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ABSTRACT

Impacts of minority attitudes and opinions in preparing young minority entry-administrators for programs in government and business were explored in this paper. Additionally, the close relationships between administrative problems and reported incidents of communication breakdown were discussed. It was noted that minority administrators and young minority people interested in public administration training programs refer to attitudinal differences between themselves and "the establishment". Variables considered included (1) organizational expectations for time management, (2) requirements for other organizing skills, (3) responsibilities and loyalties to organizational goals, (4) requirements for quantitative thinking, and (5) needs for word-oriented rules and regulations. It was further stated that future directions of minority-oriented community organization programs will be influenced by research findings on attitudes and opinions in these areas: (1) relationships between communication and administrative variables in community organization and minority-oriented programs; (2) relative effectiveness of different approaches to prepare minority administrators for community and other programs; (3) effects of "cultural protection" devices in such programs; and (4) desirable programmatic modifications. (Author/HBC)

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MINORITY ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS THAT HAVE IMPACTS ON ADMINISTRATION OF MINORITY-ORIENTED PROGRAMS

bу

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Abstract

Data on minority attitudes and opinions will have applications for new programs to increase minority participation in community organization and other political processes. The writer is exploring impacts of such attitudes and opinions in programs to prepare young minority entry-administrators for minority-oriented and other programs in government and business.

Research on broader community organization processes will benefit from additional understanding of impacts of ethnically-related attitudes and opinions. As a consultant who has worked in programs directed to Spanish-speaking and black publics, the writer feels there are close relationships between administrative problems and reported incidents of communication breakdown.

Minority administrators and young minority people interested in public administration training programs speak of attitudinal differences between themselves and "the establishment." This has to do with variables like (1) organizational expectations with respect to time management; (2) requirements for other organizing skills, for example pertaining to planning and meeting deadlines; (3) responsibilities and loyalties to organizational goals, sometimes perceived as opposed to commitments to other community publics; (4) requirements for thinking in quantitative terms; and (5) extents to which there is need for word-oriented rules, regulations, etc.

Future directions of minority-oriented community organization programs will be influenced by research findings on attitudes and opinions pertaining to the following specific areas: (1) relationships between communication and administrative variables in community organization and minority-oriented programs; (2) unraveling of critical attitudinal variables that have impacts in such programs; (3) relative effectiveness of different approaches toward special programs to prepare minority administrators for community and other programs; (4) effects of "cultural protection" devices in connection with such programs; (5) desirable programmatic modifications.



Empirical data on attitudes and orinions associated with preakdowns in administration of minority-oriented and other community programs should have implications for techniques to involve minorities in broader prublic processes. Against a background of pressures for benefits long denied by American society, new moves are seen for new kinds of participation in community and political processes. The writer has worked on communication and administrative problems in public programs addressed to black and Spanish-speaking publics in New York City and California. He worked with the Fresno Model Cities program, for example, to help black and Mexican-American staff deal with problems of communication breakdown. The communication specialist may be called in to deal with what an organization considers to be communication problems. As those problems are studied in greater detail, it is sometimes found that they (1) involve broader management questions and (2) raise possibilities about relationships between attitudinal variables and minority cultures.

The writer is interested in problems of communication breakdown in minorityoriented programs to prepare young minority personnel for entrance into public administration positions. Whether one looks to Mexican-American, black, or other publics, there
is at present a lack of empirical data on impacts of attitudes and opinions in such programs. Minority administrators and others speak of culturally related attitudes and
opinions. If we are going to get at critical variables in these areas, there is going
to have to be gathering of hard, empirical data. One finds little in the way of



Since there is considerable communication breakdown on the subject of communication, the writer should give his definition for that term. Communication is conceived of as a process in which an intended message is gotten across, in the way intended by the sender, to the intended receiver.

Drabek and Haas have done laboratory simulation work wherein perceived stresses seem less important than long-term problems of a noncommunication nature built into the system. See Thomas E. Drabek and J. Eugene Haas, "Laboratory Simulation of Organizational Stress," American Sociological Review, Vol. 34, No. 2, April, 1969, p. 223.

questionnaire surveys on impacts of attitudes and opinions in administration of minority-oriented programs.

A Research-based Program

The writer is doing exploratory work directed toward training minority administrators for participation in governmental programs. Carefully designed attitude and opinion questionnaires will be useful for finding specific changes associated with treatment variables in such programs. The writer is working toward setting up experimental designs that will include cells for ideological orientation of young entry-administrators. With respect to Mexican-American administrators, cells can correspond to activists, moderates, and people who are perceived as vendidos ("sellouts"). Effects of critical treatment variables should also have implications for design of broad programs for involvement of neighborhood publics in the community organization process. The writer is supervising a Chicano master's candidate who is focusing, by means of an attitude and opinion questionnaire, on ways a young Mexican-American administrator can involve community publics in planning phases of a minority-oriented public agency.

Areas of Possible Attitudinal Differences

Public opinion specialists who are interested in attitudinal differences associated with minority-oriented programs can look to two major areas today: (1)

Joseph R. Rocha, "Mexican-Americans in Government: A Study of Attitudinal Differentiations within the Mexican-American Community in the Implementation of Action Programs to Incorporate Mexican-Americans into the Planning Process" (unpublished Master's thesis, Fresno State Callege, Fresno, 1972). The reader's attention should be called to terminological problems with respect to "Mexican-American" and "Chicano." The present writer uses "Mexican-American" broadly; "Chicano" will refer to Movimiento leaders, now usually youthful, who feel that direct means must be taken to advance the people of La Raza. There is not agreement at the present time among people in the United States of Mexican Descent concerning use of those terms.



³There are some programs that offer excellent opportunities for useful new data of the above kinds. A program of Juan D. Hernández and Arnold Martinez, Jr. in Sacramento is promising. See "Employment and Career Opportunities for the Mexican-American Group." A Project Prepared for the Department of Social Welfare (Sacramento: State of California Human Relations Agency, 1970).

minority-oriented social action programs administered in varying degrees by minority personnel, and (2) endeavors, in more general governmental and business programs, to take in administrators from minority sources. The consultant can learn from experiences in both areas. The second area seems especially deserving of attention in view of the frequent comment from governmental hiring personnel that they can not give jobs to minority people until the latter are properly qualified.

1. Frustrations with respect to time management. Administrators of minority-oriented programs, whether or not they themselves are from minority backgrounds. appear to express frustrations similar to those seen among minority people whom the writer is interviewing in connection with endeavors to take in minority administrators . Some of those frustrations having to do with time management first appear as corcern expressed over lack of skills for managing time for the purpose of completing assignments. Administrators of such programs seem to express hostility toward such demands. Complaints are expressed in connection with what are considered pressures to adopt "es-ablishment" techniques. The writer should add that those reactions do not necessarily mean there are serious attitudinal differences in these respects. Neither do such reactions necessarily mean that attitudinal differences, if they exist, are culturally related. But it seems worthwhile to give attention to such perceptions. It should be instructive, for example, to study reasons why target dates and deadlines seem to be especial objects of scorn on the part of administrators of minority-oriented programs.

The writer was introduced to poverty programs by employment as a consultant on communication breakdown. After initial attention to possibilities of linguistic variables, he now suspects that linguistic elements are of less importance in such

⁵Earl J. Reeves presents an interesting overview of origins of such problems, especially in connection with hiring blacks. Earl J. Reeves, "Making Equality of Employment Opportunity a Reality in the Federal Service," <u>Public Administration Review</u>, Vo. 34, No. 1, January-February, 1970.



breakdowns. Questions about culturally related differences, for example in connection with the above subject of time management, may lead to identification of more critical variables in such breakdowns. Perceived differences on the part of staff seem to have greater impacts than what might be agreed upon as objectively based differences. Thus questions about attitudes toward (a) importance of time, (b) need for being on time, and (c) measurement of time may be key questions, especially when dealing with programs administered by less experienced minority administrators.

2. Differing perceptions of other "requirements." Another problem the consultant notes in such programs has to do with frustrations over importance the "establishment" is said to attach to writing, speaking, and other media skills. Those frustrations appear related to broader attitudinal differences about what should be "required" of administrators in such programs. Minority administrators express dissatisfactions with what they describe as requirements to get things on paper. They dislike what they call overly demanding symbols, criteria, standards, and the like. The consultant should not always take such demands at face value.

Such difficulty of assessing differing concepts of "requirements" should be taken into consideration by the consultant in his dealing with reactions from minority administrators. Despite above dissatisfactions in connection with importance attached to media skills, administrators in minority-oriented programs request training for improvement of such skills. The consultant may decide to institute an in-service program to improve media skills on the part of staff members. The writer recommends that that consultant combine emphasis on media skills with training in broader organizing skills. One productive approach seems to be that of getting such administrators to think in terms of breaking up materials, regardless of medium, according to topic

The writer had one experience with a list of 12 editing rules. Staff members alternated between annoyance at the concept of having such rules, and satisfactions from applying those rules in team editing projects. From an initial position of dissatisfaction toward the idea of having such rules, those administrators moved to one of saying they now make extensive use of the 12 editing rules in completing job assignments.

headings that promote self-organization. Training administrators in techniques of making graphic layouts seems to be a particularly effective way of developing both communication and organizing skills.

- 3. Differently perceived responsibilities and loyalties. When the consultant follows his wort of looking for sources of breakdowns, he thus finds that critical junctures can be better described as points of frustration. Apart from what was discussed above, two observations can be made about such frustrations: (a) administrators of minority-oriented programs express frustrations over what they say are inabilities to get funds for desirable programs; (b) they also express frustrations over inabilities to effect desired attitudinal responses from publics within larger-scale governmental jurisdictions, minority communities, and the community at large. As the consultant works to help staff members develop skills to overcome those two kinds of frustrations, he should also attempt to open those administrators to broader concepts of administration and communication. His efforts in these directions will be affected by the nature of the chief administrator of a given agency. One finds that chief administrators of minority-oriented agencies tend to be selected for symbolic and support-building considerations more than on the basis of administrative experties. That selection is particularly influenced by expectations that a candidate will deal effectively with pressures from within the minority community as well as from other places.
- 4. Requirements for thinking in quantitative terms. The above possibilities of attitudinal differences are suggestive of reactions to a general situation

⁷Dubey has done attitudinal research which raises questions about extents to which blacks are actually concerned about race of those who provide them with necessary services in the community. Sumati N. Dubey, "Black Preference for Black Professionals, Businessmen, and Religious Leaders," <u>Public Opinion Quarterly</u>, Vol. 34, No. 1, Spring, 1970, pp. 113-16.



described by minority people as a tendency of the "establishment" to put emphasis on the quantitative rather than the qualitative. Minority people cite overemphasis on numbers, labels, and symbols. Devices in the above areas are criticized as detracting from more desirable emphases on quality. This appears to tie in with above suggestions as to reluctance, on the part of administrators in minority-oriented programs, to be pinned down in terms of time and space.

At first blush such arguments may seem appealing, reminding us of experiences wherein quantitative- or measurement-oriented people seem to lose sight of the forest for the trees. But the consultant should attempt to be objective when he deals with such comments. Instead of having direct meaning in terms of valid criticisms of quantitative methodology, such complaints may be more symptomatic of (a) insecurities associated with lack of experience on the part of such administrators, and/or (b) deep-seated value and goal differences between minority staff and people usually associated with majoritarian cultural mores.

At present it is difficult to know extents to which resources are wasted on methods, techniques, and procedures tending to block rather than promote desirable goals of such programs. From the writer's experience with programs directed toward Spanish-speaking minorities, it seems unwise to disregard such complaints, at least for the present.

5. Differences in orientation toward rules and forms. The above points can be brought together by saying that attitudes and opinions of administrators in minority-oriented programs seem influenced, at present, by differences over (a) formal means intended to accomplish programmatic ends and (b) actual practices that bring about desirable social goals. Those differences are expressed in a number of ways. The writer feels we must work to get at the heart of such differences. It is possible that related conflicts are not over need for having rules, but over nature of present rules and perceptions thereof. Minority administrators see those rules word-oriented and with greater attention to appearance on paper than on real

accomplishment.

This may reflect differences between a majoritarian culture which puts emphasis on the written word, and other values associated with minority subcultures. The minority administrator appears to be a kind of focal point or interface between those two orientations. He is between pressures from the "establishment" on the one hand, and community publics on the other. His own background or lack of background may intensify that conflict. To the extent that he has been trained or educated within the "establishment" framework, he may have internalized attitudes and opinions that are perceived as conflicting with those of community publics.

The writer feels that kinds of adjustments now being made by that administrator will constitute a useful text for future alternatives in minority programs and community organization. Those adjustments may tell us best about ways we can find whether specialized attitudes and opinions will have functional impacts on minority-oriented programs. This should also give useful handles for dealing with the more basic question of whether minority attitudes and opinions are different from those of nonminority communities.

One more possibility should be mentioned in connection with differences over need for word-oriented rules, forms, methods, and procedures. It may be that such differences for the most part reflect conflicts over style. Above reactions from administrators in minority-oriented programs may largely be stylistic symptoms of irritations and insecurities that are part and parcel of socialization problems of groups in process of assimilation for better or worse, into the mainstream. We



Becker and Geer discuss possibilities of difficulties in transfer between cultural and organizational roles. Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "Latent Culture: A Note on the Theory of Latent Social Roles," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 2, September, 1960, pp. 305-13.

will have to be careful not to deflect energies toward problems that are more apparent than real. The behavioral scientist who wishes to do productive research on these subjects will hopefully focus his energies on careful analysis of techniques for promoting programmatic ends that address rather than disregard attitudes and opinions of publics intended to be served by those programs.

Applications for a Program: Training Minority Entry-Administrators

The writer is interviewing community and other leaders to get inputs for plans for pilot programs to train minority youths for entry-administrator positions in regular governmental agencies. A present phase involves speaking with Chicano leaders. The aim of those interviews is to get an attitude and opinion base to help clarify next steps for developing such programs. In view of possibilities of culturally related attitudes and opinions, four questions seem worthy of attention: (1) How can a program to prepare entry-administrators change attitudes and opinions of Mexican-Americans and other publics? (2) How can breakdowns in connection with such a program be identified and overcome? (3) What are chief attitudes and opinions that have impacts for those breakdowns? and (4) What should be the nature of training for purposes of effecting desirable attitudinal changes?

Some Chicano leaders feel that preparation of minority entry-administrators should take place primarily within frameworks of regular public administration training programs. Others feel substantial departures should be made, centering on on-the-job internship experiences. Representatives of different segments of Chicano opinion are not in agreement about extents or kinds of modifications needed to deal with relevant attitudes and opinions on the part of minority entry-administrators. But one concern which is expressed by most Chicano spokesmen addresses possible loss, on the part of the young entry-administrator, of Mexican-American cultural values.

The reader's attention is again called to semantic considerations in connection with "Mexican-American" and "Chicano." See Footnote 4.

1. "Cultural protection" programs. Those spokesmen advise the writer to build in protections in the form of in-service programs directed first to the young Chicano administrator, and then possibly to other non-Thirano agency personnel with whom the latter will work. Those spokesmen agree that such devices will help preserve Mexican-American cultural values. They feel such devices will help the young administrator (1) promote interests of the minority community and (2) strengthen his self-concept as an effective administrator.

Questions about culturally related attitudes and opinions seem especially to come into play in concern of such leaders over the <u>vendido</u>. Although the writer, as a discretist, does not wish to get into sociological processes, the reader might speculate about possibilities of feelings of threat in view of acculturation. In the writer's experience, it is interesting that even Chicano spokesmen who admit to personal assimilation into the majority culture forcefully express concern over possible loss, on the part of the young Chicano entry-administrator, of the latter's culture. As the writer formulates plans for pilot programs, he finds it is difficult to know what steps should be taken to help the young Mexican-American entry-administrator overcome problems possibly associated with conflicts, insecurities, or lack of identity. It is difficult to know whether above concerns are indicative of culturally related attitudinal differences. It is also difficult to know extents to which those concerns are indicative of assimilation into the majoritarian culture. This is not to say assimilation is desirable or undesirable <u>per se</u>. Chicano activists generally look upon cultural assimilation as undesirable.

Above questions seem to converge when one works to design a minerityoriented program with possible impacts on minority attitudes and opinions. Additional
questions are encountered as the program designer endeavors to get support of minority

Hernandez and Martinez, <u>loc. cit</u>. The writer is indebted to those gentlemen for some ideas in the present paper. Stated goals of their project include "Assuring the availability of job opportunities of the Mexican-American in public welfare; developing culturally appropriate methods of recruitment and selection of Mexican-Americans; developing orientation and training of the newly hird Mexican-American employee...."



representatives who are not in agreement among themselves as to desirable outcomes of attitudinal change. Exploration will have to be made of consensus-building techniques that include provisions for adjusting to community attitudes and opinions. In broadest terms, there is at present little in the way of useful empirical data concerning relationships among (a) critical variables suggested above, (b) useful indices of attitude and opinion change, and (c) quantitatively based output indices for insired programmatic, organizational, and social accomplishments.

2. Symbolic communication. The writer feels that in studying ways to bring about effective attitudinal changes in the above areas, attention should be given to what might termed symbolic communication. Symbolic moves appear to come into play, for example, in connection with above "cultural protection" programs. Specific techniques in such programs might have ego-supportive effects without long-term benefits. Other advantages might include things like allaying uneasiness and clearing pathways for additional constructive endeavors. One approach could be to tie specifics of such devices to what are perceived by minority people as features of their own subcultures. Emphasis could later shift to ways of dealing with needs of more broadly based communities.

Bilingual aspects of programs to prepare Mexican-Americans to participate in broader programs should be instructive. Research on effects of techniques in that area should aim toward identifying relationships among linquistic, cultural and other variables. Based on the writer's experiences with the Mexican culture and idiom of the Spanish language, it seems that an important consideration will be extents to which trainers in such programs exhibit genuine sympathy for that same idiom.

An Outline for Research

Che factor which may help explain the above-cited lack of empirical data can be described as a heavy social value orientation within poverty and community



like identification of critical attitudinal variables in connection with those programs. Their activities are inclined to reflect value assumptions associated with humanitarian id is an and the latter may act to inhibit attention to identification of behaviors. To reduce a darger of selectively perceiving cues that tend only to reinforce what has been assumed in the first place, the writer feels the researcher should concentrate on data about real-life behaviors of people in such organizations.

- 1. Example of extension of social values. Emphases on social value components of minority-oriented programs are seen in responses from Movimiento leaders in connection with plans for programs to bring young Mexican-Americans into government. La Raza, the broad term for the ethnic studies area addressed to needs of Mexican-Americans, clearly reflects humanities and social values orientations of its founders. The writer feels that other foci will be seen in La Raza as minority students are trained in the empirical methods of the behavioral sciences. Whater changes occur in those latter directions, they will best come from direct impeti of minority people themselves. The social scientist who is interested in helping such programs address attitudes and opinions of minority publics can concentrate on training minority people to make improvements from within. That approach should be tied to other efforts to track down critical relationships among input and output variables.
 - 2. Topics for future research focus. Some research topics will now be

¹² Joseph. R. Rocha's Master's thesis, cited earlier, is felt to be a step in this direction.



There are some excellent books and articles dealing with communication problems and sociological changes experienced by Mexican-Americans. The following two works are illustrative: Fred E. Romer, "A Study of Anglo-American and Spanish-American Culture Value Concepts and Their Significance in Secondary Education," (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Denver, Denver, 1966) and Octavio Ignacio Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-Americans: The Distortion of Mexican-American 'History,'" El Grito, Vol. 2, No. 1, Fall, 1968, pp. 13-16.

presented, hopefully to give additional organization to future study of the above areas. The writer holds that five main research topics should be dealt with for the purpose of gaining knowledge about impacts of attitudes and opinions in minority participation in public programs. The following outline will endeavor to deal with broad questions implicit in what has been discussed in this paper.

A. <u>Communication and administrative variables</u>. To get better functional meaning for notions about attitudes and opinions in minority-oriented programs, we can first address questions about communication and administrative variables in those programs. That is, for the purpose of later teasing out attitude and opinion variables, the researcher can first work to separate communication from administrative variables.

One approach can be to attempt to isolate what administrators and other community leaders conceive of as meaningful notions for such concepts. It might be undertaken, for example, to find extents to which people agree on dysfunctions. That is, by working backwards from what are agreed upon as incidents of breakdown, functional concepts can be constructed for communication and administration. That inductive approach can be extended to build functional concepts for relevance of attitudes and opinions in such programs.

Clearer notions with respect to above kinds of functions will have practical uses. One of the latter will be provision of a better base for assessing whether minority administrators themselves overestimate or underestimate impacts of attitudes and opinions for day-to-day operations. In the writer's area of immediate interest-research on training of minority entry-administrators for participation in public programs—this will mean focus on finding effective ways by which entry-administrators can work to prevent and ameliorate breakdowns.

¹³This approach is discussed in greater detail in a working paper prepared for a workshop on the communication audit for a Conference of International Communication Association in Atlanta in April, 1972. Max B. Franc, "Assessment of Attitude and Opinion Change Effects of the Communication Audit" (unpublished Working Paper, Fresno State College, 1972).



B. Unraveling critical attitudinal variables. Organizing attempts in the above areas should include efforts to zero in on critical attitudinal variables that will help explain extents to which administration of minority-oriented programs is similar and dissimilar in comparison with other programs. The object should be to get at critical attitudinal variables that have impacts on programmatic outputs. The researcher can work to separate apparent as against what are agreed upon as more objectively based differences. Isolation of critical variables will presumably have impacts for broader programs to deal with minority-associated problems in the American scene.

As discussed earlier, some of those variables seem to the writer to involve symbolic communication moves. Data having to do with tokens and gestures should be instructive. Comparisons can be made between impacts of all such elements in (1) community programs administered by minority personnel and (2) other kinds of programs. Hepefully we can also tease out meaning for variables such as those involving conflict. It will be interesting to find extents to which attitudinal differences over things like time management, thinking in quantitative terms, and importance of word-oriented rules are actually critical in such programs.

C. <u>Preparation of minority administrators</u>. Above-cited symbolic communication moves may have implications for programs of selection and preparation of administrators for minority-oriented social action programs. 15,16 Plans for such programs

¹⁵ Some articles on business give a somewhat different picture of problems in making adjustments between minority employees and business programs directed to incorporating such personnel into business management. For an introduction to some of that thinking, the writer recommends Edward H. Palmer, "Finding--and Keeping--Minority Group Managers, (New York: American Management Association, February, 1969), p. 15, and Donald P. Crave, "Guidelines for Minority Manpower Development," Personnel Journal, Vol.49, No. 10, Cctober, 1970, pp. 816-18.

In the limited literature which is available on governmental and business programs to incorporate minority personnel, consideration is given to problems of gearing training programs to realities both within the organization and in the outside job market. For a troad view of some of the problems in programs to date the writer recommends the following: "National Apprentice Program: Unfinished Business," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 87, No. 6, June, 1964, pp. 625-32; School and Society, Vol. 96, No. 230, January 20, 1968, p. 39, "Opening Doors to Opportunity," Nation's Business, Vo. 58, No. 4, April, 1970, pp. 48-52; and "Retooling Our Manpower," Saturday Review, Vol. 54, No. 4, January 23, 1971, p. 40 ff.

should be more effective insofar as they are based on information on how the chief administrator of such a program uses political, administrative, and communication techniques to build support for his program and optimize satisfactions among conflicting demand groups. Present efforts of the writer to prepare young Mexican-American entry-administrators will benefit from data on how the role of that administrator is similar and dissimilar in comparison with other programs. Comparisons can be undertaken, for example, with respect to specific ways community attitudes and orinions work to pressure an administrator to balance out and moderate conflicting values.

- D. "Cultural protection" programs. One earlier-discussed subject calls attention to overall need for empirical data and puts focus on specific questions within ...e above three research areas. This has to do with the role of "cultural protection" programs. Functions of culturally related attitudes and opinions should have bearing for future directions for such devices. It will be instructive, for example, to find whether bilingual considerations associated with Spanish-speaking publics have impacts in such endeavors. Treatment variables can be explored for effects on attitudes, opinions, and behaviors of minority entry-administrators.

 Symbolic communication variables especially can be looked to for beneficial as against deleterious long-term effects for staff as well as other members of community publics. The possibility must not be overlooked that "cultural protection" endeavors will not be effective for all intended purposes. Those endeavors might have other beneficial impacts as components of yet unexplored kinds of programs to help minority administrators achieve desirable goals.
- E. <u>Programmatic modifications</u>. In addition to the above four areas of desirable research focus, attention should be directed to a broader question concerning desirable programmatic modifications in view of relevant differences in attitudes and



opinions. The writer feels that this question will be important for finding ways to give practical meaning to such differences. Additional, more specific questions should work toward measurement of relationships between (1) kinds of variables discussed in this paper and (2) output indices for programmatic and organizational accomplishment. Relationships between communication and administrative variables, impacts of critical attitudinal variables, selection and preparation of administrators for minority-oriented programs, and effects of "cultural protection" devices will be more useful insofar as data are gathered in essentially input-output terms.

The writer sees experimental designs as constituting the single most productive approach for the purpose of providing objective bases for such endeavors. As discussed earlier, the writer is working toward experimental treatments involving cells for ideological orientation of the young entry-administrator. "Cultural protection" treatment variables can be included in those designs. Changes experienced by program participants, whether trainees or trainer, will have to be measured against both inputs and other outputs. By focusing on impacts of all such variables on organizational and programmatic outputs, study of new moves to incorporate minority people into broader public processes should yield useful insights concerning a number of puzzling questions about new roles for minority people.

¹⁷ These subjects are discussed in more detail in the writer's working paper on the communication audit referred to in Footnote 13.



