationships would also likely occur.

Overall, the framework developed in the course of this research has been both helpful and limiting in our attempt to understand HRC phenomena in American communities. On the positive side, we feel that our understanding has benefitted from the construction and application of the framework. And, it is somewhat comforting to believe, as we do, that the negative aspects of the framework are amenable to correction and improvement.

Suggested Further Research

Given that HRCs have not been sociologically examined before, new data about them should be welcomed, but there are probably certain studies that would be more beneficial than others. High on this list would be future intensive case studies of several HRCs of varying general character and in differing community contexts. It is likely that a number of detailed or idiosyncratic aspects not uncovered in this research would be discovered. Methods of long-term participant observation would seem to yield the greatest payoff in such an effort.

Whether done by case study or survey design, future HRC research would likely benefit from continued employment of sharpened and refined social systems concepts. Not only would this be an aid to interpretation of the activities of HRCs; it would also help to develop and improve the systems perspective which in existing form seems promising to the sociological profession, but its full potential has so far been only minimally tapped.

In the social organization literature in recent years there have been numerous studies and conceptualizations of interorganizational relations. Because of the widespread and intricate network of relationships HRCs have formed with a multitude of other community organizations, it would seem that studies which focus exclusively on these relationships might significantly advance understanding in this area. Also the fact that HRCs are interrelated with others in such an open variety of ways suggests that some of the extant typologies of interorganizational relationships might be tested and improved through application in HRC research.

Naturally, we would also like to see future research conducted from the perspective of the framework developed in this study. Application of the framework to a different sample of HRCs or to different types of integrating mechanisms would help to point out any of its other shortcomings, leading to further improvements or even discarding it altogether. If such an effort were attempted it would seem advisable to utilize random sampling techniques, more structured data gathering instruments, quantifiable variables, and more intensive comparative analysis. These procedures should be relatively easy to implement with the results of this study available as background material.

In this last suggestion for further research, we would like to recommend a study of HRCs guided by a conflict theory framework.

While at the outset of this research the conflict orientation was felt to be inadequate, in retrospect its potential for interpretation of HRC phenomena seems much improved. Recognizing that this recommendation may represent a bias on the part of this researcher, it seems important, nevertheless, to express it. It is essentially a "feeling," difficult to justify, that perhaps the most important face of HRCs could be elucidated from a conflict perspective. In any event, HRC research guided by that perspective would be worth conducting.

What has been presented on these pages represents a beginning to a project that ought to be continued. The data and ideas described above have moved us toward a much greater appreciation of the social role of HRCs and the sociological theories to account for this and other related social phenomena, but on both scores much work remains to be done.

APPENDIX A

Organizational Emergence Study
of
Community Relations Agencies

Disaster Research Center

Ohio State University

Columbus, Ohio

To the Interviewer:

This interview schedule is designed for staff members or board members (especially officers) of the original community relations commission. If original members are not available, other early participants should be interviewed. If time is extremely limited, the questions with asterisks (*) should be given top priority.

CRC EMERGENCE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
(for early staff or early board members only)

A. Context:

* 1. What circumstances in the community led to the establishment of the CRC? Probe:
    Were there any specific incidents in the community which directly led to the establishment of the CRC? Describe.

* 2. Which, if any, groups in the community favored the establishment of a CRC? What did they do to help it come into being?

* 3. Which, if any, groups in the community opposed the establishment of a CRC? What did they do to oppose it?

4. To whom (organization and/or individual) do you give the most credit for the establishment of the CRC?

5. (If there was a governing board or commission)
What was the major role of the governing board in the establishment and development of the CRC?

6. Did the mass media play a significant role in the establishment of the CRC? Which media? And did each favor or oppose establishment of CRC?

* 7. Prior to the CRC's establishment did any other community organizations perform some of the functions which the CRC was to begin performing? Describe.

B. Early Development: (The following questions refer to the period following formal creation of the CRC)

* 1. What was the original formal organizational structure of the CRC?
    Was the formal organizational structure of the CRC "modeled" after some other organization? Which?

* 2. Were the CRC's activities similar to or overlapping with those of any other organizations in the community? Describe. Probe:
    Was there competition?
    Was there conflict?

3. What was the size and racial or ethnic composition of the original paid staff?

4. Was there ever a time when the CRC had no staff? If yes, when?

5. Briefly, describe the backgrounds (i.e., previous relevant work experience or education) of the first staff members.

* 6. What were the most immediate major tasks actually faced by the original staff during the first few months of operation? Describe.
First year?

* 7. What were the top priority goals during the first year of operation? Describe.

* 8. Who were the strongest supporters during that first year? (e.g., Urban League, NAACP, SNCC, etc.)
Opponents?
Nature of support?
Nature of opposition?

* 9. What restrictions or limitations, if any, were placed on your activities at any time since the creation of the CRC? Describe (by whom/what).

*10. When do you feel the CRC really began to be accepted in the community, particularly by other organizations? Why was it accepted then?

11. What do you consider to be the major successes of the CRC during its early years?
Major failures?

C. Changes:

* 1. Describe any reorganizations of the structure of the CRC which may have occurred since its inception. (How brought about -- resolution, law, vote, or what?)

2. What has been the approximate turnover rate among the CRC professional staff and what are the major reasons for leaving?

* 3. What community problems or crises have brought about changes in the CRC?
Describe any specific changes brought about.

* 4. What new goals or new areas of programming, if any, has the CRC adopted since its inception?

* 5. What do you think has been the most significant change that has occurred regarding the CRC since it first began?

* 6. Do you think that the "image" of the CRC in the "black community" is more or less favorable now than when the CRC began? Why? (Is the image the same among the militant as it is among the more traditional black groups? How is it different?)

* 7. Do you think that the "image" of the CRC in the "white community" is more or less favorable now than when the CRC began? Why? (How has the image changed among city officials? Police? White business leaders?)

APPENDIX B

Current Operations Study
of
Community Relations Agencies

Disaster Research Center

Ohio State University

Columbus, Ohio

To the Interviewer:

The questions in parts A, E, and F can be asked of several respondents in the organization, while parts B, C, D, and G need only be answered once (preferably by the executive director or his assistant). If time allows asking the executive director all parts, it is recommended.

All interviews should begin with part A.

Part F is especially important for CRC staffers assigned to "tension-control" kinds of activities, but it is also appropriate for other staff members.

I. Interview Guide

A. General

1. What is the main purpose of the CRC as far as you are concerned?

2. What specific programs of the CRC are receiving top priority at present? Why these?

B. Formation and Internal Structure

1. When was the CRC first established?

2. How was it created? (i.e., city ordinance, resolution, executive order, etc.)

3. What circumstances in the community led to the establishment of the CRC? (Probe: Was it created in response to a particular crisis or incident?)

4. What are the formal sub-divisions of the CRC?

5. Is the present organizational structure of the CRC "modeled" after some other organization here or in some other city? If yes, which organization?

6. How many of the present staff members, if any, were part of the original CRC staff (that is, at time of its formation or establishment)?

7. How many people does the CRC employ in all? How many professionals? How many clerical workers? How many part-time students?

8. Are all positions with the CRC, including your own, under Civil Service?
   If no, which are not?

9. What do you think constitutes an ideal background for an executive director of this CRC? (i.e., educational level, specialty, and work experience)

10. What is the racial and ethnic composition of the present staff?

11. What kinds of national or regional meetings, if any, are attended by CRC staff members?

12. Does the CRC have more than one physical location in the city? How many?

C. Responsibilities

1. Does the CRC have specific responsibility for the enforcement of any local laws? (i.e., FEP laws, etc.)
   If yes:
   a. Which laws?
   b. When was this responsibility given to the CRC?
   c. Exactly what enforcement powers do you have?
   d. How adequate are your enforcement powers for your legal responsibilities?

   If no:
   a. Has your organization ever in the past been responsible for the enforcement of any specific legislation? When, what laws, and why no longer responsible?
   b. Do you believe that there is a need for any laws that your organization should have the power to enforce? If yes, what? Why your organization rather than some other group?

2. Does your organization have the same degree of authority as other departments of the local government?
   If no, why not?

3. What groups and/or individuals in this community must look favorably on the CRC for it to be successful?

D. Governing Board

1. Is the CRC staff responsible to a governing board or commission? If not, to whom is the organization responsible?
   If yes:
   a. What is the size and the racial and ethnic composition of the board?
   b. Is the board purely advisory or does it have power and authority?
      Describe its powers.
   c. What is the main function of the board?
   d. How often does the board meet?
   e. Are meetings open to the public? If yes, do nonmembers ever attend?
   f. Are there sub-committees of the board? Identify these. Are any sub-committee members not members of the board? How many?
   g. Is there an "Executive Committee" of the board?
      If yes, what is its primary role?

2. Are there "Advisory Committees" (other than the board) affiliated with the CRC?
   If yes:
   a. How many committees?
   b. Approximately how many people are members?
   c. What do the committees do?

E. Regular Operations

* 1. Which of the ongoing activities of the CRC have been most successful? Least successful?

2. Does your agency operate a rumor control center? If yes, when was it begun? If no, does any other organization in the city operate a rumor control center? Whic organization?

3. What is the position of the CRC about receiving citizen complaints regarding city (or county, if appropriate) government? How does the agency handle citizen grievances?

4. Does the CRC conduct any type of research? What kind? How is it used?

* 5. With which departments of local (city or county) government does your organization have the most frequent contact? (Probe: What is the nature of your relationship with the police department?)

* 6. Are there any governmental agencies which have exhibited a negative or unfavorable attitude toward the CRC?

7. Are there agencies of state or national government with which your organization has frequent contact? Which ones?

8. What are the major "civil rights organizations" in the community? (*Let respondent use his own judgment as to what constitutes a "civil rights organization.")
   a. List.
   b. With which of these does the CRC have the most contact?
   c. Which of these do you feel are the most influential? (rank the top 3 or 4)
   d. Is anyone from your staff an officer, committee member, or board member of one or more of these civil rights organizations? Which ones? Anyone from your board?

* 9. Are there any "civil rights organizations" which have exhibited negative or unfavorable attitudes toward the CRC?

*10. Are there activities or programs which the CRC would like to undertake but does not? What are these? Why not?

11. Are new programs presently being planned?
If yes:
   a. What are they?
   b. Why these?
   c. Probable success of implementation?
   d. Anticipated sources of opposition?
   e. Anticipated sources of support?

12. Have any of the mass media ever portrayed your organization in an unfavorable light? In what way? Why?

*13. Do you think that the image of the CRC in the black community is more or less favorable than two years ago? (ten years ago?) What about the white community?

*14. In a general way, what do you see as the future of this organization?

*15. Are there any organizations in the community which perform similar functions as you do? Which organizations? What functions? (Probe: In what ways is your organization different than the Urban League?)

* Top Priority questions

F. Crises Operations

1. Over the past several years, almost all of America's cities have experienced civil disturbances of one type or another. Not all of these incidents have been of equal seriousness, so let's talk about only the most recent crises of major significance in ______________________(city).
   a. When was the most recent crisis of major significance and what did it involve?
   b. What did your organization do immediately prior to, during, and immediately after the disorder?
   c. What was the relationship between the CRC and the police during the disorder?
   d. What was the relationship between the CRC and the top local government and civic leaders during the disorder?
   e. Did the CRC in any way serve as a mediating agency during or after the disorder? Describe. If no, did anyone mediate the conflict? Who?
   f. What, if anything, would the CRC do differently in the event of a future disorder?

2. In a city of this size there often appear to be incidents which have the potential for erupting into a major disorder, yet for some reason not all of them do erupt. Can you point to a recent "potential crisis" which did not materialize?
   If yes:
   a. Describe the situation.
   b. Why did it not materialize?
   c. What was the role of the CRC?

3. Are there written plans for CRC activities during crises situations?
   If yes, may DRC have copies?

4. What, if any, are the unwritten plans regarding CRC activities in the event of a disorder? Describe.

5. What is the proper role of governing board and advisory committee members during a disturbance?

6. Briefly describe any activities of the CRC which are aimed specifically at "reducing tensions" in the community.
   a. Are there particular "tension-reducing" tactics which you use in a majority of the incidents? What are they?
   b. What are the major sources of information regarding the occurrence of "tensions" or "incidents" in the community? How reliable is such information?
   c. Have you ever been involved in "tension-reducing" activities where the source of the tension was something without racial overtones? Frequently? Give example.
   d. Does the CRC keep written records of incidents in which it was involved? (yes or no)
   e. To what extent have your "tension-reducing" efforts been effective? Why or why not?
   f. Is there a way for city officials, governing board members, and others to know the extent of the "tension-reducing" activities of the CRC? Do you feel you get proper credit? If not, why not?

7. Some have said that the proper role of a CRC in any city is to smooth tensions and keep the peace. Others claim the proper role is not smoothing tensions but providing services to help achieve longer-range social changes.
   a. What is your opinion on this issue?
   b. What is the emphasis of this CRC?

G. Financial Matters

1. What is the total agency budget for 1970? 1968? 1966? 1964?

2. What is the major budget source? What other sources are there and what percentage of the annual budget do they contribute?

3. How is the size of your annual budget determined? Who makes the final decision?

4. If your organization has ever been given federal money, how was it used?

5. If your organization has ever been given private money, how was it used? What was the source of this money?

6. Do you operate "special" programs during the summer only? If yes, what are they and how are they financed?

7. What, if anything, haven't we covered in this interview that would help us better understand the CRC?

END

II. Item checklist for community relations agency study:

1. Ordinance (resolution, proclamation, etc.) which established the agency.

2. Organization chart.

3. Statement of purpose (if a separate document).

4. Annual reports (all available).

5. Newsletters or other publications about the agency (all available).

6. Civil Service or other job descriptions for positions in the agency (professional positions only).

7. Civil disorder plans (written plans regarding agency activities or policy in the event of a civil disorder).

8. Reports of activities in past disorders.

9. Copy of budget (all available).

10. Program descriptions (written summaries of on-going programs of the agency).

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