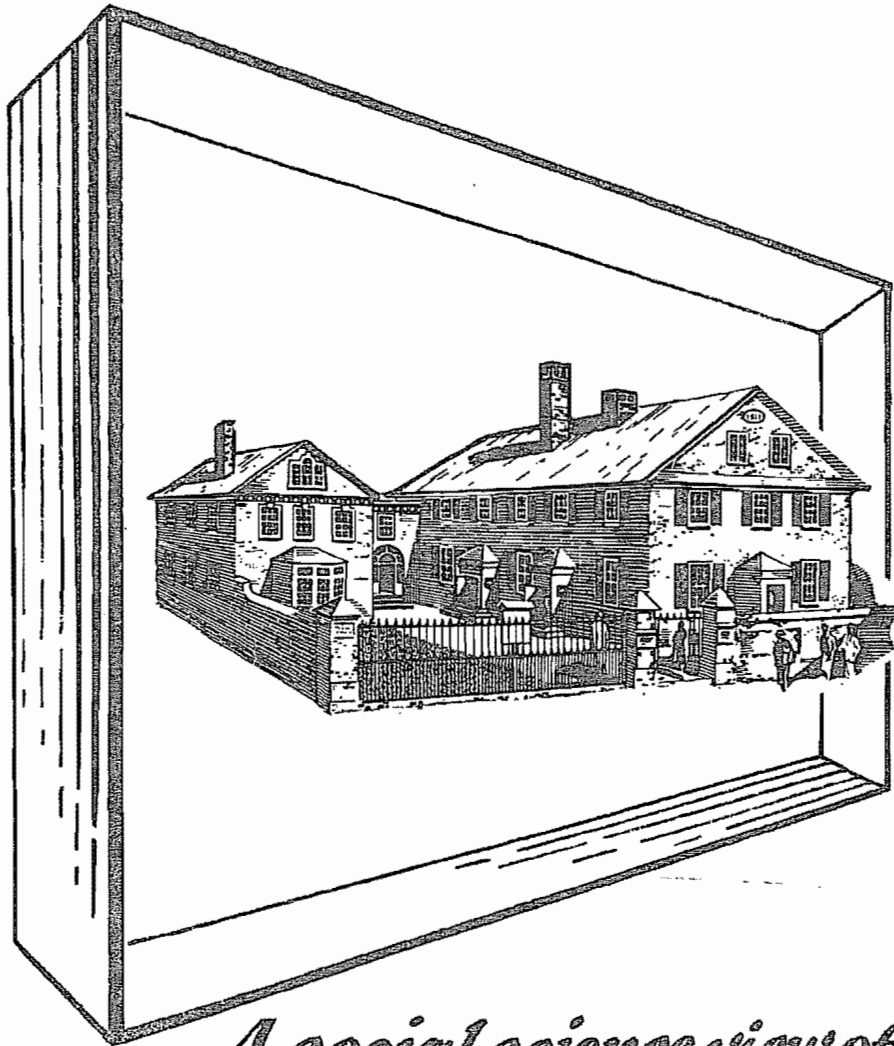


IN THE HOUSE OF THE FRIENDS



*A social science view of
a Quaker program in race relations*

This study of the Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee is confidential and for circulation within the AFSC only.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM
• American Friends Service Committee •
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Penna.

FOREWORD

The study herewith presented in what may properly be called its semi-final form, is the end result of discussions between Russell Sage Foundation and Service Committee personnel which began in 1950. Out of these leisurely explorations arose one central conviction, that it might well prove significant to discover what contribution was being made by a group of dedicated amateurs, religiously motivated, in the field of race relations. Here was an opportunity for cross fertilization between the social sciences and AFSC's non-professional approach.

In November 1953, Robert Johnson, with the laurels of a brand new PhD. from Cornell still damp on his brow, began to design and conduct this research. The following manuscript is the final - or at least the penultimate - result.

Here is a study still in the process of formulation. Before formally presenting it to the Russell Sage Foundation, the author brings it to all of you in the hope that each will read it carefully, consider it deeply, and criticize it constructively and frankly. Having said this much, it must be remembered that this is his evaluation, so that in respect to it he remains the court of last resort, and its final form will not necessarily be tailored to the tastes of his critics. Nevertheless, we anticipate that comments and criticisms from the readers will be of very substantial assistance in revising the report.

We need to remind readers that this research has been carried on over a period of two years, so that inevitably - in a program so fast-moving as Community Relations - the element of time lag is bound to occur, and sections may seem dated to those who are in intimate daily contact with specific facets of the program.

Several sections of Robert Johnson's manuscript - especially those which are the exclusive concern of professional persons - are here omitted. These include the portions dealing with methodology, bibliography, reference notes, glossary and index. It is also planned to add to this study, should it actually appear in book form, an after word in which Richard Bennett comments on the usefulness of this report and the contribution of social science evaluation.

The AFSC has been most fortunate, and unique, in having such a study as this made of its program. Furthermore, few researchers have been at once so diligent, detailed, effective, and provocative in the participant-observer research process as has Robert Johnson. No captious criticisms attend his observations. Ever, there seems to this committee, is there a perceptiveness, an understanding, and a humane consideration of the program, its personnel and its problems. This report is most properly, therefore, writ large ... and less properly, perhaps, long.

May we, who have served as Robert Johnson's Advisory Committee during the progress of this investigation, now commend this to your earnest and friendly consideration?

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.

Alphonse B. Miller

Ira DeA. Reid

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I. INTRODUCTION

I have often hoped that both the spirit and the title of this long contemplated evaluative report on the Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee might be termed "In the House of the Friends."

For during this research experience, half of which was spent traveling through American communities where this program was operative, I had a continual feeling that each American community was composed of a variety of Friendly Houses with unvarying warm receptiveness and interest in my mission. In contacting Quakers, social scientists, Negro, Indian and Jewish leaders, intergroup practitioners, political "liberals," labor leaders, businessmen, or, in particular, staff members in this program, I pleasurablely went from one warm House to another, feeling in Bob Hope's words that "I never left home."

Therefore this book is not directed at the American Friends Service Committee per se, but at all persons who share and express through action the highest principles which the Religious Society of Friends cherishes. Thus, this category may very likely exclude some members of the Society of Friends, but include many persons not connected with this group, and with or without explicit religious motivation. The following materials will be discussed:

II. THE PANORAMA OF AMERICAN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

III. THE AFSC IN RACE RELATIONS

IV. THE STAFF MEMBER AND HIS PROGRAMS

V. THE COMMUNITY SETTING

VI. NEW DIRECTIONS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Chapter II does not relate directly to the group I have studied. Rather, it is the extension of a secular frame of reference used in this research: the relationship of social science and social action in the field of intergroup relations. Therefore I have first attempted to present the total picture of American race relations -- the highlights, the tremendous problems that confront minorities, the enormous and dramatic progress that has been made, particularly in the last fifteen years, the resources that exist in American life to combat these problems, the nature of the intergroup relations world, and the role that social science has played in increasing the effectiveness of these resources.

The ensuing two chapters relate to the internal structure and dynamics of the group under study. Chapter III seeks to place the work of the American Friends Service Committee in race relations into several broader contexts. The unique approach of this organization is viewed as stemming from the history and traditions of the Religious Society of Friends. The evolution of this race relations program is related to the wider concern about American race relations, stimulated during World War II, and still abiding. The objectives and the methods of this organization relate to the previous discussion of varying goals and methods of all intergroup relations organizations.

There follows a consideration of organizational structure, problems of policy making and communication, and the role of advisory committees. In addition, since "love" is considered as the core of the Quaker approach, some consideration is given to the question: "What is this thing called love?"

Chapter IV is devoted to a more careful appraisal of the individual staff member. The five American Friends Service Committee programs in race relations -- national activity, Job Opportunities, Housing Opportunities, Indian programs, school desegregation and other community counseling -- are briefly described. Following this, and based on intensive interviews that sometimes stretched as long as twelve hours, Chapter IV is an inquiry into the background and motivation of the staff member; his current problems, conflicts, frustrations and job satisfactions; his conception of his role and objectives; his appraisal of the value of the organizations that support him. We also consider here how the staff member's performance is affected by two very different but significant influences: (a) his understanding and use of social science resources, and (b) his view of the meaning of the love concept in intergroup relations.

In Chapter V we move with pleasure to the experience of viewing intergroup relations and the work of the American Friends Service Committee through the eyes of persons of many different walks of life in fifteen American communities. The Community Relations programs and the general problems of race relations are then viewed through the eyes of the American business community, the leadership structure of Negro and Indian communities, the various intergroup organizations, the other community agencies, and the advisors and counselors of the AFSC program. Finally, the tremendous problem of the insulation of these community segments from each other is considered in the light of the AFSC staff member's unique opportunity to "Knock on Any Door," and the writer's opportunity to follow -- from Chamber of Commerce headquarters to NAACP meeting; from businessman's office to CIO halls; from Negro professional gatherings to Negro slums; from beautiful urban Indian centers to impoverished Indian reservations; with the AFSC staff member acting as the hub of a wheel in these community contexts.

From these observations of American intergroup relations in 1954-55, I have attempted in Chapter VI to postulate a "Forward Look" in intergroup relations and to consider what actions are more and less effective in changing racial attitudes and practices. Here the AFSC program in race relations is critically appraised in terms of its general assumptions, its uniqueness, its possible future directions, and the things that others might learn from its experiences, successful or otherwise. We conclude by asking whether or not there is "a place for the love concept" in intergroup relations.

The final chapter, not included in this report, is largely methodological. It seeks to assess program evaluation as a social science function, to discuss specific evaluative experiences and procedures, and to formulate some summary principles on social science evaluation. It concludes with a suggested redefinition of evaluation, derived from this writer's experience, and with a retrospective glance at the total venture.

And finally, lest the social scientist monopolize the stage in assessing the merits or shortcomings of this evaluative experience, the Director of the group under study has been asked to contribute a rejoinder; an assessment of the actual and potential value of social science in a program such as this. This comment will be included in a final publication, if such is forthcoming.

In this research, I have sought to be responsive to the interests of my advisory committee, to the policy makers of AFSC, to the Executive Committee of the Community Relations Program, to all staff members, and to numerous persons contacted in communitywide studies, whose wide varieties of orientations and behavior in race relations were often in line with my own personal interests and past

observations. Thus, as may readily be seen, this report seeks to cover a wide variety of subjects. It is probably inevitable that a study of a religiously motivated organizational structure, sponsored by a social science foundation, and executed by a person interested primarily in effective community action techniques in race relations might sound in its final form like that famed medieval book: "Concerning Everything in the World and a Few Things Besides."

However, this report has sought to reduce the several suggested topics to manageable proportions, with one additional emphasis. Like many social scientists today, we are impressed with the need for more intensive study of "good relations" in human life. Sociologist Pitirim Sorokin in particular has noticed a tendency in American social science to be concerned largely with negative social factors -- crime, insanity, perversion, hypocrisy -- almost to the total exclusion of a study of positive human relationships. Sorokin states:

The time has come when this one-sidedness of sensate social science must be corrected. For a fuller knowledge, we must concentrate increasingly on a study of positive values, personalities, relationships and phenomena. The study of American "good neighbors" together with those of saints, great altruists, and creative geniuses is one of the numerous studies to stress the positive. As we shall see, these studies throw light even on negative phenomena.

Thus the ultimate objective of this report is to seek more knowledge about the forces that lead some men and not others to continued positive acts in human relations; of individual personality and surrounding social structure in the determination of men's behavior; of the processes that lead some individuals from the completely egocentric initial stages of personality development to the opposite extreme -- the cooperative altruistic life; about the type of reinforcement from within and from without that keeps such personalities motivated in the face of numerous obstacles; and about possible means of motivating still other persons into more positive, rich and rewarding lives.

At this point I wish to acknowledge my thanks to the following sources of help and cooperation: To Russell Sage Foundation for making possible this two years of valuable experience, travel and reflection; to my advisory committee -- Leonard Cottrell, Alphonse Miller and Ira Reid -- for their many hours of patient counsel and mature advice; to the Community Relations Committee and staff members for their enduring interest, cooperation and support; and, particularly to Nancy Trevorrow, who as part-time secretary and typist of most of the initial manuscript, was a continual source of encouragement, wisdom and enthusiastic interest. Whatever value this evaluative study possesses is due largely to the cooperation and sincere interest of Richard Bennett, National Secretary of the Community Relations Program, who made this task considerably easier by his earnest desire to see this evaluation done.

The final and ultimate acknowledgment is to the 200 or more persons contacted in American communities during this study, whose receptiveness, interest and concern about race relations in general and this study in particular gave me the sustained feeling that no matter where I went I was always "In the House of the Friends."

II. THE PANORAMA OF AMERICAN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

A. Some Race Relations Vignettes

We begin our discussion with the almost inevitable premises that Americans are learning to hold today: that we are passing through one of the most critical and tense periods of international relations that the world has ever known; that the United States has been suddenly catapulted into an unaccustomed role of contributing substantially to world leadership; and that America's position in international affairs is strongly affected by the status of intergroup relations within its borders.

Evidence is ample, and is cited time and again by persons both domestic and foreign. For example, according to a recent statement by State Department experts, nearly half of the recent Russian propaganda about America has been concentrated on race, linking germ warfare charges against America with alleged racial brutality in this country. Americans returning from abroad consistently report having been questioned over and over about racial problems in this country. This concern seems especially strong among the two-thirds of the world that is darker-skinned. Our former ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, wrote the following statement, after attending an Indian press conference: "As I later discovered is almost invariably the case in any Asian press conference or forum, the number one question was, 'What about America's treatment of the Negro?'"

And finally, South Africa's Alan Paton, resident of an area possessing perhaps even more noticeable racial tensions and conflicts, asked himself these questions on coming to America:

Americans, anxious to justify their country, tell the world that the Negro grows freer and freer, and that the walls of segregation are at last tumbling down. Is this true? Is the Negro at last being taken into the American nation, as an American among Americans? Is he beginning to enjoy every right and to share every duty that Americans enjoy and share? Is this happening at such a pace that the end is no longer in doubt?

Those are the questions I asked myself ...

What are the answers to these questions? We first seek to present the panorama of American intergroup relations as a ceaselessly unfolding drama -- a daily occurrence of racial events, of incidents, that we might cite as vignettes of American race relations.

Some are wryly amusing:

In a deep South county with a Negro college, the Ku Klux Klan decided to have a motorcade ride through the campus, expressing opposition to the fact that the school had begun to enroll white students. But first, in order to show that they "didn't really hate the nigras," the Klan presented an elderly Negro farm couple with a radio. Shortly afterward, as the Klan motorcade started to ride through the college campus, it was met by hundreds of Negro students -- cheering, waving and shouting: "Where's our radio? We want our radio!" The Klansmen retired in hasty confusion.

A weeping woman came into the national office of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and told a tragic story: Her son had been sentenced to twenty years in a Virginia jail -- for stealing a bag of peanuts. The NAACP lawyers were in considerable agitation until they discovered that (a) the son was a "four time loser" who had served three previous sentences; (b) that part of Virginia was "peanut country"; and (c) the bag of peanuts he had stolen was a hundred pound bag.

A prominent Southern jurist tells how he tried to persuade members of his state legislature to admit Negroes to their law school. He told them:

"This state built a \$200,000 law school for Negroes, bought a \$30,000 library, hired seven professors -- and had three Negro students. I ask you, gentlemen: Wouldn't it have been easier to buy three more chairs for the white law school?"

Some have overtones of tragedy:

In a Southern community, a Negro Bishop delivers a long and rambling discourse about how the white power structure has tried through economic reprisals to intimidate his church members for endorsing a policy statement favoring public school desegregation. He abruptly concludes: "We know we face the loss of our businesses, our jobs, and our homes. But we feel that we must do this thing -- and we ask your prayers."

A soft-spoken Papago Indian, addressing a race relations conference, concludes his stirring statement with these words: "This country is sending millions of dollars overseas to bolster Point Four, to raise standards and to buy friendship, while we Papagos have a life expectancy of seventeen years and a tuberculosis rate six times the national average -- and this is something that my people on the reservation cannot understand..."

And some show evidences of progress:

After nineteen years of direct efforts to strike at the roots of segregated education, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in 1952, finally asked the Supreme Court to strike down the whole doctrine of separate but equal. Through the walls of the Supreme Court building rang the words of Chief Legal Counsel, Thurgood Marshall:

"This Court, in a long line of decisions, has made it plain that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits a state from making racial distinctions in the exercise of governmental power. Time and again this Court has held that if a state's power has been exercised in such a way as to deprive a Negro of the right which he would have freely enjoyed had he been white, then that state's action violated the Fourteenth Amendment."

And on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court finally gave the nation its long awaited answer. The Court's unanimous decision, read by Chief Justice Earl Warren, stated:

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.... We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws."

On May 31, 1955 the Supreme Court issued its implementation decree. Gently worded, and regarded at first by both sides as a victory, this decree has been revealed on more careful analysis to be a masterful and precise document. One of its essential provisions is that as of that date, all state laws requiring or permitting public school segregation are "not worth the paper they are written on."

Today, while friends, foes and neutral nations are watching American racial practices with viewpoints ranging from the curious to the baffled to the horrified; while Americans of both races seek to defend, deny or dismiss these criticisms; while charges, counter charges and confusion reign; the writer feels impelled to state the simple maxim: Honesty is the best policy. The balance sheet of debits and credits and resources in American race relations is therefore presented as background for the closer view of the single specific organization observed in this study.

B. The Problems

1. Historical summary. As background material bearing specifically on the status of the Negro minority today, we present statements of two simultaneous occurrences, described by two persons currently interested in American race relations. Gordon Allport provides this historical note:

After the close of the Civil War, Congress passed several laws designed to secure effective equality for the liberated Negro slaves: "To abolish and forever prohibit the system of peonage," to outlaw the Ku Klux Klan, to make it a criminal offense to interfere with the right to vote because of race or color, and even to prohibit discrimination in inns, public conveyances or other public places.

While civil rights attorney Thurgood Marshall adds:

In 1868, the Southern states established a temporary pattern of separation of the races, which has been maintained in such a way as to make us question their definition of the word "temporary."

The promise of this post Civil War Congress is still awaited by American Negroes today. Vestiges of the system of peonage still exist in parts of the deep South; the Ku Klux Klan was a flourishing and quite "respectable" group membership for "native American white Protestants" as recently as twenty years ago, and has yet to disappear; the right of Negroes to vote had to be established by several court actions and Negroes are still deterred from voting in parts of the South through the poll tax, "literacy tests" and intimidation; abundant evidence of discrimination in places of public accommodation may be easily demonstrated today in nearly every American city. Thurgood Marshall's description of the South's temporary separation policy of 1868 is highlighted by current pleas of Southern Attorneys General to allow the Southern states "indefinite time" to prepare for public school desegregation.

The most noticeable governmental shortcomings in the field of civil rights are revealed in the behavior of the American Congress. Gordon Allport notes that the Congressional filibuster has been so effective that "no civil rights law has been approved by the United States Senate since 1875." Arnold Aronson of the National Community Relations Advisory Council adds that no federal civil rights bill has even been brought to a vote in the Senate. And Clarence Mitchell, Chief of the NAACP's Washington bureau, notes that as of July, 1955, 62 separate civil rights bills are bottled up in Congressional committees and none has a likelihood of being brought out of committee.

In contrast to the paucity of positive civil rights legislation, Aronson notes that the opponents of civil rights legislation use other laws to perpetuate segregation and discrimination. He states:

Even today, legislation to compel racial segregation occupies more space on the nation's statute books than the relatively small number of laws which the civil rights forces have succeeded in enacting.

To cite only one case, in the state of Louisiana, a study of its laws based on race and color revealed approximately 100 laws providing for segregation in the state Constitution and in the state's statute books.

We now consider briefly the negative side of the coin in more specific areas.

2. Job discrimination. An historical summary of the Negro's employment position since the Civil War reveals that in many cases the Negro has, if anything, lost ground. Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier has shown that Negroes have steadily lost out in the skilled trades since the end of the Civil War. According to estimates, he says, at the close of the Civil War, 100,000 of the 120,000 artisans in the South were Negroes. By 1890 the skilled Negro worker had been eliminated as a competitor of the Southern white people.

Current documentation of the results of job discrimination is shown in the 1950 Census report, "Employment and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States." This statement shows that Negro unemployment is 50% above white unemployment. It also shows that in 1950, Negro family income was 54% of white family income. This is a decline from the 57% proportion recorded in 1945, the last year of World War II. In 1949 the average income of urban Negro families was 58% of the average among white families, a decline from 66% in 1945.

The historic "job ceiling" maintained in the South to restrain Negroes from full employment is well known. However, startling figures on job discrimination also come out of the relatively enlightened states of Illinois, Pennsylvania and Ohio. During 1950 an attempt was made to determine the number of discriminatory job orders placed with the Illinois State Employment Service. Of a total of 5,457 jobs, nearly 75% were found to be closed to Negro applicants. A breakdown of job orders by skill showed the following:

<u>Classification</u>	<u>% of Job Orders Discriminatory</u>
Skilled	90
Semi-skilled	75
Unskilled	80
Service jobs	50
Industrial jobs	78

The Pennsylvania Governor's Commission on Industrial Race Relations, established in May 1952 by Governor John S. Fine, conducted a survey of over 1,200 firms employing almost 900,000 workers in 44 different parts of the state. The survey showed that "nine out of ten firms examined by the Governor's Commission still discriminate against workers of certain racial, religious or national backgrounds. Only one tenth of the firms are equally fair to all applicants and employees, regardless of color, creed or ancestry, when it comes to hiring, promoting, apprenticing or upgrading."

Statistics of the Ohio State Employment Service show that between 90% and 95% of the job orders received, for other than unskilled or maintenance work, are open only to white persons.

Note here that these figures refer only to discrimination in employment, whereas there are actually several steps involved in integration -- training, recruitment, hiring, staying hired, and upgrading. It is likely that racial discrimination is practiced in each of these areas, often reaching the point of classifying various jobs as "white" jobs and "Negro" jobs.

3. Housing discrimination. Perhaps the greatest problems that minorities encounter in America lie in the field of housing. This is the area where least success may be reported, where greatest racial tension occurs, and where the most damaging consequences might occur -- since so many other forms of discrimination may stem from residential discrimination or "ghetto housing." We now consider some of the specific evidences of housing discrimination.

On March 14, 1955 the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing held a major conference on housing problems facing minority groups. Attorney Loren Miller of Los Angeles, long a fighter in the legal battle against discrimination in housing, gave the keynote address. He asserted that we have attained the same stage in the housing field that was reached in education when the first school suits were filed a decade ago. Government and private industry agree that the Negro must have access to new housing, must share in the urban renewal program, and must have financing on the same terms as others, Mr. Miller pointed out. Yet, he observed: "Neither government, nor mortgage bankers, nor home builders have advanced any plan to break down the obstacles that bar Negroes from the open housing market." What home builders and mortgage bankers do propose to do, he warned, "is to refurbish and expand the special market in which Negroes must buy housing and make government a partner in that enterprise."

The inevitable result, he continued, will be more segregation and further differentiation based on race in the housing market. He charged, moreover, that ~~government is not an unwilling partner in this scheme. There has been no move by~~ the federal government, he declared, to eliminate segregation from its housing programs.

More specific evidence on housing discrimination comes from a report prepared by the housing specialists in the American Friends Service Committee's Community Relations Program. These are excerpts:

From 1935 to 1950, a total of nine million new private dwelling units were constructed. Of these less than 1% were available to the non-white 10% of the population.

document more carefully some of the examples of positive social change in race relations.

2. Favorable legislation, executive orders, Supreme Court rulings. Omitting the role of national legislative bodies, which we have already cited as largely negative, we review briefly the positive contributions of legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government in race relations. We cite here a summary prepared by Arnold Aronson:

Since 1945, when the first state Fair Employment Practice law was adopted in New York, 13 state FEP laws, two Fair Educational Practice acts, six acts making the administration of formerly dead letter public accommodation laws the responsibility of a state Commission, ten state laws forbidding discrimination in various types of housing, five laws forbidding segregation in state units of the National Guard, two anti-lynching laws, four anti-mask laws directed at the KKK, and upwards of 40 other miscellaneous state anti-discrimination and anti-bias laws have been enacted.

In reference to local areas, Aronson adds:

More than 30 cities, including such centers of population as Philadelphia, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Minneapolis, have enacted municipal FEP ordinances, more than 70 have established statutory intergroup relations Commissions, several have adopted ordinances forbidding discrimination in public housing and urban redevelopment programs.

In reference to the executive and judicial branches of government, Aronson summarizes:

During that same period, successive Presidents have used the powers of that office against discriminatory practices and have issued executive orders prohibiting discrimination within the federal establishment, in the armed services, and in employment under government contract.

During that same decade the Supreme Court outlawed governmental segregation at every educational level, from grade school to post-graduate institutions, and in interstate transportation as well, invalidated the white primary, forbade the judicial enforcement of restrictive covenants, barred trade unions from collective bargaining that resulted in discrimination against minority groups, protected the rights of Negroes and Latin Americans to serve on juries, crippled state laws forbidding alien Japanese to own agricultural lands or to engage in commercial fishing, and protected the rights of minority religious groups to distribute leaflets, have access to public meeting places, preach without license and resist compulsory school rituals.

3. Minority improvement. Related to the positive changes induced by governmental bodies is the actual material alteration of the status of Negroes in America. A 1953 Time magazine feature article has succinctly presented the more outstanding gains of Negroes, the limitations under which Negroes still live, and the

relation of Negro gains to gains of the general population. They cite these items: (a) The Negro wage earner today makes four times as much as in 1940 (compared to the white wage earner's two-and-one-half times as much). The Negro's average income is still only a little more than half of the white average, but ten years ago it was about 35%. (b) The forces that keep the Southern Negro from voting -- intimidation and the poll tax -- are largely beaten. Although the registered Negro voters in tense Mississippi have dropped from 20,000 to less than 10,000, the South has more than 1,000,000 registered Negro voters, compared to 300,000 in 1938. (c) The Negro gets justice in the courts, although in some Southern courts he still has to fight for his right to be heard by mixed juries. (d) Negro college enrollment is up 2500% over 1930. (e) The life expectancy of the male Negro has gone up from 47 years in 1920 to 59 years. In the same period, the white's life expectancy has risen more slowly; from 56 to 66 years. With improving living standards, the gap between the white man's and the Negro's life span is closing. (f) United States Negroes today have an annual income of 15 billion dollars a year -- almost as much as the national income of Canada, or more than the value of all United States export trade.

4. Employment. Gains in Negro employment are related to the Negro's increased education, to the necessity during and after World War II to utilize manpower fully, and to the effects of Fair Employment Practice legislation. Over 60 million Americans now live in areas that are covered by some type of Fair Employment Practice act, and all reports indicate that the effect of this act is almost completely positive.

Today, nearly 11% of all United States industrial workers are Negroes -- twice as many as in 1940. Although most Negroes are still occupying unskilled jobs, there has been progress. The proportion of United States skilled workers and foremen who are Negro has risen from 2½% in 1940 to 4% in 1953. The proportion of Negro clerical and sales personnel has risen from 1% to 3½% in a similar period. The proportion of Negro female professional and technical workers has risen from 4½% to 7%.

5. Armed forces. Perhaps the most noticeable and the most complete example of racial desegregation involving millions of persons is found in the armed forces. At the beginning of World War II, the Army policy was one of almost complete segregation of Negro troops; the Air Force was just beginning an "experiment" in the training of Negro flyers in the face of a widespread belief that Negroes could not learn to fly airplanes; the Navy confined Negroes almost exclusively to the messmen's branch; and the Marines excluded Negroes entirely.

But then, cracks began to appear in the wall. The Army Officers Candidate School and a few other service schools became integrated; the Air Force regarded its experiment with a Negro pursuit squadron as a success and expanded it to a fighter group; the Navy in 1942 allowed Negroes to enlist in branches other than the messmen's branch for the first time; and in 1942, the Marine Corps admitted its first Negroes in strictly segregated units, as laborers, anti-aircraft gunners and ammunition handlers.

What is the picture today? According to Lee Nichols' book, Breakthrough on the Color Front, the Army reports that only 10,000 Negroes are still serving in all-Negro units out of some 200,000 Negroes in the Army and it was estimated that by June, 1954 there would be no remaining segregated Army units. The Air Force

stated that its last all-Negro unit had been abolished by the end of 1952. Of the 23,000 Negroes serving in the Navy in 1953, about half were still in the messmen's or stewards branch. The rest were integrated and scattered throughout nearly every job classification the Navy has. The Marine Corps, last of all the services to admit Negroes, reports that its last two all-Negro units were integrated sometime before the summer of 1952.

Though it was once claimed that integration of the armed forces would result in a decline in the proportion of Negro commissioned officers, actual events show the reverse. In every branch of the armed services, the proportion of Negro officers has increased. This is most particularly noticeable in the Army where the proportion of officers who are Negro has risen from 1.8 in 1949 to 2.97 in 1955.

6. School desegregation. We first consider higher education. In 1945 there were practically no Negroes attending any Southern institutions of higher learning that were predominately white. But as of today, NAACP court cases have opened the doors of previously all-white graduate schools in Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Maryland, Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia, Delaware and Missouri to Negro students. It is now estimated that over 2,000 Negroes are attending Southern white institutions of higher learning. If summer school students are included, an estimated 5,000 or more Negroes are attending. As of September 1953, Negroes were attending the graduate or professional schools of 23 Southern white state supported institutions, attending the undergraduate levels of ten Southern white state and municipal schools, and attending 42 Southern white private schools. And, according to the Journal of Negro Education: "What is more important, there has not been reported a single untoward incident of any kind as a result of this change."

From New South of February, 1955, published by the Southern Regional Council, comes a listing of private and public institutions of higher education in the 17 Southern and border states which are in the process of desegregation. (Each institution has admitted at least one Negro or white student to its formerly all-white or all-Negro student body, or has expressed its willingness to do so in an official policy statement.) The list contains 112 formerly all-white institutions, and 19 formerly all-Negro institutions. As an example, the formerly all-Negro West Virginia State College now reports over 300 white students. In addition, the courts in Tennessee and West Virginia have ruled that the Supreme Court decisions applied also to their colleges.

In the area of public school desegregation, although the protests and resistances of some Southern leaders sound depressing, a year by year review of the progress of desegregation gives an entirely different picture. By 1953, the NAACP had information on 59 separate communities that had successfully desegregated their schools in such states as Arizona, California, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Indiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. (The process of school desegregation in some of these areas is reported in a book by Robin M. Williams, Jr. and Margaret Ryan entitled Schools in Transition.) In the year following the Supreme Court decision of May 1954 the NAACP was able to count 250,000 Negro and white children who were attending classes peaceably together in 500 public elementary and secondary schools which until the past year had been for the exclusive use of boys and girls of one race or the other. During that time progress in desegregation was reported in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Maryland, St. Louis, Missouri, and portions of the states of

Kansas, West Virginia and Arkansas. Following the Supreme Court implementation decrees of May 1955, intentions to move toward desegregation were announced from such areas as Kentucky, North Carolina, Texas and Oklahoma. We can thus visualize an arc of racially desegregated communities, converging on the deep South.

7. The nation's capital. The status of race relations in Washington, D.C., the nation's capital, has long been a source of embarrassment to many Americans. In a pre-election speech delivered in predominately Negro Harlem, President Eisenhower stated:

In the nation's capital we have had the poorest possible example given to those of other lands of what this country is and what it means to each of us. So far as there is power placed in me as an individual or officially, I shall never cease to work with all the power I can to get rid of that kind of thing in the District of Columbia.

Forces set in motion by private bodies, by the current Administration, and by previous Administrations have resulted in dramatic changes in the nation's capital. When the Supreme Court handed down a decision outlawing discrimination in Washington restaurants, all of the restaurants supported the decision and no negative incident of any kind was reported. On June 3, 1953 the National Capital Housing Authority announced the adoption of a policy of opening all present and future public low rent housing properties in the District of Columbia to low-income families, without regard to race. Hotel accommodations in Washington are now available to Negroes in some of the largest hotels, although the policy of others is still uncertain, Negroes are now admitted to practically all of the downtown movie theaters. The majority of the city's private schools have opened their doors to Negroes, and the Catholic parochial schools have also become integrated. On the day following the Supreme Court decision on school segregation the President requested that the Washington Board of Education move promptly on the integration of Washington schools as an example to the rest of the nation. And this has been done.

8. Religious institutions. American churches and churchmen, stung by accusations of lagging behind in the area of racial integration, have attempted to make a more positive stand in race relations. Thus many have issued resolutions and policy statements supporting school desegregation and integration in other areas of life; many others have sought to open their doors to all persons regardless of race, color or creed. Catholic churches have made the more dramatic progress in this area. Not only have Catholic parishes thrown open their doors to Negroes in many areas of the South, Catholic schools have also taken the initiative in desegregating in such areas as North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. Among Protestant churches, the Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians have issued statements favoring the Supreme Court decision and have also attempted to integrate Negroes into their church structure. The Episcopalians and other groups have also refused to attend conferences in areas that would segregate Negro from white members. The Southern Baptists, long considered as carriers of strong racist sentiments, moved to commend the Supreme Court decision by a vote of 9,000 to 54. A recent study has revealed that some 114 formerly all-white or all-Negro Protestant churches in the South have opened their doors to members of the other race.

9. Some forces prompting integration. The numerous changes cited here suggest that America is undergoing a cultural revolution in race relations. One might ask what the forces in American society are that are producing them. Recognizing that each of these changes is contingent to some extent on each of the others, we nevertheless suggest the following: (a) America's current international position and resultant self-consciousness about being watched. (b) The necessity of counteracting Communist propaganda and the awareness of the interest shown by the darker skinned two-thirds of the world. (c) The effects on American attitudes toward human affairs caused by such traumatic events as World Wars I and II, the Nazi extermination of the Jews, and the atomic bombs dropped on the "darker races" at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the present age of the hydrogen and cobalt bomb. (d) The growing awareness of past wastages of human resources and the necessity for full utilization of manpower and full unity of diverse elements into a "more perfect union." (e) The wartime disruption of living which induced Americans to move more, interact more, and think more. (f) The actions taken by executive and judicial branches of government during the past three Administrations. (g) The growing number of numerical material and spiritual resources that have developed in the hope of combatting the serious problems of intergroup relations.

It is toward this last area that we now direct our attention -- toward this vast reservoir of positive resources that we might term "the intergroup relations community."

D. The Resources

1. The total facilities of communities. In considering the resources available to action people in race relations, the national community and each local community might be viewed as consisting of (a) a network of official structures with clearly defined areas of responsibility, (b) an aggregate of voluntary associations catering to men's special interests and social needs, and (c) a network of informal social groupings where men's opinions are shaped and pooled, where leisure and recreational activities are shared, and where personalities derive their feelings of group membership and sense of belonging.

In addition, each community might be viewed in terms of the potential intergroup relations resources that exist on three different levels: (a) Organizations whose purposes are aimed directly at intergroup relations, like the NAACP, Urban League, "Jewish agencies," National Conference of Christians and Jews, mayor's commissions on human relations, and so forth. (b) There are groups whose initial aim is not oriented around intergroup relations per se, but who stress strong sentiments or statements of policy favoring better intergroup relations. Examples are: YWCA, CIO, League of Women Voters, and others. (c) There are groups that have no explicit interest in intergroup relations and no immediate secondary concern, but nevertheless exist in each community. And it is possible to use their facilities and resources to support better intergroup relations. Examples are the media of communication -- press, radio and television, the state and municipal facilities, Chambers of Commerce, and the law enforcement bodies.

In our consideration of the resources in intergroup relations, we will concern ourselves primarily with category "a" -- the organizations whose purpose is directly oriented toward intergroup relations.

2, The number of intergroup organizations. The past fifteen years has witnessed a striking increase in the number and activity of organizations working in the field of intergroup relations. As early as 1945, the Directory of Agencies in Race Relations published by the Julius Rosenwald Fund counted 123 national organizations involved in race relations. It is certain that that number has increased since 1945. As previously cited by Arnold Aronson, more than 70 cities have established statutory intergroup relations commissions throughout America. Numerous examples of the current intergroup relations resources could be cited, including the many constituent agencies of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. In a recent Southwide inter-organizational conference on establishing democratic principles in human relations, held at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, more than 40 organizations sent representatives to give statements favoring public school desegregation. Among these was a Negro Baptist organization claiming a membership of 4,500,000 and the United Council of Church Women, which claimed a membership of over 10,000,000. As of April 1955, the NAIRO Reporter listed 41 separate summer workshops in intergroup relations scattered throughout the country. Thirteen of these were being held in the Southern states or the District of Columbia.

To cite the scope of but a few specific organizations, the Southern Regional Council has established human relations councils in 12 Southern states, the American Friends Service Committee has programs in 15 different geographical areas, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has 26 regional offices, the Urban League has at least 60 separate affiliates in larger American cities, and the NAACP has a total of over 300 college chapters and 1,100 other chapters scattered throughout American communities.

We now consider the extent to which these numerous resources converge or diverge in terms of their values and norms, their orientations and assumptions, and their conception of appropriate objectives and specific techniques for achieving these objectives.

3. Values and norms of the intergroup relations community. The writer's observations persuade him that Americans interested in intergroup relations have sufficient common beliefs and sentiments to qualify as a "social group," or a "community."

Thus, as in most such groups, their belief systems would include such characteristics as a status hierarchy; a classification of group actions into the mandatory, the recommended, the optional, the disapproved, and the taboo; a range of actions that would make a member sharply gain or sharply lose status; a battery of "epithets" to hurl at group members who lose status by practicing taboo behavior; a body of consensus on some issues; a catalogue of issues and controversies that sharply divide the group on certain subjects; and a "reference group" composed of people whom the members regard as models, as judges of their behavior, or as standards of comparison with themselves.

We seek to examine briefly the American intergroup relations community in the light of the above-mentioned criteria for group study frequently used in sociological analysis.

These things might be said about the majority of people engaged in these action efforts: They consider themselves liberals; they admire the effective operator or the person who can spell out the principles and assumptions underlying his

work; they regard the academic man with a mixture of respect for his training, status, degrees and lexicon, and scorn for his impracticality, inability to communicate, and his having "never met a payroll." And increasingly, within their own ranks, they feel a need for more professionalization of persons working in this field. In some cases this drive toward professionalization, high standards and exacting criteria for membership in certain coordinating organizations is so high that one humorist has suggested that neither Christ, Gandhi nor Abbé Pierre would be currently eligible for membership.

However, this desire for more professional standards is in the interest of both effectiveness and sincerity. It has been stated clearly by the effective director of a human relations commission in a large Northeastern city:

... What about this matter of professional standards? I am not ready to say that intergroup relations or human relations is a profession in the sense that it can be defined and described. But, we do need and must have professional attitudes and professional habits among the practitioners. By professional attitudes, I mean integrity, responsibility, objectivity, perspective, a concern for the total or general good as apart from group interest or expediency. By professional habits, I mean care in the use of terms, seeking and using accepted definitions and meanings, seeking common assumptions and principles, testing the assumptions, testing and recording experience, exchanging experience, not in terms of "in our town we did this," but in terms of objectively reporting and carefully planned and fully executed projects.

The recently developed sociological concept of "reference group theory" generally recognizes three types of reference individuals or groups whose existence, status and attitude toward the individual condition his own subsequent behavior. A framework using these three types of referents, the "judge," the "model" and the "standard of comparison," might be applied to the intergroup relations community, in this manner:

a) The "model." A reference of people in intergroup relations might be composed of the "grand old men" in the field of intergroup relations who have blazed the early trails and have fought the battles when the opposition to progress in intergroup relations was much greater than it is today. These would include such persons as Walter White, Louis Wirth, Edwin Embree, Donald Young, Charles Johnson, Thomas Wright, George Mitchell and Lester Granger.

b) The "judge." The reference group may also be the currently most militant, spectacular or otherwise conspicuous national figures in intergroup relations who currently set the tone and define intergroup issues in such a way that most persons interested in this field would watch them, seek to emulate them, and wonder how their current behavior would be evaluated by these judges. These would include such persons as Thurgood Marshall, Herbert Lehman, Adam Powell, Joseph Lohmon.

c) The "standard of comparison." Finally the person working in the field of intergroup relations may seek to compare himself with the most effective local operators or the state civil rights employees or others known to be doing extremely effective work, and

will evaluate themselves in relation to these figures. It should be added that the standard of comparison may also be a negative figure, prompting the individual to say, "Well, whatever I'm doing, it is certainly a better job than this guy over here is doing."

Further characteristics of the intergroup relations community are these: They are increasingly beginning to decry such artificial intergroup stimulants as Brotherhood Week; they are becoming increasingly doubtful about the application of the media of mass communication in the field of intergroup relations; and they are extremely self-conscious about what constitutes effective and ineffective techniques in intergroup relations. Particularly they devote increasing criticism and contempt toward certain organizations in the field whose boards of directors are composed of influential but conservative community members. This is particularly true if these organizations have sizable budgets that are spent for programs that most do not consider effective. Finally, the "epithets" used in the intergroup relations community -- the worst thing that they could call someone -- include such words as "Uncle Tom," "gradualist," "compromiser," and "sell out." Probably the most status losing thing a person in this "community" could do would be to compromise his own integrity and ideals for the sake of short range or partial gains.

4. Intergroup controversies and consensus. These ideas should not be considered as unanimously shared in the intergroup relations community. They are shared mainly by the hard core of this group, and are modified considerably in its indefinite peripheries. In addition, the intergroup relations field is riddled with divisive issues and controversies, which occupy a great deal of time at national coordinating meetings. Some of the more salient of these controversies are these:

- a) In a legislative drive, should an action group ask for the maximum program of legislation possible, hoping to get some more limited gains? Or should it select only what is realistically achievable and concentrate on getting all of that program accomplished?
- b) Is it good or bad strategy to attach anti-segregation amendments or "riders" to items of Congressional legislation that are matters of vital national concern, for example, public housing, federal aid to education, military training for national defense.
- c) Has the Supreme Court decision established a precedent that will act as an eventual solution to most of the forthcoming intergroup relations problems that arise, or is there still a burden of responsibility on the executive and legislative branches of government to remove the remaining barriers of segregation and discrimination?
- d) Should the most important aim of a community program in intergroup relations be the changing of attitudes of people in the community so that their behavior may later change? Or should the most important aim be to change the intergroup relations patterns and practices so that attitudes may later change?

- e) Should the goals of intergroup relations programs be the complete assimilation of all minority groups into one vast "melting pot" or should the separate minority groups maintain their distinctive cultural characteristics, or aim for cultural pluralism?
- f) Should the aim of intergroup relations programs be the preservation of harmonious intergroup relations and the reduction of intergroup tension; or should the aim be to increase the gains in rights and privileges of minority group members?
- g) Does contact between majority and minority group members decrease prejudice regardless of the characteristics of the participants; or does contact decrease prejudice only if the participants are of roughly equal status?
- h) When different cultural or racial groups are brought together, should the problems of intergroup relations be discussed and emphasized; or should the subject of intergroup relations be avoided and other areas of common interest be emphasized?

Yet a core of consensus exists, and strong attempts have been made to draw up sets of working assumptions on which intergroup relations practitioners will be in agreement. A notable example of this attempt at consensus comes from a 1952 NAIRO conference on research in race relations. A sub-committee was appointed to spell out the assumptions of intergroup relations practitioners. In addition to 26 immediate assumptions held by these practitioners (some of which admittedly contradicted each other), the following basic value assumptions and basic theoretical assumptions were articulated by the conference sub-committee:

Assumptions of Practitioners

Basic Value Assumptions:

1. A society of equal opportunity.
2. A society of free social, political, and economic mobility for all groups.
3. A society without discrimination or prejudice based on race, religion, or national origin.
4. Prejudices and discrimination weaken our (any) nation. They are increasingly dangerous politically.
5. The method of science is the best way to find truth.

Basic Theoretical Assumptions:

1. Segregation creates prejudice.
2. Segregation creates discrimination.
3. Segregation creates unhealthy personality in the person inflicting segregation and the person segregated.

4. Prejudice creates segregation.
5. There are no important differences among the races of men.
6. Prejudice creates discrimination.
7. The prejudiced person is, to a degree, mentally ill.

Most intergroup relations workers subscribe to these basic premises and their implicit "vicious cycle," though the sub-committee carefully indicated that "not all of them are agreed to by all people who are practitioners." However, even when a social group possesses this degree of consensus, there is still considerable leeway for differences of approach and differences in opinion because of a wide gamut of individual orientations and assumptions, and of organizational goals and methods, which we shall now consider.

5. Individual orientations and assumptions. After an appraisal of the techniques employed by numerous intergroup organizations in America, social scientist Goodwin Watson arrived at a seven-fold typology of methods of action. These are: exhortation, education, revelation, participation, negotiation, prevention, and contention.

Following this typology of Watson, and adding to it some "logical extremes," the writer has attempted to illustrate the spectrum of American intergroup relations by suggesting a range of orientations and assumptions held by individuals in regard to race relations. The racial orientation of an individual, we hypothesize, is a product of the basic assumptions he holds about race relations. We suggest these ten possible orientations and assumptions:

<u>Orientation</u>	<u>Assumption</u>
a. Separatist, or Apartheid	People are just naturally "different" and should not be made or allowed to mix, but should develop separately. Minorities are "inferior" and amalgamation will cause a "mongrelization" of the dominant racial stock. "If God intended the races to mix, he would have made them all one color."
b. Laissez-faire	Human beings are too puny to effect changes, and you cannot alter human nature. Stateways cannot change folkways, and you cannot legislate against the mores -- look at Prohibition -- that failed. Perhaps, if people just let things alone, changes will come eventually -- but through evolution, not revolution.
c. Minority self-discipline	Prejudice is caused by the minority group's undesirable or "obnoxious" characteristics. In order to reduce prejudice and discrimination, the minority group must improve itself, become less noisy and disorganized, and "lift itself to a level of others." Only then will prejudice wither away.

- d. Prevention, and reduction of tension
- Prejudice and discrimination are likely to flare up into intergroup conflict at any moment unless carefully watched. Therefore we must have "tension barometers" to spot conflict situations, police training courses to handle them, and mayor's committees to deal with incidents as fast as they come up.
- e. Exhortation
- Most people are Christian and good of heart. If you appeal to their consciences, pass out pamphlets encouraging tolerance, and remind them that prejudice and discrimination are sinful, they will end these practices. Particularly it is up to the churches, as guardians of our morality, to take the lead in reminding us that "all men are brothers" and that one must "love thy neighbor."
- f. Participation
- People have prejudices and barriers to understanding only because they do not contact one another. Bring them together, "throw out a basketball," let them alone, and they will learn to understand each other through wholesome group experiences.
- g. Education
- Prejudice and discrimination are caused by ignorance of the facts about other groups. The solution to the race problem is the education of both races. "Give people the facts and prejudice will disappear."
- h. Negotiation
- Intergroup problems are caused by lack of communication and failure of leaders to get together. There is no problem of prejudice and discrimination that cannot be solved by cool heads, gathering privately around a conference table, or else settling their differences quietly through a Council for Unity.
- i. "Direct action"
- The prejudiced person is a bigot with an economic and psychological stake in the status quo. No amount of pleading, arguing, or "educating" is going to change his attitude. You have to force him to move by invoking every sanction, "clobbering" him with civil rights laws, picketing, boycotting, or whatever means exist.
- j. "Revolution"
- All of these previous approaches are ridiculous. Prejudice and discrimination are inherent in the rotten capitalistic system, and can be altered only by appealing to the working classes and oppressed minorities of every country to throw off their shackles and overturn the imperialistic, exploiting bourgeoisie.

This gamut of individual orientations and assumptions might be viewed as background for the more specific inventory of the current goals and methods of intergroup relations organizations.

6. Organizational goals and methods of intergroup agencies.

a. Goals. Frequent conflicts, controversies and minor differences of opinion have been observed to arise between persons within and without the intergroup relations field, between persons in different intergroup relations organizations, between different persons within the same organization, and even within the mind of an individual in a given intergroup organization. Much of this conflict and dissension revolves around what an individual or group should do in regard to changing certain patterns of intergroup relations, and this difference of opinion about methods is related to a disagreement about the most desirable intergroup relations goals. Robin Williams has noted this confusion, stating:

Research on the control of intergroup tensions requires as a first step an analysis of the underlying goals and causal assumptions upon which action is predicated. Inspection of existing programs shows that such assumptions are very frequently implicit and taken for granted, and that it is sometimes problematic how much awareness exists as to the implications of the actions which are in fact undertaken. Often, perhaps even typically, a single agency is aiming toward several goals at the same time.... There are instances in which some of the assumptions which may be inferred from the programs in operation appear to be incompatible with the nominal objectives of the organization. Thus it may happen that an organization which states its goals in terms of increasing mutual understanding and amity is carrying out a program against discrimination sufficiently militant to increase conflict in the immediate situation, whatever its long term results.

Louis Wirth's message to the American Friends Service Committee's Race Relations Committee contained a similar point about conflict over desired goals and a listing of several differing goals that individuals and organizations have selected. He suggests:

One of the most confusing aspects of the race relations problem has been the difficulty of discerning what the various programs sought to accomplish. Almost all of the programs now in operation will be found upon examination to have as their implicit or explicit purpose one or more of the following:

1. the reduction of prejudice;
2. the reduction of antipathy;
3. the reduction or elimination of segregation;
4. the reduction or elimination of discrimination;
5. the reduction of intergroup tension or conflict.

Once these objectives are stated it becomes clear that they are not the same thing and upon even slight further examination it will be found that they are not necessarily correlated with each other.

To these suggested goals might be added more deviant and seldom encountered goals such as trying to overthrow the majority group, trying to form pluralistic,

"separate but equal" minority communities, or seceding completely from the dominant group and forming isolated minority communities or nations. These latter orientations are almost never encountered but are theoretically possible if one follows Wirth's typology of minorities as assimilationist, militant, pluralistic or secessionist.

A formulation of possible goals suggested by the writer, and containing the logical extremes of action to affect the patterns of intergroup relations is as follows:

1. Oppose and restrain the minority group.
2. Let intergroup relations alone and let the problems solve themselves.
3. Reduce intergroup tension and conflict.
4. Create "better intergroup relations" or a climate of opinion conducive to better intergroup relations.
5. Improve the status of the minority group.
6. Challenge the majority power structure.

These possible alternatives are not based on systematic research, but upon observation and speculation. The alternatives are broader than the current American scene suggests, and are presented so that the scheme may have broader application. They are part of a diagram which will be presented later in this discussion.

b. Methods. Somewhat related to, but not completely parallel to the alternative goals in intergroup relations are the alternative methods that may conceivably be employed to attain these goals. Williams has noted this, stating:

Action requires not only a choice of goals but also a selection of means -- a selection which is affected by the ends chosen but not completely determined by them. The selection of means also rests upon cause-and-effect assumptions; if this is done, then that will follow.

The necessity for careful appraisal of specific techniques has been cited by sociologist Donald Young:

The accomplishments of any group desirous of altering interracial behavior will be far below the level of potentiality unless the details of race relations techniques are understood and tactically well used. When a group, perhaps a mayor's committee on race relations, a labor union, a race improvement association or a government agency concerned with the Negro, has decided on its goal and appropriate strategy, the effectiveness of its program is still dependent on materials, tools and craftsmanship.

Other social scientists have catalogued the available techniques in the intergroup relations field. We have previously cited the methods suggested by Goodwin Watson. Williams suggests: information-education-propaganda; political and legal

pressures; organizing intergroup contacts in work situations; organizing intergroup contacts in non-work situations; organizations for adjusting intergroup differences; public commendations and awards for individuals or organizations working in intergroup relations; psychotherapy with individuals or small groups; organization of activities of groups considered likely sources of conflict; and fact-finding by community members.

Wirth advances a similar classification, omitting a few of Williams' latter methods, and adding these: organization to expose and combat "undemocratic" movements; organization to exert pressure upon public and private agencies to prevent or abolish discrimination in certain areas; and organization to insure high levels of employment, good government, and to promote liberal causes, on the assumption that a sound, secure society prevents scapegoating.

The writer recently collaborated with John Dean, Edward Suchman and Robin Williams at Cornell University, in an effort to make this inventory of possible techniques more systematic. A research instrument was constructed for the purpose of determining intergroup practitioners' evaluations of the most effective and least effective methods and techniques of intergroup relations. In analyzing the results of this inventory, the suggested methods are arranged into a continuum ranging from methods that do not attack prejudice and discrimination, to methods that attack prejudice only, and finally to methods that attack discrimination. The reactions of practitioners may then be analyzed in terms of the best available knowledge about what is effective in intergroup relations. The chart appears on the following page.

This instrument has served as a useful device in increasing the interest of racial action groups, in sensitizing them to the range of possible actions in intergroup relations, in interpreting to them the current social science and practitioner knowledge of the relative effectiveness of each device, and in constructing a "group profile" showing how the orientation of one group compares to that of others. It was found to be a very useful aid to this particular evaluative study.

7. A summary chart. In summary, the evaluative study of the intergroup relations work of the American Friends Service Committee will seek to place this organization into the broader perspective of the goals, the general and specific methods, and the types of appeal employed by the major organized forces of intergroup relations in American life. Employing the framework advanced in this section of the frame of reference, this broad intergroup perspective is shown in the diagram that appears on page 26.

This diagram is extremely impressionistic and is subject to correction, amendment or refutation by anyone who reads it; nevertheless it is an attempted summary and classification of the goals and methods cited in this section. Reading across, it represents the continuum of orientations toward the minority group that have been mentioned. Reading down, it represents an extremely rough classification of the component parts of these orientations. The instrument previously presented may be used as a horizontal verification of this scheme if administered to members of intergroup organizations. Likewise, testimony of heads of such organizations may serve as vertical verification or refutation of this scheme.

DO
NOTHING

Turn Back
to the
Minority

1. Set a good personal example of your social circle, work relations and friends.
2. Persuade minorities to stop agitating and give time a chance to solve the problem.
3. Get minority leaders to encourage members of the minority to improve themselves so employers will be more willing to hire them.

ATTACK
PREJUDICE

Public
Media

4. Get dramatic posters and exhibits in public places such as restaurants, libraries, show cases and public transportation.
5. Arrange for radio programs, newspaper articles, etc. that will attack prejudice.

Personal
Exhortation

6. Arrange forums, lectures and public meetings to interpret to the community the accomplishments and cultural backgrounds of different minorities.
7. Get clergymen throughout the city to deliver sermons urging greater tolerance and understanding of minorities.

Group
Process

8. Arrange group discussions among parents to modify their intergroup attitudes, since prejudice begins at home.
9. Arrange education courses on intergroup relations that are open to the public.

ATTACK
DISCRIM-
INATION

Influence
Key People
Through
Personal
Exhortation

10. Arrange meetings at which outside experts can discuss intergroup relations with civic leaders and influential persons.
11. Organize a citizens' committee to study the local situation and make recommendations.
12. Organize intergroup relations workshops for specific groups that are handling intergroup situations.
13. Get a few influential persons to negotiate privately behind the scenes with establishments that discriminate.

Use the
Law

14. Negotiate with violators of civil rights and fair practices legislation to initiate better intergroup practices or face legal consequences.
15. Bring legal action against persons or firms that continue to practice discrimination.

Use Other
Sanctions

16. Protest discriminatory acts by petitions, open letters to officials, and other publicity.
17. Organize boycotts or mass picketing of firms that practice discrimination.

AMERICAN INTERGROUP RELATIONS ACTION IN PERSPECTIVE;
GOALS, METHODS, AND APPEALS

General goals	Opposition to minority	Laissez-faire	Reduction of tension	"Better intergroup relations"	Improvement of minority group's status	Challenging majority power structure
General methods	Agitation	Minority self-discipline; Gradualism	Prevention Exhortation	Education Participation	Negotiation Legislation Contention	Radical agitation
Specific methods and techniques	"Hate sheets" Acts of intimidation	---	Pamphlets Brotherhood week Police training courses Radio programs and other mass media Self-surveys and workshops	Interracial activities Forums and school courses	Lobbying Private arbitration and mediation Legal and legislative action	Picketing Boycotts Mass meetings
Appeals or slogans	"Rome wasn't built in a day" "You can't build a chimney from the top" "Stop coddling minorities" "Crows don't nest with robins"		"Love thy brother" "All men are brothers" "Give the people the facts and prejudice will disappear" "The More Perfect Union"		"Give us an FEPC with <u>TEETH!</u> " "Jim Crow must go" "Take 'em to court"	"Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!"

8. The nature of the opposition. Far too little is known today about how the forces opposed to "better intergroup relations" operate. What is their frame of reference -- their assumptions and values? Are they really bigots or merely vested interests? Specifically, how do trade associations and Chambers of Commerce go about fighting Fair Employment Practice campaigns? What are the practices of real estate boards? How do they bar Negro real estate brokers, or enforce their norms against "breaking a neighborhood"? What are the actual programs conducted by such organized opposition groups as the National Association for the Advancement of White People, the White Citizens Councils, the so-called "Southern Gentlemen"? Intergroup relations practitioners may fear, ignore or ridicule these groups, but it is certain that action in intergroup relations will be more effective if their nature is known.

We will make no definitive statements on the nature of the opposition at this point. We do seek to suggest some levels of opposition that the intergroup relations resources must frequently contend with. Recognizing that this listing may overlap with the previously cited gamut of racial orientations and assumptions, we nevertheless cite these forces in American communities:

- a) Organized opposition. This includes the familiar groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens' Councils, and NAACP; it also includes other "hate" groups organized by individuals who have found that there is profit to be made in baiting or opposing minorities.
- b) Diffuse individual opposition. This category includes the individuals who, either through personal prejudice or through faulty perceptions, are opposed to positive changes in intergroup relations. We might illustrate some of the types of faulty perception by the following diagram:

Some Premises of the Diffuse Individual Opposition

<u>Basis of the Premise</u>	<u>Cliche of the Premise</u>
Biblical	"Noah cursed Ham"; "If God had meant the races to mix he'd have made them all one color."
Organic analogy	"Crows don't nest with robins"; "When you plant a garden, you don't mix the seeds."
Stereotypes	"Negroes are lazy"; "Jews are dishonest"; "Indians are dirty."
Logical self-contradictions	"Jews are pushy -- Jews are clannish"; "Jews are all rich - Jews are all communists"; "Indians are noble savages -- Indians are drunken derelicts."
Wishful thinking	"After all, Negroes prefer to be by themselves."
Superstition	"Negroes draw lightning,"

- c) "Status quoism." This group sees no necessity for any alteration of current practices. It may include persons of both the majority and the minority groups who have a vested interest in the current state of affairs.
- d) Gradualist "go slowism." These persons are usually willing to concede the inequity of current racial practices, but are unable to understand the haste or impatience of intergroup relations organizations and the minority community. They will hasten to remind that, "Rome wasn't built in a day," "You can't rush these things," and "Oh, it's coming -- though you and I will never live to see it."
- e) "Fair weather liberalism." This phrase, suggested by Robert Merton, refers to those who believe that their attitudes are basically correct and their sympathies allied with minorities and intergroup organizations, but who become troubled or fearful when organizational strategy seems to dictate taking more drastic steps than they themselves would take. The NAACP in particular has witnessed from its beginning a steady withdrawal of liberals who feel in the case of each new effort that "the time is not ripe."

This section on the nature of the opposition has been included to indicate the wide range of American reactions to intergroup issues. The inventory of resources and of opposition may shed further light on the previously cited problems and progress existing in this field. A specific example of both opposition and resources in intergroup relations will be found in the ensuing section, which deals with the unique role of social science in the field of intergroup relations.

E. Social Science, Social Action, and the "Practitioner"

1. Contributions to a theory of change in race relations. Perhaps the most relevant contribution of social science to both the resources and the opposition in intergroup relations lies in its contribution to general knowledge of how change comes about, particularly in race relations. For even more relevant than the specific services that social scientists can perform is the effect of the diffusion of scientific knowledge on the general climate of community opinion. We therefore consider here the social science positions that have most strongly affected public thinking on how change comes about in the race relations field.

We first review the beliefs of William Graham Sumner, perhaps the most outstanding and influential sociologist in 19th Century American life. In retrospect, Sumner is best known for what might be called the "fatalistic bias" in regard to men's ability to change their own social situation. The general position of Sumner might be revealed in the following statement taken from an article intriguingly titled, "The Absurd Attempt to Make the World Over."

The great stream of time and earthly things will sweep on just the same in spite of us.... Every one of us is a child of his age and cannot get out of it. He is in the stream and is swept along with it. All his science and philosophy come to him out of it. Therefore the tide

will not be changed by us. It will swallow up both us and our experiments.... This is why it is the greatest folly of which a man can be capable, to sit down with a slate and pencil and plan out a new social world.

In particular reference to race relations, Sumner is best known for two phrases that captured the attention and influenced the thinking of many Americans in the late 19th Century. These statements are: "Stateways cannot change folkways" and "You cannot legislate against the mores." Addressing himself to the problem of Southern race relations, Sumner has stated:

In our Southern states, before the Civil War, whites and blacks had formed habits of action and feeling toward each other. They lived in peace and concord and each grew up in the ways which were traditional and customary. The Civil War abolished legal rights and left the two races to learn how to live together under other relations than before. The whites have never been converted from the old mores.... Vain attempts have been made to control the new order by legislation. The only result is the proof that legislation cannot make mores.

The Sumnerian viewpoint may be considered to have almost dominated American social scientists' thinking until the period of the 1920's. At this point another group of social scientists, desiring to validate their theories with empirical data, and concerned about the imminent problems of adjustment of immigrants to American life, began to evolve a new scheme of social theories in regard to intergroup relations. This group was led by such scholars as W. I. Thomas, E. B. Reuther, W. F. Ogburn and Robert E. Park, and was sometimes known as the "University of Chicago" school. A central theme of their analysis was the postulation of four types of interaction between human groupings -- competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. Though considerably less conservative in their views than Sumner, their theories nevertheless maintained some of the fatalistic tinge in their emphasis on the inevitability of intergroup conflict, the existence of "xenophobia" -- or fear of the unknown, and their dubiousness about the possibility of assimilation of the Negro in the South.

Another social scientist who has contributed considerably to current thought on intergroup relations is the late social psychologist Kurt Lewin. He is perhaps best known for his emphasis on Galilean rather than Aristotelian thinking, his insistence upon studying situational fields rather than classes and categories, and his vital interest in action research. Lewin was in the vanguard of a new era of thought in social science -- stressing the importance of studying the social situation and its effect on individual behavior. This led him, logically, to a study of how social situations might be changed, in order to subsequently change individual behavior -- a major emphasis of action research.

The most pronounced and clear-cut reversal of the fatalistic or pessimistic thinking among social scientists came from the Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal. Invited by Carnegie Corporation to make an exhaustive study of American race relations, Myrdal and some 90 social science associates produced a massive and comprehensive 1500 page report which is perhaps the most widely used document in American race relations today. But in addition to his specific studies of the position of Negroes in America, Myrdal also produced several valuable appendices, one of which sharply criticized the Sumnerian influence on the thinking of American social scientists today. In reference to Sumner, Myrdal criticized the "pro-Southern bias" of social scientists, and stated:

We must voice our grave skepticism toward the simple explanatory scheme concerning the role of valuations in social life typified by William Graham Sumner's concepts, "folkways" and "mores." Since his time these concepts -- or one of their several synonyms -- have been widely used by social scientists and have, in particular, determined the approach to the Negro problem. [This formula] is closely related to a bias in social science against induced changes, and especially against all attempts to intervene in the social process by legislation.

What is the thinking of social scientists today? Perusals of current literature convince the writer that not only have social scientists dismissed the fatalistic theories of Sumner in favor of a belief in man's ability to effect positive change in intergroup relations; they are also insisting that it is not necessary for attitudinal changes to precede behavioral changes -- that the eternal social science argument about whether one should concentrate on altering prejudicial attitudes or discriminatory behavior should be resolved in favor of the latter procedure. Validity is added to these opinions by the fact that they are almost universally based upon empirical research rather than theoretical speculation alone. We cite some examples. Social psychologist Gordon Allport states:

Turning now to social programs (the social system) there is first of all considerable agreement that it is wiser to attack segregation and discrimination than to attack prejudice directly.

In his book, The More Perfect Union, R. M. MacIver adds:

Wherever the direct attack is feasible, that is, the attack on discrimination itself, it is more promising than the indirect attack, that is, the attack on prejudice itself. It is more effective to challenge conditions than to challenge attitudes or feelings.

After an exhaustive analysis of all of the examples of successful racial desegregation that could be found in American life, social psychologist Kenneth Clark makes this statement in regard to the empirical evidence that he reviewed:

The data reveal that desired changes in the behavior of individuals and groups can be brought about by a change in the social situation in which they are required to function. Changes in the social situation are effected and reinforced by individuals with authority, prestige, power and the control over the media of communication and important areas of life.... Whether or not behavioral changes are accompanied by attitudinal changes does not seem to be related to the observed stability of the behavioral changes. Some of the examined evidence suggests that compatible changes in attitudes and motivation may occur as a consequence of the changed situation and changed behavior.

And finally, we report the conclusions of the directors of the Rockefeller Intergroup Relations Survey, administered by Cornell University:

It is widely believed that prejudice is the basic cause of segregation and discrimination, and that nothing can be done about them until we find ways of reaching the basic prejudices of individuals. Current research shows that most segregation is unquestioning acceptance of operating practices -- much segregation and discrimination are not closely related to prejudices of the individual.

Major changes in individual prejudices occur most quickly and thoroughly from exposure to social interaction in a new social environment rather than from information and exhortation alone.

We pose these social science views on how social change occurs in race relations for this reason: Any evaluation of an action group in intergroup relations should pose as a central question, "What is your theory of change? What are your assumptions about how change comes about -- if x occurs, then what will follow? How do you translate these assumptions into action? And what are the results and how do you evaluate them?" We hope to evaluate the AFSC's Community Relations Program in terms of how its assumptions fit into the various social science theories presented above.

2. Other contributions of science to race relations action. The interaction of social scientists and intergroup relations practitioners in American life currently has both a negative and a positive side. Observation of the frequent attempts at collaboration between these two groups convinces the writer that both of these aspects should be presented.

First, on the negative side, one may observe in the interaction between social scientists and practitioners in intergroup relations most of the familiar components found in studies of intergroup tension and conflict: barriers to effective communication, stereotyping and distortion, social distance, and a "language of prejudice" -- a battery of power words which frequently serve to increase these barriers to effective communication. Robin Williams has noted that the role of "expert in race relations" frequently appears to place the practitioner in a subordinate position. He adds:

This is often a source of intense resentment, leading to an impasse in which a baffled researcher complains of non-rational resistance, and the practitioner heaps scorn on what appears to him to be the pretentious impracticality of a snobbish academic in-group. The resultant stereotyping, over-determined sentiments, and distortions of communication will surely come as no surprise to students of intergroup relations.

As a somewhat exaggerated example of this interaction, we present, on the basis of many observations of social scientist-practitioner discussions in race relations, a dialogue which never actually took place, but which, in its overtones, may be familiar to individuals who have attempted this collaboration.

Social Scientist: "You are using untested assumptions and flying by the seat of your pants."

Practitioner: "You are in an ivory tower and you never met a payroll."

Social Scientist: "... and you are anti-intellectual."

Practitioner: "Your laboratory experiments with rats won't help me on the firing line."

Social Scientist: "You pose research problems that are unresearchable; and you demand that we distort true scientific inquiry to fit your immediate need."

- Practitioner: "You never turn out research that we can use; and you never do research based on our needs."
- Social Scientist: "... and even if we did you wouldn't read it."
- Practitioner: "Your writing is all gobbledegook; you can't write in English, and your theories are a Talmudic argument without a Torah."
- Social Scientist: "You don't know whether or not your actions are doing more harm than good -- having boomerang effects."
- Practitioner: "For all your thousands of attitude studies, you don't know what an attitude is and you can't tell me how to stop a race riot. And besides it takes you years to write up your stuff."
- Social Scientist: "You don't read; you can't read; Sir, you are illiterate."

Yet despite the heat engendered in this type of intergroup conflict, the social scientist has been observed to contribute positively to the field of social action in intergroup relations in these respects:

- a) Contributing the best available social science findings on the definitions and characteristics of races, and on the relative influences of heredity and environment in shaping individual personality and group culture;
- b) Making and collating studies of the nature of attitudes and the formation of intergroup prejudices and antagonisms, and methods of reducing group prejudices and antagonisms;
- c) Analyzing the nature of group tensions and conflicts and suggesting methods for reducing them;
- d) Referring specific research findings to practitioners as "ammunition" for their action efforts;
- e) Designing and presenting researches that are of immediate use to practitioners and inventorying practitioners on the types of research they need to carry out their work more effectively;
- f) Giving court testimony on what social science knows about such subjects as the effects of segregation and the consequences of desegregation in American life.

The most noticeable recent contribution of social science to social action in intergroup relations is in the Supreme Court arguments on the constitutionality of racial segregation in public education. In the 1952 arguments, the NAACP appended to its legal brief, for the first time, a social science appendix which drew on the knowledge and experience of some 200 American social scientists.

This brief had its origins in numerous pioneering social science researches: the work of Otto Klineberg on Negro intelligence and selective migration, the American Youth Commission series of studies on personality development of Negro youth, the series of small independent researches on Negro personality development initiated at Fisk University and other smaller institutions, the monumental Myrdal study, and the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth.

The effectiveness of this social science testimony is clearly indicated by the emphasis in the Supreme Court ruling on the relationship of segregation to minority personality development, and is reflected in the now famous Footnote 11 which acknowledges the contributions of social science. It should be noted that none of the data cited in this social science brief was gathered especially for use in those legal cases. Dr. Kenneth Clark, the social psychologist who participated actively in preparation of the brief, states: "The researchers were not aware that their findings would have practical significance. They were scholars, seeking truth."

We thus observe that the continual search of social scientists for truth about human phenomena, and the continual search of intergroup relations practitioners for effective techniques in accomplishing positive social action have frequently converged into a fruitful and rewarding collaboration. We now consider another potential contribution of social science to social action.

3. The social scientist as program evaluator. Such scholars as Robin Williams, Goodwin Watson, Louis Wirth, Ronald Lippitt have urged recently that action programs concern themselves with mastering techniques of evaluating the effects of their action. Others have suggested that the social scientist has a potential role in this connection. Henry W. Riecken, who did a psychological evaluation of the effects of Quaker Work Camps on youths, suggests that one service that social science can render to social action is to develop techniques for the evaluation of social action programs and suggests a definition of evaluation that tentatively will be employed in this discussion:

The problem of evaluating social action is not unique to work-service programs. Nearly all of us engage in such action at various times, although ordinarily on a smaller scale. That is, we all act to change others' behavior, attitudes, values, beliefs, decisions, skills, and knowledge. As teachers, preachers, parents, and leaders of groups, we attempt to influence others.

Evaluation is the measurement of desirable and undesirable consequences of an action that has been taken in order to forward some goal that we value.

Thus we come to the core of this discussion -- the experience of a social scientist studying a religiously motivated organization in intergroup relations. In conducting this evaluation, the writer used ten procedures: Observation and analysis of annual staff meetings; analysis of minutes and files; participant observation in the national office; attendance at all relevant meetings; interviews with policy-makers; visits to field programs involving intensive community-wide studies and intensive interviews with staff members; circulating a standardized questionnaire; formulating questions for group discussion; circulating draft segments of the final report for staff comment; and submitting a full final memorandum to Russell Sage Foundation.

The materials discussed in the ensuing chapters are presented under the assumption that they are logical subjects to be covered in program evaluation. Though most of these assumptions are "ad hoc" or developed in the course of evaluation for this purpose only, we present the following propositions on the scope of an evaluative survey, chapter by chapter:

- a) Chapter II. Program evaluation might provide as broad a general context as possible, before viewing the specific organization under study.
- b) Chapter III. Evaluation might consider the historical background of the group under study, the historic evolution of the group's interest and activity in race relations, the assumptions on which the program is based, the organizational structure, process, and communication problems of the group, and the basic concepts that underlie the group's motivations and activities.
- c) Chapter IV. Evaluation might briefly describe the programs under study. But in addition, evaluation should inquire into the staff members' motivations, conflicts, differences of opinion, problems, and job satisfactions. Also, evaluation might inquire into the staff member's utilization of social science knowledge, and his methods of putting into action the basic concepts on which the program is based.
- d) Chapter V. Evaluation might study a given organization's program in terms of the community in which it works. The various segments of the community might be described in terms of their attitude toward the subject under study -- in this case, race relations. Other organizations also working in this field might be examined in terms of their internal structure, their problems and their inter-relationships. Finally, the viewpoints and opinions of the various community segments toward the group under study might be a central part of the evaluative process.
- e) Chapter VI. After noting the general trends and new directions in the field under study, evaluation might give a critical appraisal of the organization in terms of its assumptions and practices, its "uniqueness" or non-uniqueness, the future directions that might be recommended in the organization's activities, and what others might derive from close observation of the organization's beliefs and actions.

The remainder of this volume will describe the results of using the above mentioned procedures and areas of evaluative interest, in an effort to contribute to the beginnings of a more precise application of science to social action in the realm of human affairs.

F. Summary

The extensive catalogue of "problems" and of "progress," of "resources" and of "opposition" in American race relations warrants some explanation, and can actually be understood only through intensive analysis of the nature of American

society as a whole. Robin Williams, a social scientist who attempted such an analysis, makes this statement on race relations in his study of American society:

The commitment of large segments of American society to doctrines stressing the value and dignity of the individual has been real, deep and widespread. The same can be said of the principles of equality, of humanitarian values, of political freedoms -- and so on through the list of "publicly dominant value patterns" already listed. Once full weight has been given to all these "rational - humane" values in the received traditions of the society, it must be recognized at the same time that the values of the Creed have continually struggled against pervasive and powerful counter-currents of valuation. One of the chief conflicts, and in many ways the most important conflict, has centered around those diverse patterns which have had as their common element the ascription of values and privilege to individuals on the basis of race or particularistic group membership, according to birth in a particular ethnic group, social class, or related social category.

... It becomes apparent that a very important part of the conflict of value systems in the United States can be economically summarized in terms of tension between values centering around the concept of the responsible individual personality versus values organized around categorical, organic conceptions.

This statement illustrates our feeling that race relations cannot honestly be viewed outside the broader context of the development and structure of this nation. However, the accomplishment of such a task shall not be attempted in this discussion, though certain characteristics of Americans noted by both domestic and foreign observers might be cited.

On the one hand, Americans have been described as exploitative, competitive, anxious about personal status, wasteful of both material and human resources, contemptuous of former slaves or newcomers to these shores, apathetic about political and social issues, inclined toward crime, violence and extra-legal justice.

On the other hand, Americans are often viewed as generous, altruistic, self-critical, anxious to reform their institutions and to abolish corruption, willing to support numerous "causes," disturbed at the possibility of lack of adequate nutrition, sanitation and educational facilities in other parts of the world.

One of the valuable functions performed by Gunnar Myrdal in his American Dilemma was the placing of the position of American Negroes in this broader context. In reference to the self-evaluative and self-critical aspect of American life, Myrdal states:

The popular explanation of the disparity in America between ideals and actual behavior is that Americans do not have the slightest intention of living up to the ideals which they talk about and put into their Constitution and laws.

This explanation is too superficial. To begin with, the true hypocrite sins in secret; he conceals his faults. The American, on the contrary, is strongly and sincerely "against sin," even, and not least, his own sins. He investigates his faults, puts them on record, and

shouts them from the housetops, adding the most severe recriminations against himself, including the accusation of hypocrisy. If all the world is well informed about the political corruption, organized crime, and faltering system of justice in America, it is primarily not due to its malice but to American publicity about its own imperfections. America's handling of the Negro problem has been criticized most emphatically by white Americans since long before the Revolution, and the criticism has steadily gone on and will not stop until America has completely reformed itself.

Thus, we believe that there is an American Creed which most people adhere to in spirit, embodying the best of our democratic values. There is, likewise, a "people's creed" supporting a measure of racism, superstition and fallacy, or at least a personal distaste for or objection to contact with minorities in particular areas. There is, as Myrdal has suggested, an American dilemma -- and the current series of international events has brought this dilemma to the surface. Today Americans are alert, sensitive and concerned about the broader implications of their intergroup practices -- both because of America's crucial international position, and because the real conscience, morality and "fair play" values of Americans are involved and activated.

We hope in subsequent chapters to show how this apparent chaotic and conflictful racial orientation of Americans actually looks when viewed from the standpoint of the local community and through the eyes of persons dedicated to seeing and understanding all community points of view.

The wide variety of introductory contexts presented up to this point may seem staggering if not actually superfluous to the reader. However, this view on the present position of American intergroup relations is intended to be a broader framework for examining one specific organization -- the Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

The reader may be helped, as the writer has been, by this preliminary review of broader perspectives into which a specific program is subsumed. Thus we seek to avoid the possibility that this organization may appear too significant or too miniscule; and we also seek to describe the total gamut of orientations to right and left of it.

In other words, we seek to approximate the methods of science. If the scientist were studying a drop of rain, he could not be satisfied with merely describing its internal properties; he would feel constrained to point out that it has an origin and a destination, that there are also other drops of rain, and that the sum total of these is the phenomenon of rainfall.

III. THE AFSC IN RACE RELATIONS

A. Background -- The Religious Society of Friends

The work of the American Friends Service Committee in race relations should be assessed against the broader background of the history of the Religious Society of Friends -- its origins, its peace testimony, its early history of persecution, its position in American life today, and its unique "culture" -- its way of living, and believing and doing.

1. George Fox and the early Quaker period. The Society of Friends ("Quakers") developed during a 17th Century period of religious restlessness and "spiritual seeking" in England and throughout Europe. The Bible had come into its own in England and many were reading it. New sects were springing up everywhere. People were increasingly separating themselves from the national form of religion and were seeking for a way of worship and life that would express their needs. As one student of Friends' history has suggested:

Quakerism developed as an attempt to relive and interpret the way of life shown by Jesus and recorded in the New Testament.... By exclusive dependence on the written word of the Bible, their contemporaries had lost much of the life and stimulus in religion. Quakers turned from the outward authority of the Scriptures to an inward authority, believing that in every man was something of God which, like an Inward Light, would lead toward Truth and Goodness.

The name most frequently associated with the earliest periods of Friends' history is that of George Fox, sometimes referred to as the first Quaker. Fox shared with many others this experience of "spiritual seeking." However, in 1646, after seeking advice about his own spiritual concerns Fox finally concluded that the people of reputed religious knowledge did not "speak to his need." It was then that his period of seeking came to an end with an experience on which the whole Quaker message is said to hinge:

When all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do, then, oh then, I heard a Voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition"; and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy.

The word "Quaker" was at first a scornful nickname given to members of the Society of Friends by a hostile magistrate whom George Fox bade to "tremble at the word of the Lord." It is interesting to note that this term was once a derisive epithet, and is now quite accepted and used frequently by Friends themselves.

The tradition of loving peace likewise seems to have begun with George Fox. On one occasion an outraged clergy charged him with blasphemy and had him imprisoned in "a lousy stinking place, without any bed, amongst thirty felons." Six months later, Oliver Cromwell's Commissioners offered to release him from jail and give him the rank of Captain in their army. It was then that George Fox uttered the since cherished words, "I know from whence all wars arise, and live in virtue

of that Life and Power that takes away the occasion of all wars." Later, after asserting that he "trampled" on Cromwell's offer, he was returned to the "lousy stinking place." However, in this act, he had offered the first Quaker testimony against war.

The most salient emphasis of early Quakerism was the belief in the following of the Inward Light rather than a blind acceptance of the word of the Bible. Sidney Lucas, who succinctly pieces together this early period in his book, The Quaker Story, states:

This belief led them to a Meeting for Worship based on silence, to be broken only under the guidance of the Inward Light. No ritual, sacraments, or sermons, necessitated the presence of a paid priest, and there was no elaborate church building....

Simplicity was a natural consequence to religious earnestness; and dress, speech, belongings and conduct were of the plainest. Recognition of that of God in every man led to a conviction of real equality, friendliness and good will, shown by a refusal to take part in war or slavery. From this faith sprang the movement which, in a few unbelievable years, became Quakerism.

Lucas and other historians chronicle a spirited tale of the experiences of early Quakerdom in England. It seems that Friends, in their strong religious fervor, had a tendency toward interference with other church services. It was established practice in those days for anyone to speak in church after the minister had finished, but not before. However, the Quakers frequently interrupted when they dissented with the preacher and Bibles were occasionally used as weapons against them. At one time Fox was knocked senseless by Biblical blows. Other dramatic examples of this religious belief are cited by Lucas:

These were the days when religious fervor was expressed by using oneself as a "sign" of some spiritual significance. Fox walked without shoes through Litchfield crying, "Woe unto the bloody city," Barkeley went through the streets of Aberdeen in sack cloth, and some went into market places in symbolic nakedness or carried a token of hell fire in a brazier. In a similar symbolic spirit, Naylor allowed himself to be led on a horse into Bristol while his admirers preceded him with cries of "Holy, holy, holy!" This imitation of the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem on an ass was done as a "sign" of the second coming of Christ. The small procession, however, was dispersed and Naylor imprisoned.

The persecution of Friends in England reached incredible heights for a brief time and then declined sharply. Likewise the number of Friends at one point reached 30,000, within eight years of George Fox's conversion, and then declined sharply when persecutions began. Quakers reputedly suffered far more under the Royalists than the Puritan regime; during the Commonwealth period, 32 prisoners died, while in the Restoration period imprisonment was suffered by 15,000 Quakers of whom 350 died. It was not until about 1690 that the persecution declined and most Quakers were released from jail.

Even before coming to America, Quakers had been denounced by Puritan priests as "enthusiasts" full of "mutiny, sedition and rebellion" and the first two Quakers who arrived in America in 1656 were promptly imprisoned. In America as in

England the extent of early persecution of Quakers was almost astounding. They were denounced as a "cursed sect of heretics," they were subjected to fines, whipping and imprisonment in solitary confinement, and the books they brought to America were burned. Lucas states that for being in possession of a Quaker book the fine was five pounds; for bringing a Quaker on a ship, one hundred pounds.

In Massachusetts a new law called for a fine of "40 shillings for every hour that anyone should entertain or conceal a Quaker." Quakers were frequently expelled from American colonies, and when they doggedly insisted on returning in protest against violation of their civil rights, they more than once had their ears slit or were hanged.

Even the advent of William Penn to American shores was met with something less than full enthusiasm by the colonists. On hearing of Penn's impending arrival in 1682, the Reverend Cotton Mather, leader of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, wrote the following letter to a friend:

There be now at sea a ship called Welcome, which has on board 100 or more of the heretics and malignants called Quakers, with W. Penn, who is the chief scamp, at the head of them ... Much spoil can be made by selling the whole lot to Barbados where slaves fetch good prices in rum and sugar, and we shall not only do the Lord great service by punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good for his Minister and the people.

Yours in the bowels of Christ,

(signed) Cotton Mather

However, the English Toleration Act of 1688 brought with it a relaxing of the tension under which Quakers lived and marked the end of the storm for that religious body. Its influence was likewise felt in America, and the followers of George Fox and William Penn were launched into a new era of security and serenity which, with the possible exception of pacifist stands during wartime, has never since been disturbed. In regard to the subsequent period in American life, Sidney Lucas concludes:

Prosperity came with toleration, as Friends were again able to take a settled place in the business life of the nation, and soon a reputation for truthfulness, reliability, trustworthiness and honesty brought them considerable trade. Their quiet way of life, removed from the temptation of the world's extravagances, led to thrift and increase of wealth by the negative process of not spending.

2. Quaker traditions in American history. Since their early traumatic beginnings, the Quakers have lived quietly, have prospered, and have traditionally placed their emphasis on conscientious objection to war, opposition to slavery, and stress on simplicity, temperance and moderation. One view on Quakers is presented by Stuart Chase:

The individual Quaker was bidden to seek a light within and forego hymns, creeds, sermons, collection boxes as well as saints, confessionals, vestments and incense. Protestants took half the color out of worship; the Society of Friends took it all out. When one thinks of a Quaker, the prevailing note is gray.

Most statements of American historians on Quakers seem to accentuate two main aspects of Quaker life, spiritual richness and material gains. Thus, Kenneth Boulding suggests seriously: "There are two great concepts around which the life of Quakerism revolves: enterprise and brotherhood." Milton Yinger has suggested that the two paramount themes among Quakers seem to be the emphasis on (a) piety and (b) prosperity. While humorists frequently repeat the statement: "The Quakers came to America to do good, and ended up doing well." Finally, those who deal in ethnic stereotypes are apt to cite this statement: "A Quaker is a person who can buy from a Jew and sell to a Scotchman and still make a profit."

3. Stories Friends love to tell. The jokes told by Quakers usually carry much reference to canny business practices, to a genius for understatement, and to living off the increase from accumulated wealth without ever touching the principal. However, the value system of Friends is reflected in the more serious stories that illustrate their early history and beliefs. In addition to George Fox's previously cited religious experience and his first peace testimony, some of Friends' favorite stories are these:

a) Stuart Chase recounts this story: When William Penn was won over by Fox to the new faith, he belonged to the gentlemen's caste. A prominent part of a gentleman's costume was his sword. Quakers, however, were pacifists, and Penn began to feel a little uncomfortable about the sword. He asked Fox what he ought to do. "Wear it as long as thou canst," said Fox, tolerant of the very symbol of conflict.

b) Though some historians insist that friendly relations between Friends and American Indians were established long before the advent of William Penn, others are fond of citing Penn's first negotiation with American Indians. Before purchasing land from Indian tribes of Pennsylvania in 1682, Penn wrote: "I desire to enjoy it with your consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends." He added, "We are on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage is to be taken on either side, but all is to be openness, brotherhood and love."

And the chief answered: "So long as the creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon and stars endure."

c) Also, in this connection, Friends love to cite John Woolman's first desire to contact American Indian tribes. His phrase, "if happily I might receive some instruction from them," is regarded as a forerunner of Friends' current insistence on trying to see what can be learned from minorities, oppressed peoples, and other cultures.

d) In the 1930's a delegation of American Friends led by educator and philosopher Rufus Jones went to Germany in an effort to persuade Hitler to release as many Jews from Germany as possible. Though they were able to secure the release of only about 200 Jews, and though they did not get to see Hitler, Friends nevertheless like to recite one incident in connection with this meeting.

Before the delegation was admitted to the conference room, the

Germans, anxious to know what these Americans were plotting, installed recording machines in the waiting room. At the same time the Friends decided to have a silent meeting for worship. It is now speculated that the Germans must have been quite astounded to find that the product of their vigilance was reams and reams of empty tape.

4. The culture in which Friends live today. In contrast to the belief in some areas that Quakers are all dead, the Society of Friends now has about 118,000 members in the United States. Stuart Chase, strongly impressed by Friends' practices in his current study of Roads to Agreement, has this to say:

... Quakers are like-minded people, coming mostly from the same sub-culture in society, the "upper middles" and the "lower-uppers," as W. Lloyd Warner might classify them. They know each other well; many are born in the faith -- "birthright" members.

They are not in so much of a hurry as most Americans; they can afford to let the right decision make itself known in due time. Their motto seems to be: When in doubt, Wait! -- while the American hustler counters with: When in doubt, Act!

Other random comments on Quakers by a variety of writers might be cited. Historian Oscar Handlin documents his assertion that ethnic group status is not necessarily a product of persecution by citing the Quakers who are a preference group that is not persecuted. Psychologists Harsch and Schrickel cite Quaker culture, along with that of the Chinese, Zuni and Arapesh as one which "discourages or prohibits aggression." A prominent American anthropologist states that information he received from Quaker experience in concentration camps in Crete showed that the Quakers were the only people in the camp who retained their individuality, balance, unselfishness and concern for human welfare.

In an effort to sum up the unique characteristics of Friends, Chase states that ideally, their practices involve such actions as attempts to achieve unanimous decisions, periodic silent periods, a moratorium on questions where agreement cannot immediately be reached, participation in discussion by all members who have ideas, an absence of leaders, an effort to consider all relevant facts, learning to listen, attempts to maintain equal status of participants, and attempts to keep meetings small.

In summary, the history and philosophy of the Religious Society of Friends has been influenced by early persecutions, strong cohesiveness, and constant self-examination and self-evaluation. This has given rise to several current Quaker "concerns" about social issues. Among the subjects that evoke strong interest among Friends today are these: war and peace, relief and rehabilitation, civil liberties, crime and punishment, prisons and prisoners, education, and race relations. The performance of Quakers in this last area is the central concern of this volume.

B. The AFSC Enters Race Relations

1. Origins and objectives of AFSC. Following the role played by Quakers in the early colonizing of America, for many years thereafter they seem to have retreated from the arena of public affairs -- especially after the Civil War and the end of slavery. It seems that their reappearance was heralded by the creation in 1917 of a group that sought to give corporate expression to the highest beliefs of the Religious Society of Friends -- the American Friends Service Committee.

Founded initially to give alternative service to conscientious objectors during World War I, the AFSC later gave immediate relief and rehabilitation to European persons suffering from the ravages of the war, and has since spread its activity to include a much wider range of social "concerns." It is now divided into an American Section and a Foreign Section. Within the American Section are such programs as Peace Education, Work and Study Programs with high school and college students, such as Work Camps, and Community Relations, or race relations. A statement of the organization's general objectives and methods is as follows:

The work of the American Friends Service Committee is motivated by a belief in the supreme worth of the individual, by the belief that there is that of God in every man. Thus, the work of the Committee, in whatever field, is aimed at eliminating those practices which hurt and mar human beings and which deny the full development of each personality.

The Committee seeks to appeal to that of God in every man, and places its faith in the tremendous power of love and good will to alter social situations and bring about understanding.

The significance of the American Friends Service Committee's work and its potential for future service is highlighted by the fact that in 1947 it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its efforts in bringing about relief, rehabilitation and reconciliation in foreign areas. Thus the potential contribution of AFSC to race relations or to other programs was highlighted in a 1951 address by sociologist Louis Wirth to members of the Committee:

Having just won the Nobel Prize for their work abroad, the Friends are in an unusually favorable position to undertake a program domestically which no other organization would have the prestige to tackle. Not merely abroad, but at home, the Quakers enjoy the reputation of people of independent judgment, of an unquestioned interest in the good of man, of undaunted courage, and of being above the battle. This reputation is an asset which can scarcely be overestimated. It enables the Friends to undertake and carry out programs which other organizations would hesitate to touch.

2. Friends' traditional concern for Negroes and Indians. One central belief of the American Friends Service Committee is that it is most justified in working in areas where there has been "Friends testimony" or previous demonstration of concern and activity by the Religious Society of Friends. And in race relations, Friends' tradition and Friends' testimony are abundant, and might be documented by a brief historical sketch.

On first settlement in America, Friends seemingly had no immediate conscientious objection to slavery, being still greatly affected by the culture in which they lived. George Fox did not urge abolition of the slave trade, but merely advised Friends to "deal mildly and gently with their Negroes," and recommended freeing them after thirty years. Likewise, William Penn, following the custom of the times, utilized both Negro slaves and indentured servants from Europe, and reputedly considered the former more desirable than the latter because "a man has them while they live." Still, it is recorded in his will, written in 1701, that he "gave my blacks their freedom."

On the other hand, there is evidence that from the beginning the holding of slaves troubled Friends' consciences. In 1688, Francis Daniel Pastorius and three other German colonists who had settled in what is now Germantown, Pennsylvania issued this statement:

There is a liberty of conscience here which is right and reasonable, and there ought to be likewise liberty of the body, except for evil-doers, which is another case. But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against.

And Sidney Lucas reveals how the strong conscience of Friends inevitably led them away from the practice of slavery:

As a recognition of that of God in every man led Friends away from war, so it led them into a genuine feeling of equality with all men ... Belief in and obedience to the Inward Light led Friends to see that the work of a Negro slave was such that it was almost impossible for his spiritual life to develop. The conscience of the whole Society of Friends was awakened to the unrighteousness of slaveholding, and Quakers, when themselves free from reproach in this respect, were able to give outstanding help to the movement for liberating Negroes.

However, the primary task of implementing these early Friends' beliefs fell to John Woolman, a quiet tailor with halting speech, but with a deep and burning concern for slaves and slave-holders. The methods of Woolman will be discussed later. But it may be said here that for thirty years Woolman journeyed on horseback from one Quaker household to another, seeking to persuade property-conscious Quakers to give up their slaves. The effectiveness of Woolman's techniques is shown by the fact that 75 years before the abolition of slavery in the United States, all Friends in good standing had ceased to own slaves.

The chronicle of Friends' historical role in race relations is told in many sources. In detailing the history of the Negro people in America, William Z. Foster, past president of the Communist Party, derives from his own particular political value premises a scathing denunciation of nearly all elements of American life, in regard to treatment of Negroes. However, though dismissing William Penn as a hypocrite, Foster says that the Quakers "had the best record of any sect regarding slavery, although many rich Quakers owned slaves, throughout the colonial period." He adds:

The churches, without exception, gave their moral blessing to the legal enslavement of the Negro. Only an occasional religious voice, usually that of a dissident Quaker, was raised against slavery. ...

The only church that was not thoroughly besmeared with the filth of slavery was the Friends, the Quakers. Thus, at the foundation of the Anti-Slavery Society, 37 of the 67 delegates were Quakers; the Quakers were the principal whites engaged in operating the Underground Railroad, and two Quaker boys were hanged along with John Brown.

Detailing the role of Friends in race relations following that period, sociologist Ira Reid notes that on the one hand, between 1870 and 1919, "the record of Friends in the problems of Negro-white relations is relatively mute and inglorious." However, he notes on the other hand, the activity of the Friends in the Underground Railroad, the outstanding contribution of Friends to the education of Negroes and American Indians, and the contribution of Friends to the establishment of such minority-oriented organizations as the Urban League and the NAACP. Dr. Reid adds that without the activity of these few individual Friends, "American Quakerism might well have become known as the religious light that failed race relations during a period of great need."

3. AFSC activity in race relations today. Motivated by this historical "Friends testimony" in relation to American minorities, the American Friends Service Committee has felt both justified and strongly desirous of involving minority groups in all aspects of its program. These are some of the areas where AFSC has sought to involve the minority population of America:

- a) Relief and rehabilitation projects -- several are directed toward distressed or deprived minority groups, particularly American Indians.
- b) Self-help housing -- This program started as an integrated housing development in a depressed coal mining area, moved into an effort to aid in an all-Negro depressed community, and has continued to maintain racially integrated housing developments in several areas.
- c) Integration of program participants -- AFSC has attempted to include representatives of all races, colors and creeds in its work camps, seminars, and international programs.
- d) Staff integration -- Negroes and other minorities have been brought into several levels of AFSC programs, and a few are in administrative positions or are program directors.
- e) Subject matter of discussion groups -- AFSC interest in stimulating discussions on human problems has inevitably involved problems of intergroup relations. Some AFSC Secretaries of college and high school discussion programs report that as much as 50-75% of student questions and interest involve racial matters.
- f) Overseas programs -- Race relations is regarded as a vital part of Friends' work, particularly because persons contacted all over the world are curious about America's racial practices, and Friends are glad to be able to draw on their own experience in race relations domestically.

- g) An active Community Relations Program, directly involving intergroup problems in America.

With these historical and current activities of Friends in race relations as background, we now examine the origins and development of the Community Relations Program.

C. Evolution of the Race Relations Program

1. Origins of the program. The preliminary assumption here is that every community organization or action group may start out with hesitation, naivete and possibly very ineffective motion; may grow, remain static or "fold" depending on the extent of its motivation and ability to be flexible; and in relation to the general community climate of opinion, may be found lagging behind or far in advance of its times, depending on the calibre of its sponsors. Thus, there may be value in tracing the evolution, development and trends in this program -- an intimate look at a single organization's "growing pains."

There is evidence that a race relations program was initiated by AFSC in the 1920's, and existed for only a few years. Also, in the 1920's and 1930's, many of the Friends' Meeting groups met to consider what role they could play in regard to racial problems in America. Some felt that merely restating their beliefs was enough, some thought that "setting a good personal example" and integrating minorities into their activities was sufficient, some felt that a specific race relations program should be established.

Late in 1943, a group of concerned Friends began to hold regular meetings, to consider what significant contribution the American Friends Service Committee could make in race relations. Finally, after considering the experience with integrated self-help housing programs among coal miners in Western Pennsylvania, and with the encouragement of self-help redevelopment of slum dwellings of Negroes in Indianapolis, the Committee arrived at this objective, in early 1944:

The experience in Indianapolis suggests that the Penncraft-Work Camp-Self-Help method of working on problems of the Negro group, such as housing, constitutes the best method for the Service Committee to approach the problems of race relations. This procedure would make it possible to secure the cooperation of both Negroes and whites in working on one of the major problems of Negroes and makes it natural to discuss many of the problems facing the group, such as health, sanitation, recreation, education, community planning ...

The Race Relations Committee agreed that the approach to the problems of race relations should be along the lines of projects of which the program envisaged in connection with Flanner House is an illustration.

(Penn-craft refers to the redeveloped coal mining community in Western Pennsylvania; Flanner House refers to the Indianapolis program.)

The minutes chronicling the events and activities of the Committee in 1944 may seem like "naive early flounderings" to participants who read them today. For

example, there seems to be evidence of even a "quota system" of minority participants on the Committee. Minutes state: "After considerable discussion the Committee agreed: that for the present the Committee should be limited to 15 members from the local area, six of whom should be Negro." Negro Committee members and white Committee members were listed separately. The minutes also show considerable discussion of whether the Race Relations Secretary should be white or Negro. It was concluded that although the Secretary should be a person who had the full confidence of Negroes, there were advantages in the Secretary's being white rather than colored since "the approach to the various communities would be initially with Friends" -- which indicates an interesting underlying assumption. The Committee finally selected a white person as Secretary, adding: "This is with the understanding that after investigation it is found that he is acceptable to the Negro group."

2. Subsequent race relations program. In addition to the previously mentioned housing activity and to the establishment of work camps in predominantly Negro areas, and attempts to handle specific tension incidents like the Philadelphia Transit strike of 1944, the Race Relations Committee moved into wider activity in these three areas:

a. The College Visiting Lectureship. In 1944 the Committee discussed the possibility of bringing prominent Negro educators to predominantly white secondary schools and colleges, particularly Quaker colleges, in order to give students the experience of this favorable contact. The first Negro lecturer began his activity in 1945. The program was continued until 1951, when it had to be abandoned because of inability to get financial support for it. One staff member has drawn up a report attempting to assess the impact of this method on white college students. Precise evaluation of this method is difficult; however, it is chronicled with pleasure that on one campus, the response to a Negro visiting lecturer was so enthusiastic that he was later made head of the department in his field.

b. The College Placement Service. In 1945, a sociologist who spent some time teaching in a Southern Negro institution, developed a concern over the lack of adequate jobs for Negro college graduates. He therefore suggested that the Committee establish "a placement service for college students and professionally trained persons." In September, 1945 the Committee issued a statement, "A Placement Service for Negro College Graduates: A Project in Race Relations." Objectives of this service were as follows:

This service is available to Negro college graduates who have given evidence of superior ability. Applicants without employment experience should have been in the top quarter of their class. Preference will be given to those who have been successfully employed. Of equal importance to vocational fitness are an individual's personality traits, particularly his ability to adjust easily in social relationships.

This statement added that "we will lean over backwards to be certain that the Negroes we recommend have more than the necessary qualifications." Thus evolved a two-fold program of contacting and persuading Philadelphia employers and training and encouraging minority group aspirants for non-traditional jobs. This program might be considered the forerunner of the Job Opportunities or Employment on Merit program that exists in several American communities today.

c. Other general objectives of the Race Relations Committee. In October, 1945 a new Director of the Race Relations Committee, a Negro, issued a statement on the purposes of the AFSC in race relations. In addition to the two-fold purpose of "continuing Friends' ministry to those who suffer from intolerance" and "joining hands with all groups and persons working for mutual respect," the following specific projects were proposed: anti-strife nuclei, know-how information, cooperation with the Labor Industrial Committee, encouraging the formation of Race Relations Committees, proposing institutes and forums involving minority groups, encouraging greater intergroup participation, giving Friends the facts about race relations, informing non-Friends, and furnishing an information service.

3. Moving into "tougher" areas. Note that the first race relations program of AFSC centered on Negro communities, on college campuses, on the relatively accepting area of Philadelphia, and on such generally acceptable functions as "cooperating," "maintaining," "stimulating" and "furnishing." Since that time the Committee has apparently been sensitive to the pressing needs of the intergroup relations field and has trended into more difficult areas and has taken on harder tasks.

Thus the Committee has developed programs in depressed Indian areas with extremely complicated problems, programs on housing opportunities which are apparently the toughest assignments in race relations today, employment on merit programs in the middle South, Southwest, and deep South, and programs to reduce segregation and discrimination in the educational, recreational and public accommodations areas of the nation's capital. And one staff member has been working on community counseling and development in an all-Negro area that national housing experts have referred to as the most serious housing problem in the United States. Efforts, so far unsuccessful, have been made to raise money in order to extend the College Visiting Lectureship to white universities of the South. Funds and staff have also been obtained for work with migratory farm laborers in the Southwest and Far West.

The program as of December 1, 1955 includes Job Opportunities Programs in six cities, including three Southern cities; Housing Opportunities Programs in three cities; Indian Programs in five areas; community counseling programs in two areas; a Latin-American and a migrant program; and national activity and coordination of the Job Opportunities and Indian programs. These activities, and the activity in the national office, will subsequently be described.

4. Things learned since 1943. The observance of AFSC activity in race relations since 1943, with its accompanying tendency to move into more difficult areas of activity, suggests that AFSC has learned certain things through its race relations experience. We suggest the following:

- a) There should be minority integration on the staff and minority representation on all advisory committees.
- b) Working to help minorities to help themselves is only part, not all, of the solution to racial problems.
- c) On the other hand, simply opening the door to minorities is not enough. Work must also be done to encourage and motivate people in the minority community.

- d) Material aids are only a stop-gap method of meeting an emergency; lasting changes require more community activity and immersion in the minority community. This is particularly illustrated in the Indian areas.
- e) There is considerable variety of life styles within a minority community, and considerable differences between minority groups.
- f) It is possible to change prejudicial attitudes in the process of changing discriminatory patterns.
- g) One's conception of "the tremendous power of love" must be not modified but enlarged, on the basis of concrete experience.
- h) Some amount of tension may be inevitable in the process of racial change, despite efforts to avoid it.

We will later note the efforts of staff members to collate and codify their experience in these various areas, in order to state for the benefit of others the summary of AFSC's experience in race relations work.

5. Relation to framework of organizational assumptions and orientations. In the process of its development since 1943, the Community Relations Committee seems to have "recapitulated" all of the possible organizational assumptions and orientations that we have suggested in our previous chapter on intergroup relations resources. In other words, the various activities of the Committee may be shown to be similar to some of the orientations previously cited, and may also be assumed to have moved from the laissez-faire toward the more active end of the continuum. This might be illustrated by the following diagram:

SOME POPULAR RACE RELATED ORIENTATIONS REFLECTED
BY AFSC RACE RELATIONS ACTIVITY

<u>Orientation</u>	<u>AFSC Activity</u>
Laissez-faire	Friends had no explicit race relations program until 1943.
Minority self-improvement	First AFSC activity was working with Negroes in "self-help" projects; also preparation workshops for Negroes "making a bad impression in public relations."
Prevention, and reducing tension	Setting up "anti-strife nuclei"; offering assistance during racially induced transit strike.
Exhortation	Statements and "minutes" urging greater tolerance and mutual respect.
Participation	Friends begin to integrate schools and AFSC work camps; college lectureship program is promoted.

Education	Race Relations Committee urges furnishing of "know-how information," and increased educational work in Friends' schools.
Negotiation	AFSC begins visits with employers, housing officials, other community "gatekeepers."
"Direct action"	Race Relations Committee supports local and national FEPC legislation from the beginning; gives Senate testimony on need for such legislation.

This diagram illustrates the wide variety of techniques and approaches that an organization may try in its initial "growing pains" while attempting to be effective. In regard to views of the future, the following brief conclusions might be extracted from interviews with policy makers: (a) Most Friends are now reconciled to having an explicit race relations program, rather than merely expressing their beliefs in their own day-to-day behavior; (b) Most Friends are still not completely aware of the growing scope of the Community Relations Program activity; (c) Nevertheless the growing reputation of this activity is increasingly causing Friends to express pride about the race relations work of AFSC; (d) Policy makers believe that the program is finding more and more places to make a significant contribution, and is generally pleased. Some sample statements are as follows:

"It seems to be moving toward the heart of things where the going will be tough. We started in human fashion with the unfamiliar and distant, and gradually got our eyes opened to the more immediate problem. However, there are still people in Yearly Meetings who are not sold on this program."

"Some Friends felt that we should be minority conscious in all programs and didn't need a special program for race relations. But more and more the concern grows that we should attack more directly and point out more places where people are violating their ideals."

"Basically, this is a sound Service Committee program. Our historical background leads right to this -- I'm surprised that it didn't start earlier."

D. Philosophy, Assumptions, and Motivations

This section and the ensuing sections of this chapter are based partly on written statements of traditional AFSC policy and belief, and partly on the writer's personal observations. However, most of the ideas presented here are drawn from personal interviews with AFSC national policy makers, the Executive Secretaries of Regional Offices, and members of the Community Relations Executive Committee. We must therefore keep in mind the perennial counsel to the social science researcher: Be sure to differentiate between what people say and what they do.

We nevertheless rely heavily on verbal testimony, trusting that the integrity of persons involved in this program will maintain a reasonable degree of consistency between their verbalized attitudes, and their actual actions. We will also

keep in mind that most of these respondents are familiar with the Community Relations Program mainly through the Job Opportunities activities, though this has been partly corrected since the time of the interviews.

1. How race relations fits into Friends' beliefs. In regard to race relations and Friends' beliefs, persons closely connected with the program were able to state easily their own versions of this relationship, while indicating the lack of interest among Friends elsewhere. The following are representative statements:

"The Society of Friends stresses the dignity of the individual as a very important part of its testimony. From my existence as a citizen, believing in the principles of my country, and also in the Society of Friends, this is important . . . But many Service Committee people are dedicated to some other things -- people have to pick and choose."

"Relations with minority groups are a critical concern to us. Quakers have made a contribution in the past and should make more now. I am a little concerned that it is difficult to judge the extent of general support among Friends for a human relations program. We have evidence of interest and evidence of apathy."

"It grows out of the dignity of the individual as professed by the Society of Friends. This makes race relations a particularly suitable area of interest for Quakers. They have a long tradition of freeing slaves -- some of that remains -- they are still freeing slaves."

Among persons less immediately familiar with the program, the usual answers to questions on AFSC's presence in the race relations field were also in terms of early Quaker traditions and the relation of race relations to Friends' peace testimony. In addition, however, people answered this question on many different levels. Some view this work as mainly a program that could be presented to persons overseas who question America's racial practices:

"I think it fits in. As you move around the world you see how American undemocratic practices are dangerous in terms of building relationships with Asians."

"It is probably our most significant program in America for our work overseas."

"When one of our workers came back from India, he said that the biggest thing this country can do is to abolish segregation in Washington, D.C."

Others either viewed intergroup relations work as a part of peace-making, or viewed it as the removal of forces making for tension and conflict:

"Peace is recognized as the great problem of our day. I see the Community Relations work as helping people to see tangible ways of taking hold of the problem of peace. I find many who see the relationship of employment on merit and peace."

"Peace is not merely the elimination of war, it is the removal of all conditions that lead to war. I think we will get more and more involved in intergroup relations through peace education."

Summarizing, most persons interviewed acknowledged that they have (a) a basic religious philosophy and (b) a currently operating race relations program, and seek to bring these two together, in their minds, in terms of Quaker tradition, implications for international relations, or relationship to peace testimony.

2. AFSC assumptions on change in race relations. As previously stated, each action organization has or should have a set of basic assumptions about how changes are induced by its actions. That is, it should have an underlying set of beliefs influencing its concrete behavior. In addition to the previously stated assumptions on the work of the American Friends Service Committee -- embodying the belief in the sacredness of the individual, the tremendous power of love, and the existence of that of God in every man -- we present these assumptions, drawn from interviews:

a. Prejudice and discrimination damage the oppressor as well as the oppressed. This stems from John Woolman's initial assumption that slave-holding was as destructive of the slave-owner as of the slave.

b. The AFSC is most qualified to work in areas where there has been Friends' testimony. One policy maker stated:

"In peace and international relations, people listen to us because for 300 years we have been faithful to our witness. In race relations we have failed very seriously to practice this witness, but there have been individuals who have tried. We have a tradition of interest, and therefore have a right to go to people and challenge them. In economic life, where mechanical jobs are dull, we have not done well. We have been in the employer class and are ashamed of our record."

c. There are dangers in the separate-but-equal doctrine. The beliefs of Friends in this area usually stress the necessity for an integrated society, rather than one where minorities are granted equal rights within the framework of separation. Also many recognize the numerous dangers that can stem from housing segregation of minorities. A policy maker stated:

"Our social goal is the elimination of discriminatory patterns. Therefore, in housing, the goal of integration is very important. There is a great danger that we fool ourselves if we provide good but separate facilities for minorities. The fundamental view should be that even if the facilities are equal or superior, they perpetuate the thwarting of values and a sense of difference."

d. Prejudice can be effectively attacked by approaching it indirectly. Clarence Pickett in his book, For More Than Bread, has cited the experience with interracial work camps and other youth projects as by-products of other activities,

stating:

"There is, I believe, considerable justification for this oblique approach. It still seems to me that the best way to bridge gulfs of prejudice and fear is perhaps not so much to tackle them directly as to bring the various groups together in common work, recreation and worship."

Pointing up particularly the value of equal-status contacts, he then cites Frank Loescher's assumptions, stated while arguing for FEPC:

"Frank Loescher pointed out that one of the best ways to change prejudiced attitudes, especially among the educated white people, was to give them the opportunity to work with and come to know Negroes of similar educational background and interests."

Finally, Clarence Pickett adds another assumption, namely that segregated housing is basic; segregation is discrimination, and this inevitably results in further discrimination.

e. John Woolman's methods of personal visitation and persuasion may be more effective than "pressure" methods. Among AFSC policy makers there seems to be a widely held assumption that personal conference was preferable to small group discussion, and that persuasion was necessary since people cannot be changed against their will. Frequently cited was the phrase, "A man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still." Here are other statements of policy makers:

"Friends differ from the NAACP. I'm not saying that they're not all right, but Friends believe in an awakening of something that is already there. They don't want to make people change against their will. Thurgood Marshall is not satisfied with this."

"We don't think that legislation is our primary responsibility; unless people are prepared to accept legislation, it won't work anyway. Legal action and AFSC don't conflict; we recognize that legislation has a place, but will be ineffective, like Prohibition, unless people are prepared to accept it. We are building the foundation upon which legislation can work."

"A political scientist terms it like this: (a) a philosophic idea; (b) a political rallying stage; (c) legislative action. Our action should be in the idea stage."

f. A non-minority person with no "ax to grind" should do the persuading. This assumption is held only by some, and has been largely abandoned. At one time the specifications for a Job Opportunities Program Director suggested that he be preferably between 30 and 60, possessing a business background, and not a member of a minority group. A successful experience with a Negro person who was on the staff and possessed none of these three qualifications caused the Community Relations Committee to modify this belief considerably. Today race is almost irrelevant to the selection of Community Relations personnel.

g. AFSC is not so much interested in "getting results" as in "expressing our measure of truth." This is probably the most serious bone of contention between AFSC policy makers and Community Relations Program staff members. The former are continually alerted to maintaining the original belief and concerns of the Religious Society of Friends; while the latter, immersed in community action and minority needs, get increasingly impatient with these restraints and yearn for observable results. Thus, in some quarters would be found an emphasis on "laying on people our concern" with no immediate emphasis on whether a person subsequently changes his behavior. On the other hand, among staff members, most are concerned with the ever raging controversy of whether to concentrate on changing attitudes or changing discriminatory practices. One perceptive staff member has stated the dilemma in these terms:

"There are two Service Committees. In the overall Service Committee the objectives would be bringing out the Godly qualities in the evil-doer. They wouldn't even say they are trying to change hearts. But in the Community Relations Committee and staff we would have as objectives a combination of things: (1) Changing the social conditions that are wrong because they hurt both sides; (2) assuming that changes in these conditions would bring out the Godly quality in people. If you had to be 1-2 about it, it would have to be the conditions first and then the attitudes, deciding this reluctantly....

"Of course, even in changing patterns at the administrative level, there has to be an attitudinal change in the administrator. These two things are too interwoven to be separated."

Summarizing, the current belief of social scientists and practitioners in intergroup relations would strongly support AFSC assumptions on these points: That prejudice damages both oppressor and oppressed, that bringing people together to work on areas of mutual interest is an effective way of reducing prejudice, that there are dangers inherent in the separate-but-equal doctrine, that most other forms of segregation stem from housing segregation. These same persons would sharply question AFSC's assumption that it is easier to change individuals than groups, that people cannot be changed against their will, that people are willing to change voluntarily, or that the persuasion job should be done by a white person. These assumptions will be more carefully examined in a subsequent section: "A Critical Appraisal of AFSC."

3. Effects of religious motivation on the AFSC program. The majority of intergroup relations organizations are not primarily religiously motivated. Therefore they might contrast sharply with the AFSC whose philosophy and assumptions are strongly affected by religious motivation. Noticeable to most persons that AFSC contacts would be such things as references in their literature to love, God, an emphasis on human dignity and the spark of the Divine rather than wastages of human resources or "it's good business," and emphasis on reaching the good that is in all men's hearts.

On the other hand, as if in deference to the more secular framework of others, the religious motivation of AFSC members is often expressed with reservations for those who might have other frameworks, or none. Therefore, amendments to one's particular religious premise are often heard. For example, one policy maker says, "I guess I'm an evangelist; I want to make Christians out of everybody -- or at

least I would like to see everybody have a religious experience." Another says, "God -- or whatever power maintains the universe -- is not mocked." Still another says, "I'm a Quaker and I believe that there is something of God in every man -- or something of dignity in every man -- something precious."

But generally, the religious premise may affect the philosophy and assumptions of a staff member to the extent that it is difficult for him to communicate with an outsider, not sharing his premise. For example, a Regional Secretary explained his philosophy of racial persecution thusly:

"God took a big chance. He had to set the stage to achieve a certain end. That is an assumption on my part -- that He is trying to make us His sons and daughters. We have to have our lives all tied together so that the innocent suffer with the guilty. This puts love to the test. Underprivileged people -- these are not God's will -- He doesn't wish evil to anybody, but has to set the stage to achieve His objectives."

One member of the program has indicated how the unique structure of Quaker belief exerts an almost inexorable pressure upon Friends to live up to their stated beliefs in race relations and other areas:

"What Quakers have done is to add a greater responsibility to individuals in their relations with others. Primary responsibility is laid right on the individual Quaker, so that anything he does that is the least bit out of line with Christian ethics is more wrong than with another person. They have stripped themselves of all the formalism and protection of other religions and they are naked and unprotected. It is really awful. There is nothing between a guy, his religion, and his conscience. They have to act."

E. AFSC Goals and Methods in Race Relations

1. Some statements of objectives. As part of the intensive interview procedure, policy makers and staff members in AFSC have been asked first to indicate their conception of the general objectives of the Community Relations Program. This was done for these reasons: (a) To see how current verbal statements compared with original written statements of purpose; (b) to see if there was unanimity or diversity of opinion; (c) to note differences between policy makers and staff conceptions of desired objectives; (d) to see how statements within this organization compared with those of other intergroup organizations; and (e) to sharpen the respondent's own perception of what he is trying to do, through verbalization.

We cite here some sample statements by policy makers, by staff members, and particularly by workers in Indian areas to illustrate some slight variations in conceptions of organizational objectives. First, the statements of policy makers are most likely to be affected by religious considerations:

"To provide equality of opportunity to all people in every phase of life, not primarily because it is good democracy, but primarily because it is our responsibility to God. Man's relation to man and God places a compulsion upon him to see that every man has an equal opportunity."

"We are basically trying to get recognition that people have an inherent value which has nothing to do with externals. We are children of God -- all the same to Him -- He doesn't have a physical eye."

"The goal is developing an integrated society in which people are educated, employed and housed on the basis of merit rather than certain classes or groups having advantages and others having disadvantages."

"Our job is to use the dignity of man approach and lay on employers' shoulders this concern. Discrimination destroys that of God in the minority individual. We know that if the employer is sensitive, he too will be concerned. But we also know the employer's problems and we are going to help him solve the problem."

Staff members' statements of objectives reflected less religious terminology, more informal expressions, and more emphasis on results and concern for persons shut out from full participation in society:

"Assure respect and recognition to the ability and dignity of the individual. AFSC is trying its darndest to help those communities work toward as nearly as possible a perfection of democracy. AFSC sees in democracy and the Judaeo-Christian religion the realization of the Kingdom of God in the hearts of men by the way they live together."

"To work with people toward bringing about equality of opportunity in the most significant areas -- that is sort of a tactical explanation. The ultimate objective is to bring the life I am able to touch in line with a more consistent kind of faith."

"One way I put it is that they are trying to help promote the fullest development of individuals and communities, both of which are being stifled, and to bring about a free market and bring a neighborhood to its fullest growth."

"Service Committee programs are oriented toward policy changes -- directly. We see segregation as a major barrier to development of individuals. American race relations has been a big block. We seek wholehearted, full relationships for people, relating to each other as a whole. This is related to the peace idea."

In Indian areas, responses were oriented more specifically toward determining Indian needs and desires and bridging the gap between the reservation and the modern community. Samples:

"Our brief states that we are building bridges of understanding between Indian and non-Indian in terms of what people need, whether on the reservation or sobering up at the Indian Center. So many mistakes have been made by careful planners working with Indians -- they left out consultation and free planning. A bridge indicates the Indians have something that we would like to have. A real bridge finally becomes a part of the terrain."

"I would like to get enough done here to prove that Indians can organize themselves and get things done like anybody else. I have developed the feeling that the Indians can develop an effective life on the reservation and will not solve all their problems by going to cities. I would like to prove that."

"We want to help Indians find a comfortable, satisfactory place in society on their own terms. I used to have fancy dreams of picket fences, sanitary privies and roses on the reservation. I don't see that anymore -- it will never look like I want it to look, so let it look the way they want it to. They weren't happy. If they had been happy in the midst of filth, I wouldn't have gone out there."

"My feeling is that Indians will eventually all be assimilated and that it is just a matter of time. In this change it isn't our job to push it faster or slow it up -- in the long run it will take place anyhow. We should help them make that big transition as easily as possible."

We now consider statements of particular modes of operation that are used in order to accomplish these objectives.

2. The methods of John Woolman. One purpose of program evaluation, we suggest, is to examine an organization's specific methods and techniques to see if they are best suited to accomplish the group's stated objectives. We therefore sought also to quiz respondents about AFSC traditional methods for the same reasons previously stated in regard to interrogation about goals. The first observation made here is that whereas the objectives of AFSC are affected by such factors as Friends' traditional concern for minorities, their interest in peace and reduction of tension, and their interest in the international implications of American racial practices, the traditional AFSC methods are more specifically conditioned by the behavior of one of the most significant early Friends -- John Woolman. Clarence Pickett has described how this New Jersey tailor in mid-18th Century, developed a deep concern for slaves and slave-holders that motivated him to travel among Friends for thirty years sharing his concern. Pickett says:

It was perhaps as much his method as his message that was effective. It was a deep, personal matter with him. Not with preaching but in penitence for his own part in the evil of the world would he approach the slave-holder, sitting in solemn conference, sometimes with halting speech, sometimes in silence, until the Friend's conscience was so deeply disturbed that even at great financial loss to himself he freed his slaves...

To some, this kind of testimony in Meeting and quiet personal conference may seem a small way to go about ridding humanity of a major evil. Yet it was just this method which awakened in slave-holding Quakers a willingness to free their slaves, so that seventy-five years before the abolition of slavery in the United States all Friends in good standing had ceased to own slaves.

This account of John Woolman's activity also notes that he sought to do work at the "grass roots" -- leaving money for slaves wherever they had done him a service, and insisting on going among Indians to learn things from them. This might be considered as the forerunner to the current AFSC technique of simultaneously "going to the top" and "working at the grass roots."

3. Current methods in the Woolman tradition. As indicated, the statements of AFSC policy-makers on Community Relations activities are strongly affected by their familiarity with the Job Opportunities Program and its emphasis on visits

to key people, in the Woolman tradition. Nonetheless we note that whereas the general statements of AFSC interest in race relations are expressed in terms of respect for all personalities and removing barriers to full individual expression, the specific description of methods is often limited to "witness in high places." Here are some statements of methods:

"We should favor, wherever possible, the personal approach. If there are conferences they should be small so all can have a part. If possible we prefer personal interviews to small conferences so we can get across a personalized message."

"The approach is made to influential individuals to wake them up to the problem that exists and the injustices that are involved, and show them by rational means how they can move to a better situation."

"Friends learn how to avoid the resistance-arousing approaches. We have to remove the word 'demand' and put in the word 'ask.'"

"I am thoroughly sold on the employer interview as related to whatever genius Friends have had. It is unique and valuable in approaching people who have it in their power to affect patterns. It has generated so much more light than heat."

On the other hand, some policy makers addressed themselves more specifically to the immediate victims of prejudice and discrimination:

"One can never get a complete feeling of what it means to be a minority, conditioned from the cradle to an idea of inferiority. Still you can reach out and get some feeling of frustration and the amazing way in which Negroes rise above them -- it is almost incredible to me that they don't have personalities warped and stunted."

"One important thing is working with people. We tried in our national activity to do too many things by just spending money -- that isn't the way. We must get down with people and work with them. The Society of Friends does not have too many individuals who are not white, Christian Americans."

"I suppose our methods also include education and counseling with minority group members about their rights and taking advantage of the fluidity of situations."

In Community Relations work will be found a reflection of a larger AFSC controversy -- whether most emphasis should be placed upon contacts with influential people or upon working with the needy and oppressed. Later the specific examination of Community Relations Program may indicate that the Job Opportunities work emphasizes the former approach, while the work in Indian areas emphasizes the latter; with the community counseling program in the nation's capital striking an interesting balance between the two.

4. Persuasion versus law. Another area of uncertainty or controversy among AFSC spokesmen was the extent to which persuasion can accomplish the whole job, or the extent to which legal and legislative action is needed. Some respondents paid fleeting acknowledgment to other methods besides persuasion: "We believe in it,

but it's not central to us"; "There may be other methods beside persuasion -- I wouldn't leave them out"; or, briefly, "legislation is a bit outside our jurisdiction."

But in contrast to the assumption held by some that persuasion and convincement are necessary before people accept legislation, others believe that it also has a role and that the two are not mutually exclusive. These statements were made by Regional Secretaries:

"One is against murder, but realizes that there are people who are going to do these things so they have to be restrained. The restraints that FEP places upon the incorrigible have a place. I don't think FEP is inconsistent with persuasion; it is not on the same level. They are not mutually exclusive. You have to be realistic about the way people act."

"Doesn't the Philadelphia experience demonstrate that you shouldn't stop after legislation is accomplished? You need a state-wide FEPC with staff and adequate enforcement."

"An organization like the Service Committee, instead of solving a situation through love, should talk about alternative ways of meeting evil that are consistent with our basic morality. In Job Opportunities there may often be times when the only thing we can resort to is law or legal action. Let's have loving, but let it be realistic. John Woolman was loving, but realistic, thus he made a strong witness."

Among members of the Community Relations Committee and staff, there is a far more concerted positive opinion about the role of law in social action. One example might be shown by the fact that in response to a questionnaire item inquiring about attitudes toward Fair Employment Practices, every single member of both the Community Relations Committee and staff indicated that they favored a Fair Employment Practices act with enforcement powers, both in their own community and in the nation as a whole.

Additional documentation comes from testimony given by the Community Relations Committee before a Senate sub-committee in February, 1954. In answer to questions about the need for legislative action in employment, the Community Relations statement was as follows:

As practitioners of convincement and persuasion, the American Friends Service Committee is firmly convinced that this approach is helpful to the person already convinced who wants aid in discovering the best methods for employing on merit. The voluntary approach is helpful at times, and in some places useful, but it is entirely inadequate ... An extension of the voluntary approach will result in a few more changes, but leave the problem largely untouched ...

We have reached the conclusion, drawn from experience and observation, that this legislation can and will work. We have no hopes for the significant expansion of opportunity without it.

And in another section, this statement concludes:

Let us remind ourselves at this point that we in America all too frequently think of the law in negative terms. We would remember here

that law not only keeps men from doing wrong, but gives good men the public support to do the right thing more readily than if the law did not exist.

5. Demonstration and "pilot projects." The statements of AFSC policy makers about general goals and objectives also indicated the desirability of providing demonstration projects or pilot explorations. These referred either to the internal functioning of the organization, to community action programs, or to both. Here are some additional statements of objectives:

"We are doing our action in the office, working with Negroes not for them or at them, like Job Opportunities Programs do."

"I may be cockeyed, but I think that the most important thing we can do is demonstration of successful integration, no matter how small. It is the most successful and satisfying relationship a group can have. We have accepted terrible compromises, but we have pushed for integrated Meetings, and the communities have seen it done successfully. We have had a very successful experience in our own office." (This response came from a Southern Regional Office.)

"Our specific objective is to provide enough successful demonstrations of fair practices so that the process will catch on of its own strength. We don't intend to expand until we are doing the whole job, but if we can help out, working with other organizations until it picks up momentum, then we feel we can withdraw. We are trying to work ourselves out of a job."

"Starting from this premise of respect for all human personalities, AFSC looks around here and abroad for spots where it seems to have been most notably abused. Then they try to see if they can do something in the way of a pilot project within the limits of their resources."

Three implicit assumptions underline these stated beliefs: "Friends should keep their projects small, should maintain them no longer than necessary, and should provide other community groups with examples to be later emulated, if successful." These assumptions, in turn, produce three severe problems that continually confront AFSC: "How to keep projects from 'mushrooming' to unmanageable size, how to determine precisely when to withdraw from a project, and how to persuade or 'sell' others on continuing or emulating these projects."

Friends urgently solicit answers to these questions. The writer will consider them later in specific reference to the Community Relations Program, where the exigencies of day to day events in race relations may require sharp modification of AFSC's assumptions on keeping programs short-term and small.

6. "Is this program unique?" Here we deal primarily with AFSC's own conception of whether it has a unique approach in race relations, or whether it is similar to other groups in the field. The writer's own opinion will be presented later. The perception of AFSC policy makers and of staff and Committee members of the Community Relations Program in regard to AFSC's uniqueness might be examined on several levels. First, some believe the program's uniqueness lies in its background of religious motivation and philosophy. Here are sample statements:

"It is unique to the degree that it has a conviction that love does have power. I believe the universe is undergirded by love, love that goes all the way in the faith that in the end it can win. The Service Committee plays closest to that idea."

"That of God in all men. Others pressure; they do not have the religious anchor."

"One difference in the Service Committee approach is the fact that it is completely religiously motivated. I can't say that we are the only organization that works that way. I have learned to respect the ministerial groups in my community; they are very sincere. But by and large, most do not have a program comparable to ours."

Some express uniqueness in terms of the organization's prestige, resources and techniques:

"The fabulous reputation of AFSC is very important -- we'll get the speaking dates where others won't because we are AFSC."

"We are free from Community Chest politics; not supported by business or labor or the community. I think that the name of the Service Committee, where it is known, does furnish something of an entree."

"Only difference I can see -- the Service Committee has an advantage where the guy is not identified with the group he is talking about -- they know it is not the self-interest of the group. A religious organization and an integrated organization -- that has validity."

"In this town we are the only organization with professional staff on integration. Also, it sounds arrogant, but the Service Committee to a greater degree than any other non-professional organization has been able to assure policy makers of its respect for confidentiality. Thus, it has been able to obtain a great deal of confidential information from people in control."

Sometimes, respondents' perception of their own uniqueness was due to non-understanding of other organizations. Some assumed, for example, that no other intergroup relations workers have religious motivation; others believed that AFSC was the only organization employing the method of individual approaches to businessmen, although the Urban League alone has had thousands of such visits. Respondents said:

"We would be extremely careful about ends-means, whereas others might be more militant. The Service Committee would place great emphasis on above-board, honest dealings and less emphasis on expediency. Frankness, candor, openness and integrity."

"The fifteen other organizations here are pretty heavily concerned with legislative matters and lobbying. They don't, as far as I know, make an approach on an individual basis. The uniqueness is in the attitude. It takes a peculiar personality, with Christlike composure and complete control."

"Combining respect for the other person and an uncompromising moral position. Others, if respectful, are fearful; if uncompromising, are hostile."

Finally, many persons in AFSC acknowledge that it is quite likely that they are not as unique as they have previously assumed. Respondents stated:

"There is probably more difference in theory than in practice. In its conception there is this clear, definite religious compulsion. But how much is semantics? Walter White has as much compulsion as we do. We express it in terms of our historical background, but I hesitate to say we are religious and others are not."

"I don't think there is anything unique in the world today, although all of us like to think we are unique. Uniqueness, if any, is in the amount of sheer gall used to get at the top brass."

"The difference is more in words than in fact. For example, I know the Urban League man pretty well. He may use different words, but basically his position is the same as ours. Ours is basically a religious concern. The other organizations are more humanitarian, which is also religious, but isn't quite as narrow."

At a 1953 annual staff "round-up" the Director of the Community Relations Program attempted to get staff members to articulate the basic premises that made AFSC work in this area different from that in other organizations. This was accomplished haltingly, and with difficulty. Some felt the organization was unique; some did not. Sample comments:

"A basic part of our program is a strong emphasis on the moral side. We convince the industrialist that if he doesn't cooperate, he is guilty of immorality."

"The NAACP and the Urban League also use the moral argument. We just start that way. Maybe the others cannot say it that way."

"How do you answer when the employer asks, 'What do you do that is different from the Urban League?'"

"We are interested in the same things and do things in the same ways; we are just more religiously motivated."

"In my experience I try to explain that we work on the basis of love. It seemed very effective and it opened doors. I used it as a tactic and I don't think it was morally wrong."

Among the assignments given the writer at the beginning of this project, one of the more self-laudatory questions to be answered was as follows: "What is it about our unique religious motivation that makes us so much more effective than other groups?" This prompted the writer to approach that subject warily. Therefore, later in this discussion, the question on program uniqueness will be answered in terms of several different dimensions: uniqueness of historical tradition, uniqueness of stated philosophy, uniqueness of position in American communities, uniqueness in translating words into action, and uniqueness of a constellation of factors. Only in this manner, it is felt, may the questions be accurately answered.

F. Organizational Structure: Committees, Executives and Staffs

1. Traditional AFSC structure. As will later be noted in detail, one of the several things people mean when they use the term "evaluation" is the analysis of an agency's organizational structure -- the comparison of present structure to the best possible type of structure, operating with maximal efficiency. We conclude that this is not the most logical task for the social scientist, unless he has the advantage of numerous comparative studies of successful and unsuccessful organizational operations.

However, for purely descriptive and comparative purposes, we present here some informants' statements on "what should be" in relation to the organizational levels of AFSC, the criteria of personnel selection, and the ideally conceived role of advisory committees. First, in regard to the organization's several levels of operation, Honorary Executive Secretary Clarence Pickett points out that AFSC might be viewed as the legendary elephant was viewed by the seven blind men.

In his book, For More Than Bread, he points out that to some people the Committee is about 250 persons nominated to serve as Committee members. To others, the Service Committee is primarily the Executive Board, which consists of 50 members drawn from persons who are members of the corporation, including one from each Regional Office. To others, AFSC is the numerous advisory committees appointed to work with each specific program. To still others, the AFSC is one of the 13 Regional Offices located throughout the United States. To many, AFSC is the 200 persons who occupy the central office in Philadelphia. And finally, there is the tremendous number of volunteers who participate in work-study projects, or in the numerous small but necessary tasks which staff members do not have the time to do.

More specifically the writer would view the organizational structure of AFSC as characterized by (a) a great deal of flexibility in mapping out specific plans and procedures; and (b) a great deal of coordinating, control and supervision caused by the numerous overlapping committees and sub-committees that follow the work of each AFSC program. In reference to this overlapping a staff member explained:

"This complicated structure differs from most groups. AFSC is unique in this respect. They are trying to be like the Society of Friends is on paper -- a series of overlapping committees. It knits the Committee together, but I don't think George Fox or his followers ever conceived of all this."

2. Functions of the executive. The writer has little to add on this subject, except to indicate that the explicit functions of executive secretaries in inter-group organizations have been spelled out in other areas. However, in the Community Relations Committee, the attempt was made as far back as 1945 to state the primary qualifications for a Secretary of what was then the Race Relations Program. A member of the Committee described the kind of person needed for Secretary thusly:

"He should have versatility so that he may give inspiration and direction to local groups. He should be free to act as a sort of catalytic agent, bringing the right people together, putting them in touch with needed facts, offering suggestions for local projects, without himself being too deeply involved with any one project, with a wide choice of field work."

To the undoubted surprise of this member, the Race Relations Committee was so impressed by his statement that they promptly offered him the Secretaryship.

A central concern in this as in any program is the relationship of an Executive Secretary to the groups to whom he is responsible, and the extent to which he can make his behavior truly democratic. George Schermer, long known as an effective practitioner in the intergroup relations field, indicates that the objectives of race relations practitioners are meaningless unless they become the objectives of the commission or boards or organizations to whom they are responsible. He adds:

What is the role of the program designer and director in his relation to board and groups? How far does he impose his thinking upon the board and commission and upon the community? (A clever operator can go surprisingly far with what is in essence manipulation of groups.) Or, should the director be strictly the technician who helps people arrive at decisions through a democratic process? Perhaps you think the latter is the obvious answer. I assure you that the successful operator cannot and does not rely solely on the democratic process in getting decisions. His agency and program would not survive the process.

The National Secretary of the Community Relations Program has long recognized this dilemma and had indicated that problems of organizational structure and operation are among his major concerns. Reflecting on the point made by Schermer, he says:

"I am interested in how you operate so you can really make headway, being as efficient as possible and yet as democratic as possible. Our program is labelled as democratic, but it is more like anarchy. The Service Committee by its very nature may make efficiency impossible."

Thus an AFSC program director, particularly in Community Relations, may be continually caught in the dilemma of (a) striving to abide by the democratic processes and Friends' methods of slow deliberation, and (b) responding to the necessity of acting quickly on the day to day problems involving American intergroup relations. To date, this dilemma has been at least endured if not resolved in the Community Relations program, as shown by the fact that the Director has so far neither been fired nor resigned in despair.

3. Personnel standards and practices. The three primary issues in this area seem to be (a) how articulately religious must a person be to work for AFSC, (b) how much professional training and knowledge is desirable in a staff member, (c) what are the most desirable characteristics that an AFSC staff member should have, particularly in Community Relations.

First there is the issue of religious motivation. Some AFSC personnel find it incredible or inconceivable that a person could work in this area without having a strong religious motivation, or, in extreme cases, even a compulsion to shout this motivation to the housetops. Others believe that a person with a sufficient amount of concern for social justice and a belief in humanitarian principles may be an effective worker regardless of the presence or absence of articulate religious motivation. When interviewed on this subject, policy makers seemed to "search their souls" carefully before answering. One finally concluded:

"I can't honestly say that you have to believe in Christ to be an effective community worker. I would say to the new worker, 'We hope you will discover the significance of Christ as we believe it.' To neglect the penetrating understanding of human nature that is involved in part of the New Testament would be a great loss. I wouldn't insist on it, but I would be sorry if a staff member didn't read it."

Another person closely related to the immediate decision making aspect of personnel selection added:

"I am disinclined to talk to a person in such a way that he feels he has to say he believes in God in order to work with the Service Committee. You can tell by the way a person talks about social concerns whether he is just a political operator or something more. I shy away from asking people orthodox questions. I would hope our staff is both socially active -- concerned about bringing about a better society -- and also has a more specific religious motivation."

The second issue refers to the amount of professional training, experience and knowledge that is considered desirable in an AFSC staff member. Some persons insist that the Service Committee must retain its "amateur status"; some feel actually threatened by the presence of people with professional training; some assume that this professional training implies a lack of the religious values preferred by AFSC. Most persons who discussed this subject recognized that a combination of professional training and religious motivation is optimum, and that an over-stress on either of these qualifications at the expense of the other is dangerous. As one policy maker stated: "I have seen enough of people who have worked out a theory that will apply only to robots; however, there are also those who have nothing but good will."

This issue will be re-examined as we note the reaction of other intergroup practitioners to the "dedicated amateurs" that the Service Committee has placed in the field. However, we might conclude here that there exists in the Service Committee as in other areas a growing respect for professional training and an increased desire to learn how a person may become more technically proficient without losing his initial positive values. The section on needed knowledge and use of social science among staff members will also consider this point. The final consideration of personnel practices comes from a staff member involved in personnel work, who cited first the ideal AFSC personnel, second what actually exists, and finally what is desirable in Community Relations personnel:

"I could give the ideal quite easily, but it does not describe what we have. Top-notch skill, sensitivity, sense of humor about self, enjoyment of others, capacity to work with others as co-worker or leader. Other elements are imagination, capacity to sit loose on a job, and stamina in taking a minority position.

"We are looking for people with specific skills for a given job, with personal sensitivity to other people and also to values -- religious and moral; with stability and strength to go into difficult situations, pioneering, because we are almost always presenting a minority viewpoint. They must have maturity -- a combination of stamina and sensitivity.

"As for the average staff member, most are idealists, hopefully with their feet on the ground. Sometimes the best people we can find to

do a job are the people who don't have as much training as we would desire. My feeling is that, given certain personal qualities, the more professional training the better.

"Community Relations personnel are distinctive in terms of general personnel characteristics, especially sensitivity and effectiveness in dealing with prejudice. Also they should have experience in dealing with minority groups and tension. It is less important that a person be a Conscientious Objector than in other programs. There are only a few Friends in Community Relations."

It is difficult for any AFSC program to keep from "guessing wrong" a good deal of the time, and Community Relations is no exception to this. It has noted instances of persons with strong religious motivation who had an inability in coming to grips with realities of community life; it has also employed effective and humanitarian staff members whose "religious" motivation was kept silent, if indeed it existed at all. One of the biggest problems raised in the Community Relations program is in reference to techniques of picking strongly motivated yet strongly effective persons for work in this field. Yet, since every cent of money in the Community Relations budget needs to be spent carefully, and since AFSC has a striking reluctance to ever actually fire anybody, this is a subject that will require intensive future inquiry.

4. How policy is made. The framework of this evaluative study holds that the manner in which an organization makes policy and communicates it to the field should be viewed as a bridge between the general philosophy and organizational structure of the group and how the programs actually look in the field. Therefore, before considering the role of advisory committees, we wish to consider who in an organization and who actually does make policy.

For example, who actually makes policy in the American Friends Service Committee? Is it shaped mainly by members of the Society of Friends, by the Executive Board, or, in the case of Community Relations, by the Executive Committee, by the Community Relations Committee itself, by the staff, by the Regional Offices, or by the advisory committees in the several cities?

In a statement issued in January of 1954, the Executive Secretary of AFSC sought to clarify the role of AFSC committees and to make suggestions on their functioning. He notes that the various AFSC committees, with a total membership of about 525 people, have not been used optimally. He adds that the committee system "has been one of the great strengths of the AFSC, and has been one of the factors which has given us vitality and prevented us from becoming institutionalized." He then indicates the relationship of committees to the task of policy making by enumerating some of the basic purposes of committees. He says:

"Committees (unless specifically designated 'advisory') meet primarily for the purpose of making decisions. In some instances the decision will be final and in others it will take the form of a recommendation to the Executive Committee or to the Board. These decisions are decisions on questions of policy and not on questions of administration."

He adds that persons should not feel disqualified to serve on committees because of lack of knowledge. He feels that detailed information may be needed for making decisions on administrative matters, but is not needed as a basis for

making policy decisions. Information about the program should be provided in memoranda sent by mail, wherever possible. He concludes with five general rules about conduct of committee meetings: Staff should crystallize problems and present them clearly to the committee; staff should present definite recommendations, together with reasons for the recommendations; meetings should be conducted on the traditional Quaker basis of "the sense of the Meeting"; an orderly procedure and a written agenda should be observed; and, finally, it is a general practice for a committee meeting to open with a few minutes of silent worship.

This strong emphasis on the role of committees may be one of the "unique" aspects of the AFSC organizational structure. It also has important implications for evaluation, for the relation of an organization's general objectives to what is actually happening in the field seems more close in AFSC than in most organizations, because of the nature of these committees, that observe field programs so closely. For example, some Community Relations staff members in Indian programs are responsible (a) to an on-reservation advisory or "self-help" committee, (b) to a local community committee composed partly of Friends, (c) to an Indian committee in the Regional Office, and (d) to an Indian sub-committee of the national Community Relations Committee.

Committees of this sort are important for other reasons. We believe that in a staff member's interaction with his advisory committee, a "self-other" pattern is established, in which he often internalizes the best of their humanitarian and religious motivation, and their practical knowledge and advice. Thus, the staff member is continually influenced by this group and his self-image as a practitioner with a spiritual orientation is maintained and may carry him through many difficult situations.

We now consider the specific case of the Community Relations Committee. In its beginning there was a strong committee and almost no staff. Through the years, as the program grew and the staff was enlarged, the committee also grew larger but seemed to have less and less of a role to play in actual decision making. In 1950 the minutes of the Community Relations Committee reveal the first suggestion that an Executive Committee be appointed "to function as an emergency steering group between scheduled meetings." This Executive Committee was actually formed in 1951, and in the writer's opinion, it today shares with staff considerable responsibility for policy making.

The Community Relations Committee now has about 30 members and attendance is usually about 70%. However, an actual tally of participation shows that some two-thirds of statements contributed at meetings are made by either staff or Executive Committee members. On the other hand, reading of the minutes of past Committee meetings shows a long and almost plaintive reiteration of desire on the part of Committee members to be more useful. Examples:

"(5/18/50) The Committee expressed the hope that they might be called upon for a greater role in consulting with the staff on program problems and helping to guide the staff on program policy."

"(2/15/51) A suggestion was offered that agendas of future Race Relations Committee meetings be sent out in advance and include, in question form, the items which the staff would like discussed at the meeting."

"(11/29/51) Ways in which the Committee could be better informed regarding the program were discussed. The Committee agreed to continue

the present schedule of meetings and to reorganize program sub-committees in accordance with the outline of staff responsibilities."

As of 1954 when these observations were made, the Community Relations Committee was still expressing its frustration over not being able to be more helpful. At one meeting a new staff member announced that he expected to lean heavily on the Committee. The Committee members said:

"We expect you to take the lead. We make policy. We would like staff to come up with something for us to read and react to."

"This is a general AFSC problem. The Executive Committees know what is going on; regular committee members do not. I suggest a prepared report for discussion."

"Wasn't that tried before, and didn't committee members not read it?"

"When people come on the Committee, that is the time to tell them what is expected of them. Will they merely listen and advise, or will they give guidance and direction?"

"I am baffled. Committee members should do more than just sit."

"I am not interested in going to meetings just to hear staff members give reports."

"I drive three or four hours here and back. If it is only to listen, and I increasingly feel that it is, I become more and more reluctant to come." (This same man, according to the minutes, had expressed a desire to resign back in 1950, because of the difficulty in adjusting his schedule to the meeting time.)

"It is very important to have everyone informed enough to really discuss things. At every meeting, there should be two or three important things that need counseling. If there aren't, we shouldn't meet."

"The Community Relations Committee has too big a program for a Committee member to grasp it. Have two hours of sub-committee meetings, and brief reports from the rest."

"I have the feeling that policy is made either by the staff or by the Executive Committee, not by this group. We don't contribute much."

Later, at the open meeting, this problem was brought before the full Committee. It was stated that sub-committee members were not interested in being mere listeners, and were also not interested in a lot of oral reporting. Instead, they desired memoranda and questions circulated in advance, although realizing that this requires more staff time in preparing reports. There was enthusiastic response to this proposal, with several persons offering suggestions as to how it could best be done, and giving assurances that they would read the materials. As one said eagerly, "Try us and see how dumb we are."

Despite these frequently reiterated discussions it becomes apparent that the Community Relations Committee as a whole currently does not fully shape policy, and

to an extent is aware of it; it also does not do a great deal of advising, suggesting or limiting. Whether it actually should do these things, or whether the shaping of policy should be left to the staff and modified by the Executive Committee, is a subject of some controversy. Admittedly a serious problem exists here if the parent body believes that committees should perform the policy making function, only to find that in a rapidly expanding program such as Community Relations it is almost impossible to keep Committee members informed and up to date. We will consider this problem in the section on recommendations.

Another controversy exists among staff members as to whether advisory committees are of any help to them at all. Some staff members want committees to shape policy and tell them what to do. Some want them to steer, direct, guide, and restrain. Some just want them to listen, suggest, and approve, and some just want them to "rubber stamp" and handle problems of public relations. These are sample comments of staff members:

"Staff presents policy and the Community Relations Committee shapes it. That is the democratic process -- having a representative cross-section of the community pass on staff objectives."

"I use my committee just to hear myself say something. Maybe it's because I'm unsure of myself, but so often I think about a thing for a long time and then I present it to the group, and after they have considered it and criticized it, I can see it more clearly myself and am much surer about what to do."

"If you carefully pick committees of people who are interested and informed, they can be used to offer testimony, they can advise you on timing, can introduce you to important people, can make valuable suggestions. My committee does whatever it is asked to do. It advises and suggests."

"My committee frankly 'rubber-stamps.' We don't know how to use them. They have been helpful in backing up the program, but never get the sense of being a group. Individual members have been helpful, but when crises arise, I should check with the committee, but I don't."

"My committee hasn't been of any use. It was an after-thought. It is hard to get people stirred up about something that is already going on, that they don't know anything about. We meet once a month and I spend the whole time reporting and neither of us gets anything out of it."

However, in summary, some favorable comments might be made about the Community Relations Committee, in comparison to many supposedly policy making bodies: It has a relatively high degree of members with influence; it has always had a good representation from the minority community; it is composed of highly motivated people; monthly attendance is relatively high; it consists of people with knowledge and skill in the intergroup relations field as well as motivated Friends; and, finally, it is constantly evaluating itself in terms of its effectiveness and use to staff. These may be healthy factors in the organizational structure of any program.

One final comment should be made about AFSC in reference to organizational structure, policy making and committees. The tightly knit nature of the

organization would make each new decision seem like a tremendous chore. For example, it is said that before starting a new program a staff member should check first with his sub-committee, then with the Community Relations Committee, then the American Section Committee, the Finance Committee, the AFSC Board, and the regions and their Executive Committees -- before the staff member can even begin looking for funds. This structure naturally conflicts with the necessity in the Community Relations Program for staff members to make quick policy decisions every day. The way this dilemma is resolved, or the way it should be resolved, might serve as a topic for an interesting future discussion in AFSC evaluative sessions.

G. Problems of Communication, Regional Autonomy and Program Termination

1. Communication problems. Given the complex structure of AFSC, its rapid expansion, and its thirteen Regional Offices, it is to be expected that communication between one segment of the program and another may often be less than complete. A question on communication and its difficulties was included in the intensive interviews conducted with all persons involved in the program. The following things were mentioned as the most serious communication problems:

a. Rapid expansion of the Community Relations Program. Whereas most AFSC programs are kept relatively small, the Community Relations Program has expanded rapidly, through the pressures of immediate needs in race relations, through requests from Regional Offices for programs, through foundation grants for specific projects. Hence many people in other parts of AFSC, particularly the Executive Committee, are not up to date on the current status of the Community Relations Program. These are statements of policy makers:

"Because we have an able staff, we have given the CRC such a lead that we cannot keep up. They need to keep me informed so that I can handle outside things when they get thrown at me."

"There is a trend in our Race Relations Program. We are getting in and finding more and more places to make a contribution. Some on the Executive Board would be surprised to find that we have grown so far. We have been educating them for one and a half years and they are fairly up to date now."

"The Community Relations Program has been a staff-developed program to a greater extent than the others, so it has been more difficult to staff it with people from the Society of Friends. Most people qualified to do a community relations job have no experience with Quakerism or pacifism. The Executive Board doesn't have much background for understanding the Community Relations Program as it does for the other programs."

It might thus seem that the Community Relations Program is to an extent estranged from the rest of the AFSC. However, since the time of these interviews, continual reports have offered the Executive Board at least the opportunity to keep up with the expanded Community Relations Program.

b. Focus on Job Opportunities and unfamiliarity with other programs. The Job Opportunities Program is the oldest Community Relations activity that is still in existence. Therefore, many AFSC policy makers and other Friends are familiar with it, since it is rooted in the techniques of John Woolman. However, the more recently developed housing, Indian and community counseling programs are far less familiar to most. Particularly, the Indian Program grew from the periphery -- a development of Regional Offices -- and the national office has only gradually absorbed its details.

c. Lack of time or facilities on the part of staff. Many staff members say they would like to know more about what other programs are doing, but do not know where to get the information, or do not have the time. Others confess that they are so immersed in their immediate community problems that they cannot take time to read the voluminous reports that flood their desks from the national office. Still others complain that they do not get the opportunity to travel frequently enough to see what other programs are doing. Sample staff comments:

"I know practically nothing of the Indian Program. I'm not sure whether I have to know to be effective. I don't know what Institutional Service Units is up to -- if I take the time to find out, will it be worth it?"

"Between Community Relations and the rest of the Service Committee, I am frequently embarrassed that I know so little of what the Service Committee is doing. That is very bad. I feel no direct lack about not keeping up with California, but we should get together more closely with the Southeastern region if they are going into educational programs."

"Our greatest problem has been the knowledge of the Foreign Section. People call for information. We need a pamphlet with a paragraph or so on each program, not this mimeographed stuff. I'd also like to know more about Indian programs."

"We have not exercised communication fully. My contact with the other people doing my work is very valuable. It would be better if our office wasn't so pinch-penny on trips. They are pretty stubborn on this."

d. Semantics. In addition to lack of time, inability to keep up with one's mail, failure to notify persons of new plans, and failure to keep up to date on other AFSC programs, there is finally the problem of semantics. Even if each person is kept fully informed on what the others are doing, many still note that problems exist because individuals mean different things by the same word. As in any organization, this has caused minor conflicts. Respondents stated:

"One kind of communication problem is semantics. This can be as much a personality matter as anything else. For example, one staff member wrote us saying, 'I have given my assistant the privilege of seeking Negro applicants.' The national office was furious over the use of the word 'privilege.'"

"There is a theory that communications among the staff have mechanical difficulties such as distance and so forth. It assumes that if

everyone read the same memo at the same time there would be no difficulty in communication, but there are problems of semantics and also the amount of common experience that you have."

Summarizing, though almost all respondents reported communication problems, we hazard that there is less of a problem here than in many organizations for these reasons: The Service Committee and the Society of Friends have numerous types of publications that flood every staff member's desk; advisory committees are sometimes well informed and bring the staff member up to date; staff members have periodic meetings to discuss common problems; some of the better business methods and techniques of keeping people informed have been adapted by the Service Committee program, through familiarity with the ways of the business community.

2. National and Regional offices. A Regional Secretary commented that aside from the Foreign Section, AFSC was once merely a Philadelphia Service Committee. However, as Friends in other parts of the country began to get interested in the Committee's work, increasing requests came for decentralized programs and the creation of Regional Offices. Speaking of the problem of Regional Offices, Clarence Pickett has written:

Of all the new steps taken by the Committee in the years of my service as Executive Secretary, I think none was more difficult than the decision to develop Regional Offices. There were those who felt that the consequent added complications in raising funds and in determining and controlling policy would threaten the very life and integrity of the Committee. But all the time the urge for this kind of expansion was growing stronger.

He concludes that this expansion sprang from the desire of local groups of Friends to make contributions and share in the Committee's life, and states that the development of Regional Offices has added great strength, expansion and fellowship to the Service Committee. Here, as in the special case of the Community Relations Committee, we note the inevitable expansion of a program in the face of pressing needs, despite the Committee's efforts to keep its activities and services small.

As would be expected in any Regional Office movement, there is a good deal of uncertainty and even tension about the allocation of responsibility between national office and regions. This is reflected, I think, in the program of the Community Relations Committee. There are occasional conflicts in seeking financing, for example. Finally, a policy decision had to be made, stipulating that one body would "lay off" seeking finances for a given program until the other body had exhausted its efforts. A Regional Secretary said:

"One communication problem is what you might call a national office mentality and a Regional Office mentality. The Service Committee is in a state of considerable flux. Some Regional Offices are looking in directions that the national office would shut the door on pretty fast. Eventually AFSC will become a servicing agency for which regions accept responsibility."

Another staff member had a somewhat similar sentiment on regional responsibility:

"We have a working agreement that we cannot solicit funds from national foundations, but have to submit requests through the national office. Relations should be like with work camps -- the responsibility of the region -- but coordinated from the national office."

The Indian programs offer an interesting example of national versus regional activity. Many persons in the national office were not aware of Indian problems until Regional Offices initiated programs, recruited staff, and established advisory committees. As previously stated, the staff member was sometimes responsible to four committees, including a national committee. Therefore, it was sometimes difficult to decide who should raise funds, whom the staff member should ask for advice, or where he should send his reports. This was further complicated by the fierce protectiveness that many separate groups tend to show toward the hapless American Indian. This problem has been partly solved through improved communication, and through the recent employment of a national coordinator of the Indian Program.

3. The "stepchild syndrome." This is the name that the writer has given to an oft-noted phenomenon -- the fact that so many segments of AFSC feel like "stepchildren" of other segments.

It was noted, for example, that Indian staff members in the Southwest said they felt like a stepchild of their Regional Office; the Regional Office said it felt like a stepchild of the national Community Relations Committee; that latter body often felt like a stepchild of the total American Friends Service Committee; this group in turn sometimes indicates that it feels like a stepchild of the Religious Society of Friends. Over and over, respondents at all levels would indicate this feeling of estrangement from some parent body. Respondents said:

"Part of this is the way AFSC has developed. As it has grown, people have wanted to be more independent. Philadelphia hasn't been quite sure that the regions know how to make mature decisions."

"It has been the feeling of the staff that Community Relations is sort of a poor relation -- but I've never had that feeling."

"Quakers have just a secondary interest in Community Relations. Perhaps we are like kids -- we need to be disciplined, and called on and informed that someone is interested."

We suggest that this frequently noted phenomenon of "sometimes feeling like a motherless child" might be the product of a number of "shotgun weddings" in the development of AFSC. The rapid mushrooming of programs in the face of a philosophy that insists on limiting their size, may be accompanied by uncertainty or an occasional insecurity about being accepted by the parent body. Perhaps the tendency among Friends to repress affection and understate their commendations, criticisms and reservations may keep staff insecurity at a relatively high level.

4. When do you terminate a program? A central problem plaguing Friends in general and Community Relations Committee members in particular is how to decide when to withdraw from a program, or when it has reached its maximal effectiveness. Said an AFSC Elder Statesman:

"We must know when to get out and when the giver is no longer needed, knows it, and is glad. It is difficult to release a program, just as a parent has a hard time releasing the child. On the other hand, we have been frequently accused of withdrawing too quickly."

Thus, there is a delicate balance between too early and too tardy a withdrawal from a program. Earlier AFSC programs, focusing on immediate relief to the distressed, were able to see more clearly when a need had been met. More recent programs such as the community-wide programs of CRC are more difficult to assess in these terms. Staff members have expressed a good deal of uncertainty on this, although they usually become convinced that the program should run a bit longer than was originally planned. Some state:

"We don't ask how far along we are, but how ready is the community to take over the job. We don't want to accomplish the job, but we want to sensitize others to the need. That is the philosophy of self-help."

"I'm not sure where I stand. In this set-up things are just beginning and should not be stopped. A great deal more needs to be done so that people will continue planning things independently."

"Establish a project on the basis of recognized needs of people in the community. Base the program on the satisfaction of one of these needs, and terminate the program after the need is satisfied, without a time limit. In this process the community should get the self-help idea and carry on, satisfying this and other needs."

There is also disagreement on who should make the decision about termination. Some felt that it should be a joint decision of the regional advisory committee, the regional Executive Committee and the national office. Others thought it should be an agreement between the national Director and the local staff member. Still others felt that persons in the community affected by the program should be consulted on termination. Finally, some stated pragmatically that programs should be terminated whenever the money runs out.

There seems to be a growing sense in the Community Relations Committee that the time periods set by AFSC for termination were too short -- that the timing schedule derived from earlier relief and rehabilitation projects is not adequate for an urban community organization job. Two staff members took on a six months program of community counseling, and ended it with a recommendation that no more six months programs be set up. A Regional Secretary said that he once thought two years was time enough to find whether a Job Opportunities Program would succeed; he now says five years. Staff members in the Indian areas acknowledge that they do not envision the problems of Indians being solved anywhere in the near future.

H. What Is This Thing Called Love?

As previously stated, love is central in the AFSC programs. There are frequent references in AFSC statements on race relations to "the tremendous power of love to overcome prejudice and suspicion." It was noted early in this research that most persons in AFSC talked about love, but the research worker decided to

get people to elaborate on it, to see if all meant the same thing by it, to determine its sub-components, to see if persons had reservations or qualifications of their belief in the power of love, and to get examples of love in action.

1. Social science discovers altruistic love. As suggested in the introduction to this monograph, social scientists have recently considered that the study of "good relations" and love and altruism were legitimate objects for social study. At Harvard, sociologist Pitirim Sorokin has headed for some years a program of studies in altruistic love. Speaking for the need for study of geniuses, Christian saints and good neighbors, Sorokin adds:

Can there be a pure and lofty altruism, not generating collision and conflict ... Tentatively, the answer is that there is such a way, but that it requires, among other conditions, an extension of our "in-group" feelings to all humanity; and this extension must be real, manifested not only in our speech reactions, but in our entire behavior.

In the field of altruistic love, the bulk of the saints are masters and creators of "love energy," which they generate in large quantities of the purest quality. Without these masters of "love production," society is bound to suffer greatly from a catastrophic overabundance of deadly hatred and strife.

For purposes of this research, the most valuable and thought provoking materials on the subject of love have come from Nelson Foote, and associates, at the Center for Family Studies at the University of Chicago. In a short article, titled "Love," Foote first notes the tremendous ambivalence that most Americans bring to this subject. He then discusses definitions of love, first presenting a definition of love advanced by psychiatrist Harry Stack Sullivan: "When the satisfaction or the security of another person becomes as significant to one as one's own satisfaction or security, then the state of love exists." Though Foote criticizes this definition, he regards it as a valuable start. He then defines love himself in terms of human development:

Love is that relationship between one person and another which is most conducive to the optimal development of both. This optimal development is to be measured practically in the growth of competence in interpersonal relations.

Foote specifies some elements of the love concept: the role of "friend and critic" as an optimal interpersonal situation; the viewing of children as qualitatively different wholes rather than as competitors by a single quantitative standard; the unlimited potential for growth of the "self"; the optimal conditions for self-transcendence.

Foote also mentions one other concept relevant to this research -- the concept of reciprocity. Reciprocity seems to be a factor often ignored by persons who are interested in philanthropy, service and giving. Foote indicates that the love relationship must not be one-sided. He states:

To deny a person opportunity for reciprocating is to forestall his respect for himself, to keep him dependent and inferior. This is one point where resentment of do-gooders arises. A person may garner

flattery by surrounding himself with dependents, but flattery can hardly match the satisfaction of contributing to the growth of others by stimulating their achievements of autonomy and equality.

Later, in personal correspondence, Foote adds to this concept:

"As between parents and children, the weight of tangible benefits flows primarily from parent to child, as from teacher to pupil. But the vital point, as I see it, is that the wealthier person not restrain, spurn, or refuse a show of gratitude for the contribution of the poorer person. It is reciprocity, not in the market sense, but in relation to the needs of each giver, that makes it a form of equality, not of inequality."

It is interesting to note the current interest of social scientists in love; it is further interesting that today we see that the love concept seems to be employed by more and more persons in all walks of life. Psychiatrists, in the process of their immediate involvement in problems of their patients, seem to discuss the love concept more and more. Some are even making such simplified statements as saying that nearly all neuroses and psychoses are caused by the fact that "as a child the person just wasn't loved enough." Biologist Alfred C. Kinsey, though devoting most of his attention to quantitatively measurable indices of sexual behavior, indicates that he has not ignored the love concept. Replying to a statement by psychiatrist Karl Menninger which accused him of ignoring the fact of love, Kinsey stated:

How can you measure love? Nobody knows how to approach it scientifically. We shall never write about love, but that doesn't mean that I as an individual don't recognize its value.

In this research, though no precise way of measuring love was devised or considered by the writer, it was nevertheless considered essential that persons be interviewed to determine how many of the varied components of the love concept entered into their own conception of the term. We therefore report here some "free associations" on the love concept, as articulated by AFSC policy makers.

2. AFSC beliefs in the power of love. Nelson Foote documents his assertion on the ambivalence that Americans have toward the love concept by stating that when he mentioned to twenty people his intention to write an article about love, nearly all reacted by surprise, embarrassment, jokes or outright laughter. This experience in interviewing about love did not note that reaction. Respondents were sometimes embarrassed, surprised, sentimental or excited, but most tried to be reflective and matter of fact. Respondents' first statement would be, "That's a hard one," or, "That's the \$64 question." However, after much "soul searching," they were usually able to come up with an answer that indicated their perception of the meaning of the love concept. These are examples:

"(Social science and love) Social science ducks love because it was always the bailiwick of religion, hence unscientific. It is a very positive force, though I couldn't define it. Love, good will and concern are a vital part of our program. I am interested, almost excited, at the way social psychologists are giving this attention."

"(Love as continual growth) We have a conception of human nature that includes a belief in the potentiality of growth of each person, to include ever-widening spheres of other kinds of people. The completely self-centered infant later gets the idea of mother, brothers, sisters, and so forth. At every step there seems to be a stopping point. We feel that there should be no stopping point."

"(Understanding instead of self-interest) The obvious absence of self-interest in this -- the surprise element -- is a very helpful part of our approach. Another aspect is the willingness to say 'We don't come to beat you over the head, but to understand and help you change.'"

"(Some dimensions of love) I think it is of crucial importance. It involves people feeling fairly secure about themselves, possessing a sense of humor, enjoying others. Love goes further than that, but includes those qualities. If an individual goes to talk to an employer about a crucial subject, or goes to the Negro community to talk about applicants, a general good will and 'disinterested interest' in people is crucial."

"(More dimensions of the concept) It is a sissy word. There was a time when it meant a lot. People would fight and die for it. The people who expressed it -- we made saints out of them -- but we bent over backwards not to imitate them. ... Maybe it is synonymous with sensitivity to people. It has a lot of sub-meanings -- identification is one, affection is another. It is a comradeship kind of thing."

The interviews revealed, of course, that respondents were not unanimous on what love meant. Some felt that they should love the good that is in each person; others felt that they should love the whole person, regardless of how good or bad he is. Some felt that it implied only a tolerance for people. Others went further and thought it involved an attitude of complete respect for human personalities, still others felt it meant an all-embracing emotional reaction to each human personality.

Some of the other elements of the love concept as perceived by AFSC policy makers are these: Learning to listen to others; responding to persons in need; following the Golden Rule; non-violence; loving each person's personality if not his attitude; finding out people's needs and satisfying these needs; and in general following the teachings of Jesus. Although a thorough analysis of the component parts of the love concept would require a specialist in content analysis, it could be said in summary that the varied conceptions of love generally included such considerations as complete respect for each human personality, love of a personality regardless of the person's position, and an attempt to give this love equally to all persons contacted.

3. Love "at the summit" and "at the grass roots." As we have previously stated, AFSC perceives its role as trying to effect a dual action -- influencing persons who make policy and joining hands with suffering and oppressed people wherever they exist. However, considerable scrutiny must be given to AFSC programs, to make sure that the emphasis on loving personalities does not lean too greatly in one direction or another. For example, in the Community Relations

Program, we noted instances where staff members got so tremendously involved in the problems of oppressed minorities that they began to dislike the oppressor; we have also noted staff members' becoming so impressed themselves with rubbing shoulders with the "power structure" that they may have exhibited an inadvertent tendency to identify strongly with this power structure. A task of all AFSC workers is to strike a happy balance between these two positions.

It is even suggested in some cases that responsibility for loving people should be directed even more, perhaps, toward the grass roots than toward the summit. Clarence Pickett has anticipated the concern stated in many areas that AFSC energies may be frequently directed toward the top rather than toward the common man. In the introduction to his description of his work with United Nations policy makers he writes:

The fact that this final chapter speaks of "witness in high places" should by no means be taken as an indication that service is no longer the heart and soul of the Committee's life. Indeed the "highest" places in terms of abiding values will probably continue to be awarded to the simple and often undiscovered deeds of loving kindness and generosity offered by the nameless to the nameless.

4. Some reservations and modifications on the love concept. Almost invariably when respondents spoke of love, they introduced reservations or gave some examples of "what love isn't." Many agree that the concept must be approached warily and has often been misused. Here are representative statements:

"The Service Committee is accused of leaning too far on altruistic love. We probably are, but there is its reverse -- hatred, bitterness, evil. Part of our philosophy is not to try to counteract evil by evil means, but to overcome it by love."

"There is a danger that we mouth these things so that they become meaningless; there is a greater danger that we may use this altruistic love in a utilitarian way -- 'it's good business to love people.'"

"I am critical of those who say that love overcomes evil. I criticize Quakers who believe in just loving. This is where skill and stamina and hard work come in."

"In the Community Relations Program love should be absolutely central. In practice, we probably fall a good deal short of that. We say, 'Here is a prejudiced, bigoted guy who is holding up the wheels of progress.' I would find it difficult to talk to Joe McCarthy, but in so far as I do, I am not living up to what I profess."

"In religious organizations people want to do things for the love of the Lord. So often this attitude is adopted as a substitute for brains. People love the Lord and other people because they don't have the stuff to do anything."

A summary statement on use of the love concept in AFSC might be as follows: Staff members and policy makers are convinced of its power; they are apt to emphasize different components of it, but have a general degree of consensus on its

meaning; they fear talking about it too much at the sacrifice of actual action; they believe it has a vital place in intergroup relations that makes their approach somewhat unique. At a later period we will examine some specific examples of altruistic love in action. We will merely state here that a potentially unique facet of the AFSC work in race relations lies in its emphasis on "this tremendous power of love to overcome prejudice and suspicion." The subsequent chapter, which considers the actual experience of staff members, may illuminate the way in which this phrase is put into action.

IV. THE STAFF MEMBER AND HIS PROGRAMS

A. National Office Activity

We now view at first hand the persons who actually carry out the religious concerns of the Society of Friends -- the Community Relations staff members. The atmosphere of the national office is a pleasurable one. The staff is warm, accepting, and quite tolerant of the fact that it has been observed by an evaluator whose functions at his desk were not readily ascertainable. Office behavior is essentially democratic; everyone is first-named by everyone else; staff meetings seek full participation of all employees; secretaries are treated permissively and occasional attempts are made to include them in wider aspects of the program; the existence of status hierarchies is seldom apparent. The general atmosphere is one of unhurried communal friendliness; yet, when the chips are down, things get done and done well.

Although seldom explicitly stated, certain important norms are established and followed by the office staff. One pertains to economy. Following general AFSC policies, attempts are made to keep down costs of office materials. Mimeographed minutes and other documents often use both sides of the page, almost all reports are single-spaced to save paper, typewriter ribbons are turned around when they become worn, file copies of correspondence are turned over if they come to more than one page. Staff members who are traveling for the program are expected to keep expenses low, find inexpensive hotels, avoid extra expenses. Padding of expense accounts, customary and even sometimes enforced in many business enterprises, is assumed to be violently taboo here.

Another norm, as far as administrative and program staff members are concerned, relates to the time put in on the job. It seems taken for granted that despite the relatively low pay scale of the AFSC, staff members spend a considerable amount of their nights, weekends, and holidays working on their jobs, and naturally without overtime. Also, if a staff member attends a night meeting in connection with the program (and sometimes a person may attend as many as four a week) it seems taken for granted that he will nevertheless be in the office at 9:00 the next morning, though he is never instructed to do so. It is apparently assumed that work with this program calls for long, patient, dedicated hours of activity.

A final norm noticeable is the partial adherence to the values and beliefs of the Service Committee and of the Society of Friends. Though members of this program are mostly non-Quakers with a wide variety of motivations, religious beliefs --

or lack thereof -- and personal philosophies, a point of convergence is found not only in strong interest in race relations, but also in general acceptance of Quaker attitudes toward other social issues. An implicit assumption seems to exist that Quaker values are worth emulating and that one should evaluate his behavior in terms of these values. Thus, sentiments are frequently expressed like "is this Quakerly," or, "this isn't very Quakerly, but ...," or the occasional reproach, "now, you know that isn't Quakerly."

Most of these values are absorbed with stated limitations and reservations: some staff members state that they are not pacifist, some decry religious motivation, some express joking reservations about the "power of love," some criticize certain aspects of AFSC's orientation, particularly the avoidance of expressions of hostility, aggression and conflict, or the ambiguity of what is sometimes termed "Quaker language." But underlying these joking or critical remarks is an apparent very deep respect, admiration and affection for the Society of Friends and its values, expressed in the statement of one staff member that "If I didn't love them very much, I couldn't work here."

Such is the office setting. The Community Relations Program in eleven American communities is coordinated here; the Philadelphia program is also administered here. As of December, 1955, the office staff, thus, consisted of the Director, an Assistant Director, an Administrative Assistant, a Coordinator of the National Job Opportunities Program, the Directors of the Philadelphia and Suburban Job Opportunities and Housing Opportunities Programs, the secretarial assistant to the Indian Program Coordinator, four secretaries, a file clerk, and for most practical purposes, the evaluator.

Some of the "miscellaneous" activities of the national office are as follows: Distribution of printed materials on the subject of race relations; receiving of requests for help and referrals from other organizations; advising and counseling other AFSC programs on subjects that have implications for intergroup relations; working in cooperation with other local and national intergroup organizations; drawing up requests for funds; seeking and interviewing new program personnel; making field trips to inspect the various programs; attending numerous meetings of AFSC, of intergroup organizations, or of community groups; making speeches; and numerous other small details that are involved in conducting a national program in intergroup relations. Such is the current program of the Community Relations Committee.

2. Relations with other organizations. Many policy makers of AFSC are aware that a number of other intergroup relations organizations exist, particularly the minority group organizations, often hampered by difficulties that AFSC does not have to face. Some in AFSC are so impressed by their own unique approach that they have largely ignored the other less religiously motivated organizations. However, the majority recognize the aspirations and hopes of these other groups, know that they were in the field long before AFSC and may be in the field after this program terminates, and devote much of their time to cooperating with and helping these other organizations, wherever possible. The National Secretary of this program continually reminds his staff that they have a certain responsibility to other organizations in this field. At one annual staff meeting he said, in summarizing a discussion of inter-organizational relationships:

"We may be guilty of smugness toward other organizations. We get irritated at them because perhaps they needle us; because they have

problems that we don't. We have to ignore the needling, thanking God that we don't have these problems."

Relations between the several organizations in intergroup relations are often far from tranquil. On first thought, it might be assumed that the nature of the "cause" would make groups minimize their differences in favor of their common objectives. Actually, the bitterness shown by some of these groups for others rivals or even exceeds the bitterness they feel toward the actual opposition. This is due partly to the almost inevitable factors of competitiveness, struggles for status, and desires to take credit and avoid censure. In addition, the goals of the several organizations are not as similar as many assume, and the discovery that these groups are not actually in accord sometimes produces a seemingly over-reactive resentment and bitterness.

The writer tentatively concurs with the belief held by the Director of this program, that the religious motivation of AFSC does cause it to play a somewhat unique role in one respect -- in acting as moderator or conciliator in inter-organizational relationships. In the words of the National Secretary, the AFSC staff members "are religious enough to invoke God frequently to other organizations and in their own minds, and are able to stand off and observe the nature of these inter-organizational conflicts." Since these organizations often build up a great hostility and bitterness toward each other, as we have stated, any organization whose religious orientation keeps in the forefront the need to see every man's point of view, to reconcile divergent views, and to avoid expressions of hostility, might serve as a moderating factor in inter-organizational spats.

(This holds true, of course, only so long as staff members resist the temptation to be "all too human," to compete with other organizations, to envy the programs that have more money or that engage in more dramatic, exciting or militant activity, to take more credit for the success of a project than the facts warrant, to strike back at other practitioners who attack them instead of turning the other cheek. In this event, the Director, AFSC policy makers, committee members, and even staff members have to continually remind each other of the philosophy of the Service Committee in order to preserve the "uniqueness" of their approach.)

Past relationships between AFSC and certain other organizations in the intergroup relations field have been far from peaceful. In some cases organizations have charged that AFSC is duplicating their program, entering the same or nearby communities with an "amazingly similar approach," contacting the same businessmen, competing for community funds, taking credit for things that other organizations had worked on. In recent years, AFSC staff members have met these criticisms largely with restraint, have sought for areas of cooperation rather than conflict, have let the other groups vent their anger, and have largely worked toward reconciliation.

Details of these delicate inter-organizational maneuverings cannot be given here. We might summarize, however, that AFSC, in this writer's observations, has endeavored to work cooperatively with others, to accept a good deal of the criticism leveled against it, and to supplement rather than duplicate the other forces working in the intergroup relations field. The community interviews currently show that the criticisms directed by other intergroup organizations toward AFSC are relatively minor. These will be considered in a subsequent discussion of community views of AFSC.

3. "Going to the top" nationally. One of the most significant activities of AFSC in race relations is the contact that staff members have with persons who shape national policy. The AFSC frequently finds an open door here because of its traditional respect for confidentiality, its prestige, and its reputation for honesty and altruism rather than lobbying or "ax-grinding."

Since the value of this type of relationship lies partly in its privacy, it will not be detailed here. We might merely summarize that the traditional AFSC practice of "going to the top" with its accompanying respect for the dignity and the privacy of the individual contacted, has been utilized by the Community Relations Program in what the writer considers to be an effective and valuable manner.

B. The Job Opportunities Program

1. Initial concern. As previously stated, the concern of an AFSC Committee member about the problems of Negro college graduates finding jobs commensurate with their ability resulted in the establishment, in 1945, of a placement service within the Community Relations Committee. This placement service was careful to announce its purposes to other organizations working in similar fields, and to systematically canvass Negro colleges to find suitable applicants for non-traditional placement. However, its first work was largely in the Philadelphia area. In 1950, another program was established in Chicago. Subsequently two other programs have been established in the Mid-west and three have been established in various parts of the South. The Philadelphia program and one of the Midwestern programs have recently been terminated.

A suggested general premise on the relationship of the Job Opportunities Program and general race relations problems is this: A person's occupation is strongly related to his self-esteem; race affects a person's job opportunities; hence, an enhancement of job opportunities raises the esteem of the minority group member. We note that one of the assumptions listed by the NAIRO Sub-Committee on Assumptions of Practitioners states: "All progress in integration is dependent on progress in employment."

2. Current structure of the program. Job Opportunities is perhaps the best known of all the Community Relations programs. A general description of all Community Relations programs, delivered to the Executive Committee of AFSC's American Section in January, 1955 describes the Job Opportunities Program thusly:

"The main purpose of this project is to promote employment on merit without regard to race, creed or national origin. Techniques of counseling and persuasion are used in working with employers and community groups. Changes in both attitude and in social patterns are sought."

The specific emphasis of the Job Opportunities Program varies from city to city. In Chicago the emphasis has been in the banking and insurance fields; in Columbus maximum effort has been placed on the development of the idea of management luncheon Clinics; in Dallas the emphasis has been on the training and screening of applicants; in Greensboro, North Carolina, the effort has been placed mainly on bringing Negroes into the Cooperative Education plan -- through which public schools and the business community work together on a work and study program;

in Indianapolis the emphasis has been to concentrate on a relatively few selected companies, including department stores and later banking and insurance companies; in Philadelphia the emphasis has been on the specialty shops which did not follow the lead set by department stores in employing on merit.

In 1954 a National Director was found for the Job Opportunities Program. This Director's efforts have been focused largely toward these things:

"Meeting with local advisory committees and helping restate and re-interpret the aims of an AFSC Job Opportunities Program, thus keeping the focus sharp; helping staff work out well-formulated approaches to the community so that they can measure the achievement of the work from time to time; and making contacts with home offices of companies with branches located in the cities in which we work."

Wherever funds have been available, the Job Opportunities Programs have tried to employ two full-time staff members -- one to contact, persuade and negotiate with employers; the other to work in the minority community -- establishing contact, reaching applicants and conducting workshops. This is a reflection of the traditional AFSC method of "going to the top" and "working at the grass roots."

In some cases the person contacting employers has been a white person, and the person working in the minority community has been a Negro person. It was once suggested that the Director of a Job Opportunities Program should be preferably white, male, between 30 and 60, and with a business background. However, as stated, the successes of persons possessing none of these qualifications have caused a change of policy in this respect. The Job Opportunities Program is now following its own philosophy of employing on merit; thus it has experienced both white and Negro, male and female Directors in more and less successful endeavors.

Job Opportunities staff members encounter expressions of surprise on the part of businessmen ranging from Southern statements of "I didn't know there were Negroes qualified for this kind of work" to Northern statements of "Discrimination? I didn't know that thing still existed." In the testimony submitted to the Senate Sub-Committee on Civil Rights, Job Opportunities staff members estimated that businessmen distribute themselves in this manner: 20% are fairly adamant and refuse to move, 20% agree to cooperate and change their practices, the remaining 60% express interest and concern and cooperation, but are hesitant about moving immediately. One staff member stated in a progress report:

"We have had approximately 300 personal conferences to date, with a few significant moves being made and with many more in various stages of progress toward our goal. With few exceptions, businessmen as individuals see this as an important problem, but many are reluctant to move out of what has been long established custom and tradition."

It is certain that from the more than 6,000 employer visits conducted by staff members in this program a great wealth of knowledge and experience has been accumulated. It is hoped that this knowledge might be collated and formulated, so that it may be passed on to cities that do not have such a program currently in operation.

3. Some issues and controversies. As in most programs, the Job Opportunities activity is an area possessing many controversial issues. At annual staff round-ups, staff members frequently get into lively discussions about some of the following issues:

- a. Does the Community Relations staff member owe primary allegiance to the employer or to the minority applicant?

This is a touchy issue since some staff members seemed somewhat "employer oriented" while others seemed strongly "applicant oriented." In a questionnaire submitted to 15 staff members, four said major allegiance should go to the applicant, three to the employer, and the other eight qualified their opinion in strong protest against such an "either-or" decision.

- b. Should a Negro or a white person do the work of contacting employers?

This is a hot issue in many larger cities, but as we have indicated, the Community Relations Program has largely solved it by employing staff members on the basis of merit rather than race.

- c. Should employers be persuaded to integrate their work staff immediately or gradually?

Staff members usually recommend what most intergroup practitioners recommend -- that "you don't cut off a dog's tail a little bit at a time." Some recommend, further, that integration is accomplished most effectively by a clear statement of policy and no more advance preparation than necessary.

- d. Should minority applicants in non-traditional jobs be exceptionally well qualified or should they have just the qualifications that everyone else has?

Here again the Community Relations staff is split. Eight persons said that the applicants should be exceptionally well qualified, and six said the applicants should be no better than anyone else. All recognized the importance of the first Negro person's making a good showing; however, some protest that an exceptional minority pioneer means that the applicant will be "over-qualified" or "under-employed." This offends the principles of some staff members.

- e. Should the index of effectiveness be the number of employers contacted or the number of applicants placed?

Here again, eight persons checked "number of employers contacted" and six checked "number of applicants placed." One abstained. Once again, the split between applicant-oriented and employer-oriented staff members appears. Interestingly, either of these alternatives is a step beyond traditional AFSC beliefs, which involve "expressing our measure of truth" regardless of number of contacts or placements.

Many of these issues boil down to a particular salient one: Should emphasis be placed on changing community attitudes or community patterns and practices? That discussion is always a lively one at staff round-ups, but will be deferred until our consideration of staff issues and controversies.

4. Community resources in job opportunities. The American Friends Service Committee generally seeks to work in areas where it will not be duplicating facilities of other community organizations. However, community studies conducted in

this research convince the writer that other forces exist in American communities, working toward this same goal of employment on merit. Some of these are: (a) The President's Committee on Government Contracts, in the few instances where it is used; (b) local efforts to achieve employment on merit in city, state and federal jobs; (c) the increasing number of cities with Fair Employment Practices ordinances; (d) union clauses against discrimination, and union efforts to end discrimination; (e) efforts by local branches of State Employment Services to end discrimination in employment; (f) activities of other intergroup organizations, particularly the Urban League, in achieving employment on merit; (g) actions of individual businessmen, or voluntary pioneering efforts of minority applicants, doing their own persuading.

--Some organizations do protest that AFSC is duplicating their work. For example, in one city an Urban League executive stated:

"They are not different in any regard. Their approach is identical with our industrial relations approach, with the exception that they claim they are freer in not being supported. They parallel our work in every way. I never heard of any religious motivation at all. Our approach is also religious in that it is based on the Christian spirit."

An employee of a State Employment Service indicated that he also did this anti-discrimination work, and was in a better position to do so because he knew the employer's need. He said:

"If I have a qualified Negro applicant, I might go out and try to persuade the employer. I am in the office and know the employer is desperate. He's got to be in need. Otherwise he might think it's a good idea, human, religious and democratic, but if he doesn't need anybody he'll forget it. Sometimes we pull applicants out of the file if the employer won't take a Negro."

In another community where the Service Committee had a Job Opportunities Program, a union leader indicated that he felt his union was doing the most effective work in integration and employment, stating:

"I could be a little prejudiced and say I believe the CIO has done more than anyone else to stop racial discrimination in employment. We were authorized to pull contracts and charters by Phil Murray; if companies won't comply with non-discriminatory provisions, we can pull their contract."

Despite these community forces, the Job Opportunities Program nevertheless feels it is unique in these respects: It is interested in all minorities, not just the Negro -- although nearly all of its work involves Negro applicants; it has a religiously motivated approach, although some other organizations state that they do also; it has at least one full-time paid staff member working on this problem, and usually not dependent on the local community for funds, though communities are sometimes urged to take over the securing of program funds; its staff member is generally an outsider to the community and often not a member of a possibly "ax-grinding" minority group. Nevertheless we cite these other community forces to indicate that AFSC is but one of several groups in this field. The possible "uniqueness" of the Job Opportunities Program might be viewed against these facts.

C. The Housing Opportunities Program

1. Difficulties of an integrated housing program. The Community Relations Committee came into housing activity only in 1951, and not so much through plan or design as through answering an urgent need -- the racial housing strife in Cicero, Illinois. For perhaps the most difficult assignment that intergroup practitioners face lies in this field of minority housing -- particularly integrated housing. The many successful accounts of racial desegregation and integration in American life must usually by-pass the whole subject of housing or refer to it as an exception, as will be noted in Kenneth Clark's monograph on desegregation. In the summer of 1955 a national housing expert employed by a government agency stated:

"We are not able to cite a single example where exhortation or persuasion has been able to affect the discriminatory pattern of housing."

This is the area where the need is greatest, where the resistance is greatest, and where the courage of persons involved is greatest.

We have previously indicated the paucity of new housing built for Negroes, and the role that government has played in collaborating with the housing industry to slow up integration in housing. Today the housing industry seems to be discovering the minority group market; however, nearly all of its efforts are directed toward increasing minority housing within the framework of segregation, rather than working toward integrated housing. Successful examples of integrated new housing can almost be counted on the fingers of one hand. Even within the minority community a poll of the rank and file of community members would probably show that they were more interested in better housing within or without the framework of segregation than in integrated housing. Surveys show that in many areas of the country, particularly in the South, the Negro ghetto is increasing to an extent that such an action as successful public school desegregation would probably involve not more than 2% of the total community population. Any organization working in this field of integrated housing at all shows, by its very presence, its willingness to "get its hands dirty."

2. AFSC's housing programs. As early as 1944 the importance of minority housing was recognized, although the problem of integration in housing did not seem to be paramount. The Race Relations Committee minutes of May 23, 1944 state: "Housing is so important in race relations that the Committee decided that the securing of better housing for Negroes should be one of the major concerns of the Committee."

Currently the AFSC housing program operates in three areas, and is also a very large part of the work in another area on the West Coast. The January, 1955 Community Relations report to the American Section Executive Committee carries this statement on the housing program:

The Housing Opportunities Program is working in an uncharted field. General rules, procedures and techniques are hard to find. Experience in our approach is to a large degree non-existent. Therefore, much of the work is highly experimental, and subject to the discouragements of such pioneering activity.

In addition to our almost solitary position in the field, the area of housing represents the worst area of American life as far as putting democratic beliefs into practice goes. Progress made elsewhere does not necessarily carry over into this field, and indeed, the lack of progress in the field of housing may well nullify progress in others -- most specifically in the field of education.

Attempts have been made by staff members to carry over some of the experience gained in the Job Opportunities Program into the area of housing, but several differences exist that immediately make this difficult.

People in Job Opportunities can use the argument, "It's good business to utilize minority manpower." Housing cannot use this argument. In Job Opportunities it is relatively easy to identify the policy maker or "gate-keeper" who will make the decision on whether minorities will be included or excluded. In housing it is much easier to "pass the buck" from builder to broker to financier to neighborhood associations -- even to government. In the employment field the employer has a measure of control over his establishment and is in a position to enforce his policies, whereas no such sanction or authority exists in the field of housing. Said a Housing staff member:

"Housing cannot use the seven or eight tricks of Job Opportunities. What to them is available labor market is to us segregated housing."

These are some of the action efforts in the housing field. In Chicago, staff members have tried to provide demonstrations of integrated living and have had numerous meetings with community groups and with top-level persons in the housing industry. The reports from that area recount considerable resistance, but some potential success in helping to develop two large-scale demonstration integrated housing projects. The Philadelphia program has involved some interviews with persons in the housing industry, working closely with a significant new integrated housing development of 140 units, working in several outlying areas where a rigid pattern of suburban segregation exists, and, particularly, working with numerous community groups in "changing neighborhoods," counseling neighborhood organizations, approaching real estate dealers, gathering information and preparing materials. Another program exists in a Far West community that has experienced a sharp influx of Negroes during World War II. The program's emphasis has been on interesting citizens and businessmen's groups and government agencies within the city to assume responsibility for solving the problems of housing relocation, and trying to find ways in which Negroes and whites can live together rather than forcing Negroes out of the community entirely. Another Far West program, working in cooperation with a strong union group in an area where a large auto plant is relocating, promises to be one of the few real demonstrations of successful integrated new housing developments.

3. Severe ethical dilemmas of housing integration. Integrated housing efforts encounter the familiar problems of persons who equate Negroes with slums, persons who have fears about property values, persons who have equally strong fears about living in an area where Negroes are a numerical majority. Therefore attempts to provide successful integrated housing demonstrations involve almost agonizing dilemmas that sometimes look like discrimination itself. In one Far West community, most housing efforts were devoted toward keeping a housing project integrated and not all-Negro, fighting to keep more Negro housing from going up in an all-Negro area, and trying to find white persons for open-occupancy homes.

This is in the face of a "buyers' market" among whites and a tremendous need of Negroes to find homes. Efforts of integrated housing planners to stall off Negro buyers and solicit white buyers look almost bizarre. They find that even the strongest white liberals seem troubled at the prospect of being less than 50% of a housing development; they therefore may be heard making such statements as "Our problem is how to discourage Negro buyers." Minorities, like majorities, are intrigued and stimulated by the clever and attractive advertising of new homes, and because of their great need for housing, are often stung, angered and anguished when they find these homes not available to them. Particularly when they encounter discouragement in housing developments that are advertised as "open occupancy" they are sorely bewildered and disillusioned. But to date, no formula has been devised that will guarantee a large market of white families desirous of living in integrated housing developments.

In addition the housing area is also rife with issues and controversies which cause great discussion and dissension. These are examples:

- a) Is it ethical, moral or just to indulge in housing re-sale to minorities, that is, being a "dummy" or a "straw" buyer in order to introduce Negroes into a housing development?
- b) Should maximal organizational activity be devoted to obtaining more and better housing for minorities, or should there be a steadfast campaign for integrated housing?
- c) Who is the "villain" in the opposition to integrated housing -- the builder, the real estate broker, the banker or financier, or the neighborhood itself?
- d) Should pressure be put on legislative bodies to allow no public housing to be built without an anti-discrimination clause?
- e) If integration is desired, should a policy of "open occupancy" be followed, or should there be some kind of control on occupancy, or a quota system?

AFSC, like most organizations, is troubled about these housing dilemmas. They generally resolve into a question of short-run versus long-run goals. In any event, the general assumption seems to be that many evils of segregation stem from ghetto housing, that therefore integrated housing must be achieved, that a conflict of principles has to be resolved in order to accomplish this objective, that more and more successful demonstrations of integrated housing are needed, regardless of the way they are achieved.

4. Some positive forces. Our community surveys convince us that the handful of groups working for integrated housing may get some support from such existing forces as these: Individual attempts at resale or "block-busting"; governmental conferences indicating interest in problems of minority housing; willingness of scattered builders to experiment with integrated housing; successful integration in public housing in some Northern cities; policies of City Planning Commissions, some of which are staffed by alert and liberal minded personnel; legal actions brought by NAACP and other groups; and the possibility that there may be a change of heart in the housing industry.

All of these forces, when viewed from the standpoint of the local community, have an almost imperceptible effect. However it is certain that any group taking any positive stand in regard to integrated housing is making a valuable contribution to intergroup relations. The AFSC's experience in this area is too brief to have assimilated sufficient useful knowledge to pass on; nevertheless, we hypothesize that the integrity and good will of any organization is put to its strongest test when asked to respond to the need for working toward more integrated housing in American communities.

D. The Indian Program

1. John Woolman's initial concern.

Love was the first motion, and thence a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if happily I might receive some instruction from them, or they might be in any degree helped forward by my following the leading of truth among them. ...

John Woolman wrote these words in his diary in 1763. His actual productive activity among Indians and the earlier experiences of William Penn and other first Quaker settlers with American Indians exist as background for the continued interest that Friends have shown toward Indians in American life. Here, perhaps more than in any other program, Friends have consistently adhered to their original formula -- seeing that of God in every man, working in areas where they have an established tradition, seeking to determine the needs of an oppressed group, and seeking particularly to find out whether things can be learned from this group's experiences.

This spirit exists even if Friends are vague on the current problems of Indians. Said a staff member:

"They know that something awful happened to Indians in the past and something should be done about it right now, but they're not sure just what it was, or what it is that they should do."

Nevertheless, the urgent problems of Indians today have caused Friends in general and the American Friends Service Committee in particular to try to understand their needs more fully.

2. The present position of Indians. The historical position of American Indians since the advent of Columbus is one almost appalling to behold. It is a story of extermination, of treaty violations, of forced marches, of wavering governmental policies, of attitude on the part of what President Roosevelt once called "my fellow immigrants" ranging from complete indifference to complete contempt. This history has been excellently chronicled in such documents as John Collier's Indians of the Americas and D'Arcy McNickle's They Came Here First. We will not recapitulate that history here. We merely conclude that any description of the numerous violations of treaties with Indians, the elaborate fluctuations of governmental policy, and the continued tendency to put Indians on the most barren land suggest that the history of the American Indian might most aptly be titled, "Stung Again."

The policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs have been at varying times directed toward extermination, cultural pluralism, complete assimilation, or withdrawal of reservation land from the Indians. In reference to reservations and to the policies of state and federal governments, sociologist Arnold Rose has written:

The Indian problem consists not only of these material discriminations, but also of a moral dilemma. The reservations do provide a bare subsistence that Indians are often reluctant to let go of, even though they realize there is no future on the reservation. ... If the federal government should release the reservations, the state governments would probably assume control over them. The history of relations between the reservations and the state governments is even unhappier than the history of the reservations with the federal government. There is a good deal of local prejudice against Indians, which frequently becomes expressed in violent form, that would be unchecked if the federal government no longer retained control of the reservations.

Today, perhaps the biggest issue in Indian affairs is the problem of what the government has termed "withdrawal" or "termination" and what the Indian has scornfully termed "extermination" policies. The John Collier administration of the Indian Bureau, starting in the 1930's, was a reaction against other more callous administrations. It therefore sought to rediscover the culture of the Indians and to glorify it, or, as some have suggested, to create a "cultural museum." The policy of subsequent administrations has been to encourage Indians to move rapidly toward the cities and to abandon their reservation land. Naturally, the results of this within the Indian community have been great confusion. As some Indian respondents said:

"The government goes to extremes -- they try to make a white man out of the Indian overnight. I saw it happen. The Indian now has that bitterness that no white man knows about."

"Now they want to turn around and make us Indians again. Collier went to the other extreme. This left the people confused."

"We were whipped to be like the white man. Now they want us to go back. They are making a side show out of the Indian. He wants equality -- to go where he chooses. And some are sentimentalists -- they go to the other extreme -- 'They don't lie or steal.' We are people -- why don't they treat us like people?"

The confusion shown by Indians toward conflicting governmental policies, and the problem of having to live in two cultures, is only part of the story. Objectively, the health and education and income problems of Indians are severe. For example, federal statistics show that the Indian infant death rate is roughly three times that of the white; the average Indian lives in 1.8 rooms per family compared to a national average of 4.7 rooms per family; on seven reservations studied it was found that more than 50% of the Indians made under \$500 a year.

But in addition to these tremendous Indian problems, we might mention these more immediately observable ones: juvenile delinquency, poverty, lack of places to go, and alcoholism.

We might elaborate on these last two areas. In the Southwest, until recently it was against the law to sell alcohol to Indians. The inevitable consequence of this is (a) bootlegging, and (b) drinking habits that are bound to make a person drunk rapidly. That is, if Indians come by a bottle of liquor, they must drink it all hastily and then throw the bottle away. That would make anyone drunk. In addition, they have no place in which to sit down and drink with leisure, but must stand on street corners or in front of the bus station.

We might make a generalization here: In nearly every interview with or about Indians, the subject of alcohol came up in one way or another. Most respondents were enlightened enough so that they did not claim that Indians drank more than other Americans, most had no belief that there was a greater physiological susceptibility of Indians to alcohol, most felt that alcohol problems stemmed (a) from Indian frustrations and disappointments, and (b) from the discriminatory forbidding of the sale of alcohol to Indians, and its inevitable consequence. However, though we know of no evidence that the incidence of drinking is higher among Indians than others, alcoholism nevertheless seems to be an immediately noticeable problem.

3. The tremendous vacuum in Indian areas. What resources exist to meet these pressing needs among Indians? We were struck by the fact that there is a tremendous vacuum in all Indian areas where AFSC has recently started working. Although the people in the Eastern United States romanticize Indians and can have their interest and sympathies rapidly evoked, the people in territories surrounding the Indians of the Southwest either ignore them or consider them dirty, lazy and drunkards. Civic and welfare groups usually view them as curiosities. Churches fight for their attendance and membership with such a violent competitiveness that the Indians are either baffled, disgusted or manipulative. Tribal lawyers inform themselves well of the Indian's legal status and roar with indignation at their mistreatment -- at fat retainer fees that keep tribal treasuries well nigh empty. The romanticists and lovers of Indian arts and crafts often ignore the plight of the present day Indian and proceed to pursue a romantic illusion that it is of little help to the Indian unless he exploits that also. And the two sources where most help might be expected -- the Indian Service Bureau and the various missionary groups -- were criticized by Indians more sharply than any other community segment.

Thus, most Indian respondents interviewed expressed reservations and suspicions about the Indian Bureau, missionaries, anthropologists, the surrounding white community, and even other Indian groups. Yet, on the other hand, they expressed a frequent and wistful desire for someone interested in their problems -- someone who would not be taken away just when things began to go well. This is where AFSC enters.

4. AFSC work with Indians. Historical sketches show that Friends have been concerned about Indian education and meeting immediate food and clothing needs for hundreds of years. However, the forerunner of the present AFSC Indian program got under way in the late 1940's when people suddenly discovered the plight of the starving Navahos. This group, the largest Indian tribe in the country, had been reduced to almost complete destitution and needed food and clothing. Friends on the West Coast collected clothes and distributed them among the Navaho in an operation that was described by some as charitable and by others as a great fiasco. The clothing they distributed was described as one-third usable, one-third repairable, and one-third absolutely useless. Nevertheless Friends learned rapidly and

since that time Indian programs have developed rapidly in the Southwest, administered by the West Coast Regional Offices.

Three AFSC Indian programs have just been terminated. They include an impressive community organization job among the Sioux in South Dakota, a sponsorship of an elaborate and beautiful Indian Center in Los Angeles, which has now been turned over to the Indians to manage, and a program that attempted to work with the Hopi and Navaho in Arizona, but failed, partly because AFSC was "unable to find the key to successful work" with these splintered and scattered groups.

Four other programs are still in existence. On the Papago reservation an AFSC-sponsored family has lived in the middle of the reservation and has been instrumental in sponsoring recreational programs, a self-help committee, a credit union, a newsletter, and in working with others to reobtain the mineral rights of the Papagos which they had lost some time ago, though the Papagos themselves took the lead. A Papago now directs this program. Another AFSC-sponsored couple near Phoenix has worked with the Maricopa and San Carlos Apache Indians. Among the Maricopas they have developed a productive cooperative association which has done a great deal to help the Maricopas help themselves, particularly with cotton crops. The third program has recently been started in another area of South Dakota. A fourth is working with numerous small and scattered Indian tribes in Northern California.

There has been some confusion among less informed Friends about what should be done in relation to Indians. Some insist on helping the Indians retain their culture, despite the fact that many of the cultures are largely deteriorated; some feel that termination of the Indian Service Bureau is inevitable and that the Indians should be assimilated into cities as rapidly as possible; some are quite vague about the differences between the problems of one Indian group and another. But in most cases, the AFSC personnel working with Indians have an increasing sophistication about Indian problems, particularly because they have emphasized the Woolman tradition of finding out what the Indians' needs were and seeing what could be learned from them. Recently a national coordinator has been hired for the Indian Program -- a person to work with each of the reservation programs and also to work with the national Indian agencies.

In summing up the activities of Indian staff members, the Community Relations Committee memorandum of January, 1955 makes this statement:

Their reports and the knowledge and insights gained over the years' work led them to imaginative recommendations for the coming year, including substantial work on seeking a positive sense of direction in Indian affairs which, when formulated, could serve as an advice to concerned Indian people, government, and the general public.

Thus, the work of AFSC with Indians has been devoted largely to exploring new possible alternatives. As one Philadelphia Community Relations Committee member suggested:

"I don't blame Indians for being disturbed. I get very much disturbed myself. Can't you take them to cities, take them into homes, and into factories, let them see what things would be like for them and their children, and let them decide? Don't rush them, Let them think about it."

The sentiment of the National Secretary of the Community Relations Program is that, in general, Indians should be informed of all the possible alternative actions (e.g., continuing as they are, developing their reservation, moving to cities), shown the possible consequences, advantages, and disadvantages to these alternatives, and then allowed to choose the action that suits them best. This, if adequately done, will be a far cry from the vacillating practices of the Indian Bureau, the prejudicial blindness of the communities surrounding Indian reservations, and the disinterest in Indians' own needs and desires shown by most people who have been associated with them.

5. Difference in approach from work with Negroes. Is the AFSC's approach to Indians similar to its approach to Negroes and other minorities' problems? There are some differences. Following John Woolman's approach, Friends place great emphasis on "what we can learn from them," as well as what can be contributed, and what things are held in common with Indians. Also, there is a much greater emphasis on finding out what the minority group itself wants, in comparison to AFSC work with Negroes. There is also currently "grass roots" work among Indians whereas the other AFSC programs are oriented more toward "going to the top."

On the other hand, there is less inclusion of Indians than Negroes at the staff level, possibly because less are immediately qualified. There has been more emphasis in the past on material aids to Indians because there were immediate problems of people who were starving or in need of clothing. Also, the cultural differences between Indians and whites means that Friends and AFSC staff members are motivated to collect Indian art, baskets, dolls, and so forth and to take pictures of these interesting people, whereas they have probably not felt the need to collect Negro "artifacts," if such exist.

However, in working with Negroes and with Indians, there are some things that are similar. In each case, Friends' belief in that of God in every man motivates them to place emphasis on individual dignity; in each case, the minority group member is encouraged to express his views, aspirations and perplexities; in each case, staff members seemingly derive great satisfaction from getting to know an entirely different category of people from their usual acquaintances. In some cases, this emphasis on seeing the common problems of Negroes and Indians has led to a good deal of confusion and an assumption that the two groups have identical problems and objectives. This very important source of contention and disturbance will be discussed more completely in the section on the Indian minority community.

E. Desegregation and Other Community Counseling

In the last four years the AFSC has initiated in the nation's capital a short range program seeking to provide non-discrimination in public accommodations, and two longer range programs working on problems of desegregation of schools and recreational facilities in the District of Columbia. The procedures used in these two latter programs were quiet consultation with people in policy positions, working with the community, and sponsoring a Coordinating Committee which brought together representatives of all the private agencies in the District concerned with integration, and playing, in the words of staff members, "A significant role in creating a favorable climate of opinion in the District for the Supreme Court's decision of May 17."

1. School desegregation work. We mention this program in particular partly because it is still continuing and partly because its influence is being felt throughout the Southeast. In addition to the previously mentioned activities, the school desegregation program sponsored some half-dozen seminars for white and Negro school teachers which in total had 182 participants. The seminars were chaired by persons experienced in either educational work or problems of desegregation and integration, and stressed the "how to" of integration. According to the AFSC statement on this program:

Among the values of the seminars were: providing the opportunity for Negro and white teachers to meet together -- a rare opportunity in Washington up to this time; helping teachers gain a sense of security about expected integration through information and clarification of fears vaguely felt; giving teachers the opportunity of taking a positive step by attending the seminars.

Out of this experience in school desegregation emerged the pamphlet on the integration of Washington schools which listed and answered major questions that staff members' experience showed to be existent in the minds of persons connected with schools. Eight thousand copies of this pamphlet had been distributed by the end of the school year. Recently another pamphlet has been issued, on a similar subject.

An interesting facet of this program has been its steady attempt to work both with policy makers throughout the Washington community and with rank and file community groups. It is, thus, perhaps, an ideal example of the simultaneous top and grass roots action that AFSC considers desirable.

2. Desegregation issues and emerging problems. In most Southern communities today, the subject of public school desegregation is occupying the minds of numerous community members. Based on the previous controversies engendered in desegregation processes in other communities, we predict and envision several issues that will be thoroughly discussed, and several emerging problems that must be handled in this area. Some are as follows:

- a) Is it more effective to desegregate a public school system immediately, or to use one of the several types of gradual school desegregation?
- b) How much advance preparation before desegregation is necessary? What is the most effective type of advance preparation? Should it be done with school administrators only, with community leaders, or with all interested community groups?
- c) Should majority and minority group children be allowed a choice of schools to attend, or should school boundary lines be observed and children required to attend the schools nearest their homes?
- d) Are minority group children likely to slow the effectiveness of public school education by their slower development in segregated schools; or can school standards be maintained and even improved under desegregation?

Numerous other issues could be cited. It is noticed in some communities that desegregation gives rise to new issues that are almost inevitable in a period of change. Some of these are: How to handle problems of interracial dating and dancing; how to draw boundary lines honestly without gerrymandering; how to handle the problem of Negro teachers and principals displaced or fired by the desegregation process; how to handle the fact that desegregation is almost always a one-way process -- with white students almost never going to schools formerly all-Negro; how to readjust the aspiration levels and competition attitudes of minority group children put in a new and integrated setting; how to integrate PTA's and mothers' clubs to bring the total community to a closer acceptance of the problems of desegregation. We mention these subjects, not as staggering problems, but merely as issues to be considered in the newly integrated setting. We notice that competent school administrators, boards of education, principals, teachers and parents' groups have largely solved these problems as they arise in newly desegregated settings.

As previously stated, we also note that despite great resistance in Southern areas, school desegregation is occurring effectively in many areas of American life -- in schools on Army posts, in all Army schools, in parochial schools in such states as Texas, Tennessee and North Carolina, in some other Southern private schools, in public schools in an arc ringing the South, in border South schools, in over one hundred Southern institutions of higher learning, and in some Southern counties with sparse Negro populations. It is in these areas that the experience of AFSC and other groups in Washington and other communities is being applied in order to make desegregation effective.

The current status of public school desegregation in the South documents one salient fact: As far as race relations are concerned, there is no longer a "solid South." Immediately after the Supreme Court ruling of May 17, 1954, the Southern states split into three different modes of thought that might be termed "oppose and resist," "wait and see," and "move ahead." George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council divides them into "can do," "problem," and "tough." As of this writing, most of the "move ahead" states have actually moved; the "wait and see" states are either moving, or are announcing future plans to desegregate, or are at least holding conferences on next steps; and the "oppose and resist" states are producing a series of delaying tactics, most of which are as ridiculous as they are illegal.

A summary comment on desegregation advanced by AFSC staff members and others is this: "Desegregation may be viewed as a time for stock-taking." In other words, desegregation of schools can be presented in positive terms -- as an opportunity for school administrators and teachers to inventory their philosophy of education, a chance for parents to consider their relationship to the school system and to community organizations, a chance for children to get the best possible education. AFSC has sought to emphasize these positive aspects of desegregation and the benefits accruing from it, prompting George Mitchell to say, in reference to their program: "We need in every community to have a program like the one that little Quaker gal has in Washington."

Different American communities are in varying stages of development in relation to desegregation, and each needs counseling from the community that has previously had such an experience. Therefore there is merit in considering how experience of AFSC and other community groups can be disseminated throughout the South to make desegregation a successful experience with a minimum of tension and violence. The wide dissemination of AFSC's publications on desegregation and the

proposed placing of the Washington, D.C. staff member on the Southern Regional Council staff to counsel Southern areas, indicates that the knowledge derived from this program is being disseminated far beyond its original boundaries. Thus this program will doubtless make its influence felt in many areas besides the nation's capital.

3. Other community counseling. The other Community Relations activities involving counseling throughout the community are:

- a) Work with Latin-Americans in Texas in an effort to help them with citizenship, language, leadership development and building a sound understanding;
- b) A program originally centering around the problems of dispossession of minorities in rapid housing on the West Coast -- this program has shifted to an area a few miles south where a large industrial plant is relocating and where a staff member is trying to provide demonstrations of integrated community housing;
- c) Work in a depressed, unincorporated all-Negro community that mushroomed during World War II and later found its Negro residents reluctant to return to Southern areas from which most came. The program was terminated as of October 1, 1955.

This last program is of particular interest. The area is bordered by railroads, a hog farm, a city dump, swampland, and vacant fields. The 4,000 Negroes who moved to this area were unable to get bank loans for housing or materials during World War II; they therefore built homes from scrap from the dump, from shipyards, from demolished buildings, and from planks that came floating by after the area flooded. Since that time, residents have continued to develop their homesteads and in some cases have erected some of the most beautiful homes the writer has seen on his Western trip. Others continue to live in dilapidated shacks.

In terms of community organization, some parts of the community show a lively spirit, wide community activity, productive NAACP work, and a desire to be included in the affairs of the larger community. Another segment of the community has been somewhat disorganized, and due to the lack of interest by police forces has allowed gambling, narcotic traffic and other illegal activities to enter the community. A suggestion of these problems of disorganization is found in the signs on the walls of some of the Negro cafes. Here are samples:

"No PROFANITY allowed here"

"No liquor drinking allowed here"

"Ladies: PLEASE no soliciting allowed here"

"THIS AREA IS OUT OF BOUNDS AND OFF LIMITS TO MILITARY PERSONNEL"

In some parts of this all-Negro community, morale is fairly low and residents feel that they are not doing much to help themselves. One Negro minister said ruefully, "When my bishop sent me here, I thought he was mad at me." But other respondents in this and surrounding communities have praised the high morale of the residents, their efforts to build up their land in the face of general community opposition, their determination to make a meaningful living in this area rather

than returning to their original homes, and their resolve that the community has a definite future and that the opposition from the surrounding white community will not deter their building a significant community life.

Controversy exists within AFSC as to whether community residents should be helped to help themselves by developing this area, or whether the area is so blighted and undesirable that residents should be encouraged to leave and establish themselves nearby, wherever possible. Within the framework of this former approach, an AFSC staff member has been active in promoting a Neighborhood House for community members to gather in, some channels of communication for community members to speak their needs to "the people downtown," and such specialized services as a children's library, a well-baby clinic, a work shop utilizing power tools furnished by the nearby city, a summer day camp, a Boy Scout troop, and a place for numerous community groups to meet.

The term "community counseling" is therefore revealed to mean any number of things, depending upon the specific locale and problems of the minority group. We suspect that AFSC initiated these community counseling programs because of the initial severe problems of communication that existed between stable community residents and the peripheral and unsettled minority community. The opportunity to move between these two groups and interpret each to the other is part of the background of AFSC community counseling work. Its future is uncertain, since it is more likely to arise to meet an immediate sharp demand than are some of the other programs existing in cities that already have some intergroup facilities.

F. Staff Backgrounds and Motivations

1. Professional backgrounds of staff members. The Community Relations staff, as presently constituted, comes from several different areas. Persons in the Job Opportunities Program were once required or expected to have a business background, otherwise there is no immediate generalization to be made about the type of background and type of present activity. A brief census of the persons involved in this program in the past three years shows that their backgrounds are as follows: Business community background - 9; social work background - 8; sociology background, with at least an M.A. degree - 6; journalism - 4; intergroup relations practitioner - 4; and labor - 2.

More specifically, although we have little detail on this, the business community people have been Personnel Managers, salesmen, bank employees, and owners of their own private businesses; the social work people have had largely either an Urban League background or a social agency experience; the sociology majors either came to the job directly from school, had a brief agency experience, or have taught. The experience of the others might be termed quite miscellaneous.

2. Things applied from previous jobs. A few staff members are able to specify a general philosophy or a specific technique applied on this job, which they have drawn from previous experience. For example, one staff member with a background as a salesman says that he uses methods derived from years in the business world -- a rapid fire approach, anticipating and answering all questions, avoiding answers to ticklish questions, persuading minorities to start at the bottom, avoiding the subject of peace, putting nothing into writing, and "selling the idea instead of the product."

Another staff member with a background in social work and sociology was able to enumerate precisely the social work principles that were similar if not identical with AFSC principles. They are listed thusly: (a) The acceptance of the individual as he is and the acceptance of the community where it is; (b) accepting the validity of the individual's different point of view in terms of his own frame of reference; (c) recognizing the necessity of combined professional and lay participation in the community, to include people from all types of groups; (d) inspiring confidence by complete honesty, yet having a sense of discretion; (e) respect for confidentiality and refusal to testify on confidential information.

Still another person with a background of community action and teaching of sociology indicated how it had trained her for present work involving school systems. She said:

"My volunteer social action experience has been extremely important. The group I worked with had worked on school systems. I had interviewed Board members -- I had a feel for it. I taught educational sociology, and a lot of it was related to the place of the school in the community, so I had the lingo. I always had politically-minded friends, and this is close to political action. The liberal always states his case in advance of his times."

We can make few more generalizations here. In general, the staff member draws upon such aspects of his background as are appropriate, blends them in with an intensive and sometimes arduous orientation session, relies on his advisory committee to orient him more firmly to what is currently expected, watches the work of other staff members in this program through memoranda or possibly through visits, and then is pretty much on his own.

3. Religious and other types of motivation. In the Community Relations Program, there are probably less people with an avowed and articulated religious motivation than in any other program in the American Friends Service Committee. At no recent time has more than 10% of the Community Relations staff been members of the Religious Society of Friends. It should be noted in general that AFSC draws on personnel with a wide variety of religious motivation -- Catholic, Jewish, Unitarian, Buddhist, and members of Father Divine's group. The Community Relations Program is no exception.

The relationship of articulate religious motivation to actually "Christlike" behavior is interesting to watch in Community Relations. One sees several examples of that which goes under the name of love and Christ, but actually is not effective or even sincere; one also sees individuals who either dismiss or decry religious motivation, but strongly show it in their behavior. Whereas AFSC policy makers, Regional Secretaries, and Committee members almost invariably bring the religious motif into their discussions of this work, expressions of Community Relations staff members run the total gamut from "God sent me here" to "God sorta goes His way and I go mine." Discussions at annual round-ups that attempt to specify the organization's unique religious motivation are held haltingly and with some evidences of garrulousness and other evidences of shyness or of definitely not wishing to discuss the subject at all. Reasons for being in this work are also tremendously varied. One Quaker staff member said: "A sense of something wrong in our society made me want to work with AFSC"; a Japanese-American staff member added: "The possibility of working in the cause of minorities appealed to me"; and a Negro staff member added:

"I have wanted to do this kind of work ever since I was able to notice relationships between people. I have always been conscious of opportunities, especially for Negroes, frankly because I am Negro. Having seen so many lacks of opportunity and having encountered personal rebuff, I wished that I could help the situation ... If I didn't have to eat and pay taxes, I would be glad to do this job for free."

At the 1954 annual staff meeting the Director urged that though staff members were not steeped in Service Committee philosophy, they should indicate the kinds of things they did believe in that brought them to the organization. The statements made in answer, as the conversation circled the room, were among the most impressive as well as varied that this observer has noted. Samples:

"In business I felt that I was advancing, but that there was something missing. I heard of the Service Committee and knew that was it. I felt that God was involved in the ordinary affairs of the world. God is involved with freedom. My responsibility to God meant I had to do this."

"In contrast, I had no strong conviction that I had to work with the Service Committee. If I understand 'religious,' I don't feel I am religiously motivated. I feel I am here because of a concern for social justice and the rights of the individual. Something in me says that I must work in this area. 'Bearing witness to truth' is not primarily meaningful to me. I am concerned with changing what is unjust."

"I didn't come through a sense of justice. I came in the back door and I'm not sure I'm in yet."

"My life is steeped in 'God is love.' I can remember reciting 'Don't you know that God is love' as a child. It had no meaning to me. But as a child I always pictured myself as a great lawyer, pleading the cause of my people."

"I had a Quaker mother, but I was a Southerner. ... After December 7, 1941 I began to read Quaker literature, and to accept Negroes intellectually, though not emotionally, till I bunked next to a Negro -- he was patient. I learned. I came around completely; like most converted Southerners, I came all the way around. I got on fire about this, and I've been on fire ever since."

"In relation to my own conviction about the power of love, I came from a background that was anything but religious. I would just not have used such words. It wasn't that my religion had nothing to offer; it was just that the verbal instructions given me meant nothing. It took the phrase, 'God is love,' to make me able to use the word 'God.' I do not have a sense of personal direction; I do have a sense of values. Perhaps this is religious motivation, perhaps it is not."

The ensuing silence after this last statement was the longest that the observer has ever noted in this group -- short of an out and out silent Meeting for Worship.

These statements about the varied backgrounds of staff members and the varied

types of motivation they possess indicate that there are several peripheral opinions among staff members in regard to work with AFSC. The solid core of what is either a strongly held belief or else a habit of repeating Quaker phrases endlessly such as is found in some other echelons of AFSC, is not noticeable here. In brief summary, the main things that staff members share when discussing religious motivation are: (a) A dislike of the status quo in intergroup relations; (b) a partial adherence to and admiration of the beliefs of the Religious Society of Friends; and (c) a belief that AFSC is the best organization through which to express their aspirations and protests.

G. Staff Issues, Controversies and Consensus

The history of such a soul-searching group as the Religious Society of Friends must inevitably be studded with numerous internal conflicts, dilemmas and unresolved issues. Countless dilemmas are noted throughout Friends' history; such things as William Penn's quandary about wearing a sword, John Woolman looking embarrassingly conspicuous in his undyed hat but refusing to dye it because of the way hat-dyers were treated, John Greenleaf Whittier's abhorring both slavery and warfare but realizing that perhaps warfare was the only way of ending slavery.

These conflicts and dilemmas are inevitably reflected in the minds of the Community Relations staff members. One of the first tasks performed by this evaluator was the effort to extract from discussions at annual meetings the most salient issues and controversies existing within the group. These exist for many reasons: Some staff members have a "religious motivation" and some have not; some are more concerned with doing what AFSC originally set out to do and others are concerned with being effective by intergroup relations standards; some look to the Society of Friends as their "reference group" and others look to the more significant and successful practitioners in intergroup relations.

Nevertheless, here as in any intergroup organization, are found numerous points of dissension and conflict. It is perhaps a tribute to the character of this group that when the most divisive and affectively laden controversies were extracted from previous discussions by the evaluator and fed back to the group for more discussion, they did not affect the group's basic solidarity for more than a few ruffled minutes -- with few exceptions. The following are some of the more frequently discussed controversies.

1. Staff versus parent body -- "expressing witness" versus getting results. Community Relations staff members take issue with other Friends and AFSC policy makers for many reasons -- they work more closely with minorities, sympathize with them and want to see progress as well as witness; they are affected by intergroup relations reference groups and are as likely to be familiar with Kenneth Clark's Desegregation as with John Woolman's Journal; they know the reality of American intergroup relations and are more up to date on its "Forward look."

An example of sharp internal controversy might be drawn from a discussion at an annual staff meeting held at Haverford College. We might call it the "Haverford hassle." At this meeting, an AFSC policy maker sought to bring Community Relations staff members up to date on some current AFSC beliefs. He cited a "minute" that had recently been drafted by Regional Secretaries, meeting in Pasadena, California and thenceforth known as the "Pasadena Minute." In reference to this minute the

policy maker's statement might be summed up thusly:

"It insists that the means be appropriate to the ends sought. The ends are not really as important as the means. Too much attention is given to tabulating the specific results; even the Service Committee sometimes falls into this. If we say it is better to express our witness than to get results, we mean that the means are all-important.

"That of God' means you really change people's minds only through convincing them in a way that they become self-motivators and self-starters. This is our philosophy of change. We don't say legislation is unimportant, but it is secondary.

"The Service Committee does not go in for direct action -- that is the most difficult method to apply satisfactorily. Friends take the middle course of persuasion. The Pasadena Minute says that in seeking insight into others, we need to be more sensitive to that of God than to achieving results. If you concentrate on gaining results, you may fall into pitfalls of expediency."

This attempt to remind staff members of some AFSC beliefs was met with surprise, bewilderment, and occasional outright anger. Only a few agreed with the speaker. Said one:

"We should interpret philosophy in terms of moral rather than practical considerations. I differ with those who talk about the number of minority applicants placed. We need a great conviction that people who support our program understand that the goal is not practical gain, but exposure to a quiet concern."

The majority of staff members bombarded the speaker with questions such as these: Are we opposed to other means like the NAACP? Should we decide that if a certain man doesn't move, we'll pitch the ball over to the NAACP, or should we pursue only the voluntary approach? Suppose you have a case where you know you won't get results -- do you continue or change your approach? How many of us can get so much enjoyment out of the power of love that we can continue doing this? If we tell employers they are violating moral practices and they continue to violate them, then aren't we a free agent? One policy maker finally concluded the discussion by remarking:

"You just can't avoid pressure of some sort. Approaching a person with the power of God is pressure enough in itself."

This comment illuminates an impression derived by the writer that despite Friends' insistence on non-pressuring, the invoking of that of God in a person and the stimulation of his conscience may be one of the strongest forms of pressure possible to use.

A representative statement by one Job Opportunities staff member who was more oriented toward getting results than toward merely expressing his beliefs, was as follows:

"I was not satisfied at Haverford to hear that as long as I was expressing my measure of truth, I am doing my job. I am not interested in seeing these things happen in the millennium -- I hope to see it as I

work on it. To me the job is the pay-off. I irritate employers sometimes, but I get the job done."

Some of the Community Relations Committee members shared this sentiment. As one said, somewhat sternly:

"I think we need to do away with the notion that exists here and there that there is something obscene about getting results."

2. Staff attitudes versus Committee attitudes. In the writer's opinion, one of the most useful functions of an evaluation is the pointing up of difference in perspective between various levels of a program. This may involve perspectives of boards of directors, advisors, parent or national bodies, executives, staff members, secretaries, volunteer workers, or any segment of the community affected by the program.

Specifically in this study, particular attention was given to this question: Does the staff share the beliefs of the Community Relations Committee in relation to such things as most desirable goals, most effective methods, position on crucial intergroup issues, extent of militancy and perception of the effectiveness of other organizations? In other words, does the staff "forge ahead" or "lag behind" the advisory committee which is presumably the policy making body?

In this evaluation the attempt was made to get quantitative data on staff-Committee differences in regard to some intergroup relations techniques and issues. The number of cases was relatively small and the coverage was not 100%, so the results of the questionnaire survey are not reported here, though they are available for subsequent discussion.

We might mention briefly some of the more significant differences in opinion between staff and Committee. In regard to specific intergroup techniques, staff was more likely to regard as effective such techniques as creating citizens' study groups, direct legal action, and picketing. The Committee preferred methods like negotiation behind the scenes, creating educational courses, and bringing in outside experts. On the other hand, staff was far more likely than Committee to believe that negative effects might be produced by persuading minorities to let time solve the problem, negotiating behind the scenes, and picketing.

In regard to intergroup issues, 33% of Committee members and 62% of the staff believed that it is more effective to change attitudes rather than patterns; 22% of the Committee and 78% of the staff believed that any type of intergroup contact would decrease prejudice -- not equal status contact only. In regard to specific Job Opportunities issues, 82% of Committee and 57% of staff believed that minority applicants should be exceptionally well-qualified rather than just average; 33% of Committee members and 57% of staff members believed that the number of employers contacted is more important than the number of applicants placed. These results give no definitely consistent pattern, but might be amplified by full 100% surveys.

3. Intra-staff issues -- changing attitudes versus changing practices. This is probably the most frequently noted issue in intergroup relations circles. Among members of the Society of Friends, emphasis would probably be placed on the former alternative; among social scientists and intergroup practitioners, emphasis is increasingly being placed upon the latter alternative. The Community Relations

staff reflects the impact of both of these assumptions by raising this issue in annual meeting after annual meeting. On the first day of the evaluator's first contact with this group, the program Director tried to get staff members to articulate their philosophy and objectives -- what they were trying to do. Immediately, the controversy began with one staff member saying, "We are trying to change attitudes in the community," and another immediately contradicting that, "I would say we were trying to change patterns rather than attitudes."

From then on, many points of view were given on both sides. Some felt that behavioral changes could be effected only by changing the attitudes of key white persons first: "We are creating a climate of opinion that is acceptable to the idea of non-discrimination"; "There is so little carry-over in patterns. I would rather think in terms of attitudes"; "How sound are we in terms of growth if we don't change attitudes first?"

Others felt that greater progress was made by attempting to change discriminatory practices first: "Some of the race relations examples I have seen in the South convince me that we have evidence that we are changing attitudes by changing patterns"; "When we talk about changing attitudes, we are going into something much too great for us little humans. Attitudes are so tremendously complex"; "We say lay down the policy. Change patterns first and attitudes second."

This controversy rages at every staff meeting. Sometimes staff members indicate that they are not sure of the difference between the two alternatives. One staff member would say: "Well, what is an attitude -- isn't it how people act?" -- to be greeted by a chorus of, "Oh no's." Another staff member would give an example of attitudinal changes, to be greeted with cries of, "You're talking about changing patterns, not attitudes," Usually some staff member would seek to terminate the discussion by pointing out that it is not an either-or proposition, prompting general murmurs of agreement; however, many staff members usually retain their strong private convictions on this subject, and we suspect that it will continue to come up at subsequent staff meetings.

The national program's Secretary continually seeks to help staff members strike a balance between these two alternatives. At the third annual meeting observed by the evaluator, one staff member of Job Opportunities suggested that if an employer integrates for realistic reasons, such as "It's good business," then one hasn't proven anything. The national Secretary responded:

"The heck you haven't -- this comes up year after year and we have agreed that you don't change attitudes or patterns first, but whichever one you do plays upon the other."

Later in personal interview, he added:

"I would take the middle course: (a) see what the situation calls for, and (b) see what you can do most effectively. Whichever you do affects the other. I hate to get into that dog fight. Of course, even in changing patterns at the administrative level, there has to be an attitudinal change in the administrator. These two things are too interwoven to be separated."

4. Other intra-staff issues and controversies. The general issues dividing AFSC policy makers, and also dividing intergroup relations practitioners are almost

invariably reflected in the controversies of the Community Relations staff. Some of the more salient ones are as follows:

a. Loving "gate-keepers" versus loving minorities. We have noted that many staff members fail to strike a 50-50 balance between their identification with the power structure and their identification with the minority community. Though general statements of love are directed at both groups, staff members usually reveal by their statements that they are oriented far more strongly toward one than toward another. Some staff members show almost worshipful respect for those in power that they contact; others are so identified with the plight of minority applicants that they find it difficult to see that of God in employers. At one point, a staff member burst out, in anguished tones, "Sure, I love the employer, but I've got responsibility for thousands of people, and I love them, too."

b. Can one do this work without a "religious motivation"? Some staff members feel that any person in this work must have an articulate religious motivation, must believe in Christ and Christlike principles, and must repeat them frequently. Others have a motivation that they would term more humanitarian and have embarrassment or other reluctance to state the religious basis of their feelings. Each finds it a bit difficult to see the other's point of view. One staff member said, "I just can't see how one could possibly do this kind of work without being religiously motivated."

c. Persuasion and law. Some staff members rely completely on their own traditional approaches, particularly in Job Opportunities, and express reservations about legal action. Samples:

"FEPC and pressure groups -- I can't completely go along. Resentment is brought forth, perhaps too quickly. The persuasive approach has a real place in this, and I don't think it is opposed to FEPC."

"I am very neutral to legislation. I was once very strong for it, but I have learned how they can get around it if they want to."

However, most staff members saw no necessary contradiction between these two approaches, and indicated their belief in FEPC by 100% endorsement of the need for FEPC legislation with enforcement powers. Some Committee members with considerable intergroup relations experience pointed out that most official FEP bodies use methods not dissimilar to those of AFSC, or, as one said:

"Enforcement hardly enters into these FEPC's. They are salesmen -- they are using economic, democratic and moral appeals. They can't get jobs; they can only end discrimination, so they have to win the employer just as we do."

Other issues are frequently raised at these annual staff meetings. Some are: Can AFSC participate in "front" or "dummy" buying for Negroes to get them into new housing areas? How much time should be spent writing up visits, orienting others, or getting oriented? Should minorities encountering discrimination get counseled and referred to the proper enforcement agencies, even if this will result in "klobbering" of the power structure that AFSC has been contacting? Should greater effort be made to involve secretaries in program planning, or is this a futile effort in

which secretaries are just "dead weight"? How much of a staff member's time should be spent in inter-organizational convening, speech making, and other activities outside of the specific job requirements? Such questions as these guarantee that Community Relations staff round-ups are, and will continue to be, lively arenas of discussion and dissension.

5. Consensus. Use of the term "issues" and "controversies" probably implies a greater amount of tension and conflict than actually exists in the Community Relations staff. The evaluator noted that even when he attempted to sharpen these controversies and stir up lively comment, the group was cohesive enough to achieve reconciliation with little trouble. During the "Haverford hassle" staff reactions to the insistence on bearing witness rather than getting results ended in an almost dramatic solidifying of staff sentiments, with many wry jokes, expressions of even indignation, and a skit which joked about such concepts as love and witness. In addition, despite frequent disagreements, we might list a number of points on which staff members achieve consensus. Some are as follows:

- a) We are trying to work ourselves out of a job.
- b) We believe in both educational and "action" methods.
- c) Changing attitudes and changing patterns does not necessarily have to be an "either-or" proposition.
- d) We use morality as a tactic, but we believe in it; otherwise we would not be working in this program.
- e) Although committed to our own methods, we are largely in sympathy with efforts to achieve minority rights through legislating and other enforcement methods.
- f) Each organization has its own job to do, and there's plenty of work for all in intergroup relations.
- g) We need to devise more ways of reaching and understanding the minority community.
- h) We need to know how to evaluate the success and failure of our programs; we want to see some indications of progress.
- i) We are interested in other work of AFSC, and want to hear its leaders explain the broad, overall picture of its operations.
- j) We have our criticisms of the Society of Friends and of AFSC, but in general, we are greatly in accord with its religious philosophy and with the types of things it says and does on the basis of this philosophy.

Before seeking to stir up dissension at annual staff meetings, the writer was assured by his advisory committee that any strong, enduring group with a coherent value system could weather or endure such temporary disruptions and controversies. We feel that this core of consensus exists with sufficient strength that future airing of issues and controversies in this program will be a healthy rather than a disruptive experience.

H. Job Frustrations and Satisfactions

The writer spent the first four months of this evaluative experience in the Philadelphia office, participating with office staff members, reading files, attending Committee meetings, and interviewing AFSC policy makers. The impression derived was that persons in Philadelphia had great interest in the various community programs, but did not have firsthand familiarity with the problems and frustrations of staff members scattered throughout the country. Therefore the writer visited nearly all of the field programs, and sought, among other things, to inventory systematically the day to day difficulties that staff members encountered. It was hoped that national policy makers could thus get a more firsthand view of what staff members are up against. So in the intensive interviews with staff members, questions were always included like: "What's your biggest headache right now -- the things you can't seem to be able to lick?" or, "What are the biggest satisfactions and rewards you get from working in this job?"

(Note that these are but two of several standardized questions that were asked of most staff members. Other questions were also asked systematically, in the hope that different segments of the Community Relations program would be aided in seeing the staff member's viewpoint more clearly. Some are not discussed here, but are available for perusal. They involve such subjects as: How the staff member came into this work, what he perceives himself as trying to do, staff communication problems, experience with various approaches and appeals, attitude toward staff round-ups, and what staff members would like to see stem from this evaluation.)

The following are some of the most frequently mentioned problems and frustrations that staff members encounter:

1. Job specifications -- "proceed as what way opens?" One of the AFSC personnel practices in Community Relations is an attempt to make job specifications loose, flexible, and "open ended." This permits more new and imaginative programs to be devised, and permits the individual staff member to utilize his own talents in the optimum possible way. But on the other hand, it creates great frustration and anxiety in some of the "dedicated amateurs" because of the ambiguity of the job descriptions. For example, one young woman whose previous experience had been almost exclusively in the teaching field, was sent to the nation's capital with the assignment, "Integrate Washington." Another staff member was employed to work in the Indian Program. Untrained for this work, unfamiliar with Indian problems, and thoroughly bewildered, he asked his Friends advisory committee what he was expected to do, and was answered with the famous Quaker phrase: "Proceed as way opens." Because of the ambiguity of this assignment, the staff member did not proceed very far.

This is not too much of a problem in Job Opportunities where procedures are pretty well worked out and a sizable body of knowledge and experience exists. However, in Housing, Indian, and Community Counseling Programs, staff members usually get little specific instruction because (a) there are so few guideposts for action in these areas, and (b) policy makers themselves are so unfamiliar with the area that they have very little guidance to give. A summary comment here is that the ambiguous or vague job description will either "make" or "break" a staff member; it may produce an inventive, new and productive program, or it may be a source of pain, frustration, and an unsatisfactory experience for all concerned. The evaluator might add that this study is sufficiently influenced by AFSC ideology that he has felt little specific direction beyond "Proceed as way opens."

2. How to measure effectiveness. Here again the evaluator shares the experience of Community Relations staff members in encountering great difficulty when trying to assess actual success of job performance. As we have noted, AFSC, because of its beliefs and its desire to protect the staff member from unnecessary anxiety about his performance, has often insisted that results be de-emphasized in favor of "witness." But the staff member, affected mainly by the intergroup relations community and the deprived minority community, frequently becomes impatient with this and wants to see something happen. Sample comments:

(Job Opportunities staff member) "AFSC is the slowest organization I was ever connected with. They want to see results, and they can't get them this slow way."

(Indian staff member) "It is difficult for me to find any indications of progress. Some days I come home and I say to my wife: 'Boy, if something good doesn't happen soon, I'm going to give up.'"

(Job Opportunities staff member) "There is the economic setback. I don't have much tangible results of my work. How much of it is due to the economic situation and how much is due to barking up the wrong tree?"

(Housing Opportunities staff member) "There is the lack of concrete accomplishment that you can point to that would justify the time, energy and funds put into the program. It is frustrating because constructive experiences in an interracial setting are the quickest way to get rid of prejudice, and I haven't been successful in getting people to try it."

(National Secretary of Community Relations Program) "We have a philosophy that says we can't measure success on the number of placements, but increasingly, foundations are demanding this criterion."

Staff members have noted that people working in the legislative field can measure what they are doing even if they lose, whereas Community Relations staff members cannot; that the results of their work are frequently not noticeable until after they have withdrawn, or possibly until after they are dead; that the more "applicant-oriented" a staff member gets, the more he will feel this frustration about lack of concrete results. The writer can only suggest that this frustration may be relieved by more specific procedures in one of these three areas: (a) Systematic appraisal of performance by national office, advisory committee, and other community segments; (b) development of quantitative indices of activity like number of visits, number of speeches, number of requests for aid, amount of materials disseminated, or number of times thanked; or (c) the staff member's own psychic evaluation of whether he is actually making an effective impact on the community.

3. Personal inadequacy. A striking characteristic among Community Relations staff members is a frequent lack of self-confidence, a good deal of self-doubting, and many feelings of inadequacy. This seems even more pronounced among the more effective and sincerely dedicated staff members, than among the less. Examples:

"If an individual is doing something that everyone says is wrong, he wouldn't be human if he didn't doubt himself sometimes. That is why these annual staff conferences are so important."

"You don't get results immediately and you have to wonder whether you've done wrong or whether it just hasn't paid off yet. You do have to have your successes once in awhile."

"I still feel anxious and inferior and uncertain that I am doing a good job or what I am worth. In the Service Committee there are no rewards or incentives -- no raises in salary commensurate with the work. People say, 'You're doing a good job out there,' and no one knows what I am doing. No one is really pushing me into a corner."

In this connection, the writer suddenly realized in the national office one salient fact: Almost everyone in the office felt inferior to the rest, or felt inferior to other groups like AFSC policy makers, those who had accomplished effective community action, or members of other intergroup organizations, particularly the NAACP.

The basis of inferiority feelings was usually one or more of these things: Lack of education, inability to "love enough," failure to "live effectively," insufficient experience or guidance, and awe of certain Friends or AFSC staff members who have gained status by performing widely acclaimed "service."

4. Experiences with bigots and "the urge to klobber." Most persons interested in intergroup relations are able to either avoid bigots or to fight them directly. Community Relations staff members can do neither of these things. Inasmuch as any staff member has any job description at all, it partly consists in going to relatively prejudiced persons and seeking to use gentle methods with them. As we have indicated, some 20% of the persons contacted in Job Opportunities Programs are adamant in their refusal to act or even consider employment on merit. In the Housing Program we suspect that the amount of prejudice and resistance is even higher. And in the Indian Program, so much anti-Indian sentiment and behavior has been encountered that one staff member said:

"I know we are supposed to be building bridges of understanding, but we have seen such awful things done to Indians that we are beginning to hate white people."

Some staff members expect this bigotry, accept it, and are willing to work patiently with a bigoted person. Said one Job Opportunities Program Director:

"I may be told that a guy is a S.O.B., but I believe there is that of God in this guy, and on the basis of love I can meet him. So if I get slapped in the face I won't be depressed too long because next time may be different. There is this reservoir in all people -- even the most bigoted, and that comes out in these conferences. To seek that is a test of my patience, skill and faith."

But another staff member, known to become considerably agitated in the presence of strongly prejudiced persons, added:

"One surprising thing is how strong the prejudice is, even in people who you think would have had enough good experiences that they should be free of it. I have asked whether you can reach these prejudiced persons through love or whether there are some groups who just can't be reached. Maybe it will take some kind of shock therapy."

The experience of continually contacting relatively prejudiced persons who refuse to change their attitudes or behavior has caused in some cases what we have termed "the urge to klobber." This is a serious problem. AFSC philosophy counsels patience, moderation, and love for the oppressor as well as the oppressed. It also stresses non-violence. But staff members are often tempted to resort to more stringent techniques of enforcement than the Friends' philosophy admits, for these reasons: They are anguished by the minorities' need for immediate relief; they are impatient with the dilatory, reluctant or bigoted attitudes of gate keepers, they are admiring and envious of the successful experiences of the more enforcement-oriented organizations; they are convinced that love and law are not mutually exclusive but may be interrelated; their own frustrations make them desire some objective indices of achievement and progress. One staff member stated:

"In legislative campaigns, people are either for or against you. Here you are in an uncertain position. It is helpful to have an enemy."

The continual contacts with bigotry and the resultant urges to klobber have led some staff members to become active in the NAACP, to work toward Fair Employment Practices legislation, to refer minorities who have encountered discrimination to the appropriate enforcement agencies, to spend their spare time in more militant endeavors, or even to resign and work with some more enforcement-oriented agency. We assume that with the pressure of Friends' beliefs on the one hand and the pressure of intergroup relations imperatives on the other, the urge to klobber will remain a bit of a problem to the Community Relations staff member, even if he does not actually yield to it.

6. Reaching the minority community. Community Relations Programs that have but one staff member generally encounter difficulty in establishing adequate communication with the minority community, unless the staff member himself is Negro, or Indian, or the program is a grass roots oriented program. In many programs, the staff member has to spend most of his time contacting persons of influence, and since he is often an outsider to the community, he has no immediate entrees to the minority community. This sometimes results in poor relations with the minority community, lack of adequate communication, inability to find minority applicants, or uncertainty over the actual extent of racial discrimination. Comments by staff members reflect this problem:

(Job Opportunities staff member) "My major problem is to be convinced that there are Negro people here who are qualified. Is it the real thing, and not just a straw man? I get openings, then don't get people to fill them."

(Housing Opportunities staff member) "Another problem is to make sure I know what the Negro people want and feel. We found a very few neighborhoods where Negroes could buy, and then we couldn't find anybody. It was because we hadn't established enough contact with the Negro community."

(Job Opportunities staff member) "I was slapped in the face by the white community and kicked in the rear by the Negro community. I antagonized the former; and as for the latter, when I came in, none of the things were happening that I thought were progress. There was a feeling that they were doing pretty well. We were regarded as jeopardizing their position by their being identified with us 'antagonizers.'"

(Housing Opportunities staff member) "A galling frustration is my own inadequacy in communicating with other people, including the minority. I had had limited experience with minorities and I felt doubtful and awkward in my relationships. I now don't feel that the racial barrier is so bad in itself, but I don't feel rapport. Especially with a field hand out of Arkansas -- white or Negro -- especially Negro. I don't think I can develop the language right away."

However, staff members do succeed in reaching the minority community to some extent, through integrated organizations, through bringing minorities onto advisory committees, through minority secretaries, and through direct approaches to minority institutions. A questionnaire item administered to staff members showed that their greatest contact in the Negro community was through the NAACP, ministerial groups, and civic and social clubs. Their least contact was with Negro lodges, youth groups, and political organizations. Staff members almost universally indicated that they wished to have more contact in the minority community than they currently had.

7. Other problems and frustrations. Among other things the Community Relations staff members complained of were these: Lack of time to do things like keeping up with correspondence or increasing organizational contacts; constant demands on their time from community members; personal problems like making decisions; lack of sufficient help from advisory committees; and lack of specific knowledge with which to refute stereotypes or learn more about community structure. One Indian staff member indicated that his tremendous interest and immersion in his work was his biggest problem. He said:

"We can't get away from this job. Our idea of a vacation is to go and spend two days with Indians talking about Indians. I don't know anything about anything else. I can't discuss anything but Indians -- I am incoherent. It ruins you for any other field."

8. Job satisfactions. We believe that the problems and frustrations mentioned by staff members are partly an indication of mere healthy griping, and partly merely a response to probing on the part of the interviewer. On the other hand, almost without exception, staff members indicated that they got great pleasure out of their work and enjoyed it more than previous jobs. Some expressed satisfaction merely in terms of the general pleasure of working with AFSC or in the intergroup relations field. Examples:

"Tremendous -- it is tremendous to be identified with the Service Committee, despite my criticisms. This is like home to me. Being able to see people change within a community and being able to have a part in community changes. Satisfactions come in lots of small ways."

"I have found what I was looking for -- being able to spend all my time in activity which is a witness to what I believe a human being should try to do."

"Oh, yes. I'm very pleased at being in this work. I feel that I am a little cog in a machine that is going in the right direction. Second, I feel that some of the little things I am doing are doing some good."

"There is so much compensation to me in this job. It is disgraceful to be paid for something I love so much. It is more like a hobby than a job."

More specifically, several respondents indicated that their biggest job satisfactions came from the new and enriched contacts they had with a variety of groups of people. Samples:

"There is a tremendous range of different contacts that I had never had before, not only racial. I go into the social science building one minute, I'm talking on the street corner the next minute, and meeting so many people with broad interests. I have never felt so happy or so growing."

"The biggest change in myself is a far greater ease around people with different backgrounds. I think I no longer make accidental statements. I have come much closer. Despite a favorable predisposition, I had to come a long way from the 'strangeness' point of view."

"When I began, I was conscious of injustice and recognized a Negro -- now I recognize a person. In other words, I have become integrated -- once it was 'they' -- now it is 'we.'"

"I get a great deal of satisfaction out of this. We feel we have been very successful -- it isn't easy to be accepted by Indians because of the suspicion built up. We were sick of large cities and we had hoped for the small town quiet life. It would be difficult to find elsewhere this type of easygoing life with a lot of simple, sincere friends who don't talk about international events, but just events about the community."

Summarizing, we cannot recall any staff member whose frustrations and problems seemed more paramount than his job satisfaction. The ability to get along with and enjoy people, considered essential by the Personnel Office, seems to have been translated into a type of community activity that makes the staff member enjoy the varied contacts necessary in his program.

I. Needed Knowledge and Use of Social Science

A prominent American anthropologist has commented that AFSC has two schools of thought in reference to social science: (a) What can we learn from social science, and (b) use only that social science that verifies the Quaker philosophy. A part of this research was a determination of how much Community Relations staff members understood social science, used it, sought more of it, or disparaged it. Through observations, unstructured interviews, and standardized check lists, we present the following comments on use of social science in the Community Relations Program.

1. Some negative views. In addition to the two earlier cited points of view on social science, we might add two more: (a) "I don't know what social science is," and (b) "I am against social science." We found almost no complete unfamiliarity with social science; we did find a few who expressed negative attitudes toward

it, particularly because of its seeming detachment from world affairs. A former sociology instructor said:

"I had planned a Ph.D., but had serious worries about sociologists' values, their implicit conservatism; I wasn't sure the classroom was the right place. I didn't like the idea of the sociologist as technician, divorced from ends -- Sumnerian. I was appalled that nothing we've done in social science has anything to say about international tensions, the atom bomb, or threats to civil liberties. I may some day go back to teaching, but I can bring a lot more to it now."

A similar impression about social science detachment was found in the opinions of Indian staff members and advisors about anthropologists. Some said:

"They can be very helpful, but Indians resent being studied, and with some justification. They are omniscient, they seem remote and above it all, and reluctant to get down with the people. I envy them their ability to look at these situations without involvement. I get so involved that I can't understand their objectivity."

"The Indians are spoiled and realize that they have been exploited by the anthropologists -- getting information and printing it for money. They don't know that anthropologists are trying to help them."

"As a whole, most that I know are sort of part way between -- I don't think they do much damage or good either as far as social action goes. They're just interested in facts -- so many haven't any real interest in Indians."

Most of the negative or neutral comments on social science implied that it had a great deal of detachment and objectivity. The writer, being acquainted with a much more active and socially concerned social science community, has sought to point out to the staff the active participation of social scientists in the arena of social action.

2. Levels of "Using social science." In the course of this evaluative experience, staff members frequently asked what was meant by "using social science." In order to make it more specific, the writer outlined what seemed to be different levels of the use of social science. These are as follows, ranging from the more simple to the more complex levels:

- a) Use of a social science concept in conversation.
- b) Citing of a social science research that has been done.
- c) Use of statistical and other resource materials, which were gathered systematically.
- d) Use of an inventory of research as a resource.
- e) Use of social science descriptive and analytical materials and publications.
- f) Use of a social scientist as a resource person or advisor.

- g) Doing one's own valid research.
- h) Bringing in a social science team to do research on a specific subject.
- i) Use of social science principles, propositions and generalizations as part of one's thinking or as part of one's working assumptions.
- j) Use of a general social science theory for an overall framework in understanding human behavior.

The writer's observation, concurred with by many staff members, is that for the most part their "use of social science" was largely confined to numbers a, b and c, with some use of numbers e and f. It is of course possible to check this more systematically, if necessary.

3. A questionnaire on use of social science materials. More systematic attempts were also made to determine how much social science this group was using. In a standardized check list questionnaire in which respondents were asked to indicate which social science books they had found helpful and which they had not heard of, it appeared that Myrdal's American Dilemma was the only book with which staff members had any general familiarity. About a fourth had found usefulness in Allport's The Resolution of Intergroup Tensions, Arnold Rose's Studies in Reduction of Prejudice, and Williams' The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions, with the majority not familiar with the rest, particularly Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure. After this inventory, the writer went through these social science books and annotated them, noting also that most staff members had an increasing awareness of and desire for specific desegregation materials. Wherever longitudinal or comparative studies on use of these materials can be done, it would be of great utility.

This section of the questionnaire (and another referring specifically to desegregation materials) was constructed in order to derive the following types of information from practitioners: (a) An "open ended" inventory of materials found most useful; (b) a systematic check list inventory of what materials are helpful, not helpful, unread, or unheard of; (c) a "score" of individuals and groups on the extent of materials used; (d) an inquiry into the type of materials still needed for more effective orientation; (e) an annotation, in which the practitioner was informed of the contents of each publication.

4. Specific probes -- "The Russell Sage Question." In addition to this questionnaire gadget, a question on the use of social science concepts, theories, and materials was also included in the intensive interview with staff members. It was called the "Russell Sage question." But first, it was suggested by Leonard Cottrell, a member of the evaluative advisory committee, that staff members be asked, "What kinds of knowledge do you need in conducting your work that you don't have right now" and only afterward asked specifically about social science materials.

The question on needed knowledge evoked a wide variety of responses that can hardly be put into any coherent pattern. Staff members expressed a need for knowledge of such things as the nature of "community" and of community power structure, specific examples of all the areas that had desegregated, the nature of the

opposition in race relations, and scientific data on race differences and similarities. Members in the Indian Program felt they needed a greater grasp of linguistics, of anthropology, and of law. However, for the most part, since most of the staff members recognized the religious nature of their motivation, they were either reluctant or hard put to specify the kinds of things they needed to know that they did not know already. One staff member commented jokingly, "Modesty forbids my answering this question."

In reference to the more specific question suggested by Russell Sage Foundation sponsors, "How much social science are they using?" the social scientist studying this kind of program ran immediately into the problem of persons who feel a sense of religious "personal direction," and therefore questioned how much secular knowledge they need to acquire. As an example, one staff member, when discussing the possibility of termination of his program, stated:

"I came here because of the feeling that there were spiritual forces beyond normal areas of human decision and I would make any further commitment on the same basis."

When asked how much social science he had occasion to use in his program, he answered, "I don't write off social science; I just go on without it"; and later, "I'm not sure I know what social science is, though I think I've used it."

However, this problem was encountered with only a minority of staff members. The majority were people who either tried to combine their religious conviction with a sophistication about social science and how it could work into their program, or else were people who on the surface had no immediate religious motivation, but were eager to get greater knowledge from whatever source existed. In nearly all cases, staff members felt that they were not using as much social science materials as they could, that they were not sure what social science was, but wanted to learn, and that they felt that the findings of social science had a good deal of relevance for action programs.

One staff member gave an excellent description of how he used what he considered as relevant social science findings to support his arguments in his Job Opportunities Program. He found the psychological studies of perception useful in helping him "to see that of God in the head of the Chamber of Commerce" and to understand that person's attitudes without necessarily agreeing with him. From examining the writings of Ashley Montague, he was able to dismiss notions of original sin and support notions of a baby who is born loving and wanting to be loved. He states, "I have used Montague's stuff to the extent that I treat people on the basis of love to get them to do what I want them to do -- it is dignified Dale Carnegie stuff."

He used Overstreet's writings on "The Gentle People of Prejudice" to make employers feel their own individual responsibility in relation to race prejudice. He employed "The Lonely Crowd" framework to illustrate to businessmen that their behavior is determined not only by what exists inside them, but also by the opinions of their peers. He drew on the writings of a psychiatrist, Ian Stevenson, to illustrate the fact that doing what is right is a self-developing thing, whereas doing what is evil may be temporarily gratifying, but is not similarly productive. From this he tells businessmen that other businessmen who have moved toward employment of minorities on merit always find that they feel better. He found the technique of Carl Rogers helpful in getting employers to face up to their own prejudices. Finally he is able to draw on Gardner Murphy's writings on "Human

Potentialities" to illustrate that if blocks to the aspirations of minorities are removed, their personalities may continue to develop, on and on. These are not so much distortions of social science findings as they are selective manipulation of these findings.

5. Generalizations on use of social science. We present here a few generalizations based on responses to questions about the extent to which social science theory, concepts, research and general knowledge are being used by persons in this program:

a. Some staff members acknowledge that they are not sure what social science is, and, when referring to publications that they have found useful, often mention books that are sometimes more exhortatory than scientific. Examples are, Lillian Smith's Killers of the Dream and Now Is the Time, Living Without Hate, and certain religious publications.

b. On the other hand, a number of staff members absorb a good deal of social science knowledge without actually realizing it. For example, some derived vast benefit from attending the Fisk University Institute of Race Relations which seeks to provide a scientific framework for the more practical work in the field of intergroup relations. Also many staff members use popularized publications from such organizations as the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, without realizing that these publications are based on sound sociological knowledge and research effort.

c. Practitioners in this program and in almost all intergroup relations programs state a crying need for some kind of condensation or annotation of social science materials, so that they will know what is good and what is not good. They are aware of the vast number of documents that they should be reading, but sometimes do not know where to start because their time is severely limited and they must be quite selective in their choice of materials to read. The social scientist might try to guide them to the most useful materials.

d. Staff members in this program are greatly concerned about another subject: trying to decide how much background orientation is necessary for handling specific problems. Many wonder whether they should master such things as Parsonian theory, social science research methodology, or the results of the numerous attitude studies of prejudice. Those in the Indian Program wondered how necessary it was for them to know the historical background of the Indian problem, the voluminous anthropological writings on culture, or the ethnological monographs on American Indians. One staff member, in discussing work with Indians, hinted at a type of controversy similar to that existing in academic circles in regard to historical versus situational approaches. He asked:

"How important is it to know what has gone on before? For example, I have developed strong opinions on Indians counter to those of people who have been thinking and reading about Indians for years. I don't know if my opinions are worth anything, since I don't know the background of things. I just know what's going on now. Should I know? How important is it to have this knowledge?"

e. As is probably the case with most groups, staff members of this program attempt to use social science findings to bolster their own beliefs and philosophies. One policy maker commented, "Our program is as guilty as any other

of looking at what little there is in social science in the light of whether it supports what we are trying to do. If it doesn't, we ignore it."

f. Staff members realize that a summary of their own experience and knowledge is necessary, and that this might be a task for a social scientist. They are aware that their religious sentiments may interfere with their own objectivity in establishing principles and propositions based on their experience, and they have looked hopefully to the writer to make some sense out of the scattered program under study.

In summary, in answer to the question, "How much social science are they using?" this group uses far less of social science thinking and materials than other groups we have observed in intergroup relations. The staff members are aware of their deficiency in this respect and have pressed for an answer to these questions: "How much should we know? How much time should we spend mastering these techniques? Should we have a social scientist on our staff? At what point is our religious motivation, by itself, inadequate for the task we face?" The writer still seeks a precise answer to these eager questions.

6. Knowledge versus "charisma." One final point should be noted in this study of "inspired" staff members. Otto Pollak, in discussing his experience as a Russell Sage Foundation resident in an organization concerned with psychotherapy for children, has considered the relationship of exceptional individual capability and professional training. He writes:

Wisdom acquired by experience in combination with a personal gift for discernment will always remain the good fortune of a few. Formalization and conceptualized information can be made the possession of many. The demand for mental health services in our society cannot be met by depending on the wisdom of a necessarily limited number of superior therapists. The essence of such wisdom has to be spread in the manner of science, which perhaps is less inspiring but more accessible to large numbers of professional helpers. In this sense, science pays the price of modesty for the reward of usefulness.

Staff members of the AFSC race relations program are aware that even if they achieve modest successes, too much reliance should not be placed upon sheer religious motivation alone or upon superior charismatic qualities of an individual. A Community Relations policymaker stated:

"We are in the Service Committee tradition of making a profession of being unprofessional, only to find that if one is big enough, one might get by on faith and belief in a cause. But if you are a little less than perfect, the more you learn, the better off you are."

So much for the "Russell Sage Question." Future staff use of social science will be mentioned later, under "recommendations"; present staff use might be viewed against the background of previously mentioned social science contributions to the "action community."

J. Altruistic Love in Action

1. Staff and the love concept. The concept of love is treated with somewhat greater irreverence by Community Relations staff members than by members of Committee

and other policy making sectors of AFSC. This is related less to a lack of sincerity than to the ambiguity of the concept and the different types of words which staff members choose when expressing their motivation. Nelson Foote's comments about the ambivalence shown over the love concept is more clearly revealed among staff members. They are more inclined to joke about it, to use it with reservations, or to even deny that it is immediately related to their actions. Thus staff members are apt to develop skits and poems kidding or joshing the love concept; one staff member states that "I know lots of people whom I respect, but don't love -- though of course I love everybody"; another staff member states in exasperation that "I'm tired of loving everybody," but still another notes of him that he shows more love in his actual behavior than anyone else in the program; and one secretary in the national office said of another: "She is about the only person here who really believes that there is that of God in every man."

The joshing and ambivalence among staff members reflects, actually, a more deep concern and sincerity. But in contrast to more outwardly religious members of the Society of Friends, staff members in this program try hard to avoid self-consciousness and unnecessarily elaborate discussions about the nature of their motivation. However, more careful interviewing revealed that they are not as far removed from other AFSC members in their use of the love concept as might seem. This is shown particularly if staff members are asked to give specific examples of love in action.

2. Some dimensions of love in action. One possibly unique aspect of AFSC's use of the love concept lies in its insistence on the active expression rather than the mere static existence of the concept. This is reflected in AFSC's continual emphasis on the power of love. The National Secretary has stated:

"Love in itself is nothing -- a meaningless concept. 'The power of love' makes more sense. It's what you do with it. To me, it should be put to work -- you shouldn't talk about it, but help people who are offended against to release their greatest potential, and also work with the oppressor so that you can release the best dynamic in him. But it's doing things and not just talking about it."

Interviews with AFSC policy makers revealed some of their conceptions of love in action. Among these are: Trying to help families of Communists, even though they did not seem to be pleasant persons; urging work campers to find out what they can accept from as well as give to people they work with; giving minority applicants a new sense of hope; including the prejudiced person in one's circle without agreeing with him; and displaying a "disinterested interest" in the problems of both oppressor and oppressed.

However, the spectrum of dimensions of the love concept seems more marked among staff members than among policy makers. There seems to be almost a continuum of intimacy ranging from the absence of hatred to absolute caring. These are some examples:

(Absence of hatred) "I believe in the brotherhood of man -- even the deep Southerner. Though I am Negro, it means I can't hate the Southern man who says 'nigger' and I can't. Colored people can't understand this, but I have no hatred in my heart."

(Not fighting back) "Your position is more secure if people love you than if you keep a club over them. Demonstrating good will is more disarming than a fight."

(The positive approach, with reservations) "In this work there is a spiritual involvement that makes you see that you can get more by loving a guy all over the place than by painting him as black. But the 'nothing but love' approach is something deadly. You're a cinch to get klobbered. There has to be more than just love alone."

(Appreciation) "People are quite sensitive to others' attitudes -- they know whether it is just a job to you, or whether you have real appreciation for them. I don't know any place where love is needed more than here because these people have been pushed around and experimented with too often."

(Understanding) "In any AFSC work one must demonstrate the sum feeling of understanding. The sum feeling of understanding will let the other person feel that you do love him so that he can reciprocate. I believe that love breeds love, just as hate breeds hate."

(Respect) "Love operates in the way that people feel that I respect them. They find an effort on my part to treat people fairly and accept a person as an individual, even though I disapprove of his actions."

(Faith) "Love starts with the value in other human beings. The concept 'that of God in every man' is very refreshing. Find a guy who has been called a S.O.B. and let him know that you have faith in him. I've learned that people rapidly learn what your attitude is -- it is especially true of oppressed people."

(Caring) "Love is important and it has a power. Are you really for something constructive rather than just being against barriers? Whether working with children or with teachers, the positive fact of really caring for people comes through. Where you have tension, I am sure love can overcome that."

Noting the tremendous array of dimensions of the love concept, we pose the question: Is it necessary for all staff members to agree on a definition before effectively putting love into action? We suggest that it is not; that each of the dimensions mentioned has some positive value, and that on closer examination, these many conceptions of what love means may be found to have an actual common core.

3. Generalizations on staff members' use of the concept. Part of this suggested common core may be shown in the uniformities we have noted in comments of staff members. The following things might be listed as elements staff members hold in common in regard to this concept: (a) They decry love without action; (b) they fear for the most part to talk too much about it, and are anxious and conflicted about articulating its meaning; (c) they try to discuss it in casual terms to keep from being too emotional and employ more slang and profanity than they did in response to any other question; (d) they suspect that love alone may sometimes not be enough; (e) they seek to enlarge their conception of it so it will not conflict with their beliefs in legislative action; (f) they say they use it, but they nevertheless believe in it; (g) they have insight into the spurious as well as the real manifestations of love that exist in others; (h) they reacted to this question with surprise, with deep thought and pauses, and with a strange type of appreciation.

In summary, we pose for staff and Committee discussion this question: Is it legitimate to continue employing a single word when staff members mean so many different things by it? Should systematic attempts be made to enumerate the sub-components of the love concept? Should staff members be wary of using the same name to refer to different things, or using different names to refer to the same thing? Does it really matter how a staff member defines the word love, as long as he is actually carrying out the concerns of the Religious Society of Friends? The answers to these questions must come from others. We have devoted attention to this area because it is presumably the core of AFSC's unique approach, and because there are obvious signs that in the past it has been used too loosely. The writer's main hope is that the total AFSC organization will endeavor to scrutinize more closely (a) the behavior that masquerades as love but actually is not loving, and (b) the behavior that decries, dismisses or jokes about love, but actually manifests it in action.

V. THE COMMUNITY SETTING

A. The Problem of Community Insulation

1. Closed doors. One of the most marked facts that has struck the observer in this and past community studies is the tremendous insulation of one segment of American communities from another. This is particularly true of such groups as labor and management, Catholics and Protestants, different socio-economic levels, and particularly majority and minority groups. To cite one study familiar to the writer, a Northeastern city with a fair distribution of minority groups was surveyed by a sociological research team. It was found that one-half of an adult cross-section of individuals had no contact with any Negro, Jew or Italian-American at either their work, in their neighborhood, or in an organization they belonged to. Another one-fourth had contact with only one of these groups in one of these situations. The Cornell Intergroup Relations study, which made this survey, then hypothesized that communities that on the surface have "good situations" or "no racial problems here" actually contain a mosaic of sub-groups, separated from each other by walls of misunderstanding, misconception, lack of contact, and lack of ability to communicate across group "boundary lines" on the rare occasions where contact does occur.

We therefore assume that members of different groups, separated by prejudice, stereotyped thinking and mistrust, will only rarely contact each other; and when contact does occur, the elements of barriers to communication promote anger and irritation on one side and hesitancy and perplexity on the other. Thus, both groups withdraw from these uncomfortable situations to their own narrow paths, and the processes of avoidance, suspicion and insulation go on and on. We now note some examples of community misunderstanding and cleavage.

2. Some examples of hatred and invective. In contacting AFSC policy makers and the Community Relations staff, we have noted language ranging from stilted prose to downright slang; but we have noted little actual evidence of what has been called "the manly art of invective." This is true for several reasons: Friends

tend to "repress affect" or underplay emotion; persons interviewed are relatively non-hostile or have their hostility carefully buried; staff members are usually trying to see the good in other persons and speak no evil; staff members are sometimes under less pressure than other community segments.

But in order to document the seriousness of the situation of "closed doors" in American communities, we present sample comments of community members about others, to illustrate some of the churning bitterness that may be found in any American community.

(Union leader on local businessmen) "Businessmen don't think there is a problem here. They don't know a damned thing. All they do is drink their liquor, play their goddamned golf and do a lot of other things that don't amount to a crock of beans."

(Negro newspaper man on community power structure) "This town is run by two families. They sit out there in their estates counting their money. They just don't know what goes on in town and they don't care. They are crude. They just drink and damn Roosevelt."

(NAACP President on a community settlement house) "They do a lot for race relations, but not to better it -- gradualists, temporalists, trying to show Negroes they should work as slaves -- self-help -- stay in the ghetto. They are a little worse than Urban Leagues -- a masquerade of Booker Washington's 'Let down your buckets.' The program stinks."

(Bank Director on NAACP) "The NAACP gave us 60 days to integrate our staff. The pressure groups that come in -- they are just one more bunch that stream in wanting something. I told that fast-talking group that came in here, 'I'm not trying to staff; we're not ready yet.'"

(Jewish community leader on a Negro organization) It is worse than nothing at all. The staff member is not only bad, he is actually rotten. He thwarted his own program and also sabotaged everyone else's progress. Most political figures have bought lock, stock and barrel -- or paid for -- his philosophy. He sold his soul down the river long ago, if he ever had one."

(Quaker businessman on Jews) "Take the Jews. There is a great deal of prejudice. I had lunch with a Jew today -- he does things just like we do. But if you go to Miami Beach -- dammit, they'll push you off the street; you go into a hotel and there's so much noise you cannot hear. There would be no prejudice if they acted right and did not try to be so obnoxious."

(Hopi on Navahos) "People listen to the Navaho. They are taking over everything. I don't like the Navaho -- they can't be trusted. It makes things bad for all other Indians. They steal instead of working."

(Businessman on Negro ministers) "Minority church leaders are extremely jealous of any activity they don't have a hand in. They are a lot of charlatans. It bothers me because they drive Cadillacs. I'm in a

responsible position and I drive a 1951 Ford."

These are somewhat extreme statements, but with modification they may be found in each community. They generally are noted to be considerably softened in the few areas where different community segments have opportunity to contact each other.

3. Need for a "big ear." We therefore suggest that in intergroup relations particularly, and in all community relations in general, there is need for some kind of force to open doors between different community segments. Particularly there must be areas where the majority group is able to ventilate its own conceptions and misconceptions, and to hear the problems and aspirations of the minority community. As one Negro minister on the West Coast said:

"I like to think there is some great tower of strength in every community, but you can't find it here -- no one to tell your troubles to -- mayor, city attorney, or anybody. Here is a glass menagerie of justice."

We assume that this previously described cycle of unfavorable contact, leading to irritation or perplexity, and finally to withdrawal, must be broken at some point. Optimally it should be broken at the point where these infrequent intergroup contacts do occur; better still, barriers to communication may be broken down by the increase in opportunity for different community segments to contact each other. We have seen this happen in many communities through the formation of Councils for Civic Unity and Mayor's Committees on Human Relations. Even when these are absent, it is possible that one community agent, such as AFSC, may be able to play the role of hearing each community segment and articulating its problems to the rest.

B. Some Race Relations Perspectives: The Business Community

We hope to examine the specific subject of race relations through the eyes of several walks of community life. We start with that segment so important to AFSC race relations work because of its position of influence, namely the business community. As indicated, the initial AFSC programs were directed largely toward contacting businessmen and laying upon them the concerns of the Religious Society of Friends. We think there is value in presenting the perception of race relations held by many members of the business community.

1. AFSC staff views the business community. The thousands of visits that Community Relations staff members have had with businessmen have resulted in a considerable body of knowledge and experience about the perceptions of the business community. Staff members recount that businessmen react to their initial visits with expressions of surprise, embarrassment, nervousness, tendency toward "testimonials," and American Creed speeches. One staff member said: "They're just like little kids -- I feel so sorry for them." Another staff member in the Housing Program said that people in the housing industry don't like to think of Negroes in housing and therefore their reaction is fear. He added: "They are afraid; they break into a sweat."

Another staff member, working in a Southern program, reported:

"On the whole, the thinking we have encountered is, 'This is the right thing to do, but I can't do it now,' and, 'I'm scared to death -- if ten others do it, o.k.'"

In general, staff members report most businessmen as being polite, considerate, and interested, even if declining to take immediate action. Ninety-five percent of staff visits with businessmen have been friendly throughout. Only in a minimum of cases has a staff member been shown the door, or have businessmen been known to suffer heart attacks or other considerable disturbances in the course of discussing American race relations.

2. Businessmen's views on race relations. Our experience and observation in interviewing businessmen confirms staff opinion. On the race relations subject, the business community seems quite bewildered, inconsistent, and out of its element. For example, often when approached on the basis of "love," businessmen would resist and talk about the "down to earth" ethics of the business community. On the other hand, when hearing of legislative actions, pressuring and lobbying in race relations, businessmen would assert adamantly that "This change has to come about in men's hearts."

We might make these generalizations about businessmen's perceptions of race relations: They know that some kind of problem exists; they are not sure of the details of it, but often suspect that it is exaggerated; they are surprised at the minority's tendency to "agitate" and wonder why minorities are in such a hurry to get things changed; they are strongly relieved when contacted by a persuasive or negotiating group such as AFSC or the Urban League, rather than by more militant protest organizations. These are descriptive statements of community members familiar with the business community:

(Staff member of Jewish Employment Service) "On this subject, half the businessmen black out entirely, one-fourth would like to do something, one-fourth will do something. Many are using minorities on a strictly economic basis. This group added to the persuaded group adds up to something. I honestly doubt if any substantial group will act on the basis of this persuasion."

(Quaker businessman and JOP advisor) "The Chamber of Commerce tells businessmen, 'Why wait for FEPC -- do this yourself.' Businessmen listen to this who wouldn't listen to 'that of God in every man' that social workers or even I talk about."

(Owner of West Coast printing business, active in NCCJ) "Businessmen here have reservations. As long as it's a nice thing like raising money or an Easter program with a few Negro ministers, then you're all brothers. But if it comes to Negroes in a new neighborhood or fraternizing in a social club, it gets difficult."

"Most businessmen are short-sighted, just not educated, don't know the facts. They go along with segregation."

However, the views of businessmen on race relations might best be reflected by noting their attitudes toward the various types of methods possible in inter-group relations.

3. Views on FEPC and other intergroup methods. A survey done a few years ago by Elmo Roper showed that businessmen were no more or no less likely than the bulk of the American population to oppose Fair Employment Practices in American communities. Roughly 44% of businessmen and of all others favored these practices. AFSC experience has been that some businessmen admit that Fair Employment Practices legislation would take them "off the hook" since there would be a law applying to all, so that no one would be "sticking his neck out."

However, in this research, most of the interviewing about Fair Employment Practices was done with businessmen in the Mid-West where there is much greater resistance than in the East. Studies were done in cities of three Midwestern states, where AFSC had Job Opportunities Programs. In two of these states, Fair Employment Practices ordinances seem to have been defeated by only one vote, and in the third state, militant spokesmen dismissed it by saying "there are no 'teeth' in the damned thing." These are representative statements by businessmen on legislation for a FEPC:

(Chamber of Commerce executive) "We are 100% against it. We fight it every time it comes up. We don't believe this can be legislated."

(Another Chamber of Commerce executive) "I emphatically resist legislation. It causes resistance -- it doesn't work where people don't want it to... look at Prohibition. Our FEPC is practically no law at all. We don't need one."

(A businessman who integrated) "Our people have consistently fought FEP, recognizing that we would have it if we didn't do something. It is bad and stultifying, and businessmen learn to get around it. I think FEP is discrimination in itself."

(West Coast businessmen) "Political leaders make FEPC and housing an emotional issue. But, like Prohibition, you have to have the spirit of the law or it can be circumvented."

(Factory Vice-President, member of Urban League Board) "Well, I suppose there are times when there has to be some kind of legislating, but legislation is not the answer. You can legislate from hell to breakfast, like Prohibition. But by now there are so many pressure groups and minorities that the poor white Protestant is soon going to be in the minority. I am beginning to feel oppressed."

This last statement reminds us of a cliché repeated in almost every large city we have visited. In relation to their community, respondents state: "The Jews own it, the Catholics run it, the Negroes enjoy it, all at the expense of the poor white Protestant." In addition, in these statements, we note continual analogies between FEP legislation and Prohibition, and a belief that legislation cannot work if people are opposed to it. These beliefs are shared by some segments of AFSC. Particularly the businessmen who were interviewed liked to cite the fact that Fair Employment Practices laws passed in the East have not been successful. One Chamber of Commerce executive said that when he asked New York employers about the law they would answer, "What law?" Another said that he had received word from Connecticut that there had been only 150 complaints since the State Commission on Civil Rights was established. The writer had just completed an evaluation

of this Commission and was aware that there were 1500 complaints on job discrimination alone.

In one large city, a Labor-Management Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce gave what we consider an excellent sketch of the businessman's frame of reference on FEPC. He said:

"Ninety-five percent of businessmen are strongly against it. The reasons are complex. Basically it goes back to their concept of the relation between business and government -- resentment of New Deal intervention, wages and hours, and so forth. Businessmen feel powerless on a national level, but don't want to repeat the pattern on the state level.

"They would also resent another commission on a more practical basis -- it would probably be politically constituted, it would probably be discriminatory -- have minority membership with crusading zeal. We believe the employer has the right to run his own plant and hire the best qualified person -- this also means best qualified to work as a happy team. There is danger of a commission having too much power, and there is the possibility of corruption -- these are dangers inherent in politics and government. I have checked with other states and found that businessmen don't even think about it.

"FEP doesn't do the job people say it does, but it has an emotional appeal and an inordinate significance. Some Negro leaders believe it has no success, but feel they have to keep talking about it. On the other side, it is also a symbol of bureaucratic control. 'These leftists and do-gooders are trying to push this down our throats.'"

This respondent made several other illuminating comments. He believed that businessmen are not nearly so opposed to judicial and executive decisions as they are to legislative decisions; thus they accept the Supreme Court decision and the President's Committee on Government Contracts, but would resist attempts at FEP legislation. He added that the Chamber of Commerce, being opposed to "bureaucratic controls and laws," sought a more positive approach to the problem of job discrimination -- through education. The organization spent \$11,000 on a film, "It's Good Business," and has shown this in numerous places, admittedly showing it most frequently just before the State legislature met. Finally the respondent suggested that most FEP's were enacted by cynical politicians, and that the President's Committee on Government Contracts was initiated by President Truman in a spirit of deep cynicism. However, many businessmen were surprised when the Eisenhower administration actually "put teeth in the law."

In summary, most businessmen contacted here abhor legislation, admit the futility of exhortation and pamphlets, and generally favor the persuasive approach, tempered by patience. In addition they place great emphasis on the "minority self-discipline" approach, the need for the minority to improve itself. These are representative statements:

(A banker) "AFSC could perform a valuable function by persuading pressure groups to calm down and stop pushing for Negro employees."

(Chamber of Commerce executive) "One of the colored leaders is a friend of mine. He tries to break up the shoving clubs and stops

colored boys from running up and down the street. They should do that in their own neighborhood."

(His assistant) "Also I wish you would see if your organization can stop colored women from walking picket lines -- that causes prejudice. There's always a big colored babe. Of course I know they pay them, but they should get white people."

(Quaker businessman) "Give the colored people a better understanding of what it takes to accomplish things. What effort are they making to be accepted? For example, during the war, we had a colored girl as secretary. After a couple of weeks she began to assert her rights and be obnoxious -- we had to let her go. If that girl had acted right, we might now have ten or fifteen.

"Legislation may be able to force the situation faster than any other. But you can't legislate people into what you want -- they will still have resistance in them. Did Prohibition stop people from drinking? Hell no. I'm not sure the Supreme Court decision was the best thing for the country at this time. Things are drifting so that they would have solved themselves in a few years."

In final summary, the business community sentiment seems to urge a patience in intergroup relations of the most extraordinary sort. At least three businessmen suggested, in this connection, that, "If drops of water keep hitting a stone, it will finally melt away -- even if it takes a million years."

4. Other statements of opposition, indecision, and tolerance. The business community, like many other segments of American life, seems to run the gamut in its attitudes from actual opposition to doing nothing to taking some type of positive action. The opposition is directed not only toward legislative action in the employment area, but also toward protest organizations -- especially the NAACP. These are representative statements:

(NAACP President on businessmen) "Many people think the NAACP is a trouble-making organization. If you went to a Chamber of Commerce meeting you would hear that the NAACP is a trouble-making group that disturbs the status quo. This has become a great town for 'The time is not ripe.'"

(Chamber of Commerce executive, in same town, on NAACP) "The general community feeling is that it is red-tinted, and the thinking people of the community are against it."

(Attorney, and secretary to Mayor in Mid-Western town) "Some of the militant groups want to do things too fast. They are staffed with people who are young, sincere and militant, but are not aware of how society operates -- some want to gain notoriety by blasting in the papers. That hurts more than it helps. The NAACP is effective by keeping things stirred up; I don't think they accomplish anything, but they get more conservative groups to work in a slower way to get things accomplished."

(Businessman and Urban League Board member) "We of the Urban League are not in sympathy with the NAACP -- it won't work in this town. I

don't like it and I don't think it is the type of program that will do anything. I feel the same about the national program. And I feel that the National Urban League is leaning more toward NAACP tactics -- I don't think it is good. American people don't like to be forced."

(Mid-Western Chamber of Commerce executive) "The NAACP is labeled 'radical.' I don't know -- I just think they are impatient. But they try to say, 'You can make good business this way' and businessmen don't like that -- they know what is good business."

However, even the more prejudiced businessmen recognize that race relations is a problem for consideration, regardless of what their own solution is. In one city a Chamber of Commerce Secretary, after having uttered some extremely bigoted statements, nevertheless reassured the writer by saying, "Take as much time as you like -- what you are doing is important." In the same city a State Chamber of Commerce employee explained in detail how he went about fighting Fair Employment Practices at the behest of trade associations. When asked why he fought FEP, he looked surprised, and said, "I don't know -- it's just my job. Come to think of it -- it's kinda hard to be against Fair Employment Practices."

In other words, businessmen may be observed as being subject to a racial dilemma -- just like other Americans. Their conservatism, lack of knowledge, and strong conceptions about what constitutes business ethics often conflict with their gradual emerging awareness of undemocratic racial practices in American life. Thus, some are able to see both sides of the story in intergroup relations. Here are some ambivalent comments by and about businessmen:

(Jewish Community Relations Center executive) "In employment discrimination there are symptoms of change. You still find patterns of discrimination, but they are rationalized and apologized for. Twenty years ago, the employer would say, 'That's my business.' Now he passes the buck, and you can beat that down."

(Mid-Western Chamber of Commerce executive) "I used to resent agitating among Negroes, but they have made a contribution -- it took all that to get our eyes opened. Opening the sore, agitating, taking aggressive action has made people take a second look; it has made a contribution. But real progress is due to voluntary participation rather than flag-waving."

(Mid-Western banker) "I feel bad about colored people who spend time going to the University and then can't get a job. But we have lots of problems. We are not ready for it yet."

And finally, a very small segment of the business community expresses some unqualifiedly positive views. Said one West Coast owner of a printing company:

"There are a lot of young guys in business here who feel right about this, but are just getting their feet on the ground and don't have much money. The old guys still run things. But I am surprised by the large number of young guys who are on the right side of this.

"I myself feel cheated. There are no Negroes in my community and my kids don't have a chance to grow up with them. There are a few Japanese families there, but I would like to live near a Negro family."

5. Some experiences with integration. The writer was able, in the course of these community studies, to talk to a few personnel managers and other administrative personnel in organizations that had successfully integrated their work staff. No complete attempt was made to learn their principles of operation, but several suggestions may be drawn from their experience.

In a Mid-Western store chain, the Personnel Manager suggested that these were their practices:

"Somebody at the top must believe it is right; don't 'overhire' or put college people in high school jobs; put the first upgraded Negro in the department where the morale is highest -- as a psychiatrist suggested to the company; and don't make this a 'program' or a 'drive' -- just do it."

He added:

"It's like flying. People are scared of it, though statisticians call it the safest way of traveling."

In another Mid-Western city the owner of the city's largest department store described the way they integrated:

"We decided to take this step, with no advance warning or discussion. We just selected the best person for the job, told him what he was up against, said we didn't want a crusader but wanted a person who would do a job and not just prove a point. We said, 'This is what we are going to do -- this is the best person for the job.' On one occasion seven people threatened to quit. But we told them to go ahead and quit -- they came back in the afternoon and apologized."

In another company, manufacturing brassieres, the employer admitted that he would like to say he integrated because of brotherhood, but that he actually did it because of economic expediency. He felt it was a way of defeating Fair Employment Practices legislation. When asked what advice on integration he would pass on to others, he said:

"I would stress the importance of conditioning the work force. I wouldn't suggest rushing into it wholesaley. Centuries of prejudice and tradition exist and cannot be overcome overnight. I think there has been wonderful progress in ten years, but if I were a minority, I would probably be impatient."

In another large Mid-Western mail order house the employers practiced the most elaborate method of screening and carefully introducing minorities that we have seen. They decided to integrate in 1941, but refrained until 1946 when they were sure of getting competent minority employees. They interviewed 10,000 minority group applicants and hired 46. In this case the motivation was not expediency. The staff member picked to guide the integration program explained:

"Our reason for starting was purely emotional, not for profit. The President of the firm is Jewish and some of the prejudice rubs off on him. In the early stages no one said this is on a profit basis, but in the last four years we have realized that this is so."

There is an interesting addition to this story. The company hired more and more Negroes until finally, 31% of their staff was Negro. However, in contrast to other companies studied, they kept very careful records of white and Negro performance, absenteeism, turnover, and work rates. After about four years of integration, they suddenly discovered that the Negro performance was falling far below the white. In great alarm, the company contacted the AFSC Job Opportunities staff member, and was advised to bring in as a consultant Joseph Lohman, a sociologist with considerable community action experience. Lohman immediately changed the interviewing procedures, explained to the supervisors the background of the shifting Negro community, urged supervisors to treat people exactly alike and not use differential hiring procedures. He also called together fifty of the best Negro workers and asked them what was wrong.

The mistakes in this integration attempt were revealed by Lohman in an almost effortless two days. Negro employees said they were hiring the wrong people in the Negro community and had relaxed their requirements on Negro personnel. Supervisors had also allowed discriminatory practices to grow up within the plant so that jobs were actually being classified as "white people's jobs" and "Negroes' jobs." They had also erroneously assumed that Negro interviewers could do a better job of interviewing Negroes than anyone else, and later learned that the Negro interviewers were under severe pressure in certain parts of the Negro community. It was difficult for Negro personnel officers to resist pressures from their informalized contacts in the Negro community, where people badly needed jobs. Since this evaluation by Lohman, the Negro performance has crept back up to that of white employees, though the supervisors still keep very careful and elaborate records. The personnel manager who described this experience concluded smilingly, "I like to talk about this."

These few brief descriptions of integration experiences point up the variety of ways in which employers can integrate their plants. Some keep no records on race and some keep several; some integrate for economic reasons and others for emotional reasons; some start only in the areas of greatest morale and others integrate minorities into all areas; some integrate up to the level of administrative secretarial help, while others start in that area. Some felt the need for qualified outside expert advice, while others felt that this was a normal personnel problem that could be handled internally. The variety of experiences in integrating work forces suggests that Kenneth Clark's conclusions in his monograph on desegregation are valid; regardless of the reason, method, or time period of desegregation, its success depends on following a list of clear-cut principles of desegregation. It is believed that AFSC, with its extensive counseling experience in the employment field, might pull together some summary of successful and unsuccessful integration efforts of plants such as these.

A final summary of the business community views it as an aggregate of persons with both misinformation and curiosity, bigotry and concern, objection to militancy and sympathy with militancy, dissatisfaction with minority impatience but understanding of minority desire for greater speed, emphasis on the profit motive and on "the right and moral thing to do." We think we find illustrated here the fact that the American dilemma exists strongly in the business community.

C. The Minority Community

We have mentioned the Community Relations staff member's inability to reach far enough into the minority community as one of his greatest frustrations. We see

see merit in giving some detailed attention to the minority community, since inter-group practitioners of majority and minority group alike, frequently have only a limited conception of the total minority community. Therefore on the basis of previous studies we seek to present a segment of the minority point of view to the reader.

1. The nature of the minority community. We have discussed, in previous writings, what we consider to be the nature of the minority community. We have noted that the concept of "community" has been used ambiguously, and that definitions of community have included such considerations as: (a) the territorial base, (b) common activities, (c) shared interests, and (d) socio-psychological unity. We have added to these considerations the additional dimension of being considered as a separate and possibly inferior unit. And we have thus defined the minority community in this fashion; a group of individuals, clustering spatially on the basis of kinship and organic interdependence; sharing common activities and institutions; sharing common interests, values, beliefs, and sentiments; being to some extent isolated and excluded from participation in the life of the larger community; sharing an awareness of minority group status, a feeling of interdependence with other group members within or without the specific community, and a sense of socio-psychological group unity which forms the basis for a potential tendency to act in unison toward the improvement of minority group status.

This definition was derived primarily from studies of Negro communities; any observations of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, or other communities in America might modify it sharply. However we assume that each minority community has a sense of being set apart, an awareness of differential attitudes and behavior from a more powerful majority group, and a potential tendency to identify with other minorities when reminded of a threat from outside, or of an "interdependence of fate." We might make these brief summary generalizations about minority communities:

a. Differentiation and stratification are characteristics of all human groupings; and stratification will be found in the minority community just as in others.

b. Reactions to minority group status may be roughly subdivided into three general categories: (1) avoidance -- or insulationist feelings; (2) acceptance -- or lassitudinous feelings; and (3) aggression -- or militant feelings.

c. There is likely to be a proliferation of leadership in minority communities; some self-delegated, some delegated by the majority community, and some delegated by the bulk of the minority community. It is the last of these three which should be regarded as the significant spearhead of minority leadership, recognizing its problems and articulating its aspirations.

d. The minority community has a far more "lively experience" with the majority than the reverse; hence it is far more likely to be pre-occupied with problems of intergroup relations and to define situations in racial terms.

e. The minority community is often socially isolated. However, the social isolation of the community may be modified through certain processes: awareness of common minority group status creating strong group identification in a community which endeavors, through a coordinated leadership structure, to overcome the several deterrents to positive action, and to progress through organized

channelized aggression toward the attainment of a desired minority group goal, consistent with the values of the larger society.

2. Misconceptions of majority sympathizers about the minority community. Current events are revealing that those who presume to know the minority community best are often quite inaccurate in their conceptions. Sharp reminders are being shown in the deep South. Evidence shows that most white Southerners incorrectly believe Negroes to be opposed to public school desegregation, and the Supreme Court decision. For example, in the state of Florida, an opinion poll in one county showed that 54% of the white people believed that Negroes were opposed to the Supreme Court decision, whereas only 6% of Negroes believed so. Also, in the state of Mississippi, the governor and other leaders expressed the opinion that Negroes were strongly opposed to the Supreme Court decision. When one hundred Negro leaders were convoked to support this opinion, and when they absolutely refused to oppose desegregation, the governor of Mississippi actually wept.

But we discover inadequate perception of minority attitudes in those who are even more sympathetic to minority aspirations. Many liberal majority group members are surprised to find that the total minority community is not simply seething with numerous indignities and incidents of discrimination. Some minorities accept discrimination; some have learned to avoid it indefinitely -- particularly the upper class; some don't want to talk about it or "create a fuss"; some repress the memory of discrimination, or blame it on the minority group in general, or even on themselves; some are not sure it happened; some never saw it. Therefore, attempts to mobilize the total minority community for action to improve its status frequently fall short of their expected goal.

In addition, it must be stated that, to the surprise of majority group members, some minorities have a vested interest in segregation. For example, in the course of this research, one Negro minister said he believes wholeheartedly in the integration efforts of AFSC and the NAACP but added:

"I built some houses for Negroes out here, and people objected to my expanding the ghetto. But I'm building a church here and I've got to have some people. It looks like the church will be the last place to integrate. It's a little bit selfish, but what isn't? Those few houses are just a drop in the bucket."

Majority group members may also be astounded at tendencies in each minority community towards self-disparagement, actual self-hatred, or turning blame back toward the minority community. It should be emphasized that minorities are often sharers of the majority group culture, internalizing its norms and beliefs, and absorbing its negative attitudes toward their own group. Thus, frequent comments have been made in Jewish communities about the phenomenon of "anti-semitism among Jews" or Jewish "self-hatred." Many Negro leaders have also absorbed self-disparaging statements that they quote frequently. Some of these are:

- (a) Negroes are like crabs in a bucket; when one tries to climb out, the rest pull him back.
- (b) The Negroes are apathetic and don't want to change.
- (c) The Negro will buy what he wants but beg for what he needs.

It is necessary for all persons to understand that these sentiments exist in a segment of each minority community, or possibly in a segment of each minority personality. In this research, we noted the atypical but interesting orientation of a Negro leader describing the shortcomings of his own constituency. The minister of the largest church in an all-Negro community had these things to say about the Negro people:

(What are the Negroes' biggest problems?) "We are our own biggest problem. Down South, if a man fights for his rights, the white man will respect him and leave him alone. But you can't do it with your shirt hanging out and your cap on backwards."

(What are the Negroes' needs?) "We need houses, streets, and improvements of our sidewalks. The majority of our people are like a monkey and a cat: monkey like peanuts but he don't farm; cat love fish but he never go fishing. People don't know that they have to pay for those streets and gutters."

(Will churches be integrated?) "Eventually when I am dead and been dead, they'll do that. Negro's like a blackbird -- he like his own color -- like his own church. He hear a white preacher and don't know what he's talking about."

(What are Negro aspirations?) "Negro's funny. He buy what he want and he beg for what he need. Watch him."

Thus we often note confusion among majority group members about the actual viewpoint of the minority community. We have observed frequent occurrences like this: Church people of the majority group become troubled by the fact that "the greatest segregation of all occurs at eleven o'clock Sunday morning" and thus throw their doors open to Negroes for membership. Negroes respond very slowly, smarting from past exclusion practices, comfortable in the equilibrium and adequacy of their present religious life, irreligious, or putting church integration far down on their list of action priorities. And thus an impasse is reached. Persons interested in intergroup relations might take cue from AFSC's professed desire to continually inventory minority needs and minority sentiments, in order to make certain that they are adequately focused on the problem of majority-minority relations. Otherwise a good many persons of good-will will be continually confused by a response far less enthusiastic than they expected.

3. Minority skepticism. Majority persons of good-will must often have been baffled by what seems, in the minority community, to be irrational resistance and skepticism. Some attempt should be made to explain this. First, minority group members -- notably Negroes -- are baffled and confused by altruistic impulses. These impulses are not a part of their past experience or frame of reference, and hence it is difficult to trust them. Also, they share with many other Americans a suspicion and skepticism about altruism that social scientists have noted. They are usually in the midst of or just a generation or so removed from areas of personal and economic insecurity. By and large they are churning and mobile in one or more of these four directions: from rural to urban areas, from South to North and West, from lower to higher educational and socio-economic levels, and from self-conscious deprived minority citizens to fuller participants in the wider American scene.

This presents the frequently observed phenomenon of a mobile minority group startled by the majority group's tendency to react to it in terms of its origins rather than its present position. Thus the majority is often surprised to find that Negroes are not particularly interested in Africa, in going back to "help their people" in the rural South, in being regarded as deprived and despised oppressed people, or even as being lumped together in a single category with other less educated, less mobile, or less successful Negroes. Indians are likewise confused at those who either want them to go back to their original culture, or are impatient for them to integrate immediately with the general society.

In addition, both Negro and Indian minorities are skeptical and tentative about falling for the majority approaches that look promising but "must have a catch to them" as their past experience has shown, time and again. For example, the prejudiced Southern white man may be resented, hated, or accepted, but at least, this is something that could be understood and predicted, even if it is a negative attitude. On the other hand, many Quakers, missionaries, and other motivated persons approaching the minority community have been baffled by the minority group's continued resistance and suspicious scrutiny or tendency to classify these strange out-group members as: (a) exploitative, (b) liars, (c) crazy, or (d) Communists.

This problem can be solved only through a great deal of "standing around" and "witness," or demonstration of the real rapport devices that the minority group believes in. Achievement of this rapport requires an understanding of the minority community far greater than Quakers and most other organizations have shown.

We add a final note on minority skepticism. Surprising as it may sound, the minority community's reaction to altruism and generosity is sometimes characterized by such an enduring skepticism that the occasional lapses or failures of the altruist to live up to his professed beliefs are sometimes received by the minority community with actual relief. This is related to the sociological assumption that all human beings must have a certain element of predictability in their lives, before they can function adequately from day to day. Any behavior on the part of an out-group that defies this predictability, or hints at more positive action than the minority group has been able to perceive in the past, must be viewed with skepticism. Thus, a group that has learned through experience that "people can't be trusted" is more relieved to find its life premises validated than to find temporary and possibly undependable contradiction of this negative life premise.

4. Minority aspirations. The aspirations of the minority community -- particularly its militant segments -- are too inadequately understood by even the most sympathetic segments of the general community. For many majorities the entire subject of intergroup relations has been brought to prominence fairly recently and they are therefore sometimes astounded at the minorities' desire for haste, speed, or "desegregation forthwith."

The minority community, on the other hand, is frequently irritated by such comments as "You can't rush these things," "Rome wasn't built in a day," or "It's coming, though you and I will never live to see it." Negroes, for example, may date their feelings from any point -- from the Supreme Court decision of May 7, 1954 to even the advent of the first "twenty negars" in 1619. In any case, the issue of how fast to move is frequently the creator of a barrier to agreement between the races and a consequent increase of minority frustration, or as the NAACP president in a mid-western city said sarcastically: "This is a great town for 'the time is not ripe.'"

There is a danger of overgeneralization on this subject, and a fundamental postulate is this: In no racial issue will all majority group members be ranged upon one side and all minority group members on the other. Inevitably, a segment of a majority community will completely share the aspirations and beliefs of the most militant minority groups; inevitably a portion of a minority community will echo the more conservative views of the dominant group.

We suggest that AFSC or any other organization in this field should seek to ascertain and understand the aspirations of the minority community, seek to break down the variety in aspirations in differential segments of the minority community, and seek to determine which of these aspirations are compatible with or amenable to adjustment into our concept of "the more perfect union."

We might state here some brief generalizations on minority aspirations:

a. Minorities usually want -- particularly for their children -- the same rights and privileges that other Americans have.

b. There is no noticeable evidence in America that minorities want more for themselves than for majorities -- no evidence that there are militant minorities seeking to wrest power and privilege.

c. Minorities, as Myrdal has asserted and Banks has verified empirically, have a priority system or rank order of desired race relations changes, paralleling inversely the rank order of things that majorities are least willing to yield. Thus, greatest emphasis would be placed on the right to a decent job and home and political suffrage; least emphasis would be placed on a desire for social mixing or inter-marriage.

d. There is likely to be tremendous difference and variation between the aspirations of different minority groups, the aspirations of different segments within a minority group, and the aspirations of a given individual at different points of time.

e. The aspirations of minority group members are generally consistent with the American creed and with the best principles to which Americans subscribe. There is almost no element of minority aspiration that cannot be fitted conveniently into the general credo of what most Americans are taught to expect.

5. Summary. We have attempted to indicate here that minority communities are generally similar to most communities, with the added dimensions of being often spatially separated, and being aware of an interdependence of fate and a prejudiced attitude on the part of majority group members. We have suggested that there is a tremendous differential within minority communities in terms of socio-economic levels and life styles, and also in terms of types of reaction to minority group status. We have noted a great barrier to understanding and communication between minorities and majorities -- even those majorities who are most sympathetic to the plight of the minority. We have reviewed the skepticism, doubt, and confusion with which minorities view the dominant group in general, and even the more strongly and positively motivated members of the majority group. Finally we have tried to articulate the things that minority group members seem to want. We have suggested here that motivated action groups in intergroup relations should make as part of their program the understanding of differential minority aspirations.

We feel that the Negro and Jewish minorities have been amply discussed in American fictional and non-fictional literature, and frequently presented in the media of communication -- even if in distorted form. Therefore we will not describe the structure of these communities or discuss their views of race relations. We feel, however, that the American Indian has not been adequately portrayed in terms of what actually exists at present. We therefore wish to examine, insofar as this is possible, the Indian's perception of the world surrounding him, his view of white people, his aspirations, and the difference between problems of American Indians and American Negroes.

D. The Indian Speaks

1. Misunderstanding, confusion, and skepticism. We have already noted William Penn's stated desire, on coming to America, to live in peace with Indians, hoping that "all is to be openness, brotherhood, and love," and we have noted the answering promise given by Indian chiefs: "So long as the creeks and the rivers run, and while the sun, moon and stars endure." We must emphasize that this is an atypical relationship. In general, the relationships between Indians and white persons have been featured more by confusion and resultant Indian skepticism, as we might briefly illustrate.

An early example of misunderstanding comes from the name given to one group that the writer contacted in the Southwest. Over three hundred years ago, the Spanish explorers entered what is now Arizona and New Mexico, and contacted a number of Apache tribes. Pushing further westward, they met another group of Indians and asked them, "What kind of Apaches are you?" The Indians answered, "mohave Apaches" -- meaning "We are not Apaches." The Spanish thought that this was just another group of Apaches, so they have been called Mohave Apaches to this day.

The history of Indian-white relations which we have previously reviewed, has also produced in the Indian a tremendous amount of confusion and skepticism, a somewhat negative regard for the white man, and a considerable bafflement about what to do about his problems. We now suggest some specific examples of this.

Most of the Indian respondents contacted talked about the uncertainty with which Indians viewed the world that surrounded them. These are sample statements of Indians contacted:

(Maricopa) "Indians don't know how to get along with others -- they are self-conscious and fear anyone with dominating speech. They feel licked before they have even started. Some are backward, hazy, and skeptical; many are afraid of criticism or of making a mistake."

(Hopi) "A lot of Indians won't go into restaurants because the white people will look at them. They don't feel good enough to go in. We have been told what to do and what not to do -- and now we don't know what we are supposed to do."

(Ponca) "The tribal philosophies are good, but people lose contact with it when they come to school. There is a pull there -- they feel they should be home for certain ceremonies, but when they get into the whirl of city life it is difficult to plan this unless they can get home during vacation."

In addition to the general uncertainty about how to handle problems off the reservation, Indians have developed through their historical painful experiences a skepticism about most things the white man proposes to do. This skepticism has been nourished by the continual number of projects that Indians, or whites working with Indians, have started and failed to finish, for one reason or another. Many Indians begin to believe that no outside group means them any good, or that nothing that they tackle will succeed. Here are sample statements:

(Pima) "Indians are a suspicious people. They've got to see something first. I say it too -- 'Is he really going to do something, or just talk.'"

(Hopi) "The Hopi is suspicious of everything -- the white man has tricked him. He is skeptical of the organization that the government has set up for him. I will fight to the end to keep our land from the white man -- he doesn't want the mesa, he wants what's under it."

(Another Hopi) "The Hopi has watched other Indians who trusted the white man and lost, so the Hopi thoroughly distrusts the government and the white people. Therefore the government doesn't think so highly of the Hopi -- they say they will support the Navaho instead."

(Maricopa) "Usually when Indians see a white man they say he is after something. When the Service Committee man came out and said he wanted to help, they wouldn't believe him -- they thought he was a Communist or a spy for somebody. But he was patient."

There is evidence that Indian skepticism is based not on a pessimistic attitude toward human nature, but on years of accumulated actual experience. It would almost seem that in place of their traditional ancient myths, Indians have substituted the true legends of a history of trickery, disillusionment, and plans that failed. This may have been what prompted one AFSC staff member to shake his head and say, "Boy, you never know where you stand with these guys."

2. Indian views of white people. The skepticism and mistrust of Indians is related to a general bitterness and hostility toward white people. This comes out frequently in interviews, although it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the reference is to the Indian Bureau, the government in general, or all white people. A small minority felt that Indians looked up to white people with awe and respect. Said a Maricopa:

"The Indian is still inclined to look up to the white man because of the education and such that the white man has brought in. They look on me as an equal and the white man as superior. If I started a grocery, they would come to Phoenix and patronize the white man. The Indian starts a store and practically gives stuff away, but they won't buy from him."

However the majority of Indian respondents would indicate either mildly or vociferously their negative attitudes toward the non-Indian. At the AFSC annual Indian staff meeting, one staff member said he had a sub-committee working on the problems of each minority group in his community. A soft-spoken Kickapoo Indian who was present pointed out: "You ought to have a committee to work on the white people, because their prejudice is the cause of the problem."

But other comments of Indian respondents were more strongly worded. These are samples:

(Navaho) "They say the white man is teaching us to be like him, but we can't be like him in this respect -- he cheats us and then laughs in our face."

(Hopi) "They say we are wild, but we are no wilder than the white people who have been molesting six year olds. They are the wild ones. The penitentiary is full of them. Now the Indians are getting 'civilized' like that."

(Kickapoo) "The old folks at home just hate white people. My grandmother is one hundred and six years old and she can remember when the Kickapoos were removed from the Great Lakes to Oklahoma. They were very bitter about it. I went to school with whites so I'm not so bitter, but I wish the Bureau would live up to its promises."

(Maricopa) "Anytime Indians have any dealings with a white person, they say, 'He'll tell you a lie; it might sound good but he'll take you. He puts up a good story, but it's just a way of getting something away from you. They are known for their lying ways.' If an Indian doesn't know anything, he'll say, 'I don't know.' But a white person will say he knows even if he doesn't; he'll lie to get hired, whereas an Indian will be honest."

According to testimony of Indian respondents, this suspicion and mistrust of whites is strongest in the two areas where most help would be expected -- from missionaries and from the Indian Bureau. Indian respondents expressed displeasure with missionaries for being too intent only on making converts, for competing outrageously with other missionaries for these converts, and for failing to understand the problems of the people with whom they work. These are representative comments of two Hopi:

"Missionaries are working with Indians, but are hurting as much as the government."

"Missionaries are treating the Indians as pagans -- trying to convert them. They came into my house and said, 'Huh! I see this doll -- this idol -- this is the house of the gods.' They think it is paganism. They use me as an example. How do they know what I believe?"

"Missionaries live to themselves and won't go into the people's homes. They stand outside the door. What are they afraid of? Dirt floors? That we smell? And they are not Christians -- they commit adultery."

However, the greatest and most universal condemnation among Indians was reserved for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In reviewing the Bureau's history it may be seen that it has done a less than adequate job in many ways -- perpetrating vacillating policies on Indians, failing to live up to treaty agreements, and putting inept and disinterested staff members in Indian areas. In return the almost monotonous chant of the Indians is, "The Bureau, the Bureau, the Bureau." Here are some comments:

(Navaho) "I think the Bureau's a big joke. According to the Constitution we are entitled to our rights as citizens, and if we are not citizens, what are we? Prisoners? In a nice way they call us 'wards of the government.' As prisoners they can tell us what to do and step on our necks."

(Maricopa) "Indians don't have much to say about the Bureau -- Which means they got no use for it. Whatever the Bureau has promised, there has been some trick to it."

(Kickapoo) "The government has a long way to go before it makes up to the Indians for what it has done. They made a contract. When they fulfill it they can withdraw, but they haven't done it yet."

(Hopi) "It's rotten. Politically involved -- especially in the treatment of its own Indian employees. There is favoritism."

Indians have historically had so much taken from them by whites that they often view each new move by the Indian Bureau as an attempt at exploitation. As an example, an Apache tribal chairman vehemently described to a race relations institute a recent move of the Indian Bureau:

"The white people took everything away from us. Now they find we have good grazing land, and they want it back. Haven't they done enough? Now they even want to take our appetite."

3. Verbal communication and the "language of prejudice." The writer's previous research on barriers to intergroup communication and the "language of prejudice" led him to make inquiries on this subject in Indian areas. The most obviously noticeable thing was the difference in the tempo of thought and speech between Indians and whites, which frequently led to difficulties in communication. AFSC Indian staff members acknowledged that they make no attempts to hurry the Indians into decisions, since the Indians will not be hurried. One even indicated that meetings of his reservation committee accomplished more when he was not present, since the members felt less rushed and could converse as well as think in the Indian language, thus making more progress. When AFSC withdrew its support from the Los Angeles Indian Center, one advisory committee member felt that this was an advantage since Indians were no longer limited by the white man's way of doing things. He said:

"We used to run the committee on a sort of Friends Meeting basis, finding out how people felt, but now they use more voting and parliamentary procedure, so people are talking and participating more than they used to. When we conducted vespers, we used to have twenty people. The first vesper service run by the Indians had sixty."

The Indian director of the community center agreed with him that participation had increased among Indians. She said:

"With non-Indians on the Board, Indians will sit quietly, and their quietness is taken as consent. Non-Indians think and speak so much faster. The Indians may disagree, but will not speak up. With an all Indian meeting more people participate. Some Indians still think in their own language and don't want people to talk so fast."

A Maricopa Indian indicated the difference between Indian and white modes of thought and speech, saying:

"A lot of white people underestimate Indians because they are quiet and think a long time before they act. The whites are always saying something without thinking and then saying 'I wish I hadn't said that.' Indians don't brag; they'd rather show you than tell you."

At the AFSC annual Indian staff meeting, the writer brought up this question of things that Indians do not like in their communication with non-Indians. The following conclusions might be stated: Indians don't like or understand levity in a meeting, since they are discussing serious life and death problems. They think the white man is too curious, and wants to ask things that are none of his business. Their stereotype of a white person pictures a man with a camera hanging from his neck, watching an Indian dance and saying, "Let me know when they are at the height of their frenzy," or else giving Indians dimes after taking pictures. A long discussion ensued about whether or not pictures should be taken, and if so, whether or not the Indians should be paid.

In specific reference to the "language of prejudice," other things emerged. Indians don't like the phrase "Indian boy"; many Indians want to be called by their tribal names rather than merely Indians; in some parts of Mexico the word "Indian" is an epithet; phrases like "squaw" and "indian-giver" are strongly disliked; staff members were warned that they should not ask the Sioux if they eat dog meat (although they do during certain ceremonies); Indians generally overlook these racial "slips" saying, "Well, those stupid whites just don't know any better."

This was an avid discussion, and staff members asked how one learns these things, in order not to offend Indians. The writer was surprised that this problem of verbal communication had not been on the agenda, or had not emerged in discussions; it is therefore recommended that the problem of words and intergroup communication be a subject for further AFSC staff discussion and consideration.

In the course of interviews with Indians, attempts were made to get them to articulate the elements of the "language of prejudice" that they disliked. One Hopi respondent burst out avidly:

"I don't like 'indian-giver.' It should be 'white-giver' because they have given us things and taken them back. They call us pagans, heathens, barbarians, and wild Indians. We're no wilder than they are."

However, in contrast to experiences with Negroes and Jews who have accumulated numerous words, phrases, and stereotypes that they dislike, Indians were generally unable to formulate many specific objections in this area. There seemed to be merely an awareness that white people were of another world, didn't understand the Indians' problems, talked too much, and thought too little.

4. Indian views of action alternatives. As a result of confusion, skepticism, defeatism, and past failures, many Indians are slow to move into action. AFSC staff members have noticed this, and have observed that decisions to take action are slow but lasting. One staff member said:

"There is a slow tempo here and no ulcers. In a meeting there is no hurry to get to the next point -- there are long silences while they

think about it and usually they make good, wise, solid decisions. Sometimes they say, 'Let's get together next week and discuss this again point by point. Maybe we forgot something important.'

Another staff member who had established a successful on-reservation cooperative added:

"We wanted to give the people a sense of belonging to something. The answer was a co-op -- something that could be understood. It took them a year to decide they wanted it. Then one day they came to me and said, 'We want to start a co-op,' as though they had just thought of it that morning. You plant a seed and let it germinate. If we try to ram something through, it is very rarely successful."

Observation of Indian leaders at various conferences and institutes suggests that there is sometimes a lack of perception of the various alternative actions that are possible. This, when mixed with a defeatist spirit, can produce very depressing conceptions of what action should be taken. For example, the writer and a staff member listened to the complaint of one Indian leader who was incensed because Hollywood was issuing a movie which maligned and distorted the history of his tribe. We asked him, half teasingly, whether he planned to picket the theatres, pass out pamphlets explaining what the truth was, or go on television appealing for help. He shrugged his shoulders, shook his head, and said quietly: "No, I decided I just wouldn't go to the movie."

But many other Indian leaders had more positive and concrete suggestions, and this trend is increasing. Several have urged AFSC and other groups to help them start programs on the reservation that they feel are necessary -- programs like adult education classes, recreation programs, attempts to reduce juvenile delinquency, health programs and courses to guide mothers toward healthy child-rearing practices, subjugation of land, furnishing of water, and other economic rehabilitation. Sharper and sharper conceptions of the possibilities of developing reservations are emerging.

But some go even beyond this -- showing the opposite side of the coin from Indian apathy. These points of view related to releasing an almost limitless potential in the Indian and his programs. Said a Pima minister:

"The process has begun in releasing the Indian people. Termination is rolling and they are afraid of it. But you can't go on with it forever -- you have to make a start somewhere. We must help Indians realize the potential that is dormant in them."

And a Navaho director of an arts and crafts program grew excited, almost ecstatic, as he explained its potential:

"I stress one thing -- arts and crafts. It became a central interest -- arts and crafts -- there's no end to that. We can have arts now; later we will have guilds, sewing groups, metalcraftsmen, and potters. It can go on and on."

And the secretary-treasurer of the Maricopa cooperative grew equally ecstatic as he talked about its possibilities:

"We had a rough time with the co-op, but if we get cooperation from the government we will have done a great thing. We can go further and

further -- there is no limit to it. Maybe some day we can have our own home construction and large stores for mass buying, maybe have our own cattle slaughtering, and maybe our own police force, once we understand things. It is limitless, all because we wanted to get together and work."

These almost self-transcendent statements were often uttered by persons affiliated with work that AFSC was trying to do. Some have had little hope in the past and still fear a bogging down of their program if they lose all support. This is why many look furtively and hopefully to AFSC programs to continue longer than the organization's philosophy generally calls for.

5. Difference between Indian and Negro problems. We consider it important to note the possible pitfalls that may be encountered, if too close a parallel is drawn between problems of Indians and Negroes. The history, current position, and resources of the two groups are considerably different; hence strategy must take these differences into consideration. We might briefly review the differential premises of these two groups.

Indian premises might be summarized as follows: This was once the Indians' land; "they came here first"; the United States government guaranteed them protection of the few lands left remaining to them -- a transaction between sovereign nations; the Indian Bureau has failed to live up to its promises; Indians want to have a voice in deciding whether to retain reservation lands or to cooperate with termination programs; Indians are full-fledged American citizens with complete voting rights.

Negro premises might be stated somewhat differently: They were brought here as slaves instead of electing to come, being exiled, or otherwise "shipped out"; they were freed but not given the rights guaranteed to them; they have never received the full benefits of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments; they have still not achieved first-class citizenship status; they seek full integration into American life, and many seek it "forthwith" rather than gradually. They are now pursuing a goal of full integration by the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. A 1954 NAACP campaign jingle was, "If you want to be free by '63, you've got to do more in '54."

Thus the tricky words like desegregation, integration, discrimination, and "forthwith" may lead motivated individuals into pitfalls, unless the Indian-Negro differences are clearly understood. The executive secretary of the National Congress of American Indians has sought to spell out these issues in some detail. She says:

"The problem in education for Indians is emphatically not segregation in their schools, but improvement of the schools up to non-Indian standards and the establishment of schools for Indian children who even today have no school reasonably available to them; e.g. there are 14,000 Navaho children with no elementary school whatsoever available to them unless they are sent great distances away from their homes.

"Well-meaning people all across America are unwittingly helping to dispossess Indians of their last remaining lands and rights because they mistakenly apply 'integration' goals to Indian reservations, and thereby lend support to the legislative proposals and trends that open wide the doors to easy exploitation.

"The Indians ceded their vast lands; they kept their treaty promises. They only want the American people to keep their bargain to continue the trusteeship role which includes tax-exemption on trust land (a form of payment for lands ceded) and to provide the services (schools, roads, technical assistance for resource development, etc.) that will enable Indians to compete, on an equal basis with other citizens, for economic and social acceptance. If and when government discharges honorably and adequately its obligation, the record is clear that Indians will join with government in dissolving the treaties."

She adds that Indians are neither for nor against "integration" since that simply isn't the issue; that a sharp differentiation should be made between on-reservation situations where the problems are those of an under-developed area and off-reservation situations where Indians wish to go to cities; that many Indians naturally wish to retain their lands and develop their resources and hold on to their culture; and that Americans must persuade the federal government to live up to its solemn treaty obligations to the American Indian.

Thus, minority leaders and intergroup practitioners must be wary of attempting to transfer the strategies and frameworks of one group lock, stock, and barrel over to another. For whereas Negroes believe in the effectiveness of the immediate rather than gradual desegregation, this when translated into Indian terms means immediate termination of government Indian programs. When Negroes find that in the case of public school desegregation, choice is undesirable since it places the burden on the minority group child, the most sympathetic programs working with Indians stress choice as important -- letting Indians choose which of several alternatives they desire. What to Negroes may be "integration" may, to Indians, be deprivation of land which is rightfully theirs.

Nevertheless, Negroes and Indians -- and other minorities also -- do have several points in common: They believe that discrimination must be abolished; they are increasingly resorting to legal and legislative action; they encounter problems of adjustment to urban life; they look askance at governmental policies but fear even more to be at the mercy of the individual states; they believe in the more perfect union and have a history of courage and heroism in defending this country in war; they are increasingly becoming conscious of the problems of other minorities and the need for inter-minority solidarity.

6. Summary. In discussing American Indians, we have suggested here, as elsewhere, that there is no unanimous concerted opinion but a gamut of orientations and action alternatives. It should be remembered that there is almost no unanimously endorsed Indian sentiment or Indian problem. Between tribes there is a tremendous difference in extent of readiness for termination or ability to conduct their own affairs. Also, some tribes have vanished, some have accepted or encouraged termination of government functions, some are split, some wish to adhere to the reservation as long as possible, and a "holdout" segment of the Seminole tribe has never signed a peace treaty with the United States government and does not recognize its right to govern.

This means that, considering the cultural diversity of Indian groups, the difference in the nature of their problems should always be kept in mind. However an increasing consensus seems to be developing, embodied particularly in the work and statements of the National Congress of American Indians,

We might summarize by saying that it is both a tragedy and a good fortune that the Indian is now being recognized as neither a noble savage nor a degenerate brute, but as a human being with a strong, pressing problem. The position of Indians today is something of a challenge to the Western world. They want the government to live up to its promises, but the government has vacillated, reneged, and now seeks to withdraw. They want the Western world to help them solve their problems of juvenile delinquency, but the Western world has come nowhere near solving its own. They look to the rest of the United States for guidance on handling problems of alcoholism, but they face a nation of sixty-five million drinkers, four million acute alcoholics, and seven hundred and fifty thousand who are hospitalized because of alcoholism. Indians seek help with their economy, in the face of a tremendous and violent fluctuation in the general American national economy. Our observations prompt us to ask what the Western world has that can immediately meet the problems of Indians. Perhaps it is a question for AFSC and other concerned groups to answer.

E. Some Specifics of Majority-Minority Interaction

We agree with the current belief of many social scientists that minority communities cannot be viewed in a vacuum, nor analyzed outside the context of interaction and communication between them and a larger body. We emphasize the context of relations -- assuming that all phenomena connected with the minority community are "effects" or products of the status of intergroup relations. Therefore some specific facets of minority-majority interaction should be explored.

1. The problem of minority leadership. Any community action group, whether it be an intergroup organization, a civic group, or even a racial opposition group, must generally deal with the minority community through the medium of its leadership. Therefore the nature and quality of this leadership, and the conditions under which it is created or deterred from being optimally productive, should be scrutinized. First we comment on Negro community leadership, in terms of four deterrents to greater effectiveness: (a) apathy, (b) vested interests, (c) lack of support from the highest stratum, and (d) differential tactics of "Race Man" and "Uncle Tom." We add (e) some comments on problems of Indian and Mexican-American leadership.

a. We note that a certain amount of apathy is built into each minority community. Among Negroes, particularly, there is a feeling in some sectors that the Negro community will not do much to improve its condition. Absorbed from the general community are certain beliefs in Negro apathy and certain cliches that we have previously cited: "Negroes are like crabs in a bucket -- when one tries to climb out, the rest pull him back"; "Negroes are apathetic and don't want to change"; "Negroes buy what they want and beg for what they need"; "Negroes don't really want integration." These themes turn up only occasionally in interviews with Negro leaders, but might be illustrated by the previously cited statements of a minister of the largest church in an all-Negro, depressed community.

b. Vested interests. As previously indicated, and to the occasional surprise of outsiders, some Negro people have what Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier has called "a vested interest in segregation." This means that they stand to make

more of an economic or social or psychic profit in a segregated setting than in an integrated one. Thus resistance to integration might be found most particularly among those who depend on Negroes for support -- ministers, school principals and teachers, and particularly Negro businessmen. One survey has shown that Negro businessmen are more opposed to school desegregation than any other occupational type, while professional and white collar Negroes are least opposed.

c. Many Negro spokesmen noted that the Negroes of highest socio-economic status, income, prestige or influence did not always use their powers to advance the position of the Negro as a whole. This causes intense resentment among the rank and file. Several caustic statements about upper class Negroes were noted. Samples:

(Principal of vocational school) "Negro professionals fail to see what is involved. They are parasites, living off the body politic."

(President of federation of Negro clubs) "The upper class joins up, but the lower classes are the ones who carry on and do the work. Leaders don't want to follow other leaders because each can see a way to do things differently."

(Mid-western "pioneer applicant") "Those society and professional Negroes who 'have theirs' won't go into race relations work for fear some other person in Negro society will look down on them."

(Mid-western NAACP president) "Your gamblers -- people on the shady side of the law -- will give you more financial support than anybody else. The worker of moderate means will give you more working support. Don't expect anything from either the bottom tenth or the 'talented tenth.' They have what they want."

This generalization about non-participation of high status or professional Negroes is only partly true. At least half of these professional people will be found in almost every community to be furnishing some kind of civic or local leadership. Particularly in the South will you find NAACP leadership stemming from this class as well as the middle income Negroes.

The proportion of Negro professionals who take time off from their duties to devote attention to race relations is considerably greater than the proportion of most other occupational segments of the Negro community. Blasts at these professionals are generally the result of an assumption that they are the optimum leadership type; and that anything short of a one hundred per cent contribution on their part must be criticized. Actually, among most occupational categories, not more than a small segment are engaged in militant racial activity -- with the possible exception of minority union leaders.

d. "Race Men" and "Uncle Toms." In every community that the writer has observed, a noticeable split exists between minority leaders in terms of their racial militancy. On the one hand, one will almost invariably find Negro "Race Men" -- militant, hostile toward the bigoted white person, strongly integrationalist, impatient with gradualism and desirous of seeing immediate change, greatly appreciative of any segments of the general community that are willing to help in this cause. On the other hand, in every community one will find "Uncle Toms" --

persons more likely to placate, to propose laissez-faire or gradualist programs, to believe in a degree of segregation or pluralism, and to possess a tendency toward concern or fright at the tactics of more militant Negro leaders.

In a mid-western community, a Negro newspaper man gave a representative description of the balance between more and less militant Negro leaders. He said:

"You cannot speak of leaders and militant in the same breath. The Negro leaders are rather conservative -- they are set up by the Great White Fathers. The boys who are trying to get things done aren't looked upon as leaders.

"It is my belief that the so-called Uncle Toms play a part, as well as those we label radicals. They are able to get into places, to get the ear of people who would not listen to those who have a chip on their shoulder.

"The fellows who carry a chip have their place -- they can wear a man down so that when someone else comes in, the man is willing to compromise so as not to have to deal with the other man. I don't say that the 'professional race spook' isn't needed. As a matter of fact, he might be the reason why the white man is willing to cooperate with the Service Committee."

We suspect that recent events -- particularly the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation -- have strengthened the hands of the more militant Negro community leaders, and weakened the position of the so-called "Uncle Toms." However, most Negro communities show partial disapproval of both of these types. They hope for a "middle way" in Negro leadership -- a sophisticated, informed, negotiation-oriented, representative spokesman. AFSC often plays this middleman role.

e. Problems of Indian and Mexican-American leadership. Despite the serious problems deterring more effective leadership among Negroes, their leadership potential looks immensely sophisticated and plentiful when compared with leadership among even less educated minority groups, particularly the Indian and the Mexican-American. Among Indians, two particular leadership problems exist. First, many have either integrated themselves into city life and become lost to the reservation community; others, reared on the reservation, have not acquired the education or sophistication to give them confidence as leaders. Second, the communal organization of some Indian reservations makes individuals strongly reluctant to set themselves up as leaders. We note numerous examples of Indians identified by the white community as leaders or "spokesmen for their people" who later became discredited on their own reservation, since acceptance by whites is often a "kiss of death." A Southwestern free-lance writer confessed that he had stopped writing articles about emergent Indian leadership, after noting that three Indian spokesmen on whom he did feature articles were almost immediately repudiated by their own tribes. An AFSC staff member explained the Papago leadership structure as follows:

"The man with most money wouldn't be a leader. Papago culture is such that people seek conformity rather than to be outstanding. They had to be that way to survive. They couldn't have any race for leadership. When a Papago gets rich, he is no longer like the other Papagos, and is viewed with suspicion.

"A guy who has a lot of influence with whites would probably spend a good deal of time with them, and would be viewed with suspicion. In village affairs, the leader is usually the wisest man; not necessarily the oldest, but the one with enough in him to be a spokesman. There is no such thing as a tribal leader -- no such thing as 'This is the chief of the Papagos.'"

The problem of non-sophistication among Indians can be and is rapidly being solved -- through increased education, observance of tactics of other minority groups, attendance at workshops and institutes, and actual experience in the arena of legal and political action. Problems of inter-tribal animosity, and of reluctance to be identified as a leader, are more difficult to handle; however an effective coordination is currently being achieved through efforts of the National Congress of American Indians, and other groups.

Among Mexican-Americans there is a leadership problem that echoes a pattern of social organization more prevalent in Latin American than in the Northern areas. There, a person may actually change his ethnic identification and status by learning a new language, educating himself, and adopting Western dress, religion, eating and speaking habits. In addition, there is a color differential -- lighter skin members of a group may classify themselves and be thought of as white, while darker ones are still considered Indian. This causes an almost continual drawing off of educated and potentially qualified leadership in these communities.

In a West Coast community, an NAACP executive explained that "the Mexican-Americans, especially the dark-skinned ones, will work with you -- but the Castilians won't work with you," while another NAACP executive added "the Mexican leaders are terrific, though as soon as they get successful, they become Spanish." In this same state, a Mexican-American attorney, affiliated with the community service organization which was seeking to organize Mexican-Americans, stated:

"There are quite a few potential leaders here, but we have not been able to tap them. Many started off with us, but left because the educated ones don't feel the pressing need as we feel for organization. Most of our participation comes from lower class people who know the situation. The educated people don't talk the same language. They have a tendency to stay away."

We have mentioned these leadership problems because they have important implications for minority-majority relationships and for minority progress. We note that minority leaders may be deterred from greater effectiveness by: (a) adopting the majority group's definition of their own inferiority; (b) becoming split in terms of militancy and accommodation; (c) being fearful of taking too noticeable a leadership role; (d) losing the support of the minority community because of being "co-opted" or drawn partially into the affairs of the general community. The oft cited comment in reference to minority communities that "they have no leadership" might be partially explained by the types of deterrents to more effective leadership that we have mentioned here.

2. Problems of minority vocational guidance. In almost every community visited, evidence was shown that minority youths were not being integrated into community life in accordance with their capacities, because of inadequate guidance in school. In California, it was said that vocational counsellors discourage

minorities from taking certain courses and particularly won't let Negro girls take anything but home economics. In Arizona, cases were cited of Negro youths with high intelligence and outstanding athletic capacity, who were unable to take advantage of college scholarships because they had been counselled into taking courses that made them ineligible for first-rate colleges. In many communities, AFSC's difficulty in finding qualified minority group applicants for non-traditional jobs was caused by the fact that so many Negroes had been channeled by vocational counsellors into courses preparing them for manual labor or domestic work, rather than for the jobs that AFSC had available. In one large midwestern city, the principal of a Negro technical high school stated:

"We should have a program focusing on schools without reference to race. We should work with people in vocational guidance. Lots of them are operating in a climate of ten-to-fifteen years ago. In policy-making at the central office, there should be directives pointing up the changed conditions for all people and refresher courses for guidance teachers."

In that same community, the regional secretary of AFSC expressed a similar concern:

"I don't know that we can say anything meaningful to the applicant beyond 'Keep your chin up.' We do have a tremendous responsibility to the minority high school kid, to let him know what the limits are. I have a hunch that guidance counsellors are years behind the times and are directing the minority member to a lower aspiration than the present situation warrants."

We suspect that the rapid changes in employment patterns in American communities have probably not been followed closely by vocational counsellors in school systems. Negro youths have encountered considerable problems in this respect; Mexican-American youths have even greater problems because of language handicaps, nationality dilemmas, and frequent geographic mobility. Particularly are the problems of vocational counselling and guidance severe in Indian areas. The vacillating practices of the Indian Bureau in furnishing educational services have left Indians tremendously confused. Some are educated at reservation schools, some in Indian schools in cities, and some in the public schools; many are shifted back and forth from one of these to another. In most cases, their teachers know little about their cultural background and even less about the possibilities open to them in cities. We therefore consider vocational counselling problems to be extremely significant in relation to AFSC's interest in removing barriers and allowing people to develop their utmost potential.

3. Minority-majority value conflict. We have noted that even when majority group members are at their most accepting point, and when minority group members are most hopeful and willing to work with them, there are still immense barriers to communication and understanding. Most majority group members working in minority communities have middle or upper class origins; the vast preponderance of minority group members -- particularly Negroes, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans -- are of lower socio-economic background. Therefore despite the immense good will engendered on both sides, action to improve the minority group's status is often impeded by lack of understanding, confusion over a group's aspirations, or unfamiliarity with its value system.

AFSC and other sincere groups often miss the areas of greatest need by transplanting "middle class" values into a group with an entirely different value system. As an example, attempts to give service to an all-Negro depressed community ran into these problems: The Golden Age Club of oldsters that was organized by AFSC finally collapsed because the old ladies were leading such active family and church lives that they just didn't have the time. The practice of holding birthday parties in the community center because many people didn't have living rooms was abandoned, partly because (a) in poorer dwelling units, people partied in taverns instead of at home; (b) many people built living rooms in the meanwhile; and (c) many lower status families preferred to party in the kitchen. The program to take care of young children while their parents worked encountered factors like extended family and kinship systems, neighborliness, and church facilities -- thus most children were already provided for. General attempts to use the community center as a meeting place collided with the fact that the numerous Negro churches were individual "empires," offering the total gamut of services that community members might need. Attempts to maintain a library in the community center encountered the fact that most children brought in books long after they were due and had to pay fines, though they were nearly penniless. Some of these people may have merely forgotten, some may have been in the process of re-reading the book, some may read slowly, some may have shared the books with their family. Nevertheless, the librarians were extremely disturbed that these people couldn't seem to get their books back on time.

One particular incident stands out. At Christmastime, some Negro mothers were persuaded that they should show the spirit of Christmas by giving food baskets to their needy neighbors. The food baskets were supplied by wealthy white persons and were abundantly stocked. The women went through their tasks of distribution, but, being extremely poor themselves, were a bit glum to be distributing food to other mothers while their own larders were practically empty.

Among American Indians, these problems caused by value conflict are even more sharp, since Indians have either the entirety or the remnants of an entirely different culture and tradition. Anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn, in his book Mirror for Man, cites some almost staggering differences in men's speech, caused by the differences in men's thought forms and philosophies of life. Kluckhohn notes these things: Whereas in English the word "rough" may equally well be used to describe a road, a rock, or a file, the Navaho language finds a need for three different words which may not be used interchangeably. On the other hand, Navahos get along with a single word for flint, knife, and other kinds of metal. Among the Wintu of California, the sentence "Harry is chopping wood" may be translated in five different ways, depending upon whether the speaker knows this by hearsay, by direct observation, or by inference of three degrees of plausibility. Among the Haida of British Columbia, there are more than twenty verbal prefixes that indicate whether an action was performed by carrying, shooting, hammering, pushing, pulling, floating, stamping, picking, chopping, or the like. The Hopi conceives of a compass as having not four directions, but six: north, east, south, west, up, and down.

These differences in perception of the world, and their attendant differences in speech meanings, guarantee that a certain amount of confusion between Indian and non-Indian will occur. We present some examples:

a. Property ownership. The United States government divided the land of most Indian tribes in accordance with the Western conception of private property. However the Hopi had no concept of divided lands; hence they pulled up the stakes

placed by the government surveyors, and quietly refused to cooperate. The government finally threw up its hands and stopped trying to force them to break their postage stamp lands into individual holdings.

b. Concept of punctuality. Like most non-urban groups, Indians do not have a concern for being at places exactly on time. Thus there is the concept of "Indian time" similar to "Negro time," "Jewish time," "African time," "Chinese time" -- a tendency to turn up considerably later than the time set for a specific occasion. It was alleged that one family of AFSC Indian staff members had so absorbed the Indian viewpoint that they sometimes strolled into meetings of their advisory committee two and three hours late.

c. Sharing. Among Indians there is often a tradition of sharing. Therefore, Indian Bureau social workers are often surprised when they take monthly relief checks to an Indian family, and find three days later that it has been divided evenly between the family and whatever visitors may have wandered in. Said a social worker:

"There is complete absence of competition on the reservation. Life here is communal. If one family gets an ADC check, everybody lives off it. I think the communal spirit has been wonderful and I regret having to keep a family from sharing its allotment."

d. Child rearing and illegitimacy. Patterns of child-rearing and attitudes toward unmarried mothers on Indian reservations differ sharply from the middle class attitudes found in cities. Some observers of Indian family life were admirers of this, rather than critical. Said an AFSC staff member:

"It is quite obvious that the white man's way of life is not the best. Many things in Papago culture could be benefited from. The handling of kids, for example. If I let my kids run around in the Presbyterian church in town, I would be asked not to come back. Here, people have so much love and respect for kids that nobody minds a little noise. The father looks after the children a great deal, loves them up, takes care of them, instead of the mother doing it."

"Children have less reasons for insecurity through divorce, because of the enlarged family. If a girl has a child out of wedlock, there is no stigma. The child is just taken in. If parents can't care for a child, the grandparents do it -- the child always has a home."

An Indian Bureau social worker also noted this fact. She said:

"Children born out of wedlock -- there is no shame or stigma connected with the mother or with the illegitimate children. There is no feeling about it -- it is perfectly natural. We may superimpose our own concept of problems on people who don't see them as problems. Whites would be terribly upset."

e. Giving and receiving. Persons trying to provide service to Indians sometimes note that the Indians do not understand the motivation of the service,

but having received it, are hurt if it is withdrawn. One Quaker member of an Indian advisory committee stated:

"White people may think they know how Indians feel, but unless they lived with them for years, they may miss the boat. For example, we cut some wood for fourteen families on the reservation. We established a precedent there and other Indians want to know why they don't have wood. If you neglect any Indians, that's dynamite.

"Also, when you start cutting the wood you have to keep doing it or quit. If you quit they'll say 'What's the matter, you mad at us?'"

This and other examples indicate that more careful thought must be given to the whole philosophy and methodology of giving. Sometimes what may seem, to the donor, to be general altruism may be considered as "do-good-ism" or an actual insult or affront to the recipient. Things like "hand-outs," distribution of material aids, Christmas baskets, or helping people to help themselves, must be viewed in terms of the recipient's perception as well as that of the donor. For example, the term "Indian-giver" seems to have stemmed from the failure on the part of whites to reciprocate appropriately when Indians gave them gifts -- so naturally, the Indians thought it quite appropriate to take their gifts back. We urge AFSC to give considerable discussion and thought to this problem of tactful and appropriate methods of giving.

f. "Organizing." Many groups have beliefs in the need for voluntary organizations that are sharply different from that of the American middle class. For example, writings of William Foote White in Boston, Hurley Doddy in New York, and Cayton and Drake in Chicago show that what appears to be an unorganized depressed community may actually be highly organized; however the organization is not visible because it does not follow the conventional lines of middle class voluntary organizations. Persons who feel motivated to enter a minority community and organize it should understand the traditional type of organization by which that group has always accomplished things.

As an example, when the Los Angeles Indian Center was turned over from AFSC to the Indians to manage, the Indian personnel preferred to conduct it on more informal lines than had been true in the past. The director, a Ponca, and the associate director, a Kickapoo, made these comments:

Associate: "The Indians are beginning to realize that no one is in back of us -- this thing is ours -- we must back it up. Before this, AFSC had the management and the Indians didn't know what made it tick. Now the women are working their heads off. They don't like to feel they are being supervised."

Director: "Most groups would come in and say, 'Why don't you organize?' but it always falls apart in two weeks."

Associate: "The Sisters Club didn't want to be organized. Some of the white people wanted them to organize and join the federation of women's clubs."

Director: "They want recreation and they want to do things spontaneously."

Associate: "When we're off work, we don't want to spend time organizing -- we want to relax."

g. Selection of "spokesmen." Identification of minority leadership is often inaccurately done by majorities. Experiences in the American South have shown how majorities almost invariably pick the wrong persons as leaders of the minority community. Persons working with Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans make even greater errors, since the tendency of majorities is to approach first those minorities who are as much like themselves as possible. The educated or middle class or professional leadership of a minority community is often most articulate and informed, and possesses a broader perspective; however this does not necessarily mean that it is the leadership accepted by that minority community.

AFSC has had a few unproductive experiences, through negotiating with a leadership not accepted by Indians. On one occasion they negotiated with an extremely competent Indian spokesman who, however, had received the "kiss of death" by too much publicity. He sponsored the AFSC staff member's entrance to the reservation, and was later voted out as tribal chairman. As the tribe assumed new leadership, they requested the AFSC staff member to leave the reservation. However, protests from mothers who had witnessed the fine job done by the staff member in recreational programs, changed the mind of the Tribal Council so that the staff member was later asked to remain. On another reservation, AFSC again contacted some of the marginal rather than the traditional leaders, and derived from them an impression that work campers should tear down the community center and build another one. The traditional tribal leaders did not want this. The center was torn down, and construction was begun on another, but it was never finished. Today it stands half-constructed, a mute testimony to some minor errors in judgment.

In summary, any group planning work in areas with minorities or depressed people of another social stratum should make careful preliminary analysis of the possible value conflicts that may arise. This is especially true of AFSC programs, particularly work camps with Indians, where non-Indian youths strongly motivated to make a contribution may be frequently baffled and disillusioned by the Indians' misunderstanding of their motivations and actions.

4. Inter-minority relationships. We suggest that the relationships between one minority group and another, in terms of both attitudes and behavior, are related to the nature of the minority-majority group relationship. The nature of inter-group relations in general will guarantee that each minority has an ambivalent reaction toward another given minority. Inter-minority attitudes will reflect these two countervailing types of sentiment:

- a) There will be an internalization of the majority group's prejudices, resulting in differential and derogatory attitudes and behavior of one minority group for another.
- b) There will be a sympathy, understanding, and identification of one minority group for another, based on its own painful experiences with the majority group. This may result, at times, in attempts at inter-minority solidarity.

Thus we noted that spokesmen of each minority group would acknowledge that strong prejudice toward other minorities exists, consistent with the prejudice of the general community. This is in addition to the fact that some minority groups are so anguished and disturbed about their own position and problems that they do not have the time to sympathize with other minorities. Also, a minority group member might rank the other minorities in terms of the cooperation they have shown. In answer to a question on inter-minority cooperation, an NAACP field secretary stated:

"The Jewish organizations are talking behind the scenes and pussy-footing around. We have done pretty well with Jewish labor groups, but the Jews don't put money into the NAACP out here.

"We have a very good working relationship with the Mexicans, but they are new and are trying to get leadership from us, and we have helped. The Mexican-Americans, especially the dark-skinned ones, will work with you. They know discrimination and they are in a terrible mess.

"The Japanese-Americans feel that we are a disadvantage to them -- they are better off. The Chinaman is the Uncle Tom of the Orientals. He caters to the white man and he uses that ghetto. They have the worst slums in town. They take up the white man's prejudices. The Chinese are not vocal. Now the Japanese do not discriminate, but the Chinese will, in a minute, if they have white trade."

We suggest that antagonism toward other minorities is strongest in that segment of a minority community that is "middle class," upwardly mobile, and striving toward conformity to American conventions, or else in the segment of the minority community that is completely isolated. We suggest that inter-minority solidarity and non-prejudice is strongest among the most hostile minority group members, among those who resent and reject trends toward "middle-class" conformity, and among the most militant minority group leaders.

Midway between the attitude of prejudice toward other minorities and the attitude of identification with them is a type of ambivalence, caused by the internalization of both of these attitudes. As an example, a Southern Negro minister spoke of his negotiations with the Jewish superintendent of a Southern hospital. He said:

"I went to this Jewish man and told him that what happened in Germany could happen here. 'You people have a genius for making money, but we have masses -- we should work together.' He was noncommittal. Jews are economically 'in' but socially anxious. But now, that hospital is completely integrated."

In other instances, lack of full cooperation between minority groups is caused by jurisdictional disputes or by language and cultural barriers. For example, a Mexican-American, active in a Community Service Organization, indicated that they worked with the Japanese-Americans' Citizens League because of similar interests in old age pensions, and with the NAACP because of interest in FEPC. However, he added:

"There is a difficulty in our state because the Community Service Organization is all for trying to organize the Negroes, but the NAACP felt that was their jurisdiction, so we turned it over to them.

There are still some Jewish and Negro honorary members, but it is mostly Mexican-Americans -- ninety per cent. The reason that it is hard to get other minorities is that our support comes from older people who can't or won't speak English, so the meetings are conducted mostly in Spanish, and others are bored."

Nevertheless, in this same organization, the writer met a group of young, recently developed Mexican-American leaders, exhibiting radiant faces and stating phrases such as: "It's wonderful," "We've just learned that we can do something," "There's no end to this," and "We minorities must work this thing out together."

The chairman for a state council for civic unity noted this sentiment, saying:

"The work of organizing Mexican-Americans appeals to the NAACP. They see labor, Negroes, and Mexicans as the true leadership of civil rights in this state. The real raw, raw strength is in the valleys, among the agricultural workers. We call it 'The sleeping giant.'"

The regional secretary of the NAACP agreed with this, stating:

"I am sure you can get the CIO and the Mexican-Americans to take a stand on any one of these discriminatory questions with you. Our relations with Mexican groups are wonderful."

In the relationships between Negroes and American Indians, the same ambivalence is found as we have earlier noted. Most Negroes know relatively little about Indian problems and share, to some extent, the derogatory opinions of the majority group, or else believe that Indians should fight their way toward complete integration as Negroes have had to do. However, there is a growing tendency among Negroes to understand the problems of Indians and to offer support and help to them.

Among Indians, we note first the inevitable anti-Negro prejudice, caused partly by the tight "in-group" feeling of Indians and partly by their absorption of the white man's prejudices. We heard examples of Indian youth dropping their participation in all organized events at settlement houses if Negroes were introduced, even at Indian centers. On the other hand, the writer noticed many examples of the opposing sentiment, and was warmly received by Indian groups in every context. At one meeting of a cooperative association, the chairman introduced the writer by saying, "For the first time we have a visitor in our midst," and then gently interviewed him on such subjects as problems of Negroes in the South, the Supreme Court decision, and what kind of man Thurgood Marshall was. Another, designated as chief of the tribe, confided that he had heard Booker T. Washington speak in 1913 and had never forgotten it. Many Indians expressed sympathy about Negro problems in general and tremendous appreciation about Negro teachers in Indian areas, in particular. These were the comments of two Hopi:

"Indians feel that Negroes are another group that is suffering, and have had a terrible time. That Talmadge is a terrible man. He says Negroes will go to school over his dead body. They didn't want to come over here -- they were brought in holds of ships."

"They have Negro teachers. They do a first class quality of work. The Indians appreciate them because they take their work seriously and know that it is a matter of people."

In five years of participation at Fisk University's Race Relations Institute, the writer has noted that Indians are gradually becoming aware of the existence of other minorities with similarly severe problems. Their reaction was originally one of complete preoccupation with their own immediate situation. For example, in 1953, a panel of seven Indians eloquently stated their problems and aspirations to the rest of the Institute. But when asked by an active Jewish community worker how they could work more closely with other minorities, their reaction was one of blank, prolonged and uncomprehending silence.

However, in subsequent years, there has been an increasing interest in other minorities, and an admiration of the strategies developed by Negro organizations and of the resources of the Jewish agencies. Every year, more and more of the speeches by Indians are directed at increased inter-minority solidarity. As one Pueblo Indian stated:

"One problem of minorities is working together. They are now doing so: Although we may not have similar problems, there are some things common to all of us. Minorities must unite in a common effort."

And another, a Gros Ventre, added:

"We need help from the Spanish-Americans and the ASCAP, I think you call it. In the future I hope you will help us and we will help you. I was just as excited as a small kid when I got invited to come here."

In summary, the future interrelationship of minority groups depends on the type of corrective education that each receives, the clarification of differences in objectives and strategies among different minority group organizations, and the demonstration of successful actions involving coordinated minority group efforts. We feel that the long standing fruitful relationship between the NAACP and the Jewish agencies, the attempt of various minority group lawyers to work out a coordinated civil rights strategy, and, particularly, the unity of minorities and labor groups on the west coast that some have called "The Sleeping Giant" presage an era of increased minority group solidarity, cooperation, and appreciation; still consistent with the American ideal of unity in diversity, and "the more perfect union."

F. The Gamut of Racial Orientations and Actions

In our introductory framework, we have suggested a continuum of individual orientations and organizational assumptions in relation to American racial problems. We wish to illustrate examples of this framework as it actually looks in American communities, by presenting these five subjects: (1) the spectrum of orientations, (2) the nature of the intergroup organizations, (3) organizational limitations, (4) interorganizational relationships, and (5) some other community forces.

1. The spectrum of orientations. From previous observations we have suggested ten possible orientations in race relations: separatist, laissez faire, minority self-discipline, prevention, exhortation, participation, education, negotiation, "direct action," and revolution. In citing specific examples from our

field experience, we must leave out some of these -- the extremes -- and sharply abridge some of the rest. Nevertheless, we will present representative comments illustrating this continuum of orientations.

a. Separatist orientations. The writer was exposed to few examples of completely separatist or "apartheid" views on racial subjects. Only rarely did respondents even mention opposition to interracial marriage. Said one Southern white businessman:

"It doesn't matter what you think, since we'll be friends anyway, but I don't want to see the mongrelization of the races. It doesn't work in South America. If the barriers were down, the best Negroes would marry the lowest whites. I don't want to see the races ever mix -- I think we'd both lose by it -- but I want to see the Negro get every right that he deserves."

Actual "separatist" statements personally noted by the writer have come only from persons from South Africa. At a Fisk University Race Relations Institute a pretty young white missionary startled the audience with her statement of South African objectives:

"We are all striving for the same goal -- equal opportunity. But you are doing it through integration, and we believe it must be done through segregation."

In another instance, a South African anthropologist, sent here to study American race relations, made this statement:

"The white man in South Africa committed a great sin. He allowed the natives a measure of political integration. This led to some economic integration and would have led to social integration. In order to atone for this sin, the white man has had to return to a policy of complete separation."

b. Laissez faire. The writer likewise noted few "let it alone" orientations, though researchers of more neutral appearance might uncover more. Only these examples come to mind. Said a midwestern Chamber of Commerce executive, in relation to race relations action:

"Our board is not prepared to take the lead. We are not reformers, and we don't change unless our members want us to. I don't think you'll ever get a group of employers together to talk about employment on merit. But someday, maybe by spontaneous combustion, they will get together. If a drop of water drops on a stone long enough, it will wear it away."

"Now you might ask if there are any colored members in the Chamber of Commerce. We do have some, but we don't solicit them. We don't ask for trouble. If a lot come, a lot of whites wouldn't sit with them. We can't break that down -- time will have to do it."

In another midwestern community, a Quaker businessman echoed this sentiment:

"In the South there is a lot of tradition to overcome, but time will heal that if you just don't try to push too fast. You shouldn't push a person who is not ready. If we did not talk so much about the problem, we would be better off."

c. Minority self-discipline. We have already cited statements of various spokesmen, particularly American businessmen, indicating that many believe the solution of the Negro problem should be within the Negro community itself. Some have suggested that Negro pressure groups be persuaded to stop agitating for Negro employees, some have recommended that Negro "big fat babes" be taken off picket lines, some have suggested that minorities should be less obnoxious since that causes prejudice, and one Chamber of Commerce man even suggested that AFSC should persuade Negro maids not to ride in separate seats when returning from the suburbs, since there are no seats left for the white women, who don't want to sit by their maids.

In this area we prefer to document a different viewpoint -- the fact that the minority self-discipline approach is often favored by Negroes. This sentiment is held mainly by the more conservative or accommodating segments of the Negro community -- those that are called "Uncle Toms" -- but nevertheless it should be cited. These are representative statements:

(White Catholic lawyer on prominent Negro spokesman) "He said right in this office that the Negro can't expect acceptance until he proves himself. He thinks that if Bill Smith gets drunk on Saturday night in this town, then Joe Brown in Kansas City shouldn't get a job. The office here loves him. They say 'there's a good nigger.'"

(Southern Negro hotel owner) "Negroes holler about their rights, but have to prove themselves before they can expect these rights. They ask for the wrong things. They want to go to white schools rather than putting their money together and building more housing projects and hiring more Negroes. I am glad that the white man came and took me out of the jungle."

(Southern Negro school principal, on most effective methods) "We will have two problems: one with the other fellow and one with ourselves. We have to go back to the idea of making the best of whatever job you're doing rather than shooting for the top. We have had some unsuccessful experiences with placing Negro typists. They called up sick, but were probably drunk."

d. Prevention, exhortation, and participation. These three orientations were seldom articulated as primary methods of solving the race problem. They were usually mentioned only in a subsidiary role. We might generalize that preventive methods were presented most frequently by persons connected with Mayor's committees, exhortation was adhered to mainly by ministers and church groups, and participation was suggested most frequently by lay community members of the "club woman" type. In some cases, Negro spokesmen suggested that efforts to promote interracial participation smack of the "Lady Bountiful" approach, with abundant charity but little opportunity for the minority community to reciprocate. In speaking of a settlement house interracial participation program, an NAACP president said scornfully: "Whites and Negroes work together making aprons, but the whites teach and the Negroes learn."

Other intermediary methods and techniques were often cited with amusement or contempt by intergroup relations practitioners. These included such methods as "pass out pamphlets in front of the Unitarian Church," "throw out a basketball and let kids learn to mix by themselves," "ring the dinner bell," or the ambiguous phrase "set a good personal example."

e. Education. The use of educational techniques as a solution to the race problem is mentioned perhaps more frequently than any other single technique. However, the meaning of "education" varies sharply from person to person. Some persons merely chant cliches like "Isn't the solution the education of both races?" or "Give people the facts and prejudice will vanish away." Some persons refer to school courses, some to workshops and conferences, and some to emotional education through actual intergroup experiences. These are sample statements favoring the educational approach:

(Attorney and chairman of Mayor's committee) "I am not impressed with the results of legislation. It is important to educate, too -- through panel discussions. Among Negroes we need a lot of education. Make people realize that they are ambassadors, and that others are being judged by them. It is unfair, but it exists."

(Negro southern school principal) "I'd rather bank on an educational approach, with two involved: (a) the trainee, and (b) the industry. I would be slow to legislate. FEP would be objectionable until we could first develop a favorable attitude."

(Urban League executive secretary) "We have to create an atmosphere to make people want to do right. That doesn't mean just educating alone or 'quit, you're hurting me,' but tell about the problems of the minority. Second, make personal calls, and third, legislation."

We note that education is often mentioned in connection with other techniques; we also note that it refers to educating the minority community as well as the general community. This suggested reorientation of the minority community may range from "improving obnoxious characteristics" to presenting a more realistic picture of what is wrong in intergroup relations, and how it might be improved most effectively.

f. Negotiation. We note that several community members, particularly intergroup practitioners, prefer techniques of private negotiation to other methods. These techniques may range from individual personal visits to persons of influence and "behind the scenes" agreements, to group conferences at which all members of representative community groups are present and articulate. It may even go so far as persuading "gatekeepers" to change their racial practices or suffer the legal consequences. The following comments recommend varying types of negotiation:

(Factory vice-president and Urban League board member) "Round table discussions are very effective. There are not enough of them, and in those I've seen, I've been amazed at the reactions of people who find that the colored people they are talking to are just as intelligent as they. Legislation is not the answer -- you are trying to sell an idea. Any salesman worth his salt knows he has to come back three or four times before he gets his foot in the door."

(Quaker doctor and JOP Committee member) "Talk with individuals and bring small groups together. I would make them co-equal. Small groups are necessary before big mass management conferences; talking to individuals is necessary before the small group meetings. Until they will talk in the small group, they won't act because of a feeling of what others say."

(NAACP staff member, on negotiating with school boards) "I am not so convinced that we need all these workshops, to get people used to these men from Mars. Start doing something. Get policy statements from these school boards. Keep going before the boards -- they behave best when there is a large audience. Start somewhere."

g. Legislation. Supporters of legislation as an effective weapon in intergroup relations come from many areas of American communities. Even businessmen admit at times that legislation would "take them off the hook" or that they sympathize with minority attempts to get favorable legislation enacted. However, the bulk of statements endorsing legislative techniques comes from intergroup practitioners or from the minority community and its sympathizers. Samples:

(Newspaperman and FEPC staff member) "I'll make an analogy. It was once a God-given right to carry a gun. Then, to make society safer, they passed a law making it illegal. There was a hue and cry for a while, but now, everyone accepts the fact. I believe legislation is actually the answer."

(NAACP president) "I would say that the first thing we need is legislation. After that, we need a program of education and qualifying to prepare. But this can be going on all the time. Never let up on the demand for legislation. Never be like people who always pray for rain and don't carry an umbrella."

(NAACP field secretary) "Other organizations do a lot of talk and send out a lot of programs, but they are sitting at a desk. They say 'You can't cure everything by legislation,' but their hands are tied -- they are afraid of losing their tax exemption. The only organization that can hit people over the head is the NAACP -- nobody can boss us. They are very critical of the NAACP because of our direct approach -- we have insisted upon a head-on collision. But I believe we have to have a floor under the thing."

(White lawyer, active in NAACP and Catholic Interracial Council) "Legislation is it. If a bunch of employers were throwing garbage in the street, they wouldn't organize citizens' groups to persuade them; they would pass a city ordinance. I am willing to go into negotiation, prayer, and what not, but it doesn't make sense to me why people think this will work."

Summarizing the many community comments favoring legislation, we note that some believe that legislation accomplishes less positive things than the minorities hope, but more positive things than majorities believe; proponents of legislative techniques use analogies just as their opponents compare legislation to prohibition; some mention legislation in conjunction with other methods, and others mention it in opposition to other methods; and many recognize that the legislative approach is the way most things get done in American life.

h. Other "direct action." There are still other alternative techniques of enforcing change in race relations, in addition to legislation. We note some of these. A CIO official indicated that he used the non-discriminatory clauses in union contracts to affect his action, telling businessmen briefly: "Comply or we pull your contract." The public relations staff member of a railroad, contemplating building an integrated housing development, suggested that they might control the behavior of white buyers by interceding through financial channels: "Make his loan due if he creates a nuisance." An anarchist, deeply interested in Indian affairs, protested the fact that community action groups engaged mainly in obtaining silk uniforms for the Indian basketball players, adding: "That is not right. Fight to get them some water rights." A Negro newspaperman suggested that the credo of most militant Negroes today is as follows: "Give me my rights, and give them all to me now." In that same community a strongly militant Negro lawyer explained his view of more and less effective race relations techniques:

"Minority self-help is foolish -- they don't ask whites to do it. Persuading is ridiculous. I'm for all the force necessary to bring it about. I believe in stirring up a racket. Even if someone else disagrees with it, it often clicks."

These additional suggested techniques of changing practices and invoking sanctions in race relations are presented merely to show the total gamut of possible alternatives. To these might be added such actions as writing protest letters, picketing, invoking boycotts, or staging mass meetings and protest parades. However, such techniques were not noticed by the writer as actually practiced in American communities with any great frequency.

A brief summary of the type of intergroup orientation preferred by different community segments might conclude this: the business community seems to prefer laissez faire, minority self-improvement, or educational and persuasive methods; persons involved in AFSC's program prefer their own traditional methods of participation, persuasion and negotiation, with a sympathetic glance at legislative action; the intergroup organizations indicate their belief in the effectiveness of educational, negotiating, and legislative activities; and the minority community itself runs the gamut from minority self-improvement, through negotiating techniques, to legislative action and all other types of immediate action that might be defined as "stirring up a racket." We now consider how these various individual orientations look when viewed against statements made by and about members of specific intergroup relations organizations.

2. The nature of the intergroup organizations. In the introductory chapter of this volume, describing the framework for the present chapter, we have presented the variety of resources that exist in American communities to combat racial problems. We have also indicated the individual orientations and assumptions that are reflected in the objectives and methods of specific intergroup organizations. In the previous section, we sought to show how these orientations are reflected in the minds of individuals actively studied in this research.

We now concern ourselves with the specific resources viewed in this research, assuming that on closer examination, the stated objectives of these organizations may be assessed in the light of what they actually do in the communities studied in this research. We therefore mention briefly six forces most noticeable in the community studies: (a) religious organizations, (b) Mayor's committees,

(c) Urban Leagues, (d) Councils for Unity or interracial committees, (e) "Jewish agencies," and (f) the NAACP.

a. Religious organizations. Intensive community observations document the generally held assumption that religious organizations are seldom taking the lead in American communities, as far as race relations are concerned -- with the possible exception of a growing band of Southern white and Negro church women. Many of these organizations, and their official and lay participants, are aware of their shortcomings in this area, and seek a role to play in intergroup relations, often with some futility. In many meetings, troubled statements might be heard like, "The churches should take the lead," or "What can we as church people do in race relations?" But most religiously oriented organizations still show disturbance at the fact that more secular forces are frequently making more rapid progress than they.

However, this varies from one community to another. In a southern community, an AFSC regional secretary stated perplexedly that "Churches have not been as helpful as you would expect in a liberal community like this." But, in another community characterized by strong local sentiments of isolationism, ardent nationalism, ethnocentrism, a history of "know nothingism" and extremely limited forces in intergroup relations, the religious groups were far more effective. A Catholic Interracial Council, a Jewish Community Relations Committee, and a Federation of Protestant Churches all could point to numerous significant actions in race relations. And other intergroup organizations endorsed their effectiveness, while admitting their own lack of progress. A president of the Federation of Churches explained the reason for this:

"The church federation is active because there was nothing being done and the only folks who could do anything were those in the churches. If other groups were doing a good job, they would resent the church federation. But because they couldn't handle the race relations problems, they welcomed our help. If I went into a less acute community to do something as a church man, I wouldn't get anywhere."

Other examples of exceptions to ineffectiveness of religious organizations might be cited. The Catholic Interracial Council, though new, has been shown to be doing effective work in many communities -- just as Catholic schools and parochial schools have taken the lead in integrating their southern constituencies. In one town, a Catholic layman, active in the Catholic Interracial Council, explained their methods:

"The CIC in this town is now identifying racial discrimination as sin. The priests tell discriminators who take their Catholicism seriously that they are living in sin. You might call it a fear technique."

In this same community, a priest explained some of the methods of the Catholic Interracial Council:

"I don't think there is any other motivation but love. I tell our groups that there is no possibility of loving Christ without loving one's fellow humans. 'Have you fed the sick, clothed the needy? If you've done it to them, you've done it to me.' There are other approaches -- hard facts to businessmen shouldn't be ignored, but there should be an ultimate higher appeal."

In Indian areas, many church groups have largely damaged their effectiveness by shameless competition with each other for membership, by looking down on the Indian people, or by presenting Indians with such a bewildering display of contradictory theological premises and practices that Indians have either turned their backs on all of them, accepted them fatalistically, or used them to obtain whatever the Indians needed, in exchange for lip-service membership.

On the other hand, in many Indian areas the religious groups and missionaries are almost the only non-official agencies dealing with problems of Indians. Many have contributed schools, churches and medical care, and some have learned the Indian language in order to come closer to the people.

In one community located near a Papago Indian reservation, a chapter of the United Council of Church Women gave an excellent example of how a motivated and effective group may progress from less to more effective techniques of action. They first became exposed to the reservation by taking some foreign students on a tour of the Papago area. Then, struck by the terrible health problems of the Indians, they decided to contribute medical materials and a health booth. Later, they saw that even this was not enough and began working actively to improve the total health facilities of the people on the reservation. And finally, they realized that most of the Papagoes' plight was due to the fact that they were the only large Indian group in the country that did not have rights to the minerals on their own reservation. So the UCCW group joined hands with others to help these Papago Indians obtain their mineral rights, and were successful.

b. Mayor's commissions on human relations. These are official city bodies, operating sometimes with and sometimes without funds and staff. One opinion among intergroup relations practitioners is that these official bodies exist mainly to perform a preventive function, to keep down tension, or to usurp the areas where more militant groups should be working. As verification, some directors and staff members of Mayor's committees explained their function thusly:

"Our program is extensive but limited by lack of staff and funds. We contact all firms that receive city contracts and encourage employers to seek ways and means of getting more minorities. We are authorized to receive complaints, investigate, and report."

"Very little comes before us. We were going to work on a program of education in schools, but a Negro principal said that a program might make it seem like there was tension, so we abandoned it. We handle cases as they are brought to us. We are there to hear any incidents that suggest racial tension."

"Up till now our work has been putting out fires. There must be 50,000 Negro people who have moved into new areas. The tide is rolling and they can't stop it. We are putting out less and less fires, but need more people to get out and convince community organizations."

"Our commission was formed to stop the NAACP from trying to get an FEPC. The attitude of the commission is education and gradual evolution of ideas rather than legislation. We can't open up everything but can work gradually. Any dominant, militant move would make businessmen go back into their shells."

Therefore, with the exception of a few truly effective commissions developed in larger cities, Mayor's commissions are generally regarded as not being an effective force in intergroup relations. One NAACP president contemptuously dismissed the Mayor's commission in his city, saying:

"The mayor's committee is just like the mayor -- wants to be all things to all people -- tied down by an agreement; they are not to make any noise or seek any legislation to better racial conditions. They have no primary interest in solving problems, so everything goes by the boards. They have no power."

Thus, most Mayor's commissions seem to be hampered by lack of resources or an ambiguity in terms of what they were set up to do. However the writer's experience in serving for three years on such a committee in a small conservative community of 50,000 convinces him that there is a far greater potential in Mayor's commissions than is usually realized.

c. Urban Leagues. For over forty years, Urban Leagues have existed in most large American communities, with these purposes: to introduce the rural and southern Negro migrant to the urban setting; to expand industrial opportunity and open up new areas for Negroes in non-traditional fields; to refer newcomer Negroes to the appropriate social agencies that will satisfy their needs; to work in cooperation with other organizations interested in race relations, to interpret the problems of Negroes to the general community; and to form community organizations helping Negroes to improve their homes, neighborhoods, and civic activities. The Urban League annual conference, held in September, 1955, resolved, in substance: "To expand its area of operations to better secure its objectives and to place more emphasis on the elimination of undesirable attitudes against Negroes in employment and housing as well as other phases of American life."

There are approximately sixty Urban League branches in this country. Seven communities covered in this research were found either to have Urban League branches existing there or in nearby areas. Community evaluations of Urban Leagues were conflicting and seemed to depend largely on the caliber of the Urban League executive's director and on the relationships between himself and the type of board he had. There were evidences of militant directors and staffs with extremely conservative boards, there were instances of somewhat progressive boards but reluctant or uncertain staff members, and, markedly, there were often such tremendous variations in orientation of board members toward race relations that a coordinated, hard-hitting Urban League program proved difficult if not well nigh impossible.

Urban Leagues sometimes were hampered in their efforts by such factors as conservative boards, limitations imposed by community chest requirements, necessity for having to raise funds at the same time one is conducting a community program, lack of sufficient prestige to reach persons of considerable community influence, and sharp criticism from more militant segments of the minority community. Nevertheless, the Urban League function of creating favorable climates of opinion in race relations, simultaneously "going to the top" and contacting the "grass roots," working with poor, uneducated Negroes of southern or rural background, and working in coordination with other organizations, is a valuable function, offering an interesting comparison to the Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

d. Councils for Civic Unity. Like Mayor's committees and commissions, councils for civic unity are part of a movement that got under way in American communities during and shortly after World War II. However, unlike the mayor's groups, the councils have no official status and are generally composed of concerned citizens from a wide variety of sub-segments of communities. Some claim membership from citizens of considerable influence, and others are often designated as mere "do-gooders"; some follow a ritual of recruiting Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish representatives, while others appoint the most concerned and useful citizens regardless of background; some have a considerable representation from the minority community while a few others have not yet brought in minority group members, or have only "token representation" of minorities. But in general, it might be said that the purpose of these councils is a breaking down of barriers to communication within communities, a dual educational goal of informing each other and spreading intergroup relations materials throughout the community, and a method of quiet personal negotiations with persons who have been known to practice racial discrimination.

Councils for unity are generally in an intermediary position between the known conservative organizations in this field and the more militant or "radical" organizations. Therefore, from this latter group, they are often subject to criticism. These are representative comments of more militant community members:

(Militant southern Negro teacher) "The Interracial Commission has been dormant. It is intended to maintain the status quo. The meeting membership changes, which means you discuss the same thing over and over and over."

(NAACP Regional Secretary) "The council for civic unity is above things -- doing things for the brother, but not meeting with him in the basement of a Negro church."

(NAACP field secretary, on effectiveness of council) "Oh, those things are just flailing around. They are trying to be liberals, but white people can't understand these things like you or I. They go through many motions and they do the same things on the surface, but they never get to the core of things. Sometimes I think they're hindering, with their mild-mannered conciliatory approach."

However, these councils for civic unity, wherever they exist, draw a wider positive endorsement from all community members than any other single organization -- with the possible exception of AFSC. They are respected because of a combination of these factors: prestige and respectability, representation from many walks of community life, ability, at times to obtain funds and staff, sincere and dedicated concern on the part of most members, and a willingness to educate and negotiate quietly rather than using less effective methods or else "stirring up a racket." They come closest of all organizations to approximating what we have referred to as the need in American communities for a "big ear."

Yet, one slight disadvantage exists in relation to councils for unity. They are used by many community members as a repudiation of other organizations, particularly the minority protest organizations. But on the other hand, these councils wax and wane, and frequently they may be accepted by American communities as the truly representative voice in intergroup relations, only to collapse shortly afterward through lack of funds or disinterest. This often creates a vacuum where no effective organization is serving the function of improving intergroup relations

in American communities. In addition, staff members of these councils have often intentionally undermined the NAACP in other more militant groups to the community power structure. But we might conclude that wherever these councils exist and are effective, they have served as an excellent balance to the other types of operations shown by intergroup relations organizations.

e. The "Jewish agencies." This phrase is presented in quotes because it may be a partial misnomer, implying that these agencies that are predominantly financed, governed, and staffed by Jewish people, have a great deal in common. Actually, there is a considerable difference in their aspirations, objectives, and methods, which is usually not clearly understood by the general community.

Most specifically, the phrase "Jewish agencies" generally refers to the American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, and Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The National Community Relations Advisory Council lists these three as constituent organizations, and also lists the Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, and Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Thus, local Jewish community relations councils might also fit into this category. Still, the fact that these organizations are less similar than is ordinarily supposed has been recently revealed in a sociological evaluation of NCRAC. This evaluation pointed out many conflicts of assumptions and duplications of functions and facilities. However, the evaluation was considered to have underestimated the autonomy and difference and uniqueness of each organization, and resulted in two of these constituent organizations withdrawing from NCRAC.

In general, the Jewish agencies have performed these functions in American communities: preparing and distributing educational intergroup relations materials, conducting workshops and seminars on this subject, making available films and speakers to community groups, staging annual intergroup relations dinners or presenting awards to persons making a significant contribution in this field, entering into private negotiations wherever possible, and furnishing competent legal advice and legislative action, where necessary. In general, it might be said that although the Jewish agencies are sometimes brushed aside by the more conservative and hence more anti-Semitic segments of American communities, their actual or potential contributions consist of greater funds and staff than most organizations, excellently prepared materials and resources, and staff members who combine strong motivation with sophistication, alertness, and a certain amount of personal influence.

f. A special note on the NAACP. We devote extended attention to the NAACP for these reasons: it is the world's largest civil rights organization; it has some 1,400 branches and a membership of over 300,000, of whom many are white; it is usually the most noticeable intergroup relations organization in any sizeable community because of the publicity that accompanies its legal and legislative actions; it has had consistent success before the United States Supreme Court, winning 38 out of the 44 cases it has brought before that high tribunal in the last forty-seven years; it has recently received considerable attention nationally and internationally because of the Supreme Court decision and decree outlawing public school segregation. In addition, the writer is more acquainted with this group than with most, because of previous connection with the NAACP both in studies of its branches in smaller communities, and in close contact with its national office.

NAACPs have numerous problems. Previous comments, particularly by businessmen, suggest that it is considered less than fully respectable by many and even considered

radical and possibly dangerous by some. It suffers from lack of money and from having to continually devise new ways of raising funds, locally and nationally. For example, at the conclusion of the Supreme Court re-arguments in April, 1955, the Legal Defense office of the NAACP had \$72.00 in its treasury. Also, with the exception of a few large cities, the organization cannot afford paid staff members, and must rely almost completely upon motivated volunteers.

Specifically, the NAACP suffers greatly through lack of full support from the minority community itself. Roughly, only one out of about forty-five American Negroes is an NAACP member. And, as a regional secretary pointed out, of its 300,000 members only about 25,000 are active members, about 1,000 are leaders, and they look to the national staff of fifteen or twenty to make policy and shape programs. Surveys show that ninety per cent of Negroes have heard of the NAACP, but that generally not more than fifteen per cent of Negro adults are members in each community where a branch exists, and few of these are able to put more than five dollars per year into its local branch treasury. Minority group members have an almost incredible number of ways of reacting to and protesting against their minority group status; however, the pursuit of objectives through channelized organized aggression, such as NAACP activity, is practiced by a surprising few. The recent Supreme Court decisions and the atrocities involving murders of Negroes in Florida, Virginia and Mississippi may have altered this situation somewhat.

The primary function of NAACPs, locally and nationally, is the pursuit of legal and legislative action to obtain Negroes the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution. But even in the few areas where full-time staff members are available, NAACP activity is impeded by the almost incredible number of additional responsibilities that staff members face. They must contact and service numerous local branches, make reports, organize new branches, settle organizational disputes, raise funds, sell Christmas seals, and continue to carry out the proposed program of the national office. In addition, some NAACP regional organizations have sought to work more directly toward improving the minority group's status through such functions as the formation of credit unions. And finally, each complaint of discrimination encountered by a Negro must be met by the staff member with immediate concern, militancy, and attempts to reach an equitable solution. In general, this organization must be subject to the wish and aspiration of a host of deprived minority people with high motivation, with sophistication ranging from relatively low to very high, and with finances so limited that financial contributions in meetings are usually gathered in nickels, dimes, and quarters.

Yet, despite the apparent impotence, intimidation, and lack of facilities in the minority community, the NAACP continually maintains a militant credo whose tenets might be stated thusly:

- (1) You cannot stop fighting or rest on your laurels for one moment -- you must keep doing something.
- (2) We need less talk and more action.
- (3) We need fewer surveys and more legal court cases.
- (4) The Negro "intelligentsia" doesn't support us enough -- most of our support comes from the hard-working man.
- (5) The Negro masses must be stirred up -- we must decrease apathy and encourage Negroes to use the ballot and to fight back.

- (6) NAACP work is a hard, thankless job, but a wonderful fellowship uniting in a great cause.
- (7) "The only way to integrate is to integrate."
- (8) It is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees.

In short, the NAACP's self conception is that of a great mass of deprived but protesting forces, seeking through forthright action in legitimate channels to secure the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and by the democratic heritage; and vindicating America in the process. Said chief legal counsel Thurgood Marshall at an annual NAACP conference in June, 1955:

"We are going to save the souls of the white western world, and we will not stop -- we will not even pause -- until this is done."

It is almost ironic that an organization initially devoted to "advancing colored people" is now both sincere and accurate in its belief that it is "saving the white western world."

In view of these observations, which the writer considers valid, it is interesting to see how the closed communication between different community segments causes many persons in positions of influence to disregard the NAACP as subversive and radical. In concluding his discussion of American race relations, South African Alan Paton comments:

The NAACP has been called a subversive organization. This stigmatization is so absurd as not to call for comment. It would never have been made if America had not been passing through a period of uncertainty about herself, when she saw something sinister in those who most faithfully proclaimed the revolutionary truths on which the republic is based. There are many signs that she is recovering, and that she will reject those who would bind liberty in order to possess it.

3. Organizational "limitations." This review of the problems of American intergroup organizations suggests that each type has experienced certain modifying factors that limit its full effectiveness. The work of AFSC in this field might be viewed against the background of these limitations that it and other organizations possess. Some of the more noticeable organizational limitations are as follows:

- a) Being a municipal, state or federal agency, hence unable to participate in politics, lobbying, legislative drives, or other strongly contentious effort;
- b) Being a minority-sponsored organization; being regarded by the community as "having an ax to grind";
- c) Lacking adequate funds and staff, or being unable to employ a full-time staff member;
- d) Possessing conservative board members or advisory committee members who continually restrain attempt at militancy;

- e) Being tax exempt -- unable to lobby or participate in action directed primarily at legislation;
- f) Being non-tax exempt -- ineligible for or unlikely to receive certain funds, particularly foundation grants;
- g) Being relatively unsophisticated -- unfamiliar or fearful of the more effective techniques in intergroup relations;
- h) Lacking clarity of objectives, or understanding of one's potential force in the community.

In summary, the six intergroup relations forces we have discussed might be listed thusly in terms of their limitations: religious organizations are often unsophisticated, sometimes restrained by conservative elements, and sometimes encountering difficulty in coordinating different sects. Mayor's committees experience lack of clarity about objectives, limitations on staff members performance because of employment by the city, or by partisan or political involvement. Urban Leagues are often hampered by conservative board members, by having to spend much time raising funds, and by being Community Chest sponsored. Councils for unity often lack sophistication, are often unable to get staff or funds, and sometimes cannot get tax exemption because of legislative activity, or else are prevented from taking part in legislative activity because of tax exemption. The Jewish agencies are sometimes accused of "having an ax to grind," may have considerable variations in objectives and duplication of functions, and sometimes experience considerable internal conflicts and competition. The NAACP is non tax exempt, generally lacks sufficient funds and staff, is considered "radical" by certain community segments, is believed to have an "ax to grind," and often competes with other organizations that it believes to be less militant.

With this as background, we now consider some of the positive and negative factors associated with relationships between these various organizations.

4. Interorganizational relationships. As previously noted, there is frequently a considerable degree of conflict, competitiveness, and bitterness between different organizations working in the intergroup relations field. This may seem surprising to the newcomer who might assume that the importance of the cause would supercede interorganizational wrangles. However, interorganizational difficulties are inevitable for these reasons: some minority groups may share the general community's prejudice against other minorities; there are tremendous differences in organizational objectives and techniques, based on differences in assumptions and orientations; interorganizational effort is often impeded because each organization has a different type of limitation on its activity; majority group members are increasingly becoming interested in this field and, on occasion, seeking either to modify or to increase the militancy of minority protest groups; individual practitioners are "all too human" and must often compete for credit and support in order to continue their work.

Therefore, in every community visited, evidences of interorganizational conflict were noticed -- generally centering around the more militant and controversial organizations like the NAACP. Here are sample comments on the negative side of interorganizational relationships:

(Former effective practitioner in large metropolis) "The most frustrating thing I ran into here was dealing with the social action organizations. Many people associated with liberal organizations are unable to carry out their beliefs in their personal lives. We used to be the only organization with a mixed work force. Most organizations are willing to run conferences and put out papers, but that's all."

(Urban League staff member) "We wonder why the Service Committee came here when there are so many places where nothing is being done in employment. And the NAACP -- why would they give up their efforts to get legal cases and come into the employment area? We'd have no quarrel with them if they would stick to their own business. Why go into a field that is already covered when there are so many more? The CIO claims to be fighting. So many people find this popular, now that they see there is some money in race relations."

(Executive Secretary for Council for Civic Unity, on NAACP) "The NAACP felt that civic unity councils were skimming off the best of Negro leadership, leaving the communities leaderless. That organization has to raise its own money through successful cases. They see these plush rich groups taking credit for court cases. This makes the NAACP belligerent. Others sit and talk, and spend money."

(Businessman and former practitioner) "Social action groups don't like the NAACP. They think we have reached the age of conciliation and negotiation. But someone needs to be shouting their heads off. Social action people think NAACP messes up strategy, but the NAACP wants people to stand up and be counted."

(NAACP regional secretary) "When you say 'Who is doing something?' it intrigues me, I don't know what you mean. Many groups are having conferences and issuing statements, but I don't know what they are doing."

Other examples of interorganizational difficulties exist. Persons in Indian programs are often fearful that the methods and assumptions effective with other minorities may be harmfully applied to Indians. Some national directors of minority organizations fear the possibility of over-participation of the local branches in cooperative efforts, or as one said, "Never let anybody coordinate you." NAACP staff members, particularly those negotiating with boards of education on school desegregation problems, fear that other more conciliatory groups will modify or impede the objectives they believe correct. As one regional secretary stated:

"When we hear other groups talking about meeting with school boards, we in NAACP get shaky. We have a set idea about what should be said to these school boards."

This statement was answered by the director of another interested intergroup organization, who assured:

"The NAACP's belief is that no group in the world is entitled to give away their civil rights."

We must mention the positive forces in this area, making for better inter-organizational relationships. There are increasing attempts at coordination,

particularly through such groups as the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. Increasingly, minority groups are recognizing the danger of inter-minority prejudice and are seeking common ground and coordinated effort. Increasingly, we note specific examples like Jewish agencies submitting amicus curiae briefs in NAACP court cases, NAACP lawyers and strategists counseling Indians, Mexican-American, and Japanese-American persons, all minorities uniting in attempts to obtain FEP legislation, Urban Leagues offering counsel and advice to other groups experiencing problems of population shifts to urban areas -- particularly Puerto Ricans, Indians, and Mexican-Americans. We trust that these trends will continue, we furthermore hope that the more specific documenting of differential organizational assumptions, objectives, and techniques, will serve to modify the interorganizational strife that still exists in most American communities.

5. Other community segments. In addition to the intergroup organizations that utilize wide varieties of methods and techniques in American communities, it should be indicated that other segments of community life are also doing work relevant to intergroup relations, or are assisting the Community Relations Program in its own work. We note specifically these four elements: other religiously motivated organizations; groups willing to "get their hands dirty"; general community organizations useful to AFSC; and minority organizations useful to AFSC.

a. Other religiously motivated organizations. We should note that AFSC is not the only religiously motivated organization working in American communities. Others also exist, doing work similar to that of AFSC and sometimes penetrating even further into depressed and needy areas. Some are as follows:

1) Catholic priests knock on all doors, and in Indian areas are often instructed to learn the language. Many have a firm grasp of anthropology or of legal problems that will benefit Indians.

2) Salvation Army workers and other evangelical groups also approach people on the basis of love, and have a compassion for every man that leads them to work in the most difficult areas of all -- the prisons and "skidrows" where depressed persons add to their more material problems, the problem of moral disintegration.

3) Unitarians may have followed a lead set by AFSC. They are currently active with work camps, with problems of school desegregation, and in Indian areas.

4) Members of the Bahia faith often furnish havens of social acceptance for physically handicapped persons, minority persons, and intermarried couples. Their credo is simple, but striking. For example, one sixteen year old Bahia youth encountered in this research who was working actively with Indians, expressed his motivation briefly:

"I am a member of the Bahia faith. We believe that there is but one race -- the human race."

5) Christian anarchists have expressed special interest and sympathy in the position of the American Indians. Some even believe that they and the Hopi are identical. Two anarchists contacted in the Southwest showed an even greater

concern for the Indian's wishes than AFSC. They earnestly asked the Hopi whether they wanted the white men to go back to Europe and give them back their land. The Hopi answered: "No, there is room for all here. Just ask the Bureau to live up to its promises."

There are numerous "question marks" that might be indicated in a critical appraisal of groups such as these. However, their presence and effective resources in American communities must not be discounted. The factor of proselyting and actually wanting members as well as ministering to the suffering and hoping they will share the religious beliefs, has a positive as well as a negative implication when compared with the religious society of Friends.

b. Organizations willing to "get their hands dirty." The more "glamorous" actions in American intergroup relations today exist in the Supreme Court chambers, or in areas where pioneer integration or "desegregation forthwith" are the order of the day. We remind the reader that considerable other intergroup activity exists, largely unnoticed because it concerns itself with "the great unwashed" -- the geographical migrants, the poverty-stricken indigents, the downwardly mobile, the alcoholics, "bums," "winos," and the otherwise demoralized and depressed minority groups members.

Organizations of this nature might include the following: The Urban League devotes much of its time to adjustment, organization, or even rehabilitation of migratory populations. Flanner House in Indianapolis concentrates largely on fundamental education as a solution to "the problems of the Negro" -- teaching Negroes to can, make their own articles, and refurbish their own houses. The Community Service organization on the West Coast is working largely with Mexican-Americans -- teaching them how to become naturalized, how to learn English more rapidly, how to utilize welfare resources, and how to organize to improve their extremely depressed position. The work of AFSC's Community Relations Program with American Indians and in the all-Negro depressed community of the West Coast is another example of this organizational willingness to sacrifice the more glamorous activities of intergroup relations and concentrate on truly "grassroots action."

c. Community organizations helpful to AFSC. As part of the attempts at quantification in this evaluation study, staff members of the Community Relations Program were asked in a questionnaire instrument to indicate what community organizations had been of great help to them, of some help, of no help, or had actually obstructed the program. From staff responses, a score was constructed in this manner: organizations that they rated as being of great help were scored 2, organizations that were of some help were scored 1, organizations that were no help got no score, and organizations that had actually obstructed the program were given a score of minus 2. The results of this inventory of fifteen staff members are now presented, ranging from the most helpful to the least helpful organizations:

<u>Organizations</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>Organizations</u>	<u>Score</u>
NAACP	14	Junior Chamber of Commerce	6
Anti-Defamation League	13	Local Ministerial Alliance	6
YWCA	11	Local Interracial Council	6
CIO	9	Local Council of Church Women	4
Catholic Interracial Council	9	YMCA	3
League of Women Voters	9	Mayor's Comm. on Human Relations	3
Local Urban League	8	Service Clubs	2
Local Council of Churches	7	Business & Professional Women	1
State Employment Service	7	The American Legion	-2
National Conference of Christians and Jews	6	Other patriotic organizations	-2
		Local Chamber of Commerce	-4

Note that in every staff member's perception, the CIO was more helpful than the AF of L, the YWCA more helpful than the YMCA, the Junior Chamber of Commerce more so than the older Chamber, the NAACP more helpful than the Urban League, the Anti-Defamation League more helpful than the National Conference of Christians and Jews. From these rough figures, general inference can be drawn about the potential helpfulness of various organizations in American communities.

d. Minority organizations useful to AFSC. Community Relations staff members were also asked to indicate, on the basis of their experience in contacting the minority community, what segments of Negro communities had been most helpful to them in their program. A score was constructed for various walks of life in the Negro community, similar to the score used for general community segments. These results in terms of helpfulness to AFSC's program were as follows:

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Score</u>
NAACP	15
Negro Ministerial Alliance	11
Urban League (or similar organization)	8
Negro Mothers Clubs or PTA groups	8
Negro civic or welfare clubs	8
Negro fraternities or sororities	8
Local Negro newspapers	7
Negro social clubs	6
Negro business and/or professional clubs	5
Negro church clubs	4
Negro political organizations or clubs	2
Negro youth groups	2
Negro lodges or lodge auxiliaries	2

These brief findings repeat research experience of other studies -- showing that minority protest organizations and a segment of ministerial leadership are more likely to support intergroup relations action; whereas lodges, business groups, and political clubs are more likely to seek to maintain the status quo as far as segregation and integration are concerned.

We have mentioned these other community segments to document a fact mentioned early in this report, discussing the total resources of communities. We noted there that in addition to specific intergroup organizations, there are other groups with indirect interest in intergroup relations, and still other groups whose facilities

and resources may be used even though their interest in intergroup relations per se is low. We mention these community segments in order to alert intergroup relations workers to the fact that the potential assistance of American community organizations is almost limitless. Effective community action depends upon a thorough knowledge of and cooperative collaboration with such organizations as we have described.

G. Some Community Views of AFSC

We assume that a valuable social science function in the evaluation of any action group is the use of community studies to measure differential community perceptions of a given organization in terms of (a) existence of opinion, (b) direction of opinion, (c) intensity of opinion, and (d) salience of opinion. That is, regardless of whether the social scientist is interviewing businessmen, intergroup organization practitioners, Negroes or Indians, he should always ascertain these things: Has the respondent heard of the AFSC program? Is his appraisal positive or negative? How strongly does he feel about this opinion? And how much a part of his total perceptual field in intergroup relations is his opinion? We therefore comment on community appraisals of the Community Relations Program in terms of (1) steering a middle course, (2) differential community appraisals of AFSC, and (3) can AFSC successfully reach all community segments?

1. Sailing between Scylla and Charybdis. In the process of community studies, we noticed that the Community Relations Program seemed usually to steer a careful middle course between militancy and appeasement, over-cautiousness and over-zealousness, pressuring others and letting things entirely alone. In view of our previously discussed framework of organizational limitations, it may be true that AFSC does steer a middle course in American communities. Comments by community members seemed to indicate this fact. The dean of boys in a Negro high school stated:

"The unique thing about them seems to be almost a science of persuasion. We either shake our fist or sound plaintive. The Service Committee evidently trains its people."

A West Coast director of a Jewish community relations council had a similar sentiment:

"It does more field work than any other organization has done. No other organization is set up to do it. They are either involved in legislation or else can't put anybody in the field to work. AFSC is unique and invaluable in this."

A Negro newspaperman, who had already indicated that Negro leadership was either discredited through being too militant or too accommodating, and who had sketched the ineffectiveness of both "Race Men" and "Uncle Toms," suggested some virtues of the Service Committee position:

"The reason the Service Committee is doing a terrific job is that (a) you have the Negro who is concerned but not listened to because he is termed too aggressive, and (b) then you have the Negro who is acceptable, but not getting things done. Then right down the middle comes the Quaker man -- there's no squaring off, just looking at

facts, bring up moral and religious points of view, telling of other people's experience, and getting things done. To move him from this area at this time would be the most harmful thing that could happen in this community."

Note that in these statements, reference is made to the uniqueness of AFSC in this middleman position that it occupies. This unique position is usually stated as a positive value. We now consider some of the other views of AFSC, negative and positive, accurate and inaccurate.

2. Direction and accuracy of appraisals. Community opinion about the Religious Society of Friends, the American Friends Service Committee, the Community Relations Program, and the performance of individual staff members must be viewed in terms of not only whether it is a positive or negative comment, but also whether it is based upon accurate or inaccurate information about what the program actually does. We present an example of each of these four possibilities. First, in relation to the Job Opportunities Program, an executive in a national organization exploded an opinion that was negative and somewhat behind the times:

"They don't know what the hell they're doing. They talk to businessmen and then don't know where to find qualified Negroes. Businessmen say 'Why we handle this through the Urban League. Who are you?' They don't like the idea of white folks running around servicing Negroes. They call me up and say, 'Who were those people?'"

Another effective intergroup relations practitioner gave a viewpoint of AFSC that was negative and hostile, but may have been less inaccurate in relation to details. This respondent stated:

"I object to paying a pittance to people who could be lay people. If a person is working full time, he'd better know what he is doing. He is cast in a professional role and is expected to know certain things. My objections to AFSC are these: (1) Their low salaries make people think all race relations people should get low salaries. (2) They hire amateur 'staff' who degrade the profession. (3) They have naive ideas about program termination."

It should be added that this respondent acknowledged attempts of the Community Relations Program Director to solve some of these problems.

We have termed these remarks accurate only because they state, in somewhat different form, three general assumptions of AFSC: (1) That salaries should be kept relatively low, (2) that "dedicated amateurs" are preferable to professional workers in this field, and (3) that AFSC should keep programs small and conduct them for only a limited period. This is an interesting case history in differential perceptions of a single phenomenon.

The positive inaccurate views were sometimes caused by confusing Community Relations work with other AFSC activities. Some persons thought that the Community Relations Program confined itself to conducting work camps, others thought it distributed material aids only, while still others thought that it concentrated on the self-help housing work. In reference to what was actually a Job Opportunities Program, a midwestern lawyer and secretary to the community's mayor said:

"Their projects deal with the people who are affected -- house to house cleanup. They promote more along the lines of self-help -- 'God helps those who help themselves.' They try to help change attitudes and also help minorities improve themselves."

Another positive statement that might have more overtones of accuracy was made by a noted American social psychologist:

"There's a difference between Quakers and others, though I don't know what it is. The name 'Quaker' means that the guy is different. When you hear that the Quakers have gone in there, you feel that whatever can be done, they will do -- quietly, prudently, and responsibly."

Thus, the ensuing community statements on AFSC should be viewed in terms of their negative or positive direction, as well as in terms of the accurate or inaccurate information on which the opinions are based. We now consider some perceptions of AFSC as held by the business community, the intergroup organizations, minority applicants, the Negro community, and the Indian community.

3. The business community's perception. Most businessmen contacted seemed to approve generally of what the Service Committee was trying to do, particularly in Job Opportunities, although somewhat surprised by the fact that the staff member hoped for results and was sometimes impatient. For many of the businessmen the problem is very recent and they were baffled at anyone's desire to solve things immediately. This is the community segment that said most frequently, "You can't rush these things," or "Rome wasn't build in a day." On the other hand they liked the non-pressure approach of AFSC and compared it favorably to other organizations.

Here is a range of business community comments on AFSC. First we cite a Catholic midwestern lawyer who indicated the general climate of disapproval in the business community when AFSC first started a program:

"There was originally a lot of negative comment. Businessmen thought it was another Red outfit. Quakers have had a rough time from 'know nothings' in this state. Quakers were 'off-brand' and this state doesn't like anything off-brand."

A Chamber of Commerce executive indicated that the Service Committee had a very persistent approach, although he was unaware of any religious motivation whatsoever:

"I don't know what you're talking about. I didn't know they appealed on a religious basis. Not one in a hundred businessmen would respond to that. They are in this to make money. But the Service Committee is very aggressive and determined. I would see people in clubs and meetings who would say: 'Can't you take that Quaker person off my neck?' I would say, 'No.' Later they had a very different attitude."

Some respondents reacted favorably to AFSC in terms of the prestige of the Society of Friends. A businessman and former AFSC staff member stated:

"You can't minimize the effect of working for the Quakers. Working for the Urban League and NAACP means something entirely different. Even the most conservative businessman remembers Herbert Hoover's work in

Belgium. Some know of the Nobel Prize, and many admire the pacifist stand."

This statement was endorsed by the executive of a state Chamber of Commerce, who added:

"It is in their favor -- the Quaker name is invaluable. We start as little school boys reading about William Penn, and then someone would come back from overseas talking about AFSC or Hoover. We are brand-conscious, and it is a good name. The Urban League just doesn't open the door."

Other respondents evaluated AFSC by comparing it to other intergroup organizations and their methods. Said a midwestern lawyer and former Mayor's committee chairman:

"AFSC as a whole is effective, well received, hasn't created any ill feelings, has created a desire on the part of some employers to go along. You never see anything in the paper about them, I don't know who they contact. You don't see their letters in the Negro papers, blasting the mayor. When you start doing that, the door closes."

Another Chamber of Commerce executive indicated that AFSC was well received because of its positive approach rather than simply because it "took people off the hook." He stated:

"People never use AFSC as an illustration that you don't need laws. Instead they mention what individual companies have done. The Service Committee is different in two ways. It never seems to threaten. Also, it is unlike the NCCJ which doesn't have a threat but is more talky and educational -- 'All men have the same number of genes.'"

A Quaker businessman indicated what he thought was a unique unselfishness in AFSC when asked whether the organization has prestige. He answered:

"I believe so and hope that I am not being prejudiced. Anyone who knows the Service Committee or the Society of Friends is immediately convinced that they are doing things for unselfish reasons. If there is another organization doing it, they believe it is being done for some special reason or other. I think they have the advantage over most."

On the West Coast, the public executive of a railroad company praised AFSC because of its being so well informed, saying:

"The Service Committee has been helpful wherever they have gone. They know their business and have dug up more damn information than I knew could exist. Their activities have been extended to every interested party."

Another West Coast businessman assessed the organization in terms of the calibre of individual staff members:

"The type of individual I found in that organization astounds me. If they have a principle, they stick to it, and you don't have to worry

about them running off into the woods. A guy from the Quakers -- you know where he stands."

And finally, a midwestern personnel director who induced his large department store to employ on merit, had an almost starry-eyed view of the Society of Friends:

"I think the Quakers are wonderful. So few can do so much. I'd like to join if I knew how, but maybe I'm not brave enough."

Summarizing, a minority of businessmen felt that the problems of race relations could not be solved -- at least not in their life time. But still more felt that the problems could be solved and that perhaps AFSC was the best organization qualified to work on it. Businessmen preferred any methods that would take them off the hook; they generally preferred educational methods, but were extremely vague about what they meant by education. Most felt that legislation would not work, but that something similar to the Service Committee approach might be acceptable -- since it doesn't threaten them and does give them a chance to exercise their whim in taking or leaving the option to change their racial practices. But in nearly every instance, their regard and respect for AFSC was high.

4. The intergroup organizations. Perhaps the strongest criticism of AFSC and its Community Relations Program stems from the other intergroup organizations. This is true for several reasons: many organizations feel in competition with AFSC for funds, support, and credit; many organizations with professional staff members resented the utilization of amateurs; in larger cities, the agencies with long history of work in this field sometimes resented a "Johnny come lately" organization with the advantages that AFSC has; many persons in the intergroup field question some of the assumptions on which the Society of Friends conducts its race relations work.

On the other hand, it might be generalized that this interorganizational bitterness and criticism is a widespread thing, and that most organizations criticized AFSC far less than they did each other. Some felt that the more organizations working, the better; some thought that AFSC's unique advantages qualified it to do work that other agencies could not, and encouraged it; some truly liked and admired the individual AFSC staff members more than they liked other intergroup practitioners; many were willing to subordinate their competitive urges to the sake of the total cause.

We now review some intergroup practitioner comments about the Community Relations Program, ranging, as is our custom, from the negative to the positive end of the approval continuum: (It should be noted that some of the statements were made sometime ago, and that AFSC has rectified many of the criticisms levelled against it.)

Some criticisms came from former staff members. From these, AFSC personnel practices are sometimes questioned. One staff member suggested that a particular AFSC mistake is "letting a fellow dig his own grave without warning him." Another criticized the dedicated amateur approach, saying:

"There are a lot of motivated people who come to AFSC and waste a lot of time, money, and energy because they don't know sociology or economics or minority groups. They ought to get it before going out into the community. Also, you can't thumb your nose at the other organizations."

In intergroup organization circles, the question sometimes arises as to whether a white or Negro person can most effectively do this work of contacting the power structure. Among businessmen, a minority felt that a Negro person was preferable; however, the majority stated that they would prefer to talk to a white person or indicated that it made no difference. But staff members of some intergroup organizations felt that the general community would always wonder why a white person was doing this work, and why he could not get a better job by virtue of being white -- discounting the factor of altruism or religious motivation. Said one Negro staff member of another organization:

"There is always a suspicion among employers as to why a white person is doing this. They think he's climbing -- they think he's trying to get prestige."

In another city the director of a predominantly Negro organization made a similar statement:

"I have the feeling that a trained, intelligent Negro is more acceptable than a white person. There is a little resentment -- it just doesn't take. Generally you get a higher type of Negro than white person. Businessmen wonder, 'If he's white, why isn't he doing something better?'"

This same respondent questioned the uniqueness of AFSC and the fact that it was competing with his own program, saying:

"We wonder why the Service Committee came here when they have so many places where nothing was being done. We need all the help that we can get, but don't need to be stabbing each other. Why would they come here when there are three or four organizations working? They are certainly not unique. That is 100 percent our program. They can't get in anywhere that we can't get in, and the type of financing makes no difference."

However, a member of this same organization in another city was willing to guarantee that AFSC did have certain advantages over his own agency:

"This field is so complicated that even with our organization on the ball, it still could not do the whole thing. I believe in the idea of competition, but it makes for confusion if too many organizations are dabbling in the same thing. Like the Jewish organizations. AFSC has only one different feature and that is drawing on the religious concept. We've used that from time to time but not consistently. Then there is the level of prestige -- they can get to higher places. Prestige, color, and the money to spend."

Members of more militant minority protest organizations were likely to criticize AFSC more on the basis of its private negotiation and working behind the scenes. The fact that they did not know what AFSC was doing behind closed doors would frequently make them quite uncomfortable. Said an NAACP president:

"AFSC has done a lot for us. The Service Committee works quietly. It accomplishes a few things, but it is a compromise group, making accomplishments where we are not. So we say, 'More power to you -- go your way and we go ours.' We don't like the 'go behind the scenes' methods."

They use as a subterfuge the fact that NAACP is going to raise hell so they put in a girl. It gets results, but does it get dignity?"

However, the NAACP and other militant individuals expressed surprisingly little discomfort about AFSC's work behind the scenes as compared with that of other groups. In addition, they very seldom were disturbed by the possibility of AFSC being used as an example to businessmen that FEPC was not needed. On the contrary, the general pattern was that the AFSC staff members' personality and respect for individuals, and steadfast refusal to let people down, usually endeared them to even the most suspicious of "Race Men."

Other intergroup practitioners indicated that the job description of a Community Relations staff member made his position different from that of others. An executive of a Jewish Community Relations Council stated:

"Most other civil rights organizations have commitments and constituencies. They've got to do a recognizable job sooner. The Friends send a man down to do what he can, and don't expect the organizational increment that others do. It is a religious, long range point of view."

An executive of a Council for Civic Unity was even more positive.

"Friends are so quiet, effective, least disruptive, friendly to all. Friends work in a consultative and cooperative manner and get a great deal of community support."

A Catholic priest, active in the Catholic Interracial Council, added a religious dimension to the uniqueness of AFSC's approach:

"The Friends' approach comes close to being undenominational -- not too much specifically Christian. It could adapt itself to any religion. It does not seem to have any supernatural basis; that makes it easier for them to work with people."

In a midwestern community, though admitting the possibility of "boomerang effects," a Jewish FEPC coordinator appraised AFSC's program thusly:

"Friends have the finest thing I have seen in their Job Opportunities Program. I don't know how they do it. Most organizations in town have limited objectives and philosophy. The Service Committee was the only group in town who had the entree to get in and do a job. The average businessman realizes that ultimately he'll have a choice between FEPC and Job Opportunities -- so they won't have to buck up against any more militant groups. This is no offense against AFSC."

And a member of a housing authority, closely affiliated with AFSC's program stated:

"Some of their work is spotty and desultory. Some of it is very good. I love their workshops very much -- they have a real capacity for ignoring race. It is so delightful and healthy to watch those kids. Friends have so much more courage than most. They are so much less troubled by public opinion -- less tossed around by fear."

And the dimension of intelligence was added by a YMCA secretary:

"It is the most intelligent job in housing and race relations done anywhere. Any other group doing it would be called subversive."

The "uniqueness" of AFSC seems to emerge most noticeably in the appraisals of these intergroup organizations. So many of them hinted at possible negative effects of the Community Relations Program; still more, including the most militant minority persons had wholehearted or partial endorsement of the program. Each respondent seemed to have a different facet to comment on: prestige, information, intelligence, sincerity, dedication, freedom of movement, or confidentiality. We repeat that despite the occasional criticism, almost all respondents were more gentle with AFSC's program than they were with each other.

5. Applicants' views of AFSC. Our discussion of applicants refers mainly to minorities in the Job Opportunities Program, seeking to become pilot placements in areas that previously had no Negroes. The number of applicants contacted in this research was extremely limited, but a few inferences might be drawn from the experience.

Most minority applicants were appreciative of AFSC's program and wished they could be of more help, seemed to understand the program quite well, and sought to help the program where they could. We noted occasions when minority applicants were put in a somewhat awkward position, by being made into anxious supplicants, subject to the whim, caprice, or sincere motivation of the employer. There were occasions when AFSC staff members were insufficiently attuned to the sensitivity, anxiety, and fear of minority applicants -- hence introducing them to embarrassing and painful situations without complete sensitivity to their emotions. There are even more instances, however, where the staff member completely identified with and sympathized with the minority applicant and sought to make his experience as untraumatic as possible. In the many cases where applicants' hopes were raised without anything provided for them, they were likely to be disturbed and disappointed. But in most cases the applicants realized that they were in for a difficult time, that they might not get placed, that they might have rough experiences on their first days in a new setting, and that they are willing to run a risk for the sake of these final objectives.

Our belief is that minority applicants, whether successfully placed or not, offer an excellent source of activity to continue a program after AFSC is forced to terminate. A sentiment among applicants seemed to be that regardless of the outcome of the specific event, they were related to a very fine group. Said one applicant, a pioneer placement in a large department store:

"They are wonderful people -- I learned a lot from them. So determined -- they worked so long for so many things and they never get discouraged, and others get discouraged so easily. To be able to see people who seem to have found so much peace with themselves and yet never get discouraged about immense tasks makes you wonder about being so worried about your own little problems.

"(But I nearly starved and froze to death at Pendle Hill.)"

6. The Negro community views AFSC. The Negro community's reaction to AFSC runs the gamut from complete wholehearted appreciation, to appreciation with reservations, to skepticism and bewilderedness, to critical appraisal, to not having heard of the organization at all. First, past painful experience has made Negroes very skeptical of whites who approach them on a religious basis. Second, AFSC's attempt to avoid excessive publicity sometimes boomerangs in that many Negroes are not familiar with the program at all, and hence the search for Negro applicants in Job and Housing Opportunities programs is often frustrated. And those who have heard of the program are still often uncertain about the staff member's motives till he has proven himself. Here, AFSC's traditional belief in "witness" wins its great triumph. Minority community members generally look for the "proof of the pudding," seek to find where a staff member stands on a crucial intergroup issue like FEPC, integrated housing or intermarriage, and seek to observe the relationship between what a person says and what he actually does.

Therefore the person who comes into the minority community stating, "I'm not prejudiced," makes little impression; the person who comes in and hires a Negro secretary occasions considerably greater attention. The Southern white person working for AFSC will win some measure of respect and approval from Negroes, even if he has not completely lost his prejudices, since they know how far he has had to come. We now trace some of these Negro community perceptions, starting with persons who do not understand AFSC's motivation. A minister in an all-Negro community expressed the community's doubts and uncertainties about the presence of AFSC's staff members:

"Some people don't seem to know what the Service Committee is doing. Certain people out here have sought to investigate, to see what kind of people they are. A very small group here feel they are sort of a Communist influence."

Another minister in a nearby community expressed skepticism about AFSC methods:

"Friends have studied the community but are unique in that they don't want to force anything on anybody. But they seem a little weak and watery sometimes as far as action goes."

A Negro member of an AFSC advisory committee tried to put into words the skepticism with which Negroes view Friends, despite their religious approach:

"Many Negroes say the Quakers are OK, but they are suspicious of them. Negroes who work for Quakers say their religious motivation makes them feel that they must do this if their souls are to be saved: 'Be good or you won't go to heaven.' They work so hard at their religion -- 'Is this the Quakerly way?' -- and Negroes get tired of it. I get impatient with those who can see only the religious angle. And I am one of those people who have to move a little bit in two hours. I can't sit still that long."

Other Negroes, like many Community Relations staff members, are impatient with the apparent lack of concrete returns for Friends' endeavors. Said a Negro school teacher:

"I have a biased opinion; I never see any results. Often this type of person is considered batty, or off his nut. Businessmen might tolerate him but won't take him seriously. He has irons in the fire but nothing ever comes of it. Maybe I am expecting too much."

Several Negroes expressed concern that Friends' desire for quiet consultation meant that most Negroes never heard of their program, thus damaging its effectiveness. A Negro newspaperman stated:

"The Negro community is not too familiar with the program. The only place where the program lags is where the staff member tries to dodge publicity. People must be told about the program. He has a difficult job finding competent people. The average Negro won't accept a white person prying too deeply. 'Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts.' He needs a Negro on his staff."

Others expressed skepticism because of the staff members' incomplete ability to interact successfully with part of the sensitive minority community. Said a Negro professor about a staff member:

"He doesn't know how to show his sincerity. He tells jokes that used to work with his former contacts -- but he's working for Negroes and no white man has to do that, so I'll give him the benefit of the doubt. He has no ax to grind and nothing to gain personally."

This awareness of a staff member's being white and of what a white person can accomplish was echoed by many Negroes. A Negro school principal, referred to by many as an "Uncle Tom," made this statement:

"Sometimes the mere fact that he is white gets him an entree. Also, he is tactful. The Service Committee has been felt. I would like to see it continue. You can't find a better way than that. You can't go telling these white folks what to do."

In the same community, a Negro lawyer, considerably more militant than the previous respondent, still referred to the staff member's whiteness as a factor:

"They've done a good job. I've gotten the staff member out of bed in the middle of the night, and others have too. I hate to say it, but you have to go to the white man for some kinds of information."

In most Negro communities, the test of an individual or organization's real success lies in the endorsement or rejection of the Negro Race Men. The Race Man is the most highly critical, skeptical, and suspicious person in the Negro community and is apt to censure a white participant for the slightest deviation. One of the greatest tributes to AFSC is the acceptance of its program by these Race Men, even if they do not know what the program is doing. One NAACP president accepted AFSC with some ambivalence:

"It doesn't hurt the other organizations -- is is fruit bearing, tends to sharpen the position of people who don't think we need an FEPC -- who think one sparrow makes a spring. But it doesn't bother us because we'll come in right after them. When the Service Committee accomplishes something, the Chamber of Commerce says: 'See, it can be done by conciliation.' It helps them in their position. It is on the negative side, but it doesn't matter since their positive things are so much better."

This was one of the few comments made by even the most militant Negroes about possible negative effects of AFSC's program. Another NAACP staff member and

regional secretary made an even more accepting statement about AFSC's housing and community counselling programs:

"We have deep respect for the Service Committee and their grass roots' approach -- not helping the poor down-trodden 'brother' but getting down in there with him. And not taking credit. In contrast to others, Friends have made no enemies in the Negro community."

Now, a final reaction. One midwestern Negro newspaper editorial included AFSC with the minority protest organizations in stating its conviction that Negro press and pulpit were not the sole agencies contending for Negro advancement. The editorial stated:

"While we concur in the belief that Negro newspapers and churches are in many instances doing a fine job, we believe it unfair to such organizations as NAACP, the Urban League, AFSC, and others, to state that Negro newspapers and churches are leading the way ...

"Let us not concern ourselves so much with where credit should go. Let us be more concerned with getting the job done."

In summary, these varied comments prompt the observation that Friends and Negroes are in many ways "strange bedfellows" in terms of their life philosophies, historical experiences, socio-economic levels, and current way of life. The fact that there are so many evidences of warm, productive, and rewarding interrelationships between these two is a tribute to the need to give and the need to receive on both sides.

7. Indian Community Views. Perhaps the most complete and unqualified appraisal of AFSC's program comes from the American Indian respondents contacted in this research. These are possible reasons: such a vacuum exists that Indians appreciate any positive signs; the Service Committee's ability to profit by the mistakes of others has struck a responsive chord among Indians; the staff members selected for Indian work have by and large been excellent; Indians find something in common between Quakers and themselves; and also the writer's selection of Indian respondents may have been biased.

It should be noted that some Indians expressed reservations about Quakers in general, based on their perception of the past Quaker missionary efforts, Quakers deciding what is best for Indians, Quakers printing erroneous reports on Indian problems. But in specific reference to AFSC, the writer has yet to hear a reproach. We first cite statements of two white Indian Service Bureau employees who have had an opportunity to observe AFSC's work in this area. A social worker, living on an Indian reservation, made this statement:

"I wish we had more of the Service Committee people. They are doing effective work -- helping people to help themselves. They are divorced from the religious angle -- which is good. Too many religious groups have come in and restricted benefits to their members only."

Another respondent, an executive of the Indian Bureau, was even more enthusiastic:

"I don't have words enough to praise what the staff member has done, though it may not be in line with what the AFSC wants. Those Indians were the most discouraged group I had ever seen, but by working and planning with Indians he got people who hadn't been speaking for years to work together in those ditches."

These statements were enthusiastically endorsed by the Indians themselves. Said the secretary of a Tribal Council:

"They are really doing a good job. They will really go out there and really work. They are always going out to the reservation or just coming back from it."

The secretary of a cooperative that AFSC helped to sponsor had this to say about the staff member:

"He is outspoken -- he doesn't say too much, but shows by his actions. Indians have come to love and respect him. This co-op is the closest solution we have come to in our problem. We are grateful to the Friends -- they were wonderful people to do that. I don't think they are too enthusiastic about it -- they don't realize how good they're doing. I don't know about other Service Committee employees, but he is all wrapped up in the promotion of Indians."

Some Indian respondents indicated that they favored the Quakers because they either did not act like other whites, or else acted very much like Indians. One Navaho made this statement:

"Many people have objections to their work, but I don't think so. They don't tell us 'You must do it this way or we won't help you.' Others do that, like the government."

A Hopi gathering made this statement in answer to the question: Who are friends of the Indians?

"The Quakers. They leave people alone and don't dictate to them. They seem to think like an Indian -- they don't say anything -- they let you alone. They never try to impose anything on you. They try to understand things quietly which is an Indian characteristic. The first time I met a Quaker at a meeting, I felt right at home."

A final note on the relationship of Indians and Friends comes from the experience of the Los Angeles Indian Center. When it was turned over to an all-Indian Board of Directors, some Indians expressed relief. They felt the white people on the board, presumably including the Quakers, talked too fast and that Indians could not keep up. Nevertheless, on the day of final termination of AFSC's program with the Indian Center, its newspaper, Talking Leaf made this statement:

The Service Committee is like the mother. The mother teaches the child to become independent and yet leaves so much love and respect that the child feels comfortable through life in remembering its lessons. It has no hesitation to ask for further guidance.

And one year later, in observing the first anniversary of an independent Indian management, the same newspaper made this statement:

The name for the Society of Friends was well chosen, as they are certainly friends to all mankind. The Quakers do not publicize their good deeds as they know that their work speaks for itself. We at the Indian Center do not feel that they have been given enough credit in recent years for the many wonderful things they do, and had to get this out of our system....

They help in a quiet way. They recognize that there is that of God in every man, and they help in bringing out this quality in the earth's people. We know of no Friend who has said, 'This is the way I believe and therefore you must believe the way I do.' ... Rather the procedure has been to develop and encourage Indian leadership, and group activities, and tapping of needs of which they themselves are aware....

On this, the first anniversary of our incorporation, we hope that we can continue to weave the pattern that the Quakers outlined for us by becoming friends of the world and adding our contribution to the ideal of all people, World Peace.

We conclude this review of community reactions to AFSC by noting that regardless of whether respondents were speaking of the Society of Friends, of AFSC, of the Community Relations Program, or of an individual staff member, their reactions seemed almost completely favorable. We believe that few organizations can make such a claim; we further believe that these statements have given added justification to the writer's decision to call his volume, "In the House of the Friends."

8. AFSC -- Knock on Any Door. In this evaluation, the writer sought to add to the body of practitioner knowledge by asking AFSC staff members what they had learned in their community experience. One community counselling staff member, after thinking carefully for some moments, answered:

"I have learned of the lack of need for aggressive action -- no, wait a minute, the Service Committee approach has only strengthened my conviction that one can approach anybody with confidence in one's self and in the strength of one's religious belief -- 'you can knock on any door.'"

We believe that sorely needed in every community is the person or organization or force that can see each man's point of view without necessarily agreeing with him, have respect for every individual personality, and interpret each group's belief and aspirations to the others.

AFSC sometimes does this imperfectly, either through over-identification with one segment of the community or another, through lack of knowledge or courage, or through over-absorption in a single aspect of community problems. Particularly, the possibility of adhering so strongly to an oppressed group that one identifies and takes on that group's enemies as his enemies always exists. Thus, a believer in the Papagos may resent the Apaches, a supporter of the Maricopas may learn to dislike the Pimas, a person identified with the Hopi, for all their peaceful traditions, may take a very dim view of the Navaho.

The reverse also holds. A person accustomed to gaining entree in high places may seek this interaction for its sake alone. A person with a business background

may himself begin to echo the credo of the "reluctant gatekeeper." A person impressed with the academic world and the social science community may take on its framework and its jargon so that he is unable to converse with the man on the street any longer.

These are pitfalls to be guarded against. It may be said that AFSC's Community Relations Program seldom stumbled into them and when it did, is righted almost immediately through the overlapping circles of advice and interest that exist among staff members, policymakers, and advisory committees. Our observation of this program convinced us that AFSC, because of its philosophy, its prestige, and its capable staff, is eminently suited for the task of steering a firm but gentle course in race relations, seeing that of goodness in every person, interpreting each community segment to another, and maintaining that ability to do what many can do but so often fail to do: Knock on any door.

VI. NEW DIRECTIONS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

A. The Forward Look

We now approach the heart of our discussion -- a critical appraisal of the organization we have studied, an analysis of its uniqueness, a set of recommendations for its possible future directions, and a consideration of the role that "love" can play in the total intergroup relations movement.

But before doing this, we seek to suggest some new directions in the intergroup relations field that might be termed the "Forward Look." In other words we suggest the trends noticeable in intergroup relations action, as an orientation for persons interested in this field, and as a background for the intensive appraisal of AFSC's past, present and future in the race relations field.

These observations are drawn from years of noting the development of intergroup relations action in American life since the 1930's, previously reported research on AFSC and the community setting in which it operates, and from participation in the activity of several intergroup organizations -- the NAACP, the Urban League, the Southern Regional Council, Fisk University's Race Relations Institute, the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights, and the Anti-Defamation League. On the basis of these observations we now pose what we think are some components of the intergroup relations Forward Look.

1. Viewing minority problems in a broader context. The experiences of World War II have brought home to Americans the great validity of John Donne's statement, "Never send to know for whom the bell tolls -- it tolls for thee." Thus, increasingly we see that the specific problems of American minority groups may be fitted into a broader context of world events and of the great unanswered questions of mankind. Increasingly people are realizing that the problem of a specific localized minority group should be viewed in the broader context of minority problems elsewhere, problems of other minorities, problems of group insulation and conflict, problems of war versus peace, love versus antagonism, freedom versus restraint,

ideological and national insulation versus integration. In short we are realizing that race relations are human relations, that problems of group antagonism are perhaps the greatest human relations problem today, and that each racial act within America's borders has implications and influence throughout the world.

2. Viewing segregation as a "two-edged sword." Several recent writings have advanced the novel proposition that segregation and discrimination are detrimental and disadvantageous to both majority and minority groups. This has been stated in many ways. The Religious Society of Friends has always been influenced by John Woolman's insistence that segregation was damaging to both the slave and the slave holder. The social science appendix to the NAACP Supreme Court brief of 1954 reported a poll conducted among some 200 social scientists. Of these, 90% reported that they felt that segregation was detrimental to the personality of minority children; and 80% said they felt it was detrimental to the personality of majority group children -- instilling in them concepts of moral cynicism and disrespect for authority. They are also apt to develop an undemocratic idea of status differences, an unrealistic basis for evaluation of themselves, a number of illogical fears and hatreds of minority group members, and, particularly deep guilt over the conflict between American Creed and American practice. Southern white writers, notably Lillian Smith, have noted frequently that the American race problem is the white man's problem and that the white Southerner as well as the Negro suffers from the problem.

This proposition on the double effects of segregation has been stated clearly by two social scientists at Haverford College -- Milton Gordon and John Roche. In a letter to the New York Times magazine they state, in part:

The final victory over discrimination and segregation, when it comes, will be a victory for man entire. Nevertheless, it may be of value to have taken a somewhat unfamiliar stand and examine the imposition and effect of segregation on the white majority in American society. For then one catches a revealing and sobering glance at segregation's other face.

3. Increasing the responsibility of majorities. Increasingly, majorities are beginning to assume part of the responsibility for American intergroup practices. Since the beginning of this country's history, there has always been a small core of majority group support for minority aspirations, but today the awareness of American intergroup practices and their impact on the rest of the world, together with a general stirring of consciousness shaken into action by the advent of three wars, has induced majority group members to realize that democracy is everyone's battle. This surge of feeling is particularly noticeable among college youth and young veterans, responsible community leaders, union leaders, and -- belatedly -- church leadership. In some cases this has even amounted to a taking over of intergroup relations leadership by majorities from the traditional minority protest organizations.

In line with this growing responsibility of majorities, we note a gradual trend toward an emphasis on morality instead of expediency. Increasingly the moral conscience of Americans seems to be invoked so that people are increasingly reluctant to act on the basis of "it's good business," "integration is cheaper," or "the world is looking at us." Rather, persons seem more and more to put emphasis on changing racial practices because it is the right and moral thing to do.

4. Increasing general sophistication. More and more Americans seem to be realizing that in the race relations field, good will alone is not enough; the presentation of information alone is insufficient -- it is a dangerous tactic to assume that "give the people the facts and prejudice will disappear"; education "in a vacuum" will not suffice; believing that children are naturally democratic and can solve all their own problems if left alone is a somewhat dangerous over-generalization; motivation and concern in intergroup relations must be supplemented by know-how and by the acquisition of sophistication and wisdom in the intergroup relations field. Increasingly people are seeking to supplement their strong motivation by reading, by attendance of intergroup relations workshops that emphasize effective techniques, by increased participation in intergroup relations activity, and by the blasting of "myths" that have limited thinking in this field for so long.

5. Developing non-racial criteria of inclusion. We note a growing tendency to determine acceptance or rejection of individuals on the basis of criteria of performance that do not relate directly to one's group membership. Examples are, emphasis on employment on merit, maintaining high property standards in housing and neighborhood units rather than excluding Negroes, classifying school children on the basis of capacity rather than race. As an example, Attorney Thurgood Marshall spoke before the Supreme Court in answer to a charge of Southern Attorneys General that Negro student capacity was below that of whites. He said:

Put the dumb colored kids in with the dumb white kids; put the smart colored kids in with the smart white kids. It's that simple.

In this connection we note an increased tendency to utilize minority representation in activities on the basis of qualification and competence rather than just "having a Negro." There are four possible stages of development in this area:

- a) Having no minority participation; doing things for them; feeling that "naturally we can't have them sitting here while we discuss their problems."
- b) Minority representation for its sake alone; recruiting an "interracial duty squad" member to represent the race; having "token representation."
- c) Automatic representation; that is, proportions or quotas of white and Negro members.
- d) Persons selected on the basis of merit; minorities considered in terms of their total contribution rather than color.

6. Decreasing preoccupation with "proportions." Hopefully, the Forward Look in intergroup relations may move increasingly away from its preoccupation with numbers, ratios, and proportions in minority-majority contacts. In the past, even social scientists have expressed concern about the relative number of Negroes and whites in a given endeavor. And many liberals interested in integrated activities may nevertheless exhibit fear that in some manner, the white persons in a given group may at some point find themselves in a numerical minority.

True, many voluntary interracial endeavors -- particularly in housing, church and settlement house areas -- have noticed that once the proportion of Negroes

passes a certain number, the area may frequently become all-Negro. Many attempts at integration have failed because of the assumption on the part of all that once the proportion of minorities passes 50%, all is lost. However, in more controlled situations such as work forces, armed service units, and some desegregated schools, the presence of a majority of Negroes sometimes occurs, yet does not detract from the continuing successful performance of the institution. The experience in Washington, D.C. where Negro children constitute 64% of the public school population is a relevant example.

7. Divorcing personal attitudes from public duty. More and more, social scientists and the lay public are coming to make a distinction between prejudicial personal attitudes and discriminatory public behavior and are likely to acknowledge a person's right to a personal animus, so long as it does not result in differential treatment of minority group members. This framework has been developed particularly by Joseph Lohman, a former sociologist and now sheriff of Cook County, Illinois, in his efforts to train policemen to cope effectively with racial tensions and disturbances, regardless of their personal prejudices.

Also in this connection, there is the faintly perceptible sentiment in some areas that persons need not feel intense guilt over inner personal prejudicial feelings, as long as they do not result in discriminatory behavior. As some psychiatrists might state it, "One need not feel excessive guilt over unpleasant thoughts, since the thought is not the act." We might suggest that instead of denying the existence of prejudice in one's self, an individual might preferably think in this manner: "(a) I know the extent of my prejudice; (b) I am careful not to pass it on to anyone else; (c) I am careful not to translate it into discriminatory behavior; and (d) I am taking some active measure to reduce the prejudice in myself."

8. Going "all out" in intergroup relations. In the past, many persons in the intergroup relations field supported the aspirations of minorities only with reservations. Thus we have noted that slavery was once acceptable in America, and even that some early Quakers supported slavery, urging only that Friends "deal mildly and gently with their Negroes." Later many persons opposed slavery but proposed separate facilities for Negroes or suggested colonizing them in other parts of the world. Still others have encouraged educational techniques for reducing prejudices, but have discouraged legislation as an action device. Others have accepted the legitimacy of legislative action, but still frown on interracial dating, dancing and marriage. We currently note that the most effective intergroup relations workers are those who grant a minority group member's right to fight for FEPC, work toward integrated housing, or even intermarry, regardless of one's personal attitudes on the appropriateness of such behavior. We hypothesize that a person may work more effectively in this field, if adopting a policy of no qualifications, no reservations, no compromise.

9. Refusal to participate in segregated activities. Increasingly we note that large American organizations, reluctant to embarrass their minority group constituents, have declined to hold conferences, conventions and meetings in areas where minorities would be denied full and equal participation. As examples, refusals to hold conferences in segregated Southern areas have been noted from such groups as the American Sociological Society, American Psychiatric Association, American Psychoanalytic Association, CIO, and Episcopal and Unitarian churches. The American Friends Service Committee has also recently issued such a policy statement, although

some members commented, "Well, it's about time." This is a type of informal economic sanction which will doubtless be proven effective, since many Southern hotels and convention sites are affected by this loss of revenue. We expect this trend to continue.

10. Formulation and implementation of clear policy statements. We note from the research of Kenneth Clark and other students of desegregation that the accomplishment of successful desegregation hinges vitally around a "clear and unequivocal statement of policy; willingness to enforce the policy; willingness to deal rapidly and firmly with violators" and so forth. The Forward Look in intergroup relations suggests that the mere passing of favorable policy statements and resolutions is not enough; it is not sufficiently meaningful in race relations to guarantee action. The forthright statement of policy and a willingness to implement it are required in the Forward Look, but a suggestion of specific details of ways of implementing the policy statements effectively is also required. For example, the numerous organizations that have issued high-sounding resolutions and policy statements on support of public school desegregation have, in most cases, not indicated how their policies will be translated into action. Consequently, in most Southern communities, little actual activity to effect desegregation may be found, although many of these organizations are represented in each given community.

The vital importance of a policy statement and of the means of implementing it is substantiated by the most careful of social science studies. The Clark statement on conditions for effective desegregation is so irrefutable that it was cited by both the NAACP and the state of Florida in their arguments before the Supreme Court, in April of 1955.

11. Increasing the use of social science. In the past, most action groups have either been unaware of social science, have ignored it, or have used only such parts of social science knowledge as would benefit their position and program. Recall the statement of one AFSC staff member, "I don't ignore social science, I just go on without it." But increasingly, lay community members are learning of the resources and knowledge of social science, and are putting it to use in their actual work, sometimes without even realizing it. Organizations are increasingly bringing in social science consultants, sending people to get social science training, or actually adding social science departments or staff members to their programs. And social scientists, on the other hand, are increasingly becoming aware of their public responsibility, volunteering their services, and trying to find ways of making themselves more intelligible and useful to the action community. Today the individual or organization that denies the usefulness of social science materials is considered quite unsophisticated. And, as we have suggested before, the combination of social science truths and effective practitioner techniques has produced an effective and rewarding collaboration.

12. Understanding the minority community. We assume that the Forward Look must include a thorough grasp of the nature and variety of minority communities, their internal differentiation, the wide variety of reactions to minority group status, the accurate identification of minority leadership, the techniques of motivating a minority community to action, and particularly the ability to determine and respond to the hopes and aspirations of the minority community. This cannot be done adequately by confining one's self to leaders, or the most eminently qualified

representatives, or the wealthiest or most "middle class" minority group members; one must visualize and contact the full gamut of the minority community and, failing that, sensitize one's self to minority group problems through research documents, fiction and observation.

We suggest that sheer sympathy with minorities is not enough. Rather a knowledge and grasp of minority aspirations is required -- knowing what minorities want, continually consulting them, understanding the diversity of minority objectives (for example why Negroes are so often striving for full assimilation, Indians fighting determination or "extermination" bills, why Jewish people may be sometimes assimilationists sometimes pluralists sometimes secessionists).

This accurate perception of the minority community is related to the way minorities are presented in the media of communication. In the past, views of American Indians have shifted from that of the noble vanishing savage to the degenerate, dirty, treacherous or half-breed. Now there is an increased attempt to present sympathetically an account of a good people, poor, bewildered by complexity, fighting to hold together the remnants of a crumbling culture, or to master the complexities of modern society. In the case of Negroes, past views have shown (a) a semi-literate, superstitious person, uttering outrageous malapropisms and indulging in ridiculous pomposity; (b) a religious person trusting in God and Christ, accepting all adversity with cheer and singing of a better world to come; or (c) a happy-go-lucky person who laughs and clowns as a reaction to his minority group status.

Now there is increased emphasis on the Negro as "America's greatest success story." An even more objective and realistic trend is the presentation of the American Negro as less and less of a spectacular oddity, and more and more of a human being -- of stable quiet families seeking to improve their lot, rear and educate their children, and provide for their own later security; reacting to racial discrimination with patience, but with determination to fight it out. Alan Paton's articles in Collier's magazine are a striking example of this new picture of minorities in the media of communication. In addition, radio, movies, television and the American press have, either through voluntary means or in reactions to pressure, softened their tendency to stereotype and distort the nature of the minority community.

13. Courage and heroism in the minority community. This is no new event, but a fact true throughout American history: minority groups, particularly the Negro, have exhibited extraordinary courage and fortitude in the face of continual oppression and intimidation from the dominant group. It is shown in the over 250 slave insurrections before the Civil War, in the acts of hundreds of thousands of Negroes who escaped from slavery, in the behavior of those Negro soldiers who fought the South during the Civil War. And the courage shown in Negro communities today, particularly in the deep South, are a saga that must be told and retold to the rest of the world.

It should be noted that courage and defiance of the majority group is found inevitably in only a segment of the minority community. Most community members either accept the status quo in race relations, avoid what they cannot handle, or even identify with the dominant group. There is always, though, the segment that resists oppression, regardless of its dangerousness to them. This is seen most sharply in areas contemplating school desegregation in the deep South, and in areas where Negroes have moved into new neighborhoods for the first time.

In the deep South today the numerous Negroes who have chosen to defy segregation, support the NAACP, and petition local school boards to desegregate schools in line with the Supreme Court ruling, have been subjected to numerous pressures -- threats of loss of jobs, cross burning and rock throwing, and even frequent threats of death. In Florida the state President of the NAACP was dynamited to death with his wife at the hands of parties unknown. Two Negroes who favored desegregation in Mississippi have recently been killed, and their murderers not found. Observation of deep South Negroes attending annual NAACP meetings reveals that they and their families are frequently threatened with death, sometimes daily. These persons amazingly meet these threats with a calmness and fortitude and determination to keep fighting that is truly astounding. As one said, "Well, they threatened to get me, but I believe in this desegregation, and Mississippi is my home, and I see no reason for running."

Of local NAACP leaders in the South, Civil Rights Attorney Thurgood Marshall recently made this statement:

"There isn't a threat known to men that they do not receive. They're never out from under pressure. I don't think I could take it for a week. The possibility of violent death for them and their families is something they've learned to live with like a man learns to live with a sore arm."

In regard to Negroes in new housing areas, an equally tragic story is told. Alan Paton chronicles in his Collier's articles the quiet determination and courage shown by Negroes in Trumbull Park homes where they have been subject to bombings and threats and annoyances for years. Yet research in Chicago shows, surprisingly, that it has become a symbol to many; Negroes come to the Public Housing Authority office and announce in droves: "We want to live in Trumbull Park." In many other cases Negroes who have moved into residential neighborhoods have survived years of threats and bombings and intimidation by neighbors, sometimes in connivance with the police. In a northern California community that was studied, a Negro real estate operator had her house bombed once a week steadily for six months -- and the attackers thoughtfully stepped it up to once a day during Brotherhood Week. In that same community another family was threatened nightly for forty days. The NAACP President and two ministers stayed in the house with the family and never left them. The attacks finally were dissipated. The quiet and steadfast courage of many of these minority persons under great stress is a tale that must some day be told.

14. Integration movements within the minority community. Just as we have indicated that segregation is a "two-edged sword," we now indicate that integration is also a two-sided story. Minorities are increasingly recognizing that they, too, have a responsibility in the process of integrating America. Thus we see several examples of minority groups taking their own action toward integration. The United Negro College Fund recently announced that 25 of its 32 constituent colleges have amended their charters so that white students might be admitted. Some of the others have always admitted white students. A Negro fraternity took in its first white member in 1947 and others have done so since; the CME church has changed its name from Colored Methodist Episcopal to Christian Methodist Episcopal; the Negro Elks' oratorical contest is now open to white contenders, and a white orator recently won the contest; numerous Negro churches are encouraging white membership so that they can become integrated. Negroes are finding that in view of their strong protests against racial prejudice and discrimination, it is difficult for them to justify

maintaining similar practices. Thus they are seeking, wherever possible, to inventory their own practices. And, in certain instances, they are changing the patterns themselves.

15. Seeking maximally effective techniques of action. As indicated in the discussion of the intergroup relations community, great emphasis is currently placed on determining what is effective action in intergroup relations, and attempting to minimize wasted motion. Part of America's increasing sophistication about racial problems involves a thorough knowledge of the best way of utilizing existing resources and techniques. Customary and conventional methods of taking action are more and more being re-examined and, in some cases, discarded in favor of new and imaginative techniques. In the next section we will consider some of what is known about more and less effective action in intergroup relations.

B. What Is Effective and What Is Not Effective

One evening, after talking to a California group about the purposes of this study, the writer said: "Now if I write a summary volume on this study I have made, what do you think I should include..." Before the writer could finish, a chorus of voices shouted: "Answer this question: in race relations, what is effective and what is not effective?"

This is "the \$64,000 question" plaguing the mind of every motivated intergroup relations worker today. To the writer it ranks with the other "great unanswered questions of mankind," but from experience and observation we might make a few brief comments on our knowledge of this subject.

1. Some things we think are less effective. It should be stated here that there is no clear-cut final word on more and less effective actions in race relations. There are differences of opinion among social scientists and practitioners; there are widely scattered individual research reports on efforts that have had greater or less success. These reports frequently contradict each other, as do the practitioners in reporting on their own field experience. It is certain that one worthy research project would be the assembling of all evaluative studies on effective and ineffective attempts to change racial attitudes or behavior, so that confusion might be minimized.

The task is difficult since there is such a complexity of variables to be considered. Speaking to this point Arnold Aronson has stated:

Obviously, it would simplify life for intergroup relations practitioners ... if the effects of these techniques had been so tested that we could determine for what purposes, under what circumstances, and with what effect each could be used to greatest advantage. Unfortunately we have no such proven guide and, since we cannot afford to suspend activity while awaiting its development, we have had to proceed on a trial and error basis in accordance with our best reasoning and judgment.

~~In this area of "best reasoning and judgment," we might state a few brief conclusions of social scientists and practitioners on some things that are less~~

effective. A primary one is the use of mass media in the intergroup relations field. This is particularly relevant if an organization has to decide whether to put its resources and facilities into these media or into other actions, such as educational programs or legislative drives. Speaking of the role of mass media in this field, Robin Williams has stated:

There has been some tendency to import the approach of commercial market research into the study of intergroup relations in America: a focus upon activities having a mass impact, a tendency to test, suggest or standardize "packages" of educational or propaganda materials, an emphasis upon quick results. In view of our present knowledge, it is reasonable to doubt that racial and cultural conflicts can be appreciably alleviated by conventional methods of mass education. So far as concerns research opportunities, it would appear that the most promising area of study here is rather that of attitude and behavioral change resulting from education in group situations.

In a similar vein, R. M. MacIver reported to the National Community Relations Advisory Committee the following statement on mass media:

We believe that the output of mass appeal materials has been too indiscriminate and that this applies alike to posters and pamphlets, to radio talks, and to agency films. We do not question that mass appeals have a potential value and that on occasion they may be highly opportune. But they constitute the most hazardous of all the activities undertaken by the agencies and therefore should not be undertaken except under carefully prepared conditions and without constant scrutiny of their value.

Other social scientists and practitioners have noted techniques and methods that they believe to be less effective. In reference to "exhortation," Goodwin Watson reminds that it frequently "reaches only the saved," and absolves persons from responsibility for doing more effective work. Kenneth Clark has questioned the validity of programs oriented at "education" and the alteration of subjective factors, rather than concentration on actual behavioral changes. Gardner Murphy has warned that intensive short-term intergroup participation experiences, such as Fellowship of Reconciliation or American Friends Service Committee conferences, cause problems when people return home if "the images of the self lack their familiar contours." He adds that some white persons who change their attitudes after favorable contact with Negroes "had to face the fact that their new attitudes led to misunderstanding and strain among their associates." And social psychologist Kurt Lewin has expressed reservations about legislative action, pointing out that the more effective it is, the more damaging social consequences will follow.

This review suggests an area of complete confusion about effective techniques in intergroup relations. It can be solved only through a more systematic appraisal of alternative courses of action than we can attempt here. However, following our earlier continuum of alternative types of action, we seek to indicate more and less effective ways of accomplishing each technique.

2. More and less effective practitioners and techniques. We first hypothesize that the success or failure of a given technique is related to the quality of the individual practitioner utilizing it. We report here on one study which

attempted to state the characteristics of the effective and the naive, ineffective professional worker in intergroup relations. This study, done by John Dean and Alex Rosen under sponsorship of Russell Sage Foundation, and reported in their book, A Manual of Intergroup Relations, was able to match practitioner responses to questionnaires against ratings of these practitioners by a national body. The authors listed the characteristics of the effective and the ineffective worker in terms of attitudes, knowledge and skill.

Briefly, the effective professional worker was characterized by these attributes: In terms of attitudes, a commitment to integration, a long-range view, self-insight, an understanding of the minority community. In terms of knowledge, an understanding of the nature of prejudice and the diversity of minority experience, the bases of friendly action, the processes of social change, and the available community resources. In terms of skills, being at ease and putting others at ease, interpreting minority and majority experiences accurately, handling tension incidents wisely.

These are the characteristics of the naive, ineffective worker: (attitudes) timidity and vagueness about intergroup goals, patronizing actions that resent the minority group's non-appreciation, consideration of self as completely unprejudiced, over-sentimentality toward minorities; (knowledge) failing to understand the nature of prejudice, lack of understanding of the diversity of minority experience, expecting prejudice to wither away by itself, using crude rules of thumb and cliches, feeling that his particular intergroup problems are unique; (skills) making "slips" or using testimonials or stereotypes toward minorities, by-passing interpretation in favor of exhortation that people are all alike, perceiving racial incidents as bad and shying away from anything that might lead to friction.

We now seek to draw on the best of social science and practitioner knowledge about the more and less effective ways of utilizing race relations techniques. First, we have been guided by suggestions such as these presented by R. M. MacIver. In The More Perfect Union he listed some propositions on effective strategy in intergroup relations. They may be paraphrased briefly:

- a) Rally to the cause of national welfare and unity rather than to particular groups;
- b) Attacks on discrimination along several fronts are more effective than giving priority to a single strategy;
- c) Attacking discrimination is more promising than the indirect attack on prejudice;
- d) Discrimination may be increased as tensions increase in a society, and decrease as the general well-being of a society improves;
- e) The primary business of strategy is to explore the weaker points and lines of least resistance of the discriminatory forces;
- f) Appropriate leadership must be recruited from the great potential forces that can be rallied to fight discrimination;
- g) Strategy should always be adapted to the prevailing mores of the community;

- h) Minority groups have an essential part to play in the conquest of the discrimination to which they are exposed.

Other propositions on effective and ineffective techniques in intergroup relations may be found in such publications as these: Robin M. Williams, Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tension; Kenneth Clark, Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence; John Dean and Alex Rosen, A Manual of Intergroup Relations. We wish to add only one further point here: one should not only concern one's self with which techniques are effective and which are not; one should also consider that there are more and less effective ways of utilizing each technique that exists on the continuum ranging from work in the minority community, through changing majority attitudes to changing discriminatory behavior in intergroup relations. We present, on the ensuing two pages, a suggestion of the more and less effective ways of utilizing each technique.

We recognize that this scheme is provisional, and that each person may relate himself to it by classifying himself "on the side of the angels." We nevertheless present it, hoping to lessen some of the fury of the "change attitudes -- change behavior" controversy, and to suggest that practitioners might try shying away from over-emphasis on any one given intergroup relations technique.

3. A note on boycotts. Little has been said here about the techniques of "direct action" in intergroup relations -- strikes, picketing, boycotts, mass meetings, protest letters, and the like. We note that in the general community structure they are generally considered unacceptable, ungentlemanly, radical, possibly dangerous, when applied to intergroup relations. We nevertheless feel that there is merit in considering them as possible alternative techniques, particularly in conditions of stress.

Recently, in the deep South, proponents of segregation have sought to intimidate the minority community by imposing economic sanctions, cutting off loans, depriving people of jobs, and terrorization. When George Mitchell, Director of the Southern Regional Council, was asked how minorities might handle this situation, he answered simply, "Boycott back." It is now being revealed that the minority community has an immense buying power and that any withdrawal of minority funds from community economic enterprises will be strongly felt. Therefore it is hoped that more attention will be given to assessing the boycott as an effective means of action in communities where other direct action is not feasible. In terms of ideology, it is necessary to consider whether the boycott is more morally acceptable than the economic reprisals themselves; in terms of strategy it is undeniable that the boycott is a strongly effective weapon if used correctly. It is related to the admonitions continually given by Negro leaders to their communities: "Stop supporting segregation," "Don't buy where you can't work," "Don't lick the hand that strikes you." Any consideration of intergroup relations techniques must consider the boycott as a perennially effective alternative weapon.

4. Living the effective personal life. In addition to support of group activity to improve American intergroup relations, we suggest here that each individual might adopt a personal credo that would make his own life a continual effective contribution to the intergroup relations field. In addition to knowing one's own prejudices and refusing to support segregated or discriminatory areas, these three specific modes of behavior are suggested here:

MORE AND LESS EFFECTIVE TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED BY INTERGROUP PRACTITIONERS

<u>Type of Action</u>	<u>Less Effective Procedures</u>	<u>More Effective Procedures</u>
1. Action in minority community.	Laying the burden on minorities to improve themselves in order to end prejudice; making the minorities take the initiative in changing patterns; forcing minorities into painful situations without support.	Raising minority aspiration levels; promoting minority initiative; increasing minority self-confidence and self-esteem.
2. Exhortation	Speaking over and over to those already "saved"; using broad generalizations like "the wages of sin are death."	Dramatic presentations accompanied by recommendations or action proposals; speaking to groups in terms of their most cherished values.
3. The media approach.	Signs, slogans and posters that do not tell people what to do. For example, "Love thy neighbor" or "All men are brothers."	Statements by "culture heroes"; immediate personalized media that reach the individual and indicate specific courses of action.
4. Education.	The straight recounting of corrective facts, sometimes insufficient, because of the many emotional facets of prejudice.	Education involving emotions as well as intellect, becoming educated as part of an integrated interaction process; "learning what we live."
5. Surveys.	People confining their actions to gathering and discussing facts, or duplicating surveys already done; using surveys as an excuse for not taking action.	People participating personally in fact-finding, increasing their emotional involvement, with a stated intent to implement any problems they find, and with interpretation.

<u>Type of Action</u>	<u>Less Effective Procedures</u>	<u>More Effective Procedures</u>
6. Revelation or "shock treatment."	Stating unverified facts without context or interpretation, engendering surprise, disbelief and resistance.	"Shock treatment" of audiences, backed by solid fact, and involving a process of (a) confrontation and (b) interpretation and (c) redirection.
7. Participation.	Self-conscious inter-cultural "talent shows" that place an undue emphasis on the unique cultural characteristics of the minority; throwing unprepared persons together without goals, context or guidance.	Joint integrated activity on an area of vital common interest, preferably involving equal status contact.
8. Negotiation.	Quelling each individual discrimination complaint by private agreement without consulting others; compromising, appeasing, or "selling out."	Representative community groups persuading discriminators to adopt and state a specific, clear-cut non-discriminatory policy; holding a spirit of no compromise.
9. Legal and legislative action	Failure to coordinate action resulting in confusion, crystallization of resistance, or acceptance of compromise solutions.	Carefully planned and coordinated action with an unassailable case, access to competent legal talent, thorough knowledge of all sanctions and "klobbering" devices available.
10. More direct action.	Adopting the illegal or immoral tactics of the opposition in the process of picketing, boycotting, mass demonstrations.	Determining the legality of these "protest techniques"; operating within the framework of the law; mobilizing maximal community support.

a. Developing ways of "silencing a bigot." Most liberal persons have experienced situations where articulately prejudiced people have strongly disparaged minorities, leaving a frequently painful, embarrassed silence. We suggest that to be effective, the liberal must develop techniques of registering non-acceptance of remarks painful to accept, without painfully disrupting each social situation. Reinhold Neibuhr has suggested that when bigoted remarks are uttered, the conscientious person might strike a balance between silence and disruption of a social situation by simply stating, "I do not agree with your opinion."

b. Learning how to handle tension incidents. Much to the writer's surprise, the few articles written about the way a sensitive and motivated person might handle racial incidents "on the spot" have been eagerly received and widely acclaimed. This indicates a huge market of desire for these "specifics," probably occasioned by the numerous tense and embarrassing situations experienced by men of good will. We can offer no suggestions here, but merely refer the reader to the materials already published on the handling of tension incidents.

c. Setting a good personal example. Somehow this is one of the actions which nearly all persons exposed to the questionnaire on effective intergroup techniques endorse as "very effective." In a sense it is an almost meaningless phrase because each individual is allowed considerable leeway in defining what he means by "a good personal example." However, we assume that the lay person who shows by personal example, integrated work and social life, and making "witness" to his belief, is the person most likely to be effective in intergroup relations.

In summary, these are but a few of the trends in intergroup relations and the conclusions that might be made about effectiveness in this field. We present them as background for four ways of summarizing our view of AFSC's Community Relations Program -- a critical appraisal, an examination of AFSC's "uniqueness," some recommendations, and some things that others might observe in the work of AFSC.

C. A Critical Appraisal of Friends, AFSC, and Community Relations

1. Program limitations: are there Quaker bigots? We assume here that the Community Relations Program may be limited if there are any examples of actions ranging from compromise to actual bigotry within the Community Relations Committee, within other parts of AFSC, or within the Religious Society of Friends. We now consider these three levels.

a. First, the Community Relations Program has been hampered by prejudice and discrimination within the Society of Friends. This might lead us to pose the question: Are there Quaker bigots? There is ample evidence that many Friends today do not echo the dramatic early testimony against prejudice and discrimination shown by John Woolman and others. Discriminatory behavior on the part of some Friends' institutions and individuals has served as a continued source of acute embarrassment to the Community Relations Program. Examples are the lateness with which Friends' institutions admitted Negroes, incidents of a negative character in some Friends' colleges today, the refusal of the Washington, D.C. Friends' school

to accept Negroes and the extremely gradualist program proposed by the Friends' school in Baltimore, the refusal of many Quaker businessmen in Philadelphia to adopt policies of employment on merit, the extreme difficulty that Job Opportunities staff members have had with Quaker employers in other areas. In addition, until recently, some Friends' meetings and conferences have been held in places where Negroes were not welcome or where Jews were discouraged. Even the writer was often asked by outraged community members: "How can the Friends dare have a race relations program, when they practice such flagrant discrimination?" Also, the writer has seldom experienced in any other area such a lack of warmth and hospitality as experienced among Philadelphia Friends. This is strikingly less true of Friends in other areas -- particularly the West Coast.

b. The program is also hampered by non-cooperation within some parts of AFSC. Some AFSC staff and Committee members think that a race relations program is not necessary, some know nothing about it, some think that it is going too far -- particularly in working in the field of integrated housing. Some have disapproved of Negro personnel making employer visits; some have disapproved of staff members in the South hiring Negro secretaries. One extremely "weighty" Friend even stated that he thought the pre-Civil War Underground Railroad was immoral, because it violated the property rights of slave owners, and also refused for a considerable time to lend AFSC support to attempted FEP legislation.

c. The program is hampered also by some reservations among staff members. In some cases, staff members have been inclined to compromise or to try to adopt a middle position in regard to their racial beliefs. There have been scattered cases where staff members refused to "stick their necks out" by selling their homes to a Negro, where staff members have put minorities in embarrassing or uncomfortable positions, where staff members have undermined the older and established intergroup organizations in stressing the merits of their own approach. However, these instances are remarkably few and far between, and each staff member seems to make progress in his own racial attitudes and continually to re-examine himself to make sure he is not showing this "half-baked witness."

2. A Critique of assumptions. Our use of the term "critical appraisal" does not mean that each of these ensuing subjects will be criticized; we merely attempt to examine these items separately and to state the arguments for and against the selected assumptions, administrative procedures and specific methods that we present. We first examine some of the previously discussed assumptions, warning in advance that this critique may "skip back and forth" between the Society of Friends, AFSC, the Community Relations Program, or its individual staff members.

a. Reducing tension. It is assumed by AFSC that part of its task is to lower tension among groups and thus make peace. However, the opinion of many social scientists today is that tension is almost inevitable during a period of change, and may even be, in some cases, desirable. Some AFSC members have also noted this. As a sage senior member stated:

"A danger lies in putting all emphasis on relieving tension. One of the Queries is attempting to relieve tension. I have said that I know the Queries are sacred, like the Ten Commandments are to the Jews, but there is a weakness in the Friends' Queries. Tension is

a part of having conviction. Justice cannot be abandoned in order to relieve tension. Jesus realized that tension is a part of the vital life. The disciple of Christ will run into tension. You must be patient with it -- it may sometimes be a sign of something good."

b. "Demonstration projects." The AFSC philosophy of keeping projects small and short-term may run head on into these facts: Minority problems are not amenable to solution in this rapid time; it sometimes takes an incredible amount of time for the minority community to begin to accept and trust this "strange" group of people; people seldom follow up on these demonstration projects or duplicate them, unless encouraged.

The Service Committee has assumed that it should do a quick demonstration job and get out. On the other hand, working with minorities requires a great deal of time in just getting accepted. Community attitudes toward termination of the Community Relations Program are almost unanimously opposed to it, if not shocked by the prospect that a group felt it could withdraw. This is especially true in the Indian areas where their history has been one of either receiving inept or half-hearted support, or having their more valuable supporters and helpers moved just as a program was beginning to progress. It generally has taken Indian staff members over a year even to get accepted and believed in by the Indians; termination of a program at the time when Indians are just beginning to respect it may result in the Indians stating fatalistically, "I told you so."

c. Changing individual attitudes. The Service Committee has assumed that race relations progress can be made by adopting the tactics of John Woolman and conducting private, personalized conferences. This checks with the social science assumption that person-to-person influence is more effective than visual or formal propaganda in influencing attitudes and behavior. However, it conflicts with the social science assumption that people's attitudes are changed more easily in small groups rather than in individual face-to-face situations. Particularly, social scientists have emphasized that attitude change comes about as a result of exposure to an altered social situation; hence, action should be focused on changing practices rather than attitudes. The Community Relations Program experience, if successful, might require social scientists to re-examine their widely held premise.

In addition, there is an assumption in AFSC that legislation is effective only if people are ready for it. Analogies with the Prohibition experience are heard here just as they are heard among the opposition to change in intergroup relations. Likewise one also hears the cliché, "A man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still." These beliefs contradict the action experience of many groups that have seen persons forced to change their practices through administrative edicts or new legislation, and later accepting these changes completely.

d. Low salaries. Initially the low salary scale in AFSC was based on the idea of sacrifice. Many Friends worked in the Service Committee for nothing at all. This is an act that a group with a wealthy background can afford -- however it becomes increasingly dysfunctional as AFSC takes on more non-Friends with family responsibilities, who sometimes must take on additional part-time work in order to subsist.

This is especially true of minorities. AFSC wants more minority group staff members, but most minority group members eligible for these jobs are upwardly mobile, have educated themselves either at the expense of relatives or by borrowing, are supporting relatives, or are in debt to someone. Hence, AFSC in its earnest desire to have a fully integrated staff nevertheless makes many qualified minority group members seek employment elsewhere because they cannot afford the financial sacrifice.

A further dysfunction of low salaries has been suggested by other intergroup relations workers who are strongly oriented around professional standards and recognition for the intergroup relations worker. Some claim that AFSC is "rate busting" with its relatively low standards, which suggest that the intergroup relations profession is not an extremely reputable one. However, this criticism is uttered by few, and others have approved the philosophy of recruiting persons on the basis of motivation rather than the temptingness of the stipend. AFSC has been gradually revising its salary bands upward, but we still believe that the average staff member's salary is lower than that of the average intergroup practitioner.

e. Monopolizing love. Some AFSC staff members and policy makers believe that they are the only group that actually approaches people on the basis of love in intergroup relations. One Community Relations Committee member protested this, stating: "I'm bothered by those who feel that non-professionals with a good motivation have a corner on motivation." The assumption that other organizations do not have love involved in their beliefs and practices must be sharply re-examined by contact with these organizations. The problem is probably one of semantics; the other organizations' staff members are less likely to talk religion or to mouth phrases about love, but are sometimes equally likely to show their understanding of the love concept in their behavior. This is also true of a segment of the Community Relations staff.

f. "Simple arrogance." There is a sentiment among Friends that is sometimes carried over into AFSC. It has been described as "a kind of simple arrogance" -- a conviction that their motives and decisions are right and that those of others are possibly open to contradiction. This exists in contrast to the trait of humility for which Friends are noted, and the tendency among Friends for continual self-evaluation or even "self-flagellation" as some have suggested. However, the Friends' tendency to repress affect and speak gently makes this sentiment almost unnoticed outside of the Society. It is noted most frequently by persons actively involved in AFSC. As one Community Relations Committee member said:

"Our worst handicap in this area is smugness -- a feeling that we own the truth. This smugness must be unbearable to others. We are sitting around disclaiming credit, but knowing that we will get 90% of it anyhow."

This simple arrogance, if it exists, might be reflected in the question of one AFSC member to the evaluator: "What is it about our unique religious motivation that makes us so much more effective than other groups?" It is actually the reflection of a conviction that the Friends' religious philosophy is a correct one; it might be modified by continual contact with other organizations doing equally effective work.

Summarizing this review of assumptions, the most striking discrepancy between current social science-practitioner knowledge and the beliefs of persons in AFSC hinges around whether prejudicial attitudes can or cannot be changed by administrative sanction, legislative, and other pressures. As Kenneth Clark's monograph on desegregation has suggested, the answer lies in the actual appraisal of the evidence -- a review of successful experiences in desegregation and integration. However, the AFSC experience, if successful, might be included in this evidence which has to be appraised.

3. Critique of administration.

a. Communication problems. It has become quite apparent in this research that many segments of AFSC do not know what other segments are doing. Rapid expansion, regional autonomy, and pressure to develop new programs have made it difficult to orient the policy makers in particular. However, most of this lack of familiarity with other segments has been overcome through careful and reiterated explanations and written documents circulated widely through AFSC. Yet, the writer notes that there is no clear-cut policy to inform Community Relations staff members of how much they should actually be familiar with in the other AFSC programs. Therefore they still have conflicts about whether they should take the time to orient themselves on other programs, like work with Indians, Intern groups and Work Camps, or overseas programs. As previously suggested, the awareness of this problem plus the activity of advisory committees keeps communication from being too sharp a program obstacle.

b. Use of "dedicated amateurs." This is another area where AFSC is often criticized by other organizations, particularly intergroup relations practitioners. The current emphasis on professionalization in most fields makes some people fear that the dedicated amateur is equated with a spirit of good will and very little else. AFSC has noted its failures with staff members who, despite their admirable religious motivation, did not have the capacity or skill to do an adequate community organization job. Hence, increasingly, the personnel policy is to find a person who has the optimum blending of motivation and know-how; attempts are also made to increase the sophistication of staff members by sending them to institutes, workshops and school courses. There is definitely an awareness in AFSC that probably was not present ten years ago -- the awareness that dedication itself is not enough, and that professionalization is not the worst thing that could happen to a staff member.

c. Use of advisory committees. Early observations persuaded us that in the Community Relations Program, the Committee as a whole played a somewhat minor role as a policy making body, although both staff and Committee members were sharply concerned about this.

Their concern led to a set of recommendations drafted by an ad hoc committee in June of 1954. Included were such recommendations as these: the chairmen of subcommittees should be added to the Executive Committee; the Executive Committee's function should be merely administrative and advisory, with the responsibility for actual policymaking to be vested in the full Committee or in subcommittees; summaries of background information on items to be discussed should be furnished to subcommittees in advance, and so forth. A subsequent review of these new committee

procedures revealed that the Committee had been of increased value to the staff. However, staff members still have difficulty in getting Committee members sufficiently oriented and informed that they can contribute sound and lasting policy decisions. Some possible solutions will be suggested in the section on recommendations.

There is one additional comment on use of advisory committees. The belief that these committees should be composed largely of Friends so that the program might be "activated by Friends' principles" may be an example of the Quaker "simple arrogance." Since we know what these principles are, since it is recognized that Friends have no monopoly on them, and since many Friends do not live up to them, we state reservations on adherence to Friends' principles as the main criteria for Committee membership. We suggest that a desirable Committee member might also be activated by humanitarian motivation, by know-how, or by ability to get a job done.

d. Selection of problem areas for program activity. In some segments of AFSC, the following critical hypothesis is sometimes advanced: "The greater the physical distance from the problem, the greater the concern shown by the Society of Friends." As an example, some cite the concern among California Friends about problems of school segregation in New York City, and the concern among New York Friends about problems of Indians in California. The writer noticed one instance of a group of Friends who traveled over five hundred miles to discuss problems of local Indians, whereas in their own home towns, Negroes -- and presumably Indians also -- were not allowed to stay in the town overnight. This cynical hypothesis is only partially valid, as indicated by the scope of AFSC's work, but it does have some basis in fact, in opposition to the axiom of "clean your own house first."

4. Critique of methods.

a. Codifying of methods. In the past, AFSC has had many successful community experiences and, in line with its philosophy, has hoped that other groups would emulate them. However, it has given no suggestions to these other groups as to how it accomplished what it did; hence, most persons are reluctant to try to duplicate AFSC's work without knowing how it was done. In Community Relations, as in other AFSC programs, there are many examples of successful experiences, where staff members are unable to specify how they did it, or how the principles could be used elsewhere. The implication seems to be that success is due either to the hand of God alone or else to the personal magic of the staff member. We believe this is being corrected. Particularly in the school desegregation, housing and Indian programs, AFSC has issued several recent excellent statements. These statements have sought to pull together the knowledge and experience of the Community Relations Program and have been eagerly received in the areas where they have been disseminated.

b. Use of social science. Observation of a number of intergroup relations organizations convinces the writer that AFSC is probably using less social science than any other major group observed. This may be partly due to its religious motivation -- to an assumption that if one has correct beliefs, the knowledge and trappings of social science are not necessary. At one point the writer said in exasperation to the Community Relations staff, "Obviously, if God sent you, there is very little that social science can add."

We assume that the lack of use of social science is due mainly to AFSC's earlier skepticism about professionalization, the use of dedicated amateurs without previous exposure to social science, the recruitment of persons from the business world which is not completely sympathetic to social science, and the lack of a chance ever to get shown what social science is. We also note that this tendency is declining; that social science methods, concepts and researches are being increasingly used, and that more and more staff members have a background in the social science field.

c. Understanding of minorities. We note that some segments of the Community Relations Program and many segments of AFSC lack full understanding of the minority community. Members sometimes adopt the sentiments of the power structure, have difficulty in finding minority applicants for a pilot placement, have extreme difficulty in communicating with less educated minorities. Worst of all, some segments of AFSC do not always have full understanding of minority sensitivity, hesitation and anguish. Therefore we see examples where minorities are pushed into awkward situations to "see what will happen" with a detached curiosity.

In particular reference to the Job Opportunities Program, the writer has felt that there has not been enough sensitivity to the problems of minority applicants, not enough consideration of their personalities, considering the program's stated objectives, and not enough follow-up or encouragement of them. The actual behavior toward minorities is sometimes in strong violation of the continually reiterated statements about the inherent dignity of each person and the preciousness of the individual personality.

But this is only partly true. All persons involved in AFSC manifest some concern about minority problems, most express sympathy, some express empathy -- or an actual reaction in the way that minorities would react, and finally many staff members in the Community Relations Program have an identification with the minority community that aids them to see issues as clearly as minorities see them, and in some cases, even to hate their own group because of this over-identification. This sometimes causes staff members to yield to "the urge to klobber" when adamant bigots impede the progress of race relations.

d. Applicants as "supplicants." In particular reference to the Job Opportunities Program again, the approach of AFSC keeps the minority applicant in an eternal supplicant's position, subject to the whim or motivation of the employer or "gatekeeper." For this reason, many persons, including some of the Community Relations staff, increasingly wish to abandon this practice of keeping minority applicants dangling in favor of legislation or other action that would establish minority employment as a right rather than as a gratuitous favor. The success of legislative approaches in many areas lends heart to those who wish to see minorities in this more favored position, and strengthens the Community Relations staff sentiment that their own voluntary persuasive approach is not enough, and that legislation is needed.

e. Protectiveness of Indians. We might note briefly that most Americans who have a positive sentiment toward Indians tend to be paternalistic, competitive, and over-protective of this seemingly leaderless group. Friends are no exception in this case. There is a competition for administration of Indian programs within AFSC that is stronger than any other competition noted by this writer.

In addition, coupled with the real concern of Friends for Indians, is a belief in some areas that the Indians are childlike and need to be treated in a firm and stern manner. The Indian Program staff of Community Relations does not especially have this view; rather, they seem to lean further toward the strong identification with the minority community that we have mentioned. Nevertheless it is fitting here to remind advisory committees of Indian Programs that there is a danger in exerting too much paternalism.

f. Relations with other organizations. There are two conflicting orientations on this subject. On the one hand, Community Relations staff members respect the individuals in other organizations and the objectives of these groups, seek to cooperate with them, and often are willing to go more than half-way in insuring inter-organizational cooperation. On the other hand, some persons in AFSC -- particularly those outside of the Community Relations Program -- are not only not familiar with the objectives and methods of these organizations, but are likely to brush them off as protest groups, as non-religious, as emphasizing expediency rather than morality, or as not having a truly Christian approach in race relations.

Many of these organizations existed for years before AFSC decided to start a race relations program; many may still be existing years after AFSC has withdrawn its work in this area. We might ask: Is AFSC a "Johnny come lately" organization? Is it too little, too late? Did the program wait until the time was ripe, in 1943, before acting, rather than working in the '30's when the need was still greater? Does AFSC profit from the groundwork already laid by other organizations? Does AFSC ever undermine the status and the activity of the more permanent organizations by its favored position, its detachment, and its ability to stand off and view intergroup relations problems from afar? These are suggested questions for staff and Committee discussion.

5. Are there "dysfunctions" in the Community Relations Program? The phrases "manifest and latent functions and dysfunctions" were coined by Sociologist Robert Merton to refer to more and less advantageous and disadvantageous consequences of any purposive social action. Merton maintains that action programs should be analyzed in terms of these less observable consequences of action and disadvantageous consequences as well as in terms of the obvious positive benefits stemming from the program. A part of the continual self-examination within AFSC should be a constant speculation about whether its program is having these "latent dysfunctions" or non-observable negative consequences.

We suggest an example here. In regard to rehabilitation of slum areas, a Regional Secretary stated: "What the opponents of public housing say is, 'Let the Friends paint the place.'" If conservative policy makers in American communities regarded AFSC work as vindication of their belief that FEP laws, public housing projects and labor unions were not necessary, then the AFSC program might be said to have serious latent dysfunctions for intergroup relations and other liberal points of view. Fortunately, our observation suggests that this is largely not the case.

There is danger in excessive preoccupation with the problem of latent dysfunctions. For example, at an AFSC annual meeting, someone made the statement, "Watch out. That Quaker feeding after World War I made some mighty fat German soldiers in World War II." Is this to be taken as an indication that starving

children should not be fed? We think not. It might be, however, that planning for future activity should include some sort of machinery that will minimize the effects of possible latent dysfunctions.

We summarize this discussion by stating that we have attempted to assess AFSC beliefs in race relations action against a background of (a) social science knowledge, (b) practitioner wisdom, and (c) the writer's personal pet peeves. We recognize that we have raised some "great unanswered questions" here, and that this section should be regarded mainly as an attempt to alert staff and Committee members to wider implications of their actions, and to provide the basis of discussion for future programming.

D. Is AFSC Unique?

A central part of the interest of Russell Sage Foundation and that of the American Friends Service Committee in this evaluation was to find if there was a specific "plus factor," a special element in AFSC's race relations work that made it a unique organization and more effective in intergroup relations than other groups. We have examined the organization carefully, using as a basis of comparison the other organizations working in this field. We have approached this task of assessing uniqueness with hesitation, and have sought to give a balanced viewpoint on the question of uniqueness by examining it in terms of AFSC's historical tradition, stated philosophy, position in American communities, method of translating words into action, and, finally, a constellation of these factors. Our tentative answer on uniqueness is: Yes - no - yes - no - yes. We now discuss these elements separately.

1. Uniqueness of historical tradition -- yes. We hazard that almost no group organization, denomination or sect has the tradition of sincere and devoted concern about the position of minorities as have the Quakers. Even when it is said that, "Some Friends are still freeing the slaves," their history of fair dealings with Indians, manumission of Negro slaves, participation in the Abolitionist movement and the Underground Railroad, contributions to Negro and Indian education, and acts of relief and rehabilitation is paralleled by none in American history. This becomes especially significant when we note the smallness of the group. Hence, it has an excellent tradition and background for the work in intergroup relations that is carried on today.

We are reminded of Friends' own feeling that it is their responsibility to work in areas in which they have demonstrated their concern in the past. We are furthermore reminded of the intense persecution which Friends suffered in the late 17th Century and which seems to have given added impetus to their desire to work in the field of race relations. We therefore conclude that the historical tradition of this organization qualifies it eminently to work in this field.

2. Uniqueness of stated philosophy -- no. We feel that there is very little unique in what AFSC says that it believes. The phrases referring to respect for individual personality and the dignity of the individual seem to be repeated by almost every organization that has any kind of democratic or religious premise at all. We have seen numerous statements that sound strikingly similar to those of the American Friends Service Committee and the Religious Society of Friends. We will

not enumerate them here, but might submit one quote from Arnold Toynbee in the New York Times magazine. He writes:

I believe our Western way of life is an expression of the belief in the sacredness of the individual ... The historical origin of our Western belief in the sacredness of the human personality is the Jewish and Christian belief that human souls have an absolute value in the sight of God. I cannot see any other foundation on which our belief can stand.

The AFSC beliefs in love are likewise echoed by many other groups, particularly religious figures, psychiatrists and, more recently, social scientists. A possible difference is in AFSC's emphasis on the "power of love" which makes the concept more dynamic. However, a content analysis of statements on love would probably reveal no striking difference between AFSC and others in this respect.

Then there is the phrase "that of God in every man." This again may be a unique statement, but the writer suspects that many other groups state this sentiment, though perhaps employing different semantics. The national secretary of the Community Relations Program had this to say in regard to uniqueness of stated beliefs:

"Most religions will talk of the sacredness of individuals. Even democracy says that, but the tough thing is to say that there is a piece of God in a person. Actually it has been repeated so much that it has no more meaning and people don't believe it. But for the few who really believe it, it has an effect."

3. Uniqueness of position in American communities -- yes. During the writer's community studies in which he attempted to place AFSC in the spectrum of inter-group organizations and resources, it became increasingly apparent that AFSC did have a strikingly unique position in relation to other organizations. It was foundation supported, thus free from the necessity of fund raising and Community Chest support; it was tax-exempt; it had at least one full-time staff person working on the problem of integration; it was regarded as non-partisan, non-sectarian, non-ethnic -- with no obvious ax to grind; it was regarded as non-threatening because of its religious motivation; it was protected from criticism in some quarters because of its inter-racial, inter-faith, and international staff; it had an immense amount of prestige because of its connection with the Society of Friends and AFSC work overseas; it had staff members who were frequently majority group members and not identified with any segment of the local community; it was not immediately identified with anything too radical, too militant, or too "wishy-washy"; it was sufficiently free from pressure that less than any other organization did it find it necessary to compromise.

In assessing the effectiveness of AFSC in the community setting, we are reminded of the story of the elderly immigrant woman whose children took her to see, for the first time, the cascading grandeur of Niagara Falls. In reply to their expectant glances, she blinked, shrugged her shoulders, and asked: "What's to hinder?"

This is not intended as a detraction from the immensely valuable functions performed by the Community Relations Program in American communities. However, we attempt continually to keep this program in accurate perspective so that its being

held in greater repute than organizations like NAACP, Urban League, or Anti-Defamation League may consider other factors besides unique religious motivation.

4. Uniqueness in translating words into action -- no. We make this statement with reservations since many organizations have glittering statements of objectives and statements of policy, but do not appear to be implementing them in any manner whatsoever. Nevertheless, countless other organizations not only have belief systems similar to that which AFSC has stated, but also seek to translate them into action through whichever means they consider effective, depending on their resources. Even in AFSC's emphasis on Christ and Christian behavior, there is little in its behavior that is not also accomplished by even non-Christian movements, notably the American Jewish action community.

Also, though having a magnificent tradition in race relations and a unique opportunity to perform service domestically because of high prestige, having won the Nobel Prize, and a general aura of respectability -- as Louis Wirth has indicated, it should nevertheless be remembered that AFSC has not exactly pioneered in race relations. Despite its stated beliefs, it had no direct race relations program until 1943, did not tackle the really tough areas until some years later, and has suffered frequent embarrassment because of the prejudicial or disinterested attitudes of some members of the Society of Friends, or sometimes even its own staff.

A third point of "non-uniqueness" might be noted, though it is a positive one. Numerous staff members in this program indicated that all of AFSC's beliefs were consistent with beliefs of the groups from which they came. These included social workers, sociologists, and ex-staff members of other religiously motivated organizations. In addition, other community respondents expressed a strong belief that AFSC's philosophy and methods were similar to their own. These included staff members of YWCA, Urban League, YMCA, and Catholic Interracial Council. On the other hand, some religiously motivated individuals indicated that AFSC's actions are more effective than those of their own bodies. One strongly religious personnel manager commended AFSC for its acts, adding: "Most Christianity is so phony that it is almost obscene."

5. Uniqueness of a constellation of factors -- yes. We have emphasized the uniqueness of AFSC in terms of its tradition and present community position; we have de-emphasized it in terms of stated philosophy and means of activating it. We conclude that the actual uniqueness of this Community Relations Program lies in a combination of positive elements. This is true of any organization, but it is the writer's belief that AFSC, through this program, combines more of these positive elements than any other single organization in this field. Some of them are:

- a) A history of persecution and dissent, and a background of traditional concern in this field.
- b) A basic motivation and philosophy that is religious, humanitarian, and oriented around the concept of love -- and the best motives that men have been able to articulate.
- c) A high prestige and largely unassailable sponsorship.
- d) A willingness and ability to put love into action in effective ways.

- e) A staff that is high on integrity and flexible in terms of gaining sophistication.
- f) An access to the best resources and consultation from resource people.
- g) An ability and willingness and determination to "knock on any door."
- h) A willingness to hear the other person's point of view and see that of God in every man.
- i) A refusal, in most instances, to compromise.
- j) A continual tendency toward self-inventory and criticism, and self-evaluation.

With this impressive background, and with an ability to obtain continued funds for program expansion that are not available to most intergroup organizations, the final answer to the question on AFSC's uniqueness must be a somewhat grudging "yes." We amend, of course, that the program will "sink or swim" in accordance with the merit of individual staff members. But given a person with a modicum of sophistication and of sincere motivation, AFSC programs are guaranteed a certain amount of success in any field. Our general assessment for the reason for uniqueness would lie in the many factors we have enumerated; if we were asked to pick any one specific factor, we might mention prestige; but more likely we would mention -- insofar as staff members live up to this ideal-- the factor of truly "seeing that of God in every man."

6. "Punch Line." The summary statement to these remarks is that given the tremendous positive factors enumerated above, AFSC must stay in the field of intergroup relations. And in response to pressures from the more impatient members of the Community Relations Committee who insist on having the conclusions of this evaluation wrapped up into one sentence, the writer submits these conclusions that will be expanded upon in the following section: CONTINUE, EXPAND, COLLATE, DISSEMINATE, STAY IN ADVANCE OF THE TIMES.

E. Possible Future Directions for AFSC: Some Recommendations

Sociologist Robert Merton has suggested that there are two possible functions of the "expert" in relation to an action organization: (a) He can sensitize the policy maker to new procedures and directions within the framework of his present program; (b) he can suggest to the policy maker new vistas for action on the basis of the organization's facilities, philosophy and resources. Most of the recommendations presented here will pertain to the former area of improvements within the framework of on-going operations. However, we also seek to suggest possible new vistas for action in the Community Relations Committee.

1. Appraisal of on-going program. We present our highly provisional viewpoint of the current value and future directions of the national activity, Job Opportunities, Housing Opportunities, Indian and Community Counseling Programs.

a. National activity. The national work of the Community Relations Committee is one of its most highly significant aspects and we can only indicate our hope that it will be continued. The somewhat pedestrian work in the national office is valuable and will doubtless move ahead unchecked. The subject of relationships with other organizations is a crucial one; however it has been handled with increasing skill, tact, and sometimes with love by Community Relations staff members. We strongly urge that the AFSC staff increase their patience and consideration of these organizations, recognizing their tremendous aspirations and their tremendous problems which AFSC may not have to face so sharply. In relation to what we have termed "going to the top" nationally, the value of this work is highly related to the personality and ability of the Director of the Community Relations Program. We can only state that we highly urge that he neither resign nor be summarily fired.

b. Job Opportunities Program. AFSC performs a valuable function here, but it is perhaps the least unique of all the AFSC programs. Its procedures are pretty well standardized and there is less room for flexibility here than in any other program. Its effective work is being echoed, if not duplicated, by other community forces. Whatever was once unique in it is being matched by other groups and its current uniqueness lies mainly in pushing into tougher and tougher areas, tackling the Southern states, trying to negotiate with the national business community, talking of all minorities (though increasingly other groups say they are likewise doing so, and all still end up talking predominantly about the Negro). It has an additional potential function in being able to open doors that others cannot.

We should make a special statement about Job Opportunities in the South. Here we find an entirely different picture. State laws are largely opposed to the integration of minorities. The number of Quakers in the South is extremely small. The resources of the intergroup relations community are limited. The opposition is organized in some cases and is widespread in most. Most Southern states require separate cafeteria and rest room facilities for Negroes. As one Southern staff member said, "If Negroes didn't have to eat and go to the bathroom, we could lick this problem of job discrimination in no time." AFSC has seen fit to establish employment on merit programs in three Southern communities. Though none of these may yet be termed as successful as the Service Committee would hope, there is nevertheless a "demonstration" of motivated persons, maintaining an integrated office, offering their friendship to bigot and minority applicant alike, and refusing as far as possible to make compromises to the Southern tradition. This element of "witness" may have great value, even if little gets accomplished in terms of actual changing of patterns of behavior.

c. Housing Opportunities Programs. Housing Opportunities still has little standardization or body of knowledge, though one is beginning to develop and has been embodied in a succinct publication stating current minority housing problems and needs. It is therefore still an extremely flexible program with plenty of room for new and inventive ideas. Regardless of what program is devised, housing is such a crucial problem for all minorities that it should not be dropped by any organization in the near future. This is particularly true in view of AFSC's emphasis on providing demonstrations of successful integrated housing developments. We recommend that AFSC continue its emphasis on integrated housing, leaving to others the area of better housing for minorities within the framework of residential segregation.

d. Indian Programs. The Indian Programs fill a tremendous void. As indicated, reservation Indians today are contacted mostly by the Indian Bureau, missionaries, anthropologists, traders and lovers of Indian arts and crafts -- all of whom leave much to be desired, one way or another. AFSC can profit much by simply watching their mistakes and avoiding them. But furthermore, AFSC's emphasis on consulting with and learning from Indians will be a benefit that that latter group will always solicit and appreciate. In addition, the Community Relations Program is beginning to pull together its knowledge on Indian affairs and to make significant contacts nationally with Indian organizations and others in policy making positions. We predict that future AFSC work with Indians will be a tremendously exciting and informative experience.

e. Community Counseling. These programs, even more so than Housing Opportunities, have few guide posts, and the directions of the programs depend almost entirely on the background and skill of the program directors. As long as American communities do not have an effective "big ear" or a force that can knock on any door, AFSC will always have a crucial role to play in community counseling.

2. Orientation of staff members. We have little to add here -- we merely mention it because current staff wishes to revise its methods of bringing new persons into Community Relations. We have observed that orientation is always a massive task, and particularly in the case of Community Relations staff, involves wading through a tremendous mass of materials and contacting an incredible number of individuals in a brief period of time. Orientation might be made easier if the staff member first became familiar with the community in which he was to work, then came to the national office, but was put through a slower pace with more time for reflection and digesting of new experiences; with greater involvement as an observer in actual field operations rather than meeting with persons in offices; with more emphasis on informal, relaxed evening gatherings with interested persons, rather than rigid, formalized day-time schedules. We suspect that the learning process is such that an absorption point is rapidly reached when orientation schedules are crushing; therefore, we recommend less intensive and more relaxed practices in inducting a new person into the mysteries of AFSC.

3. Collating and codifying knowledge. We suggest that regardless of AFSC's religious motivation the successes and failures of the program can and must be stated in objective terms from which others can learn. We recommend that AFSC move away from its tendency to say, "Well, we did it," without stating how it was done so other organizations can emulate their experience. In one case, at an annual meeting, a staff member proudly stated, in reference to an Indian program: "In this as in other cases, our approach is so unique that other professionals want to know how we do it." We feel moved to ask: "O.K., AFSC; how do you do it?"

We have noticed a tendency in the Community Relations Program, within the past year, actually to try to draw together its knowledge and experience. This is reflected in two documents on desegregation, one on housing, one on the Indian program, and one general statement suggesting AFSC's past experience and present knowledge in the general race relations field. We strongly feel that, particularly in Job Opportunities, there is needed a summation of the experience derived from these thousands of visits to employers, the several applicant training workshops that have been conducted, and the numerous successful placements that this program can claim. Such a document might, among other things, seek to verify, modify or refute the propositions and hypotheses of successful desegregation that have been produced by others.

4. Learning from others and sharing with others. The proposal on collating and codifying knowledge implies that this knowledge should also be disseminated widely, wherever possible. It would be most particularly valuable in smaller communities that do not have the immense resources of the metropolitan regions. Therefore AFSC should devise the best possible "fan out" methods of seeing that its solid documents get placed in the hands of those who need them the most. This has already been done impressively in the case of the documents already produced. But we believe that even more effective techniques may be devised to interest others in the stated knowledge of AFSC and to pass it on to areas where it is most needed.

This sharing with others is a valuable function, but is only part of the coin. We believe that there is much the Service Committee might still learn from the experience of others and we recommend that its growing sureness and security not blind it from continually learning what other organizations can contribute on the basis of their experience. As an example, we have seen no evidence that AFSC has sought to draw upon the stored knowledge and wisdom of the Urban League which has 45 years of experience in the industrial field working in some 60 communities. Much of this knowledge is based on learning how to help Negroes to make the transition from a Southern rural to a Northern urban economy. AFSC work with Indians and with migrants might derive much from this experience, based on Negro areas.

One example of this process of learning and sharing might be found in AFSC's relationship to the Los Angeles Indian Center. For some years AFSC conducted the program of this Center, and finally turned it over to the Indians themselves to manage. However, this Center still has huge problems and as the need for urban Indian centers increases, more problems will loom in the future. Thus we might suggest putting an AFSC staff member back into the Los Angeles Indian Center for the express purpose of studying its program, working with problems of Indian resettlement, and collating knowledge that could be passed on to other Indian centers and to similar institutions throughout the world. Here again, a program might also draw on the valuable experience of the Urban League which, for so many years has dealt with the problem of introducing the Southern Negro migrant to the metropolitan environment. Throughout the world the urbanization of non-literate or depressed peoples will be an immense problem for years to come, and might benefit from any knowledge that AFSC can absorb.

5. Using more social science. Our observations of the AFSC Community Relations Program suggest that it is using less social science than most intergroup organizations. It is now recognized that it is quite legitimate for a staff member to increase his general sophistication without sacrificing in any way his religious motivation. Therefore a more thorough knowledge of that body of wisdom possessed by the social science community is urged.

One way of using social science methods is an emphasis on documentation of facts about discrimination. In the past, we suspect that AFSC has frequently "not had the facts," but has relied rather on a general vague awareness of the existence of discrimination, and a religious exhortation to people to do something about it. The possession of clear, irrefutable facts is an asset of great value; it might at least change the protests of those in the seat of power from, "You can't prove it," to, "We knew it already."

Most intergroup practitioners have complained that there is no way of sifting out the best of the voluminous social science materials, and also no way of succinctly annotating the valuable social science researches. AFSC might join the

other organizations seeking to state to the social scientists their precise needed knowledge, and seeking to present in most usable form the best knowledge that the social science community possesses. The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials is currently working in this area.

6. Interpreting the minority community. We have already indicated the tremendous necessity for all persons to understand the problems, skepticisms and aspirations of members of the minority community. We have noted that the general community power structure often either is ignorant of or baffled by these minority attitudes. Because AFSC tries to see that of God in every man and to knock on every door, it is in a unique position to interpret the minority community -- particularly the minority protest organizations -- to the business community and other segments of the general community. As an example, AFSC usually has fortunate contact with both Chamber of Commerce and NAACP. If AFSC acts as an effective channel of communication here, it might reduce the tendency of the former to label the latter as "radicals" and "hot heads," and might affect the NAACP's view of the former group as "bigots" and "reactionaries."

In this connection, a noted social psychologist, after reviewing these materials, was particularly intrigued by the possibility of extending the ability of this program to "knock on any door." He suggests:

"Since AFSC can 'knock on any door,' and since it represents a rather devout religious orientation, it may be that it performs, and can perform even more effectively than it has, the role of an agency which can, on occasions of impasse, be the means of bringing otherwise conflicted groups into at least a working arrangement where issues can be discussed. It seems to me that in critical times of conflict in a community, there is frequently a place for a person or agency which can perform this role."

Another important area in "building bridges to understanding" is reducing the barriers to intergroup communication. Some agency is needed to interpret to the general community the minority problems of fear, avoidance, expectation of discrimination, and negative reaction to the "language of prejudice." Though AFSC staff members sometimes have trouble communicating with different class levels or racial groups, they are otherwise eminently suited for helping communities break through these barriers for these reasons: (a) They state they are against them; (b) their manner or prestige makes them eminently acceptable in either area; (c) their belief of that of God in every man motivates them to try to give equal attention to both sides; (d) their sensitivity and sophistication leads them to avoid the pitfalls, mistakes and accidental "slips" that others so frequently encounter.

7. Utilizing committees optimally. We believe that the AFSC committee system is already better than most; we also believe that it can be greatly improved. We have noted that several staff members regard their relationship to their advisory committees as unsatisfactory; we have also noted tremendous frustration and dissatisfaction on the part of Committee members who wish to do more than "just sit." We therefore feel that AFSC and other organizations might benefit from these recommendations on optimum use of advisory committees which we now present:

a. In line with general AFSC recommendations, we suggest the preparation of a "constitution" outlining Committee responsibilities, the scope of its

authority, and the extent of its jurisdiction.

b. There should be a clear-cut agreement on the policy making process. Decide whether a staff member should submit a policy recommendation for Committee approval, or whether the Committee should actually be the policy making body.

c. Differentiate clearly between questions of policy and questions of administration, and state the expected relationship of the Committee to each of these.

d. Give the staff members a first priority in the selection of new Committee members.

e. Get Committees to strive for the broadest representation possible. By and large, AFSC and most other advisory committees are composed largely of upper-middle and upper-class persons. There is a great need for representation from other socio-economic strata, particularly from union leaders -- "the man who splits the infinitive" -- and from minorities.

f. Strike a balance in Committee composition between dedicated and religiously motivated Friends, and effective, sophisticated persons with experience in intergroup relations.

g. Regard the Committee as (a) a unit, seeking a "sense of the meeting," and (b) an aggregate of individuals, each of whom has a unique contribution to make and a potentially specialized function. Shape specific functions for individuals as well as group responsibilities.

h. Orient the Committee as thoroughly as possible, preferably through advance memoranda rather than verbal reports. Prepare an agenda for each meeting; be sure that either the first or the last item on the agenda is "open-ended" -- allowing for "free association" or for comments, questions, and new items that the staff member has not anticipated.

i. Regard any staff cynicism, "steam rolling," or "rubber stamp" manipulation of Committees as the time for immediate reassessment of the role of Committees, the composition of the specific Committee, or of the possibility of abolishing the Committee.

j. Have a periodic, perhaps yearly, evaluation of the relations between staff member and Committee. Find out if individual Committee members feel (a) overburdened, or (b) frustrated through lack of a more concrete function.

k. Provide a systematic method of channelizing relevant information to the Committee to keep it up to date. Provide some kind of folder for each member, for filing of relevant program documents.

l. Anticipate the evolution of the Committee's role, from an earlier period where it must actively shape policy, counsel, and increase contacts, to a later period where the program is functioning more smoothly and the Committee is needed only in an advisory capacity. Anticipate that this may be sharply reversed if a crisis arises.

In regard to the national Community Relations Committee that endeavors to keep up to date so that it can advise people with specific problems throughout the

nation, we present two suggestions. First, we have observed that some Committee members have stated their desire to follow one specific program in a part of the nation rather than trying to absorb the whole Community Relations Program. On the other hand, we have heard staff members in various field areas say that they wished that one specific Committee member would follow their work and note how they have changed and altered it from time to time. It should be quite easy to bring these two forces together.

Second, optimum utilization of the Committee might be combined with the orienting and entertaining of new staff members. One respondent has noted that Committee members seldom have a chance to be in touch with the "life" of programs -- seldom are able to visit projects, really get to know field staff, get a first-hand "feel" for the field.

Third, Committee members might alternate between two types of monthly programs. One would be focused on lengthy and intensive sub-committee work, with materials and questions circulated in advance, and with the group instructed as to what it is expected to do, and what questions it is expected to answer. The other might be a meeting of the total Committee, with sub-committee meetings for only a brief period, and with no materials circulated. Reports on the total program might be made at that time, and perhaps guests or speakers might be presented. This would also offer partial solution to the problem that some Committee members want to contribute help, counsel, shape policy; whereas others merely want to attend, listen, be informed, eat and socialize. It would also spare staff members from having to prepare memoranda every month. We agree with the statements of AFSC policy makers that one of its great strengths lies in its committees and their functions. We feel that, as in other areas, the barriers to communication between staff member and committee may be greatly reduced. We thus propose these recommendations on the role of committees for intensive staff-committee discussion.

8. Developing criteria for program termination. We have already noted three serious problems in relation to termination of AFSC programs: (a) That it is difficult to strike a balance between pulling out too early or pulling out too late; (b) that AFSC increasingly sees its programs continuing longer than its original philosophy had intended; and (c) that community members, particularly Indians, are often hurt, surprised or outraged when the program terminates just as it is beginning to do some good. An Indian connected with the Los Angeles Indian Center explained AFSC's termination policy in somewhat hurt tones:

"The Service Committee -- they got different rules they got to go by. They got their own plan that they go so much with other people -- then they let them go on. The Service Committee thought Indians were ready. Indians thought so, too, but we found we were up against a stone wall."

We suggest two things here: First that AFSC consider widening the scope of its belief on length of program continuation, and second that ways be found of involving the community more closely in problems involving program termination. We particularly like the previously cited suggestion of an Indian staff member that programs be established on the basis of recognized community needs, that the program should be based on the satisfaction of one of these needs, that the program be terminated after the need is satisfied without a time limit, hoping that the community has grasped the self-help idea and will carry on. We suggest, further, that

the Community Relations Program consider termination when at least some of these conditions are reached: (a) The area is no longer of "greatest symbolic value" to the minority community; (b) some summary of AFSC experiences in the area has been drawn up and passed on to this and other communities; (c) a variety of community individuals and organizations have taken positive steps to keep the program going; (d) people previously involved in the program (for example employers, applicants, or program advisors) have indicated their continued interest and have established some communication with each other; (e) the staff member feels psychically that he has passed his optimum productivity and is witnessing a diminishing increment in his effectiveness.

We pass on these suggestions with the additional caution that staff members should never assume that they can feel justified in leaving because the problems are solved. Minority group problems will be with us for a long time, and perhaps AFSC, if terminating a program, should merely satisfy itself that it has passed the period of optimum effectiveness within the limits of its resources.

9. New vistas. We first urge that the Community Relations Committee always seek to play the "prophetic" role, staying in advance of its times. We recognize that most intergroup relations movements are limited by the times in which they exist; as shown by Friends' early insistence on merely treating slaves kindly, rather than abolishing slavery, or on the fact that AFSC's race relations program started only in 1943, at a time when great momentum for this kind of effort was appropriate, as contrasted to the 1930's. We favor the statement made by one AFSC policy maker that they should be in the first or ideological action stage of political change, and that perhaps others may follow with the methods of political rallying and legislative action. Therefore, AFSC must continue to keep completely up to date in this field and ever strive for new areas of effectiveness, as it has largely done.

Very briefly we will suggest some new vistas that AFSC might consider in thinking of future programming.

a. Vocational guidance. In all of the community studies conducted in this research, the writer was struck with the increasingly severe problem of vocational guidance for minority group students. This problem exists because of the rapidly changing horizons to which minorities can aspire, the tremendous lag in perception of vocational guidance counselors about these changing horizons, the tremendous inadequacy of counseling and guidance facilities, the consequent lag in the numbers of minority group members prepared to accept the new openings offered to them. This was observed strikingly among Negroes in Chicago, it is even more of a problem among bi-lingual Mexican-Americans in the Southwest and West Coast, and is particularly a problem among the Indian children. These children, educated sometimes on reservations, sometimes in off-reservation schools, sometimes in public schools, are thoroughly bewildered about their prospects, and the teachers dealing with them know little about the alternatives open to them. We suggest there is a tremendous general confusion among minority group youths that might be part of the AFSC attempts to "work at the grass roots."

b. Anticipating new problems after desegregation. We have already indicated the many emergent problems that come about as a result of desegregation of schools and other areas. To remain in the forefront, an organization should plan

for such problems as rapidly shifting levels of aspiration, reorientation of majority group children to a more adequate appraisal of their status, support of minority group teachers, principals and other figures who are displaced as a result of desegregation, or victims of reprisals, speeding up the process by which minority children overcome the handicaps of segregation and are able to compete successfully in classrooms. These are some of the salient problems of tomorrow, and AFSC is well equipped to handle them.

c. Contacting intergroup opposition. AFSC has already had considerable success in approaching gate keepers or members of community power structures and laying before them race relations concerns. They might consider going a step further. The ability of being able to see that of God in every man may help them go beyond the known sources of authority to the actual centers of opposition. This is in the tradition of Rufus Jones and other Friends in their attempts to persuade Hitler to release Jews from Germany.

d. Extending knowledge gained in Job Opportunities. The experience derived in contacting numerous employers might be applied to still other areas where special groups have difficulty finding employment on merit. A first and obvious example might be Negro school teachers and principals displaced by desegregation. Beyond that, AFSC might be able to counsel others, on the basis of its experience, in such things as persuading employers to hire the physically handicapped, job opportunities for persons damaged by Congressional investigations and other personal attacks, employment on merit for prison parolees, and general consultation on maximum manpower utilization. All of these possibilities are consistent with the AFSC beliefs about blocks to personality development, wastage of human resources, and that of God in every man.

e. Cooperating with training schools. It is hoped that in the near future actual school courses will be devoted to training young people to work in intergroup relations, to reorienting persons already active in the field, and to giving special courses to school teachers, policemen, criminologists, social workers and the like whose jobs will inevitably involve intergroup relations. We believe there is a great deal of knowledge in AFSC that might be contributed to the conduct of such a training school.

These are but some of the many new vistas that AFSC might possibly consider. In summary, it might be said that they should try to seek to be oriented continually toward the future, should try to get social scientists' best predictions of future consequences of present intergroup relations activity, and should try to devise programs to meet the needs of the future as well as the needs of the present.

F. What Others Can Observe from AFSC

In this discussion a sharp preliminary caution must be stated and kept in mind. We are not suggesting that the qualities and practices to be suggested here are possessed by AFSC and not by others. Rather, they are things that AFSC has learned in its brief experience; things that might be absorbed by newer groups, but already doubtless known and tested by the established groups in this field.

We know, for example, that in the work of the NAACP one might note more courage, more arduous and unrewarding work by the poor for the poor, more suffering, disappointment and persecution. We know the Urban Leagues have a considerably larger and fuller history of negotiation with the power structure of communities and with the most depressed minority group members. We know that Anti-Defamation League chapters have considerably more coldness to face in American communities, and that NCCJ chapters have far more delicate problems in placating influential community members to whom they are responsible, and so forth. Therefore we reject the possibly pretentious phrase, "What others can learn," in favor of a consideration of what salient factors might be observed from the work of AFSC -- factors that others may have learned long before, practiced with far greater proficiency than AFSC, tried and discarded, accepted with modification, or not yet discovered. However, we present these summaries of AFSC experience in regard to internal processes, inter-organizational relationships, and relationships with the general community.

1. Internal processes.

a. "Clean your own house first." In addition to its activating of a race relations program, the AFSC has continually tried to make sure of its internal racial practices -- that they are exemplary, to integrate its work staff, to furnish Friends' Meetings with as much race relations information as possible, and to eradicate wherever possible the numerous discriminatory practices of certain Friends' institutions and organizations. Thus, it has sought to take continual action with its parent body as well as working in the general community.

b. "Grow! Trend!" AFSC experience suggests that organizations must ever keep an eye fixed on what is the Forward Look in intergroup relations, and that they must be wary and cautious of ever adopting a technique, finding it successful, and holding on to it long after its meaning and usefulness have passed. Ours is a dynamic and ever-changing culture, and intergroup relations must keep pace with it. The previously cited AFSC experience in trending and learning new things in race relations is a pertinent example here.

c. "Tackle tougher and tougher areas." In the experience of this organization we have noted its penetration into the field of housing, its carrying of Job Opportunities Programs to the South, its working with the most destitute and apathetic Indian groups, and its maintaining community counseling programs in extremely depressed all-Negro areas. Currently, the nature of the opposition in American communities suggests that there are even tougher areas that might be tackled. However, each organization might ask itself whether it is doing work that is "safe" or "effective," and in what tough areas it might make its most effective contribution, considering its facilities and resources.

d. "Stay flexible." The Community Relations Program has not always been as flexible as it would like to be; however, staff members indicated that of some sixty questions presented to them, the one they wanted most to discuss was how to become flexible and keep from falling into a rigid mold in their intergroup activities. An example of this flexibility comes from AFSC's experience with personnel in their program. Moving from the initial assumption that a white person

with a business background would be most effective in "going to the top," AFSC has had successful experiences with Negro program directors, with numerous people of sociological and social work backgrounds, with Japanese-American and Mexican-American program directors, and with women in areas where it was assumed that only a man could do the job. In one Southern area, after looking for months for a Southern white businessman to conduct an employment on merit program, AFSC promoted a Negro woman with a non-business background to the position. She pointed out that, "Well, at least I am Southern."

e. "Get the sense of the Meeting." This method of obtaining unanimous consent without putting issues to the vote has been developed effectively by Friends through hundreds of years of practice. It is a difficult group process to master, but has tremendous advantages, if one has the time. The experiences of Friends out-date what social scientists are just beginning to establish definitely: That agreements arrived at by unanimous group decision are far more lasting and universally endorsed than decisions reached by a "leader," by authoritarian means, or by majority vote. Stuart Chase notes that business and labor groups are beginning to adopt these group decision methods so successfully established and proven by such groups as jury panels, American Indian councils, and the Society of Friends.

f. "Economize." We have noted that AFSC office practices include an emphasis on economy measures that to an outsider range from the eminently wise and sensible to the somewhat picayunish. Nevertheless, the fact that most intergroup organizations operate on slim budgets and are in a constant search for added funds suggests that some consideration of economy measures would be appropriate. One evaluative question that each organization might pose for discussion is, "Are we using the best possible economy measures, and getting the maximum out of each office investment?"

g. "Evaluate." This currently reported evaluation, critical as it has been at some points, is a reflection of Friends' continual desire to inventory themselves and to take stock of their practices at any given point. It takes a certain amount of security for any group continually to emphasize this self-examination, inventory, and evaluation, but it is necessary in any dynamic program that is continually altering to meet the current urgent needs. Gordon Allport has suggested that "evaluation is in the air," and it is to be expected that many other organizations may adopt this anxiety-producing, but necessary means of improving organizational effectiveness.

2. Inter-organizational relationships.

a. "Be familiar with the work of others." It is increasingly advised that practitioners in intergroup relations should be fully aware of the structure, objectives and resources of other organizations in this field. This may serve to reduce duplication of efforts, competitiveness, and inter-organizational frictions that dissipate the total resources of the intergroup relations field. All organizations should be familiar with the listing of national intergroup agencies, addresses of their local branches, and the number of organizations that have made policy statements and resolutions favoring desegregation and integration.

b. "Be patient." We have noted that the success of AFSC's maneuverings with other intergroup organizations, insofar as there has been success, has been due largely to this organization's willingness to understand the pressures under which other organizations work, to meet them more than half-way, and to advance their program and their prestige wherever possible. This inevitably involves a good deal of patience that will try the soul of any man, but will eventually reap the reward of fruitful future collaborative efforts rather than reduction of action potential.

c. "Be non-competitive." Each organization should recognize its own unique philosophy and resources, should work to develop them more fully, and should seek not to duplicate or compete with the effective work that other organizations are doing. The Community Relations Program has sought to follow the Service Committee's philosophy of going into areas where a need has not been met. In some cases it has duplicated the work of others, but usually through misunderstanding rather than through competitive motivation. It has been largely spared the necessity of fighting for credit since it does not have to depend on community funds or mass support, as do some other organizations which must continually show successes in order to remain supported. But non-competitiveness with other organizations is another of the requirements for maximal utilization of intergroup resources.

d. "Understand what others are thinking." The severe communication problems reflected within AFSC are even more striking when one considers inter-organizational relationships. The fact of working largely behind the scenes and having a unique religious "jargon" has meant in some previous cases that AFSC has failed to communicate fully to others what it intended to do, or to understand the objectives of others. AFSC has sought to improve this in Community Relations. Particularly it has adopted one good business practice in inter-organizational communication. In potentially controversial discussions, the agreements reached have been put into written memorandum form to be circulated and agreed upon by both sides. This has helped to prevent later misunderstanding on what was agreed.

3. Relations with the general community.

a. "Don't compromise." Because of its prestige and its independent type of support, AFSC has not had to compromise nearly as much as other organizations that operate under much greater restrictions. But in the case of any organization, it becomes increasingly apparent that the general community power structure and even the opposition may very likely respect most the person who refuses to violate his integrity for the sake of short-run gains. The compromiser is always open to attack on the grounds of his moral premises; the intergroup relations practitioner might even find relief in insisting on an "all out" stand, even if the amount of immediately observable result is decreased thereby.

b. "Go to the top." The ability to go directly to the sources of power in American communities is contingent upon a person's prestige, contacts, or else "sheer gall." Friends have established a tradition in this field by in the past approaching the Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, Hitler, American Presidents and other power figures in order to state their concerns. Most groups have neither

the connections nor the occasion to go this high. However, it is suggested that this belief in "going to the top" be acted upon wherever possible, and that an organization of any type should not satisfy itself with seeing lower-echelon, non-policy making persons if changes in administrative practices are the desired effects sought. As an extreme example, it is highly unlikely that integration of the armed forces would have occurred effectively if organizations had tried to accomplish it by seeking to stir up grass roots movements among buck privates.

c. "Consult minorities." Naturally the minority organizations always do this. Some of the organizations staffed with predominantly majority group members have often assumed that they know minorities' needs and aspirations and have acted on this belief without consulting minorities. AFSC has tried to follow its traditional belief that the wants and hopes of minorities be always taken into consideration. They have not always done this completely and they have not always successfully identified the appropriate minority spokesmen, or differentiated between the aspirations of minority leaders and rank and file. Other groups might take hint from this. In addition the consulting of minorities must be considered within the realm of what is immediately feasible. The writer has often wondered facetiously what Friends would have said if Indians, when asked about their needs, answered either, "I want a drink," or, "I want the white man to go back to Europe." But in the long run we suspect that the minority community itself is still best equipped and qualified to state its problems, needs and aspirations.

d. "Learn from the oppressed." In addition to making certain that minorities have a chance to voice their needs, AFSC has done pioneer work in considering that other cultures and oppressed peoples have a unique body of experience from which modern society can learn. Particularly is this true of some American Indian groups with their peaceful, communal and non-anxiety-producing way of life. Most intergroup organizations are caught up in our modern culture with its emphasis on speed, status striving, getting quick results and "keeping up with the Joneses." On the other hand, the experience of oppressed peoples sometimes produces apathy and defeatism but even more often produces a strength and nobility of spirit from which much can be learned.

e. "Utilize community resources." All organizations must know the full gamut of community facilities, nationally and locally, and learn how to use them as effectively as possible. AFSC has sometimes fallen short in this respect. On one occasion, when concerned with the plight of present-day conscientious objectors, AFSC went to the top structure of the Fellowship of Reconciliation while ignoring the top policy makers in the War Department who were actively considering this problem. We suspect that most communities have infinitely more facilities than any individual is aware of, and that effective action requires a complete inventory of what communities have to offer, regardless of their interest in intergroup relations or lack thereof.

f. "Be willing to listen." Many persons in intergroup relations are so strongly motivated that they are often impatient with the statements of the opposition and burning to present their own point of view. AFSC has a tradition of quietness, of repression of affect, and of patience that often allows staff members to permit each person contacted to have his say before the staff member makes comments. We suggest that the willingness to hear other people out and understand completely

a person's point of view will be of value to any organization, whether it is trying to cooperate or trying to disqualify the opposition.

g. "Keep coming back." It is asking a great deal of any person to be patient, willing to listen, and willing to keep returning in the face of what is often furious and vociferous opposition. Friends have done an impressive job in this area. This may possibly stem from the tradition of early Friends in America. Banished from American colonies and threatened with death if they returned, they frequently "kept coming back," to prove that laws denying liberty of conscience were wrong. This often resulted in their being hanged, a fate that is far less likely for anyone today. Therefore, despite its strain on the individual personality, the maximum of continuing to return to a recalcitrant community member "seventy times seven if necessary" is doubtless an effective community action, especially if combined with qualities of patience and willingness to listen.

4. A place for the love concept in race relations? Our summary consideration on what others might observe from the work of the American Friends Service Committee would hinge around the concept of love and its attendant sub-meanings. We might ask ourselves whether this organization should continue utilizing this concept as part of its unique approach, while other organizations continue to utilize their own self-developed methods. Or else we might ask: Do all organizations have something to learn from this central belief in the tremendous power of love? We make some brief remarks in this connection.

First, we feel constrained, as so many others do, to approach the love concept warily. There are three major reasons for this: (a) So many of us are familiar with things that masquerade under the name of love and are actually something else; (b) there is so much talk and so little action so far as love is concerned that it is now a concept that means all things to all men; (c) as Nelson Foote has indicated, many of us are afraid of the word and of letting ourselves be lured or seduced by it. Noting the tremendous embarrassment, surprise or amusement with which most community members greet abrupt discussions of love, we are in accord with more recent experiences of AFSC staff members that convinces them that the word must be used with carefulness, with gentleness and with moderation.

Our second observation is that, on the other hand, the concept of love is being utilized by more and more articulate spokesmen in all fields than perhaps at any period in history. Its use by social psychologists, social workers, psychiatrists, ministers, and even political spokesmen suggests that it is a concept whose value and significance is matched only by its ambiguity. Intergroup organizations, we suggest, must decide for themselves the component parts of the love concept that they regard to be significant, before integrating it into their programs to a greater extent than at present.

Our third point is that no group has a monopoly on love. AFSC and numerous other religiously motivated groups have in many cases not been sufficiently closely connected with the more militant intergroup relations organizations to note that love, as it is meant here, is not entirely absent from their operations.

Perhaps the best and most extreme example is the NAACP. It is frequently regarded as an argumentative aggregation of radicals and hot heads; but we believe that it actually exhibits a tremendous amount of love in its behavior, which will be noticeable to observers who take the time to watch for it.

First there is the real love of members for their own constituency -- the others who join the fight. The spirit of good will, of mutual appreciation, of gratitude of each to the other is sometimes almost overwhelming and would be immediately noticed by any outsider.

Second, there is love manifest in this organization for those who are not members but whose sentiments match those of NAACP members. The number of resolutions of commendation, letters of appreciation, and rising votes of thanks given by members to those who share their aspirations is striking. And finally, strangely enough, for all the militancy, bitterness and hostility in the "Race Men and Women" in NAACP and similar organizations, one even sees traces of love for the opposition. It is a sentiment characterized essentially by pity at the opposition's inability to see the ridiculousness of its position and the inevitability of its stand toppling. But it also seems to embody the emotion that a mother might feel for a disobedient, uncertain, and blindly stubborn child.

Perhaps the difference between AFSC and many organizations in relation to love is the belief in AFSC that this sentiment should embrace all men, that there is that of God in every man. It might be embodied in the statement of one policy maker who pointed out how most personalities experience a widening of the concentric circles of their loving power and then stop, adding, "We believe that there should be no stopping point."

Fourth, we might make a comment on the possibility of persuading all persons to see something of goodness in every man. This concept is far from unique to AFSC; the phrase "that of God in every man" may be stated in several ways ranging from "He's human just like everybody else," to, "The processes of personality growth, ego development, and integration of the psyche follow similar patterns in all men." Thus, the concept of the inherent dignity of individuals may be accepted by religious fanatic and by atheist, by social scientist and by practitioner, by oppressed minority and community "gate keeper."

Seeing the good in every man is a harder task to execute than to recommend. To state extreme cases, it would be difficult for a Southern white person indoctrinated with value premises that enhance his self-esteem over Negroes to recognize their inherent worth sufficiently to accept the idea of participation on the basis of merit rather than caste. Similarly, it would be difficult for an oppressed Negro in the deep South, threatened by economic reprisals and violence, to concentrate upon the good that exists in his oppressor. Nevertheless, we suspect that each of these groups is sufficiently indoctrinated by the American conception of the dignity or even the sacredness of each individual to the extent that at least the rudimentary basis for an appreciation of the good in the other person exists. It would be interesting to observe how the Quaker concept of "that of God in every man" stands its most crucial test -- the attempts of white and Negro persons in the deep South to see each other as valuable individuals rather than as obstacles.

Finally, an epilogue on the much abused love concept. It might be more meaningful operationally to other organizations if they feel free to use their own terminology in relation to its sub-components; and furthermore, if they consider it in the light of some of the actual behavioral tactics that we have listed in our consideration of what others can observe from AFSC -- patience, understanding, consulting of minorities, learning from the oppressed, willingness to listen, willingness to keep coming back, and finally, seeing something of goodness in every man.

If AFSC interprets this ambiguous word in its most meaningful sense, perhaps the greatest thing that others can learn from its work is the value and the tremendous power of love in conflict situations. We are reminded of these stirring words of an American educator:

"It is the capacity to love that brings to people of all elements of our society, of all faiths and races, that unqualified sense of belonging, that respect for one's self that can inspire its extension without envy and without apology.

"It can dispel fear and distrust. It can save the world."

APPENDIX: NOTES ON SOME THEORIES OF RACIAL CHANGE

We have previously discussed the contributions of social science to a theory of change in race relations. We noted William Graham Sumner's view that "the great stream of time and earthly things will sweep on just the same in spite of us," and his opinion in regard to Southern race relations that "the whites have never been converted from the old mores" and that "legislation cannot make mores." We noted the views of the "University of Chicago school of thought," the contributions of Kurt Lewin, and Gunnar Myrdal's expression of "grave skepticism" of Sumner's views and his discussion of the bias in social science "against all attempts to intervene in the social process by legislation."

We further noted the contributions to a theory of racial change made by numerous social scientists of today: Gordon Allport's view that it is "wiser to attack segregation and discrimination than to attack prejudice directly"; Robert MacIver's statement that "the attack on discrimination itself is more promising than ... the attack on prejudice itself"; Kenneth Clark's opinion that "compatible changes in attitudes and motivation may occur as a consequence of the changed situation and changed behavior"; and the belief of the directors of the Rockefeller Intergroup Relations Study that "major changes in individual prejudices occur most quickly and thoroughly from exposure to social interaction in a new social environment rather than from information and exhortation alone."

We cite these current opinions on the assumption that just as previous thought has been strongly influenced by the Sumnerian bias, the future thinking of American citizens may be strongly affected by the social science positions which emphasize the necessity of attacking discriminatory practices rather than working on individual prejudicial attitudes, or doing nothing. It might be added that there are possible modifications, reservations, and amendments to these current social science theories. Some are as follows:

- a) There may be evidence that positive social changes have been effected through prior alterations of individual attitudes.
- b) Social scientists still cannot state with surety the conditions under which alterations of discriminatory practices result in modified attitudes without resistance and violence.
- c) Little is known about the intangible factors which affect the climate of community opinion prior to induced change.
- d) Effectiveness of induced behavioral changes in altering negative racial attitudes may be found to exist only in authoritarian structures or when imposed in an authoritarian manner.

Drawing on our observation of all these positions, and their possible modifications, we now seek to present twenty propositions on change in race relations. These propositions are derived from a variety of sources and influences: sociological community studies of change, psychological learning theories, including experiments with rats; practitioner experience and knowledge, psychiatric principles, "folklore" of less educated "sages," and experience of AFSC. The propositions are as follows:

1. Current theories of racial change are affected by racial "myths" that must be eradicated. Confusion, misinformation, and misconceptions are held in regard to American race relations, not only by the "opposition" but also by sincere and dedicated persons seeking to effect change. We present here seven racial myths that have been enumerated by Joseph Lohman and Dietrich Rietzes at the University of Chicago. Noting that these myths are so much taken for granted that "they are like the very air we breathe," the writers enumerate the following:

- a) The myth that racial discrimination is caused by the belief that other races are inferior -- this myth prompts people to emphasize educational techniques.
- b) The myth of "separate but equal"; that absolute equality can be achieved under a system of segregation.
- c) The myth that it is impossible to accomplish any change in the tradition-bound South.
- d) The myth that we cannot legislate beliefs; that we must conquer individual bigotry and prejudice before we can change race relations.
- e) The myth that there is a rank order of racial change; that certain relations must be modified first and others only later.
- f) The myth that violence is inevitable if ever and whenever changes in race relations are effected.
- g) The myth that in time of crisis we must make progress slowly; that the international democratic struggle can be fought without reference to local race relations.

2. Racial change cannot occur in a vacuum. Observations in desegregation and integration in America show that change seldom occurs spontaneously, or through voluntary action. Few attitudes are significantly altered by education, persuasion, and "advance preparation," since participants are continually returning to their familiar discriminatory social situations, and getting reinforcement for prejudicial attitudes.

3. Man is capable of controlling his destiny and inducing orderly racial change. Review of purposively induced changes in America, in Russia, in China, and throughout the world convinced us that men, directed by their own particular political and moral premises, are capable of creating profound changes in the social structure. We therefore find it easy to dismiss Sumner's assumption that "the tide will not be changed by us."

4. Humans are capable of absorbing, without discomfort, infinitely more changes than they are now experiencing. Evidences in American communities show that most people refrain from change, partly because of a preference for the status quo -- whatever it happens to be; partly because of a lack of motivation among whites and Negroes to effect change. But, on the other hand, persons have accepted

numerous changes easily. And sociological studies show the potential receptiveness of Americans to racial change by indicating two major facts: (a) that persons almost inevitably attribute more prejudice to others than to themselves; and (b) persons almost inevitably express less resistance to the actual fact of integration than to the hypothetical suggestion of integration.

We add here, a sub-proposition, derived from our observations of racial change: the "unthinkables" of yesterday have become the "taken-for-granted" of today; the unthinkables of today may become the taken-for-granted of tomorrow. Ten years ago, it was unthinkable that Negroes would play on major-league baseball teams; today there are thirty of them playing. At the beginning of World War II it was unthinkable that there would be integration in the armed forces and it was believed that Negroes could not be taught to fly planes. Today, this armed forces integration is almost complete, with the Air Force leading the way. Other impressive events like the securing of FEPC legislation in sixteen American states, the desegregation of over 100 Southern institutions of higher learning, and the partial elimination of discrimination in the nation's capital, remind us that possibly no change is impossible to achieve in race relations.

The acceptance by Americans of the ideals of racial desegregation and integration may have a "life-history" similar to that of most political and social issues studied by scientists. The authors of the 1948 voting study of Elmira, New York, sketch this life-history of ideas thusly:

In their course across the political stage viable issues seem to "move" through various phases -- from near-unanimous rejection at first through sharp partisan disagreement to near-unanimous acceptance at the end, perhaps a generation later. Issues seem to have a characteristic life-history.

Issues are typically introduced by a small vanguard normally toward the left, or experimental, end of the political spectrum, who are often aided by the circumstantial event. If successful, the issue winds its way slowly across the political field. At each point rejection turns to resistance. Then to acquiescence, and finally to approval. After the initially "radical" proposal becomes a fait accompli through acceptance in practice, it takes its place as a "natural" characteristic of political life, and attention in the political arena turns to new matters. For example, social security had gone through all these phases within the lifetime of 1948 voters.

5. Our times are in themselves advance preparation. The climate of opinion in America is considerably different from what it was twenty years ago, as far as race relations are concerned. It is difficult to say whether the successful changes currently being enforced could have been enforced equally as successfully at that time. We might ask: "Was there ever an era when the time was not ripe?" However, it is certain that the intergroup relations field is considerably more comfortable today than ten years ago. At that time, much attention was focused on reducing tension, quelling riots, erecting anti-strife nuclei to prevent explosions. Since most of these expected explosions did not materialize, we are now able to turn attention to positive things -- altering discriminatory conditions, educating youths, even talking about love, growth experiences, and human potentialities.

6. Re-structuring social situations or "changing patterns," is more effective in reducing individual prejudice, than the reverse. As previously noted, these are the conclusions reached by one current social scientist after another: Robert MacIver, Gordon Allport, Kenneth Clark, Milton Gordon and John Roche, Joseph Lohman and Dietrich Reitzes, and the Cornell Intergroup Relations research team.

Thus, social scientists are now able to announce with definite clarity and abundant evidence some valid propositions on the need for changing prejudice through restructuring of social situations. But why? We hazard that first, because the person is then required to interact with human personalities rather than to weigh misinformation and stereotypes. Second, the engagement of individuals in a common endeavor may often transcend the artificial "boundary lines" of race -- whether this be in a union hall, a classroom, a baseball diamond, or a foxhole.

7. "Forced" changes are not necessarily impermanent. In this research we heard from many persons, including Quakers, the cliché that "a man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still." It is likewise reflected in the assumption once held by some social scientists that "stateways cannot change folkways." But wherever scientists and practitioners have abandoned their past shackling by laissez faire ideology; wherever they have, instead, appraised the evidence, they have been forced to conclude that where change is honestly and legally administered, even those who express greatest resistance come around to complete acceptance of the change. The most notable example of this is shown in the integration of the armed forces, an example from which some Friends, as pacifists, avert their heads.

8. But the conditions under which racial changes occur successfully must be specified by further appraisals of the evidence. We reiterate our belief that social scientists must state the conditions under which change will occur successfully. We ask ourselves, in relation to the current principles of change, these questions: Would these principles have worked twenty years ago? Did Hitler use them? Do they work in South Africa?

9. The changing of patterns is assuredly effective only under certain fairly observable conditions. We are continually impressed with the overwhelming evidence of the importance of administering racial change in a certain manner. In specific relation to desegregation, a set of principles for effective desegregation exists, so irrefutable that they were used by both the NAACP and the State of Florida in the desegregation re-arguments before the Supreme Court in 1955. These principles are those of Dr. Kenneth Clark, stated in his book, Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence. They suggest that the accomplishment of efficient desegregation with a minimum of social disturbance depends upon:

- a) A clear and unequivocal statement of policy by leaders with prestige and other authority;
- b) Firm enforcement of the changed policy by authorities and persistence in the execution of this policy in the face of initial resistance;
- c) A willingness to deal with violations, attempted violations, an incitement to violations by a resort to the law and strong enforcement action;

- d) A refusal of the authorities to resort to, engage in or tolerate subterfuges, gerrymandering or other devices for evading the principles and the fact of desegregation;
- e) An appeal to the individuals concerned in terms of their religious principles of brotherhood and their acceptance of the American traditions of fair play and equal justice.

The actual observation of the thousands of instances of successful desegregation in American life more than amply bear out these principles. One is almost overwhelmed by the sheer monotony of the "success story" in desegregation, where these principles have been followed. Particularly necessary is the issuance of a strong policy statement and its continued implementation. As one practitioner has commented: "If you wobble, all hell breaks loose."

10. The analogy between racial change and prohibition is fallacious. So often in this research, particularly in interviews of businessmen, the respondent was reminded that prejudice cannot be legislated away since prohibition failed. Respondents would say, "Did prohibition make people stop drinking? Hell no." The answer to this analogy is stated by a group of social scientists working as consultants to the NAACP legal office. They point out that the analogy between the two processes of change is fallacious for these reasons:

- a) In the prohibition attempt to control the anti-social behavior that might result from drinking, the offender was generally a private individual or a group of such as individuals. In the case of maintenance of segregated schools, the offender is necessarily a public body, that is, a state, municipality, or the local school board. In one case it was individual behavior in conflict with the state; in the other case it was a question of state or public action directed against whole groups of individuals who are being victimized in terms of the arbitrary classification of race.
- b) The 18th Amendment did not state that drinking in itself was anti-social or unconstitutional; this amendment and its repeal attempted to change the method of control of the traffic in alcohol. The Supreme Court has already decided that the segregated schools are anti-social and therefore unconstitutional.
- c) The 18th Amendment was generally recognized as a restriction of liberty whereas the desegregation decision and implementation decrees bestow liberty on a large group of citizens and are in keeping with the American creed. The 18th Amendment had no firm anchorage in the American creed.
- d) Of all the constitutional amendments concerned with social reform and passed around the World War I period, only the 18th Amendment was considered ineffective. Statutes and judicial decisions related to problems of conservation, women's rights, personal income taxes, workmen's compensation, and child labor were part of the 20th Century social reform pattern and were also initially met with organized opposition. However, they are considered today to have been effective contributions to social progress.

To this might be added the factor of adhering to the principles enunciated under proposition number 9. Vitally necessary, but yet greatly lacking, in the attempt at prohibition of alcohol was the willingness to abide by the clear policy and to punish violators rapidly. We present these factors about the desegregation-prohibition analogy in order to warn practitioners that they will frequently encounter it, and to suggest to them a framework for answering it.

11. Some measure of opposition and tension is almost inevitable during the process of racial change. In all major sweeping changes introduced in American communities, there will always be some reservoir of community apathy, resistance, or preference for the status quo. The task of the administrator is to conduct the change as efficiently as possible, while still keeping tension below the level where it explodes into violence. The task of the social scientist is to determine the nature and extent of the tension, to predict to the administrator what alternatives will or will not lead to conflict and violence, and to suggest alternative ways of handling conflict if it does occur.

We have already noted an opinion of an AFSC elder statesman that tension is inevitable during change, may actually be a healthy sign, or that "Christ and his disciples realized that tension was a part of the vital life." Social scientists largely agree with this opinion. To cite Robin Williams in The Reduction of Intergroup Tension:

Concentration of attention on the reduction of tension may seem to rest on an implicit value premise: that the reduction of tension itself is a desirable goal regardless of other considerations. . . Any material research orientation in this field will explicitly recognize the possibility that from the standpoint of certain principles and values, a measure of intergroup hostility and conflict may sometimes be unavoidable, if not on occasion actually a means to the attainment of highly valued purposes.

12. Attitudinal resistance to racial change is frequently caused by (a) faulty premises, and (b) faulty mechanics of thinking, both of which are amenable to change. Faulty premises include such mechanisms as superstition, stereotyping, biblical twists, organic analogies, and "neo-Summerian status-quoism." Faulty mechanics are somewhat more complex. They include such things as distorted perception, dichotomous thinking, monocausal thinking, lack of a "germ theory," logical self-contradictions, "cart-before-the-horse thinking," wishful thinking, and "situational xenophobia." Faulty premises may be altered somewhat by corrective information, education and propaganda, but faulty mechanics cannot. They can be altered only through the altered learning process that occurs in corrective communication and human interaction.

13. Racial change must be accompanied by re-enforcement. The person in the process of change must be supported -- by law; by an encouraging group of peers; by those who have persuaded the person to make the change; by an ideological, moral, religious, or democratic premise -- a conviction that this is the right and moral thing to do; or by the re-enforcement of having done good instead of evil. Without this re-enforcement, a lapse into the easy, the convenient, or the customary modes of behavior is quite likely to occur.

14. Mass attitudes are not irrelevant. It has been found that wherever the principles of successful desegregation have been adhered to, the desegregation has usually progressed successfully despite the fact that any individual counting of noses would find the majority of people opposed to it. This prompts social psychologist Kenneth Clark to make this conclusion, after appraising the evidence:

At the level of mass behavior, personal attitudes and other subjective factors are secondary determinants of significant social change, if at all relevant.

We conclude that Dr. Clark means that attitudes are secondary or irrelevant to the actual process of successful desegregation; we also believe that neither he nor any other social scientist adopts the premise that all individual personality development of young people is of little concern. But we believe that a bridge must be erected between the impersonalized processes of community change and their impact upon the personalities of persons involved -- particularly white and Negro youths involved in the process of school desegregation.

It has been consistently shown that desegregation and integration may succeed regardless of the opinions or "standpoints" of persons involved in these processes. Dietrich Reitzes and others have suggested that "it isn't the question of attitudes versus behavior, it is the question of what attitude." For example, Reitzes studied a group of Chicago workingmen who in their CIO Union were strongly committed to the ideal of democratic treatment of Negro workers, but who, in their neighborhood property owner's association, were strongly committed to keeping Negroes out of the neighborhood. This apparent inconsistency was actually a matter of the extent of individual involvement in and commitment to these organizations. Reitzes found that regardless of the individual's race attitudes in a vacuum, the greater the commitment to the organization to which he belonged, the more likely he would be to support its position -- regardless of whether it was pro-Negro or anti-Negro. Thus, in observing the acceptance by most Americans of desegregation and integration, we must consider that attitudes are not irrelevant, but rather, that a person's positive attitude toward the necessity of maintaining law and order and obeying authority causes him to accept racial change graciously, regardless of his segmented racial attitude.

15. Changing attitudes and changing patterns is not necessarily an "either/or" proposition. True, an intergroup relations organization trying to decide where to invest its money and efforts often has to choose one of these alternatives for intensive concentration, considering its resources and limitations. But it should be kept in mind that (a) whichever is done affects the other, and (b) wherever possible each organization should make its attack on a multitude of fronts. Action groups should seek the method best suited to their objectives and resources, but as we have previously stated, should also consider the more and less effective ways of utilizing each technique. Arnold Aronson reflects these beliefs as he writes:

. . . While prejudice and discrimination are not the same, they are closely inter-related. The consequences of programs and activities, which ostensibly are directed at only one or another of these phenomena, are no less inter-related and inter-dependent. . . Any attempt to attribute prejudice or discrimination to one single factor would be regarded as the grossest over-simplification. Instead, the principle of "multiple causation" has come to be accepted as axiomatic. It seems to be equally important in developing criteria for evaluating techniques that the principle of "multiple motivation" be taken into account.

16. There is evidence that patterns in race relations can be changed by first changing individual attitudes. An extreme example of this might be psychotherapy on bigots. The successful effects of psychotherapy on persons with strong prejudices can be demonstrated. However, we reject this as a mass solution because of the impracticality of psychotherapy for all bigots in American life. But other more widespread examples exist. From India comes news of an extremely effective ascetic named Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who seems to be having considerable success in persuasion of landowners. According to a newspaper account:

At the end of three years of walking the dusty roads and preaching in thousands of villages Bhave has coaxed nearly three million acres of land gifts from 127,000 owners. His goal is fifty million acres, or one sixth of India's estimated total cultivable land, by 1957.

This ascetic has been immortalized in a recent book by Hallam Tennyson, a grandson of Alfred Lord Tennyson. However, it might be asked if Bhave's success is due partly to threat from the other alternative possibilities. The newspaper article continues:

. . . An idea occurred to Vinoba Bhave. He began asking landowners to give some of their land to the landless, suggesting that if they did not the Communists or the government would take it from them.

His fame spread across India, until today only Nehru himself is better known.

An examination of AFSC's actual experience in race relations gives added evidence that attitudinal changes may sometimes precede behavioral changes. First there is the example of John Woolman who for thirty years traveled from one Quaker family to another trying to persuade them to give up their slaves. As Clarence Pickett's book has stated, Woolman's quiet visitation and persuasion methods were so effective that by 1780, at the end of his travels, all Quakers in good standing had ceased to own slaves.

AFSC's Community Relations Program, by its own admission, has been far from completely successful in inducing attitudinal changes that subsequently brought about behavioral change. In their 1954 testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee on Labor and Civil Rights, deliberating whether legislation is necessary in the employment area, Community Relations staff members themselves said: "Is the voluntary approach sufficient? No!" However, their testimony also indicated that roughly one out of five employers that they contacted actually did change their attitudes and, subsequently, their practices. Another three out of five indicated that they were sympathetic to this idea, but only a law or a concerted movement by all employers would "take them off the hook." Only one in five adamantly refused to be swayed by AFSC's persuasive approach. Dr. Clark notes the possibility of this phenomenon, stating:

The available data suggest . . . that attitudes, motivation, and other subjective factors are important in the process of social change to the extent that they influence the ability of those individuals with authority, prestige, and power to use their influence to help bring about or block social change. On the other hand, there is also evidence that the role of the authority persons can be determined by external pressures and forces acting upon them in such a way as to impel them in a fluid social situation to take a position independent of their specific personal attitudes.

Thus it seems that the attitude-pattern factors are inevitably interwoven. Either an attitudinal change on the part of a person in authority may introduce behavioral changes in an institution and subsequently introduce favorable attitude change in persons under that administration. Or else a sanction or persuasive influence may induce a person in authority to alter his practices regardless of his own racial attitudes. In either event, the factor or attitude toward something looms as important.

17. Attitudinal changes may follow the psychological "laws of learning." We draw this framework of the laws of learning from John Dollard, an Associate Professor of Psychology at Yale University. Dollard writes:

Thanks to his special neural equipment, man is of all animals the most capable of learning. He learns easily in his first social contacts in the social environment and seems to have special abilities for acquiring new habits in later life. . .

The laws of learning are apparently the same for complex as for simple organisms. All learning follows this formula: an individual must be driven or excited in order to learn. He must hit on the response that is to be learned. The response must be made in the presence of relevant environmental and somatic cues. The connection between cue and response must be cemented by reward. In other words, the individual must "want something, sense something, do something and get something." There must be (1) drive, (2) cue, (3) response, and (4) reward.

We think that the dramatic alteration of individual racial attitudes in the process of racial desegregation and integration is an illustration of Dollard's description of the laws of learning. To paraphrase Dollard's formulation, we have noted individuals who want to change their racial practices -- for ethical or for economic reasons, who sense a way of desegregating systematically and effectively, who do act upon their belief and motivation, and who get something in terms of either an economic reward, a change from illegal or legal behavior, or a satisfying conviction that they have done the right and moral thing.

18. Race relations experience may add new conditions for the "acquisition of new social habits." Dollard says that there seem to be five situations in which the individual may or must learn new habits:

- a) The situation of cultural change in the society.
- b) The life dilemmas in a social group.
- c) The psychiatric learning situation.
- d) The psychoanalytic learning situation.
- e) The situation of the clinical group.

We suggest, on the basis of observing AFSC and other groups in race relations, that two more situations are possible that will aid in the acquisition of new social habits. They are:

- a) Community-based visitation, awakening of conscience; persuasion of an individual to change his practices; encouragement and re-enforcement of the person in his newly acquired position; development of a sense of well-being in a person having done the "right and moral thing." To the extent that AFSC has been successful in its Community Relations Program, we believe that they have done this, and have induced solid and lasting changes in people's racial orientation.
- b) Re-structuring of the racial situation, re-enforced by adherence to a new policy, resulting in attitudinal change. This may occur along with "a"; an employer persuaded by some force like AFSC to change his practices will place his employees in a re-structured situation where employment and upgrading of minorities is an established and irrevocable policy. This will document the statement made by the Cornell Intergroup Relations research group that major changes in individual prejudices occur most quickly and thoroughly from exposure to social interaction in a new social environment.

19. Altered racial attitudes in the process of administered change can be a positive growth experience. There is evidence that the process of racial change often results in confusion, uncertainty, and perplexity on the part of both majorities and minorities; there is greater evidence that desegregation and integration frequently serve as a rewarding and gratifying opportunity for enriched new contacts in the expansion of human potentialities. For example, after the desegregation of public schools in St. Louis, white students were asked the question: "What is the best thing that has happened to you in school this year?" More children endorsed this statement than any other: "The fact that there are colored children in our school." Staff members of AFSC's Job Opportunities Program report that employers who change their policies often feel a new sense of relief, freedom and well-being. One personnel manager interviewed in this research gave an extensive description of how the company's integration attempt first succeeded, then faltered, then succeeded again. In concluding, he smiled at the writer and said, "You know, I like to talk about this."

Some psychiatrists are now suggesting that truly moral and democratic behavior is a self-stimulating and perpetuating thing, whereas discriminatory behavior may not be. Some AFSC staff members use this framework in an effort to show businessmen that a positive racial change is a gratifying experience. One quotes these words of psychiatrist Ian Stevenson:

Also pertinent is the fact that the loving, social and altruistic qualities of men are self-stimulating by their own activity. When once activated, they feed back energy to themselves in an extraordinarily dynamic manner. This self-promotion does not accompany our selfish inclinations . . .

Men then change because they were impelled to do so for one of two reasons. The occasion for changing may be suffering out of which comes the desire to imitate those who suffer less or not at all. Or the occasion may be simply the evocation of the ideal altruistic living by contact with one who has already attained it, driven by that continuing urge toward love which is, as I have tried to show,

within us all. And here our two reasons for changing come together because as we slowly change, we learn that those who suffer least are those who love the most.

20. Love and law may blend, in the development of human potentialities.

We have indicated at numerous points in this report that love does not have to be mutually inconsistent with law; that persuasion, coercion, and pressure are not as different from each other as Friends and others assume; that changing racial attitudes and changing racial practices are not an "either-or" proposition. We believe that law is a necessary instrument in assuring that men's moral and civil rights will not be infringed upon by others. We also believe that law and authority may be administered without one's having to abandon the love concept entirely.

Thus, as in the relationship of parent and child, some kind but firm and consistent authority must continually be present to determine for the individual what is right and what is wrong, what is damaging to self and others and what is not, what is emotionally sick behavior and what is emotionally mature activity. The protection of the civil rights of this country's racial, religious, and ethnic minorities must be accomplished by considerate but firm and consistent policies, resolutely enforced, and allowing no exception.

But this can be done and is being done with continual reference to the moral, religious, and democratic values involved, and with continued regard for what the Religious Society of Friends and countless other sincere bodies in America consider to be the supreme worth of the individual and the limitless extent of human potentiality. The evolution of our society toward increasingly democratic behavior in all areas is consistent with the belief that human potentialities are vast and may ever develop as society changes. This idea has been put into stirring words by social psychologist Gardner Murphy:

You see, I am making the point that there is no meaning in the conception of fulfilling human potentialities by rounding out a man and making him perfect, for he becomes qualitatively a new man as he grows; and there is no such thing as a society which will offer fulfillment to human nature, for human nature and society are evolving together, not only along a line indicating quantitative increase in this or that but into ever new qualities. . . .

We are finding, as in the case of the world of sight and sound, that there is no limit to the range and complexity of new experience that may come in this way.

As summary to these twenty propositions, we note that in the past, we have been not only uninformed but misinformed on race relations. The Sumnerian idea that stateways cannot change folkways, the "twists" that opponents of race relations have inserted in their interpretations of the Bible and the organic world, the superstitions, stereotypes, myths and fallacious analogies that have cluttered our thinking, the assumption that major changes in individual attitudes must precede any form of behavioral change -- all these ideas must be altered through an appraisal of the evidence.

So, to the action-minded person, we urge these things: Decide what must be done in intergroup relations, on the basis of where need seems greatest. Appraise

the evidence, noting what has been done and what can be done. Observe the best suggestions of social scientists and of intergroup practitioners as to how to effect these actions with a minimum of social disturbance. And then, to quote the Quaker phrase, "Proceed as the way opens."