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ABSTRACT

This is the third of a four-part study that explored the function of social networks in school community relationships in Pontiac, Michigan. The research consisted of utilizing any available data on Pontiac to supplement the researchers' in-depth analysis of community networks. This volume begins by discussing modifications in the original research design and reviewing the issues of latency and trust in network analysis. Chapter two describes the history, activities, location in the interorganizational network, and significance in school community relations of the Pontiac chapter of an influential national black sorority. Chapter three outlines efforts to map the helping interorganizational network in the city; based on this analysis, it is concluded that the school is defined by persons both inside and outside as a specialized organization, but not a helping organization. Chapter four explores the history, activities, and network structure of Pontiac's Coalition for Community Change, while chapter five provides similar information for the Parents' Advisory Group. The final chapters of the book focus on the school system, its relationship with community organizations, and the importance of community politics and racial relations in such issues as desegregation. In conclusion, the potential role of social networks in educational innovation is considered. (GC)

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NETWORK INVESTIGATION: DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

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PART III
NETWORK INVESTIGATION: DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

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PART III

NETWORK INVESTIGATION: DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

In this section of the report we will discuss the networks examined in our field work and present our findings. Our research design called for two kinds of network studies: personal or ego network investigation of individuals linked together in a given network, and organization network studies operating in the local community interorganizational field. We divided the personal networks further into emergent networks (or informal associations), and formal networks (or networks of relationships bounded by the limits of some formal unit, organization or group). In fact, we actually concentrated upon subsets of the formal networks after locating a network within a larger unit. In a similar way, our interorganizational analysis is based upon a focal community organization--the school. We found it necessary to lift subsets from network universes because the volume of contacts for even one individual or organization was so high that it was impossible to examine the full range of association, even within a small group. Moreover, since we were interested in network flows, particularly recipes, our sampling was based upon theoretical utility, as explained below.

Modifications in the Research Design

The network studies are arranged in order of their development, both in the field and conceptually. We selected networks on the basis of

their potential theoretical usefulness, their historical importance for illustrating change in the community interorganizational field, and their possible policy implications for changes in school-community relations.

All the networks described are voluntary networks since we wanted to examine trust under the best possible "social laboratory" conditions. Although we believe that trust is an important component of network flows in almost all networks, we believe it to be more visible and significant in voluntary personal networks than in embedded associations.

The first study of the ZZZ Sorority was undertaken in Summer, 1979 when we first started the network project. Our second study -- the Coalition for Change -- began in the summer of 1979 and continued throughout the year, with actual analysis of the data in Summer, 1980. At that point, we systematically began to examine some of the recipes encountered in the field. When we located an emergent network of parents within the community organization orbit that was also tied into the black community leadership network, we decided to explore the relationships. The Parents Advisory Network study began in summer 1980 and proved to be a good way to understand the linkage between the two. We also decided to analyze data collected in a study of helping networks undertaken by other researchers for a National Institute of Mental Health study in Pontiac between 1975-1976. We expected this data to provide the basis for a formal structural model. To supplement the helping network data, we initiated a series of field interviews with professional service providers. Our goal was to use this information to

provide qualitative data that would complement the quantitative re-analysis. We planned to have both a client network perspective through the NIMH data and a professional view from the professional network. Although the data re-analysis did not yield significantly new insights, the helping professional interviews served as an introduction to an interorganizational helping network. We also developed a series of surveys and interviews of local organizations (See "The School-Community Interorganizational Field") that provided data on the community organization networks overall. Throughout the second year of the program, we collected reports and studies of social service-agencies in the community and found those prepared by The United Way, The Oakland-Livingston Human Service Agency (a private non-profit organization developed out of the Oakland Economic Opportunity Program), and the YWCA particularly useful. Finally, we carefully monitored the local press during these two years to obtain other interorganizational data.

Our original research design also called for a study of school-community leaders in 1971 to be compared with the leaders in 1981. We found this could only be done from records, due to the distortions in recall encountered through personal interviews. The difficulty with the records, however, was that they only provided a limited view of the overall situation. For example, we were able to construct a partial picture of school leadership from the superintendent's past records and had some idea about black leadership in Pontiac from an earlier dissertation written in 1967 (Sloan, 1967). With this information, and newspaper accounts, Urban League records and

interview results, we were able to outline the contours of black community leaders' networks because the number of participants was relatively limited. However, most of the key white actors in city government, commerce and General Motors were not available for interviews. Furthermore, because of a high turnover rate in official leadership roles, we were unable to obtain leadership information about leaders ten years ago from some of the key community organizations. We did collect reputational data in all our interviews which we applied to our analysis of school-community interorganizational networks.

In short, we saturated ourselves as much as possible with data about Pontiac and were totally immersed in learning everything that we could about the community and the schools. We were catholic in our interests and pragmatic in techniques of data acquisition. Although we have utilized only a fraction of the data collected for our network studies, we used some of the information for describing the context of the networks (Part II) and also expect to develop more complete linguistic analyses of taped interviews to continue working on recipe analyses.

Since we sought qualitative data, we believe our self immersion into this data is critically important in evaluating and interpreting local phenomena. In effect, the project director has spent six years studying school and community relations in Pontiac; Howell has spent the same amount of time working with local Pontiac agencies and Slawski has been employed in the Pontiac School district for this same period. Robinson, a native of Pontiac, has studied race relations as a student at Oakland University, and as a graduate student both at the University of Detroit and Michigan State University where he is completing his Ph.D. We have

drawn upon studies by colleagues that range from yearly public health reports prepared by student nurses learning how to work in a community, to federally funded research projects on juvenile crime. In addition we have collected school district and city reports regularly. But equally important, throughout this period, we have been systematically studying and developing questions about various phenomena in such a way that our knowledge has been recorded, analyzed and interpreted from various social scientific perspectives.

In spite of our familiarity with the site and access to information about different areas, there are major gaps in our data. For example, our information on networks in relation to General Motors--by far the most powerful organization in the community--is limited. Some community influentials are more reluctant to provide information than others because of the nature of their work (e.g., at Clinton Valley Center or the Oakland County Jail), or because they do not see any direct "payoff" to their cooperation. Finally, there are disadvantages of developing close personal ties with individuals in the research site. Some of the difficulties we encountered include the danger of "going native," demands for reciprocity that take considerable time and energy; concern that respondents will regard the investigation as an evaluation of programs, and inevitable bias because of personal networks that one constructs throughout the research process.

These comments also point out the realities of power in the local community field. By definition those with power (i.e. who control resources such as information and access) are better able to keep researchers away from important information.

Obviously, all network research does not require such sustained and involved commitment in one site. On the other hand, qualitative research draws heavily upon researcher interpretations, as anthropologists have argued consistently in describing ethnographic work. In our view, there have been far too many qualitative studies in the educational literature based upon six-week or six-month visits to a site. In these instances, researchers only dip casually into the stream of experience. Our goal was to dive into the deep waters and, having done so, we think that we have a better feel for the water. In Part IV, we will explore the advantages and disadvantages of sustained commitment to one site, as well as discuss the ethical problems of protecting the site. But at this point we simply wish to describe our efforts to identify the scope of data collection.

Latency, Trust, and the Work of Nets

Since our research goal was to understand the "work of nets," we selected networks that appeared to have different functions in the community organizational field. One was a structured, organizational network (the sorority); another was an amorphous, loosely linked associational network (the helping interorganizational network); a third was a close-knit tightly bounded network (the Parents Advisory Group); and the fourth, was a loosely connected official network containing a core of close-knit, tightly linked leaders. We also found a series of networks within networks. If we refer to subnetworks as those within the larger network, we would have to think of the larger network as a micro network within a macro structure. In any social structure, then,

depending on one's perspective, there are a variety of structural network forms that can be developed. Moreover, there are a variety of latent network possibilities in situations that can be activated. For example, in the community there is a "black" network that we consider to be a latent network association to be used by blacks (and a few trusted whites) when needed. Another example of a latent network is a community volunteer network. This is large, invisible and not consciously identified by members themselves, except when needed.

Latency in networks is an important phenomenon. The term "emergent" does not, satisfactorily capture this quality because emergence implies that the network develops from a situation and a common point of interaction. Latency, however, suggests a more nebulous relationship in which the ties remain "fallow" below the surface of consciousness. Members of a latent network may be unsure of the ties until activated. Because latency is invisible to a large degree, it is not reported in concrete terms by members, or even understood as existing. It is characterized by unused potential.

In our view, the latent quality of networks is what provides the elusiveness and almost subliminal character to network association. In addition, latency is linked directly to trust as a network flow. Given complexity and turbulence, actors (both individuals and organizations) require trusted information on an irregular basis. For example, in times of crisis or special circumstances, such as a period of rapid social change or intense conflict, actors draw upon trusted ties that are anchored in what we call latent networks. Thus, a black actor can call upon another black actor by virtue of his blackness, even though

such a tie is dormant under normal circumstances. When there is a threat to black interests, the black network can be mobilized because it exists as a latent force in a racist and (to blacks) dangerous society. In a similar way, volunteers describe their ordinary network associations in terms of frequency of contacts, similar interests in activities, problems or clients and conscious ties. But submerged in almost an unconscious way, there lies a broader, latent social network of contacts activated under special conditions. Respondents may be unaware of the potential network because it is not visible in ordinary circumstances, but it is considered "natural" in times of crisis. Trust in the volunteer network is based upon shared recipes about service and helping others, just as trust in the black network is based upon shared recipes about race relations.

The importance of trust as the foundation of some latent networks is more than a psychological phenomenon. Trust is a structural characteristic because the social reality in which it develops can be identified with roles, status qualities (e.g. ethnicity, sex) and the presentation of self. Trust is both a feature of persons interacting and the structure of social relationships. Thus, if one follows trust through relationships, it is possible to locate latent possibilities. Using our liquid analogy, it is possible to determine those places where the flow will go when normal canals are filled. Just as we can assume fluids will flow downhill, spill over banks and follow predictable paths, we believe that latent networks can be charted on the basis of trust assumptions.

From our view, trust explains why recipes can be used as analytical

tools to understand network exchanges. Recipes provide empirical evidence of some of the components of trust. In one sense, they present the ideological or cognitive features of association. This means, then, that an examination of recipes will both verify the existence of some trust in a network and suggest (predict is too bold a claim) possible areas where latent networks may exist.

The phenomenon that we describe and discovered by such a tortuous route is a commonplace understanding in everyday interaction. We have all shared the experience of meeting someone and "knowing" that the person would get along well with another acquaintance. Although the parties may never meet; we could predict a cordial relationship if they did. It is this feature of latency that links network associations with macro phenomena such as social class, culture, religion and other factors that influence individual values, tastes and preferences. It also explains why coalitions can be developed quickly on an ad hoc basis in the interorganizational field.

Summary

Networks are usually described as either embedded in the social structure, or emerging voluntarily through informal, spontaneous processes. The distinction between the two is often arbitrary since emergence from embedded networks is a natural process. Choices are generally restricted by structural arrangements. A more serious constraint or-facilitating feature of social relationships, in our view, are those features, usually cognitive, that inhibit or encourage trust. We argue that one critical feature of trust is the presence of shared

recipes that bind persons in a network together. To the degree that there is the probability of similar attitudes, values and perspectives in a network (and these are usually linked to social class, ethnic background, sex, and other classic social variables), there is a probability that shared recipes could exist. In other words, there is a latent tendency for ties to be created in a network.

ZZZ SORORITY *

When one thinks of social networks--particularly of "old boy" or "old girl" networks of social influence and contacts--sororities and fraternities come to mind. These Greek organizations provide excellent examples of social networks that are consciously developed, maintained and utilized to bring benefits to participants.

One such sorority is the ZZZ Sorority in Pontiac, Michigan. We decided to study the sorority for several reasons. First, the members were predominantly women who were reported to have considerable influence in the school system. Secondly, it is a relatively new sorority in the community and reflects some of the recent changes in the lives of black middle class women who are also educational professionals. Thirdly, it was useful to begin our study with a network that had clearly discernible boundaries.

All interviews were conducted by Professor McGinnis, a black scholar
*fictional name

who lived in Detroit and was unknown to most women except through unexpected ties in the overall Detroit metropolitan network of black professionals. The questions were open-ended and the interviews lengthy (2-3 hours). All were tape recorded and transcribed. Linguistic analyses were conducted by Professors Howell and Scherer. A year after the study was completed, we met with the sorority leader who provided initial entre and shared some of the findings. The following year we met with her again to see if there had been any major changes in the group's activities.

The sorority was our first network study and stimulated our interest in linguistic analyses. As we will describe, the interviews yielded considerably more information through careful semantic analyses than from the original classification of data based upon the questions. Although the limitations of the study are many (we could not attend closed meetings or watch the group in process; we were unable to observe the informal interaction of members at other times and had to rely on subject accounts of these), the sorority yielded useful insights about the functions of networks in informal associations. We became sensitive to data contained indirectly in interviews through an examination of language referents, evasions, and inconsistencies.

History

ZZZ is a Pontiac chapter of a national black sorority, organized four years ago. The national association has over 100,000 members consisting of several distinguished and successful black women. It began at Howard University in 1913. In nearby Detroit, the local chapter is one of the largest of the 650 chapters located throughout the world and is considered a most prestigious organization. The national sorority proposes a five point program of service for local chapters to emulate, consisting of educational, economic, community and

international development, mental health, housing and urban development. In the last few years at the national level, there has been a shift in emphasis from educational programs to social action programs, particularly to encourage members to run for political office.

The impetus to form a Pontiac chapter came from three women who thought that the Detroit chapter was too large. Also, until the 1970s, there probably were not sufficient numbers of middle class black women in Pontiac to form a separate group. During the 1960s several black teachers were recruited into the Pontiac School District from southern colleges. The sorority women reflect their southern college backgrounds and differed from the self-educated women who grew up in Pontiac who participate in the Negro Business and Professional Women's Association. They are overwhelmingly middle class, religious, family oriented, and involved with education. After three years of existence, a second generation of ZZZ members was recruited. The new members (9 in all) have more diverse occupational backgrounds and are not from the South. At the time of this study there were approximately 30 members affiliated with the Pontiac chapter.

Location in the Interorganizational Field

Another national black sorority is also active in Pontiac. It has been organized longer than the one we studied and is about a third larger. In addition, there is The Negro Women's Business and Professional Association, and almost all members of the group belong to the Urban League and the NAACP as well. Other local "black" community organizations include several smaller social groups that have been in place for a long time and are active locally.

Official Purpose of the Network

Members are adamant that the purpose of the sorority is that of service. Although some subjects conceded that there is a social tie also, every person interviewed stressed the organization's goal as service. In fact, there was a conscious effort to explain that the sorority was not simply a social group because members regarded such groups as frivolous. ("ZZZ women are busy women: they do not have time to socialize.") The specific functions of the group in Pontiac are to help black youngsters find jobs through summer placements and a resume writing class; sponsor a scholarship drive; give food baskets to the poor; raise funds to furnish a hospital room; and sponsor a jabberwocky of local black talent night.

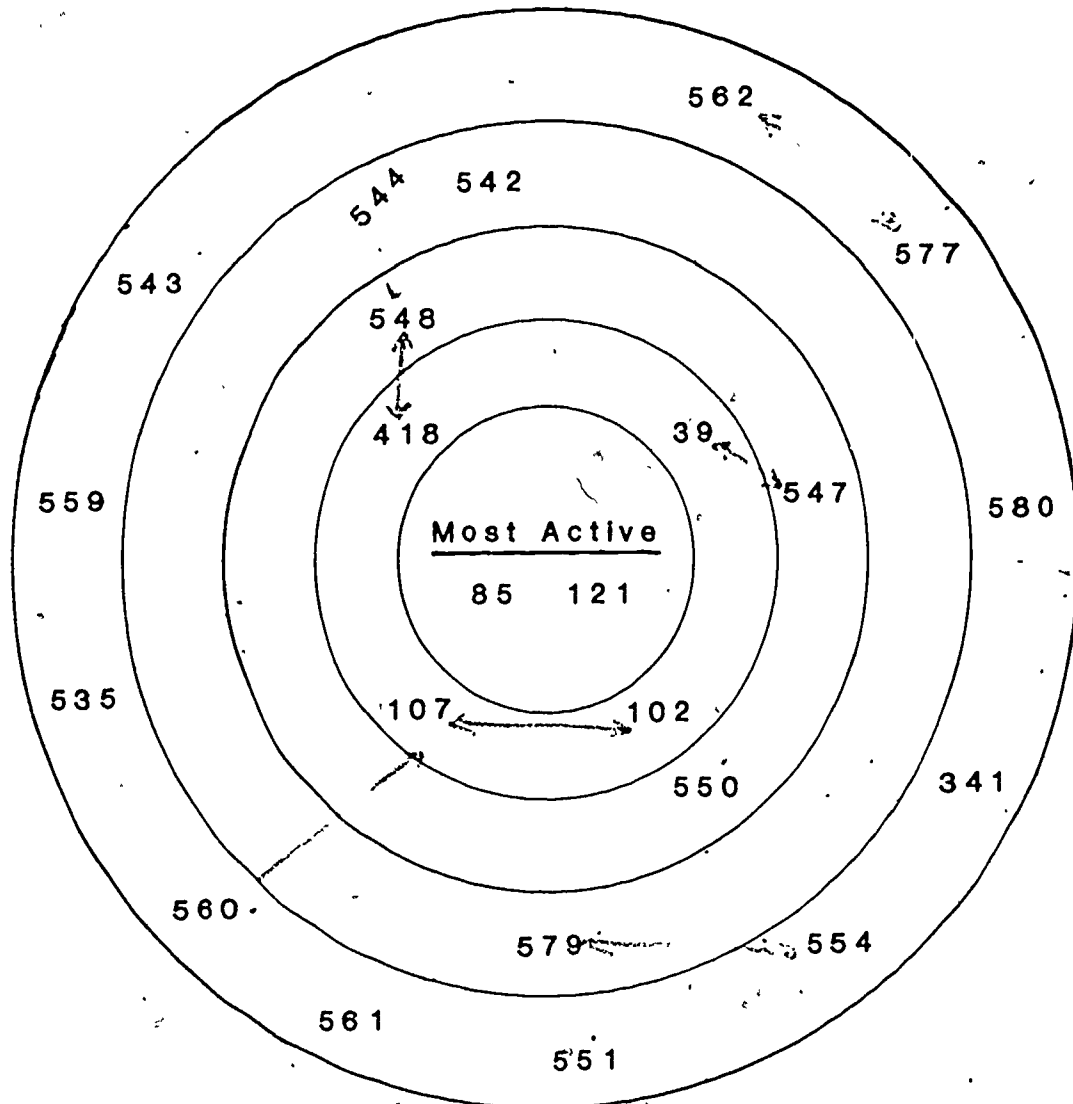
Involvement and Recruitment of Members

Most members were active members as undergraduates in college, but there are several members who joined without college membership. For example, one woman noted that she wanted to join the sorority while an undergraduate, but could not find the time; another did not finish pledging because of poor health. The group requires a college diploma

for membership. During the past year, a chapter of the sorority has been established at Oakland University to recruit undergraduate women.

Involvement varies considerably. A core of six active women assume leadership responsibilities and attend meetings regularly (the "leadership" network); a second group of active members attend most meetings and have active ties during major activities; such as fund raising; and a third group of fringe members are inactive (peripheral) and attend meetings occasionally. Those in education find it easier to attend meetings than women in other careers and this was noted as a problem by women, particularly those associated with industry.

DEGREES OF ACTIVITY



There are relatively few dyad relationships in the network, again reflecting reluctance to single out individuals in particular associations.

Leadership

The president was acknowledged as the leader in fact and in title by all respondents. Another member who helped organize the chapter and was enthusiastic about sorority membership was considered influential and an important informal leader by two thirds of the group. Two new members who had been active only a year were also mentioned as leaders by half of the respondents. Influential members were also identified by their occupational roles outside the sorority, especially those in non-traditional roles, such as a personnel assistant at General Motors.

Coordinator or Facilitator Activities

The president usually appoints a member to chair a committee and the chair recruits assistance through casual and informal volunteering or pleas for help. Those working in the school district communicate with each other on the job; others do so only through the meetings or at other community activities. Some members do not live in Pontiac, but work in the district; others that live in Pontiac and work outside participate in the network. Messages flowing among members in the leadership network and active networks convey information about the individual member's talents, resources, skills and ability to devote time to a project.

Decision Making

The sorority operates informally through consensus but decisions are confirmed in formal meetings. A minimal level of formality is required because of their national affiliation. Members refused to name any single individual who dominates decision making.

Sorority Activities

The major activities of the sorority are meetings, sponsoring educational programs for young people, cooperative projects with educational and black groups in the community, talent contests, referral service and occasional informal get togethers. There is no official political activity.

Resource Mobilization

Members speak freely of utilizing the occupational resources of other members. They talk of friends, particularly females who serve as wives, mothers, sisters, secretaries and close association with influential persons. Almost all the contacts mentioned were black, with the exception of an occasional white work mate.

When specifically asked to whom they would ask for assistance with problems (finding a house, or learning about city hall), most identified someone in the sorority, or someone "close to" another influential person.

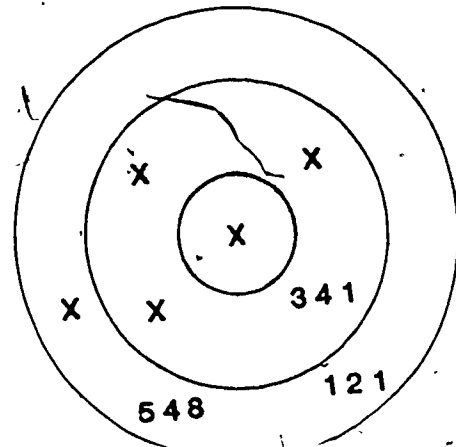
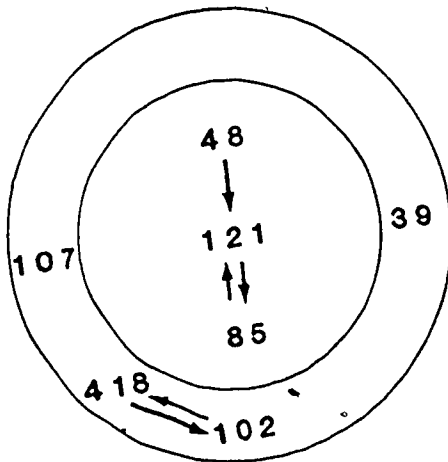
Sub Networks

We identified two sub networks within the sorority: old members and new members, and educators and non-educators. We had also expected to find an insider/outsider network based on residence outside the district, but this did not appear to be salient.

Black Women in Pontiac

INFLUENCE- in the Sorority

INFLUENCE - in the community

The Work of Nets

Although members unanimously described the function of the sorority as community service and were reluctant to call their organization a social group, clearly it had social purposes. Among the leadership, the major network flows were messages that reinforced middle class and professional identities of the women. Respondents made frequent references to the occupational roles of members, often substituting their roles for names. For example, they would refer to a member who is "a teacher" or "a policewoman" or "a banker." They also spoke about the importance of ZZZ women as community leaders. However, when we asked them to identify community leaders, they did not list ZZZ members. Another significant contradiction was the egalitarian emphasis concerning internal leadership. Members of both the leadership and active networks would not single out any individual as being particularly active or making a significant contribution ("No person takes the whole ball: everyone contributes"). However, leadership is thought to be an individual characteristic for those outside the group. Another contradiction between professed statements about ZZZ leadership

and other statements about community issues, was the separation between definitions of community problems and solutions. Community problems are identified in global terms (poor education, inadequate housing, crime) but the problems addressed by members of the sorority are not these issues. The abstract language employed in discussing problems and the use of intermediaries to reach persons of influence, as well as their identification of people outside ZZZ as influential, suggests that such contradictions are not recognized.

The network functions to provide expressive rather than instrumental information. Although the members discussed the importance of their contacts with each other, and through their contacts with other influential people in the community, not one person had consciously employed the network for specific information during the past six months. The topic of most of the information passed along the network was schools. Yet school structure and specific information about education is discussed in "blurry" terms. For instance, we decided that the superintendent is somewhat distant from the group because he is always referred to by his title and last name, although his wife is a member of the ZZZ in Detroit. There is also little connection between the information passed along the network about schools and judgments about relevance. For example, three-fourths of the interviews contain serious indictments of teachers (they are considered "incompetent" and "non-caring"), yet no one ever suggests that a sorority sister falls into this category. Likewise, the evidence used to support the majority view that the schools are ineffective is usually drawn from personal experiences. Explanations for millage failures are attributed to lack of information: the assumption is that if people really understood, the millage would pass. However, reflecting the indefinite nature of school perceptions found in all of our interviews in the community, exactly what information is needed is never discussed. (For example, it is also assumed that people do not vote because they lack information or do not understand the importance of their vote.) Low achievement scores were generally attributed to lack of parental control, an unhappy home life, or parents not spending sufficient time with their children.

The future of Pontiac is seen as totally related to General Motors and the Downtown Development Authority. There is no sense of their organization or the more powerful organizations of the NAACP or the Urban League participating at all. In other words, not only are these black professional women isolated from the power structure in terms of access (they must use an intermediary), but they are also isolated from viewing the issues. They see actions indirectly through roles; they describe issues in global terms but operate in local terms of reference.

Other "contradictions" included the following:

1. Members made a big point to explain that this was not a social group and were anxious to avoid the label. However, in the course of the interviews, most members described social advantages from participation.

of educators, due to the staff reductions in the schools and the problems facing the district. Any political activities of the group would reflect those of the national and local black network as a whole.

Significance of the Study for Network Research

1. The usefulness of ambiguity for self-concept.

Service is an all-encompassing term that can be attached to many diverse activities. What is particularly of importance in the sorority study is that the women do not feel powerless or without influence. From one viewpoint, their lack of access to decision makers, their lack of specificity in responding to questions and their rather low-key activities could be presented as evidence of powerlessness. Yet, their responses show a self confidence and perception of prestige and influence in how they regard themselves. We suggest that because they define problems in such a way these can be resolved through service, and because all members unanimously define their activities as service, they believe that they are gaining power. "Service" allows them to link their activities to larger definitions of service provided by their national affiliation. In addition "service" provides a public sphere in which their professional identities are reinforced. The ZZZ sisters are not simply teachers; they are black professional women in service to the community. Reinforcing identities is an important function of network exchanges.

2. Basic sociolinguistic analyses were utilized with good results. Some of the techniques included the following:

- a. An examination of pronouns: e.g., how often do respondents use "I," "we," "they?" This suggests emergent network boundaries.
- b. A review of titles--do respondents use first or last names, or titles? This suggests the range of network ties in terms of social distance.
- c. An examination of statements that describe incentives and sanctions, e.g., why does one belong? Why did you do this?
- d. The use of specific terms or global terms in describing problems. "the schools," "the family."
- e. References to the boundaries of the group: who is listed as an outsider, who is an insider?
- f. What are the assumptions used in small talk? For example, we stumbled upon a direct reference to the larger black network as an aside in the respondent's answer. It was included as part of the getting acquainted patter that is found in most conversations among strangers.
- g. A comparison of accounts by different persons to check for similarity: why people joined the sorority? who is the leader?

2. Although respondents thought the sorority was an influential local organization, they did not list the sorority when they identified community groups working on the problem in Pontiac.
3. Not one Pontiac member made any reference to the activities of the Detroit group. Apparently they view themselves as a local chapter even though several members do not live in Pontiac.
4. The sorority is one of several organizations in the local black network. The Urban League and NAACP are identified as the most important organizations in this network; however, members did not see any black organization as influential in determining the future of Pontiac.

One of the functions of the net is to define public service, in a way that is consistent with the self-conscious professional perspective of the members; in other words, in a way that fits their role as it is locally focused and working through others who are in powerful positions. It has a strong, nurturing quality and is not political. It is fundamentally non-controversial and distinct from the work of other community groups. As defined, the role enables members to reconcile a conception of community leadership based upon forms of community service that are overwhelmingly local and quite removed from the problems they describe. As a result, for those members in the leadership and active nets, the net works to confirm their middle class, black, professional, female identity because it reinforces the traditional values associated with service.

Significance in the School-Community Interorganizational Field

The sorority is viewed by members as supplementing school activities through service projects. Since most members are educators, there is a direct link to the school. However, this link is peripheral to a large extent, except through a larger black network.

The Future of the Network

Within the sorority we identified several different emergent networks. They appeared to function as transient cliques within the larger organization. All members of the sorority have loose knit ties to others in the group by virtue of their membership. These ties can be thought of as latent, and activated when needed to perform a particular task (such as running the jabberwocky) or as access to friends of friends. However, aside from the network of leaders and actives, the sorority demands little commitment from members so that relations are characterized by loose knit ties.

It is likely that the sorority will continue in the next five years as it operates today. However, as newer and younger women join from the university chapter, the old/new division may grow larger and internal networks will change. There may also be some decline in the influence

h. A study of adjectives around key nouns: those that describe people they helped, the city, school, teachers.

i. What follows what, or how experiences are ordered. For example, when asked to identify problems, what issues come first, come last?

j. Comparison of value statements: "It makes a difference," "I made a lot of friends."

k. Use of active or passive voice, particularly noting statements about what they can do, will do.

Simple as these techniques are to describe, they are remarkably effective in generating more qualitative assessments of respondent's comments. Emergent networks are difficult to identify, but linguistic analysis provides critical clues to locate them. As we will describe in a section on recipes, these techniques provided useful data concerning network flows.

Conclusion

Sarason (1979) argues that "Belonging to a network gives one the right to approach one another." It is commonly believed that fraternal groups give one the opportunity to approach others. Our respondents appear to feel comfortable in approaching each other for information and assistance; on the other hand, they do not appear to make use of important contacts in Detroit. Respondents had only limited access to those they identified as powerful.

The most important resource of the group is their belief that they are powerful and make a significant contribution to the community. We believe that, in this instance, the major work of the nets is to reinforce the professional middle class identity of the women. A legitimate question, then, is how do networks differ from reference groups? We believe that in some cases, aside from the basic structural properties of networks, the two are quite similar.

THE HELPING INTERORGANIZATIONAL NETWORK

This study evolved over the two years in unexpected ways. Our original question was to learn where the school fits into the larger community helping pattern. This seemed important in understanding school-community relations, but it also touched upon another concern: the possibility that schools could develop new ties to helping groups in the community and thereby create new publics at a time when parent support was declining because of demographic shifts. Since our interest in community and school relations covered many different dimensions, we decided to re-analyze data already obtained from another study of Pontiac. This data was collected by Professor Donald Warren in 1974 and 1975 as part of a larger helping network research project that had drawn a sample from four Pontiac neighborhoods (defined as walking distance in a local elementary school district). The overall study consisted of 59 neighborhoods and 1,700 completed interviews with adults. The Pontiac data consisted of a total of 130 interviews in 1974 and 145 in 1975. Each interview yielded 1,000 items of information designed to find out what informal resources individuals used to assist with problems; what patterns of help seeking developed and how helping resources effected the individual's well being.

Warren developed the concept of "problem anchored helping networks" (PAHNS), defined as follows:

Social contacts that an individual makes with any number of other persons (not necessarily intimates or

Scherer had argued (1977) that stimulating ties in a wider socialization network might be useful in dealing with disruptive youth. If the data from Warren's helping research could give some indication about the perception of the school as a source for assistance in Pontiac, it might be useful. Warren's data showed clearly that the school personnel were seldom sought out for help.

USE OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF HELPERS
FOR "RECENT CONCERNS"

Spouse	62% (82%)
Friend	41
Relative	37
Co-Worker	28 (42%)
Neighbor	27
Police	8
Doctor	8
Counselor	6
Teacher	4
Clergy	4

(Warren, 112, 1976)

Our re-analysis of the data did not show significantly different patterns to those already reported by Warren. Because the Warren data was anonymous, it was also difficult to integrate into our research design. To summarize succinctly, Warren said the following about help

status equals) with the result that a particular problem or concern or crisis is discussed and advice or help provided. (1978, 15)

Warren argued that depending on the problem, different helpers provided different kinds of assistance, and that distinct patterns evolved based upon the problem. He also compared helping patterns in eight metropolitan communities. He called Pontiac a "deficit community" because there were not sufficient community resources to deal with the problems in Pontiac. He also described the pattern for help seeking in Pontiac as follows:

Examples of Modal Patterns and Barriers of Helper Relationships

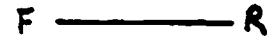
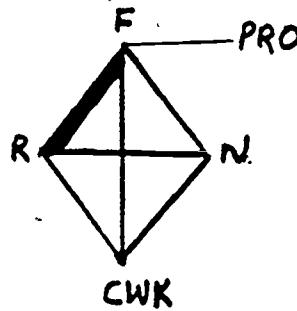
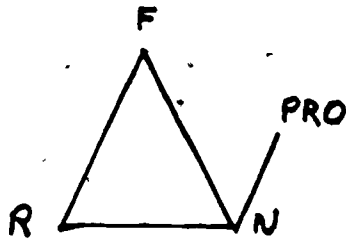
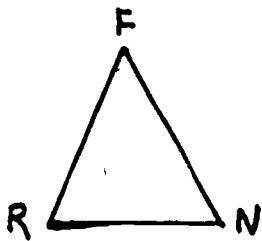
--Links--

Warren

Pontiac

St. Clair Shores

Royal Oak



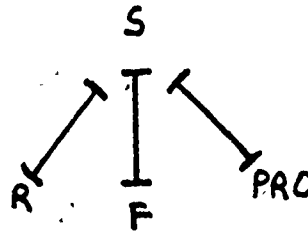
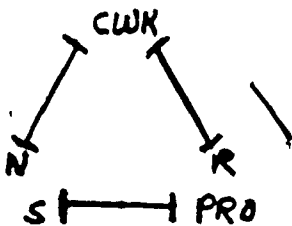
--Barriers--

Warren

Pontiac

St. Clair Shores

Royal Oak



NO BARRIER

Key: F--Friend CWK--Coworker
 R--Relative S--Spouse
 N--Neighbor PRO--Professional

Warren:1976,161.

for those respondents who did not know anyone working in hospitals. Applied to schools, this suggests either that few teachers are personally known to individuals seeking help, or that they are not recommended through the informal neighborhood referral network. In other words, school personnel were not perceived as important by those seeking help.

Professional Interviews

Our second effort at developing a helping network study centered around efforts to understand how professionals saw both the client networks (as described by Warren) and colleague ties essential to the conduct of their work. We prepared a synopsis of the Warren findings and sent this to a sample of professional helpers prior to the interview. During the interview we asked subjects to react to Warren's findings about Pontiac and to describe both organizations and persons with whom they had professional contacts.

This study was frustrating for several reasons. First, many professionals refused to reveal their most important network ties since they thought of this information as confidential. Secondly, we found that an analysis of 18 lengthy helping interviews revealed almost no overlap between help-providers in different parts of the community. Respondents did mention some of the organizations with which they worked but only on a strictly functional basis (e.g., a health problem, "we call the hospital"). Thirdly, professionals did not consider the school as part of the helping network and had trouble relating to our questions. There was a common definition that the school remains

in Pontiac:

Compared to other communities, Pontiac scored much lower on "taking action" helping behaviors. Informal helpers are less likely to "take action" than professionals; and, in Pontiac, informal helpers predominate. Thus, 75 percent of the help in Pontiac consisted of supportive behavior from "lay" or informal helpers compared to 54 percent of professional help that was supportive. On the other hand, action occurred in almost 38 percent of the cases when professionals were involved versus less than 20 percent in the cases when lay helpers were involved.

The number of helpers available to an individual is also important. In Pontiac, the average person had 1.4 helpers for a problem (as compared to a high of 1.8 for Royal Oak and a low of 0.9 for Mt. Clemens).

Some of the helping "deficit" measured in Pontiac may be due to socioeconomic factors, since both the spouse and co-helpers assistance have been found to increase steadily as income increases. Recall that Pontiac is distinguished from the other communities studied by the lower average income of its residents, a larger blue collar population, a much higher proportion of black and Latino residents, and greater instability of family life (10 percent of all adults sampled were separated or divorced). Still, additional unmeasured characteristics of each community are undoubtedly influencing the degree and quality of helping behaviors beyond the effects of social class. For instance, when Lincoln Park--another heavily blue collar community--is compared to Pontiac, Lincoln Park residents still appear to have more effected helping networks than do Pontiac residents. (Warren, 1976,79)

The limited use of teachers as members of helping networks is especially noteworthy since the earlier research suggested that people are more likely to turn to others for help if they already know someone in a similar line of work. For example, 25 percent of the respondents made use of hospitals and clinics if they already knew people who worked in medical treatment settings. The amount of use fell off to 14 percent

units on the site; HRC was isolated from the rest of the downtown Pontiac when planned redevelopment did not take place; schools retained complete autonomy in regard to educational operations; and there was lack of commitment throughout the district to community education. (See Part II - The Human Resources Center.) Whether or not there would have been more integration between the schools and the helping network over time is doubtful because of the strong belief in separate domains that was reported in all interviews with school personnel.

The Helping Interorganizational Network

Our third approach was to try to describe in detail the helping interorganizational field to see if schools were actually as isolated from the helping network as we were led to believe through the other studies. It is this third "helping" network study we will report here. Our data base included Warren's study, the helping interviews, the annual reports of organizations and agencies, newspapers analyses and the interorganizational data reported in "School-Community Interorganizational Network."

History

The Pontiac "helping interorganizational network" is complex. In particular, a "new" breed of helping organizations has been created in response to federal programs during the decade. Black leadership is found in block clubs, members of the Coalition for Community Change, and women's groups. Moreover, there had been an explosion in "outreach" activities among established organizations, institutions and groups during the decade. Committees or programs were established to reach different segments of the population or support other institutions. For example, unions and civic groups set up service committees; the Urban League established a program to "assist" the schools.

exclusive of service concerns. The following statements summarize information obtained from the helping interviews with local professionals:

1. There is almost no coordination between professionals in the community. Contacts are determined by functions (e.g. related to the work of the professional) or indirectly via personal association with others in community activities.
2. The agencies used most in dealing with youth are: Oakland County Social Services, Catholic Social Services, Family and Children Services, Youth Assistance, Boys' Club, Oakland County Child and Family Services, Pontiac General Hospital, and the Urban League. (Listed by frequency mentioned in interviews.)
3. All agencies have some contact with police in their work with youth.
4. School counselors frequently use private agencies.
5. The schools are generally not considered as helping institutions. The major reason given for this assessment is that professionals believe that school personnel, particularly teachers, are not trained to assist young people with problems.
6. The outreach workers in schools--school social workers, psychologists, nurses, police counselors and sometimes school counselors--are regarded as helping specialists. However, their duty is seen as referral to outside organizations. Within the school, however, they receive referrals from teachers and administrators.

In other words, schools do not fit comfortably into the helping interorganizational network. One experiment in cooperative relationships, the Pontiac Human Resources Center, had tried to bridge this gap by establishing a close association with helping agencies. In an innovative building design, the top level of the structure was designed to house social service agencies and the classrooms were located in the lower level. This experiment was unsuccessful for several reasons: it was expensive for the agencies to maintain outreach

Historically, helping agencies in Oakland County were located in Pontiac, the county seat. After 1950 a sharper division between "city" and "county" agencies developed. This became larger as black political influence developed in the city and as federal and state funding for special programs became more accessible. By 1981 the helping interorganizational field had become more pluralistic, differentiated, dependent on external funding, and complex than it had ever been in the history of the community.

Location in the Interorganizational Field

The major divisions in the interorganizational field are between private and public organizations, but this only begins to differentiate the helping field. In the public sphere the dominant political unit administering programs is the county, although politics and funding for county programs are generally established at the state and federal levels. Unlike Clinton Valley Center (a mental institution that is directly operated by the State), social services, probation, employment and public health are operated through county offices, but according to state regulations. Since Pontiac is the county seat, many of these agencies are physically located in Pontiac. The city also developed several helping programs through the Human Resources Department. City initiatives spurred the development of Latino organizations, block clubs, and senior citizen programs. The city's housing efforts are part of the helping network; Pontiac General Hospital is a significant component of local health services. A few county coalition programs developed, particularly the Oakland-Livingston Human Services Center. In addition, there were federal programs directly administered by the City, although their number was reduced when revenue sharing was instituted.

In the private sphere there are four distinct types of helping organizations. The first group of agencies are those funded by the United Way and represent well established groups. The United Way has developed a rather sophisticated priority assessment to deal with demands for support, and these agencies represent the consensus of local opinion about the usefulness.

A second group of private service organizations are independent units outside the United Way, such as St. Joseph's Hospital and The Lakeside Health Clinic. A third group are service clubs and fraternal organizations. In Pontiac this includes the Rotary, Jaycees, Elks, Lions, Optimists, as well as smaller groups such as sororities and fraternities. The fourth category are outreach groups developed in established organizations. For example, General Motors operates substance abuse and alcohol abuse programs; the Unions developed an unemployment crisis center; the police operate a Police Athletic League. Several of the outreach units also respond to the growing sense of identity among blacks, special black and Latino outreach are attached to standing organizations (Black Police Officers, Bi-Lingual Teachers).

The interorganizational network is characterized by overlapping membership, shared clients, and similarity of purpose. However, organizations differ in mode of operation, degree of professional expertise, mode of financing, and perceptions of helping problems.

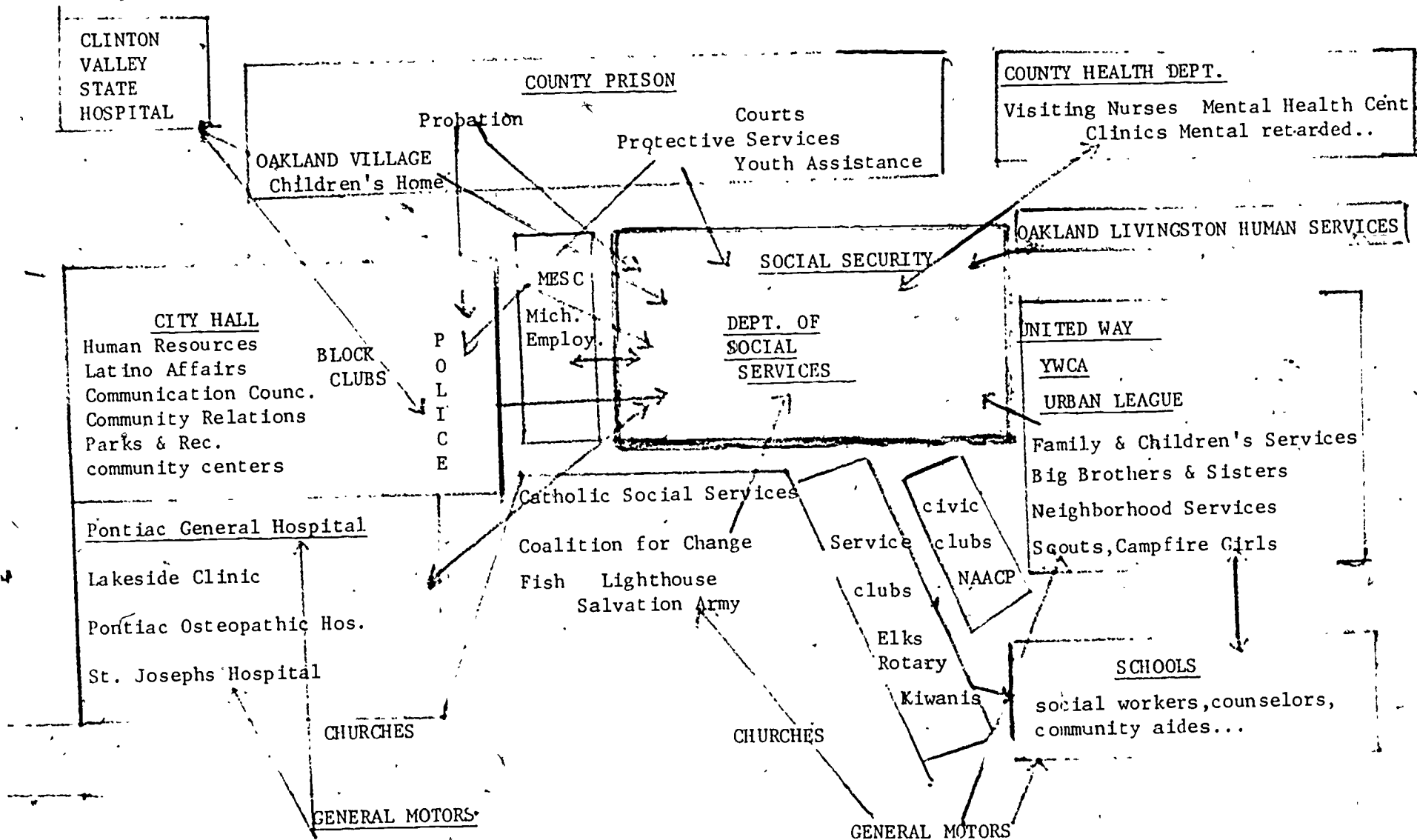
To summarize:

Helping Interorganizational Field

<u>Public Sector</u>	<u>Private Sector</u>
Dept. Social Services	United Way Agencies
Probation and Criminal Justice units	St. Joseph's Hospital
City Hall (Human Resources Dept.; Hispanic Affairs, Recreation...)	Lakeside Clinic
Pontiac General Hospital	Service and Fraternal groups
Clinton Valley Hospital	Church service groups
Oakland Livingston Human Service Agency (CAP)	Outreach units from organizations, eg. unions, police, G.M.

The interorganizational field is further crowded by the presence of a black interorganizational network that duplicates, complements and differs from the other helping network. For example, black churches, fraternities and sororities have outreach activities dealing specifically with black concerns. The black 'civic' network, composed of black business people and professionals, are all part of this network. An examination of patron lists in event programs and other published materials reveals the structure of the black network. It contains several prominent attorneys and doctors, a variety of black small business operations, ranging from beauty parlors to auto service centers, and prominent black citizens identified as friends. The latter are usually employed in prominent positions in government or public service. Like the smaller and less public Hispanic helping network, the official helping organizations are black churches. The spokespersons who articulate black interests are usually affiliated with black civic groups because the black leadership in Pontiac is relatively small and concentrated. It is clear from our observations, however, that the majority of help for black residents comes through informal associations, predominantly personal relationships, and through legally established agencies, such as the Department of Social Services. This is because the needs are greater than the resources in the black network.

A particularly strong effort to assist blacks involved with the criminal justice system developed in the last part of the decade. Efforts to promote halfway houses and other alternatives to existing arrangements were made. Two prominent black leaders in Pontiac were also bondsmen, and black attorneys have had a key role in defending black persons accused of crime. Their task was made more complicated by the political control of white Republicans in Oakland County who had significant influence over county courts, the prison and probation units.



Official Purpose of the Network

All organizations in the network define service and "helping" as the official purpose of their activity. Help, however, varies from providing assistance in temporary life crises, such as unemployment or disease, to prevention of problems, (education, Police Athletic League, health care); support for other institutions, particularly the family or schools, police, hospitals; or crisis intervention on a one time basis, such as rape counseling, the Lighthouse food closet, the Salvation Army or FISH emergency transportation. The interorganizational network, however, is not recognized officially by participating organizations and has no official purpose.

Involvement and Recruitment of Members

There are basically three kinds of members: First, the professional service providers who are paid for their activity and claim particular expertise in problem solving. These people usually have been certified on the basis of credentials to work in the area. Volunteers are a second major group and include many different people. During the seventies, numbers of elderly and retired people became volunteers. Males dominated policy making boards as volunteer leaders but females provided most of the actual volunteer hours. However, there are examples of teen age volunteers, working class males in large numbers and a wide variety of persons in the Pontiac volunteer service network. For example, FISH, a church sponsored emergency help service, has 500 volunteers that include all ages from 12 to 80, and all ethnic and occupational groups. A third group of participants were created during the seventies. These are volunteer staff coordinators who are paid to organize volunteer services. In part, this group developed in response to federal mandates for citizen participation, but in part, they reflected a growing preoccupation with community organization per se. Volunteer coordinators are appointed or recruited on the basis of their reputation for having community ties, as well as expertise. We identified twelve persons with this function in 1980.

Leadership

Evidence of leadership in the interorganizational network would include initiating new projects or stopping particular projects. In addition, network leaders are those organizations that bring the various organizations together. In this connection, the Urban League is the most influential black organization. Because the Urban League has United Way support and a permanent staff, it serves as an anchoring point for other volunteer black groups in the community. The Coalition for Change gradually emerged during the decade as a focal organization to articulate political concerns of help providers. The Title I parents advisory group served as the leader of black parents interested in education, and for most of the decade, was more influential than traditional school groups such as the PTA. Three churches were central in the network: one black church that appealed to a large number of

poor and working class black groups, a more prestigious elite church for blacks and a Roman Catholic parish that sponsored the reform coalition. In addition, the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches provided significant support to some helping groups, and the united churches provided funds for helping projects. The YWCA initiated several new programs, as did the Oakland-Livingston Human Services Agency, the community action groups that evolved from the OEO of the sixties. Finally, the United Way is critical in the helping network through its funding power.

Coordinator/Facilitator

Several organizations tried to coordinate helping activities but were largely unsuccessful. For example, the United Way tried to develop a rationalized and effective program for funding, the city tried to coordinate programs through the developing of a Citizens Communications Council, and the churches through the Pontiac Ecumenical Ministry. In addition there were efforts to set up volunteer coordinators, develop central information and referral efforts, and create resource information files. Some of these were done without any funding at all (FISH), some as part of ongoing institutional activities (Social Services) and some as special projects funded by a particular grant.

One constantly hears the comment that there is considerable duplication and overlap in service provisions. Some groups believed that existing units were often unreceptive to their demands and a more personalized service provider had to be provided.

The major factor in facilitating helping is that all the organizations serve the same pool of clients. To some extent, these organizations also compete for the same dollars and must justify their activities as part of the funding process. Often this required statements of cooperation from other organizations.

Decision Making

Decision making in networks is done on the basis of organizational domains. These, in turn, reflect who will be helped, how help will be given, and who will provide the help. Most decisions are made inside an agency or organization with little concern for others in the network. Decisions are based upon organizational criteria. Funding and political considerations (usually translated in terms of special interest groups such as ethnic groups, the elderly, or business) influence many decisions; peer definitions of expertise are also important in decision making.

Network Activities

About once a year in some form or another there is a "let's work together" meeting. This is usually discussed in terms of sharing information or eliminating duplication. The United Way has established

a budget priorities committee to determine allocations, and the City has established a Citizens Communications Council to provide more systematic coordination among organizations. Both efforts have had modest success.

Network Mobilization

When an issue is defined as a problem, the network coalesces around the issue. Thus, busing was defined as a community-wide problem, so defined by the external pressure of the court order. Social workers, city hall, educators and unattached citizen volunteers worked together to prevent violence in the early stages of busing. Another example of network cooperation occurred in the debate concerning the modernization of Pontiac General Hospital. The Coalition for Change made this a community issue.

On the other hand, issues that appear to have far-reaching impact on community services can also be dismissed within the network. For example, closing Clinton Valley Center has elicited little network concern although it has enormous implications for client demands for community services. Probably this is because the hospital is directly controlled by the State. To date there has been almost no united network outcry about funding cuts. Instead one finds "I'll save my agency" mentality.

Sub-Networks

There is a black helping network composed of black service groups, churches and the Urban League. In addition, an inter-racial woman's group associated with the YWCA has concentrated on some issues affecting women. Another woman's network--primarily white--provides general purpose counseling to some and is distinct from the Y network. In addition, a stable bi-racial volunteer network, composed primarily of middle class church goers and older retired persons serves FISH and church service activities. Several networks evolve as a result of a particular problem: the old persons network, the offender network (includes Offender Restoration, volunteering at the county jail, probation, youth assistance, substance abuse) and a youth network (with limited school input). Finally, there is a health network of outreach groups (visiting nurses, special information groups (cancer, heart) and homemakers. This also operates closely with the institutional health providers: clinics, dentistry, hospitals and the informal unstructured resources of families, neighbors and friends as described by Warren.

The Work of Nets

The function of the interorganizational informal helping network is to exchange information about what organizations are doing. In this way, it helps preserve the autonomous domain of the helping groups, constrains some competition, and indirectly leads to forms of minimal coordination. On occasion, the organizations can become the voice of the community trying to defend community interests against outsiders.

(county, state). Through informal negotiation about domain priorities, there can also be some decision making concerning who will seek grants.

One of the most important functions of the informal interorganizational helping network is to define problems in the community. The impact of this can be seen in school and community relations. Because the school defines its problems as academic and outside the formal interorganizational helping network, it is the least affected by community definitions. School personnel can remain apart from helping problems. In effect, this means that middle class teachers and administrators are not confronted with the concerns of poverty and family life that dominate the lives of many residents of Pontiac. At the same time, Sarason (1979) points out that schools cannot call upon community resources to help educators deal with some of the social problems confronting students.

The Future of the Network

Due to restricted state and federal funds, and bitter competition for money, the helping network will shrink dramatically in the next few years. It will become more locally oriented, utilize more volunteers, and perhaps its coordinating functions will increase as each organization fights to retain control over its domain. However, unless there are mechanisms to require coordination, this is unlikely to take place.

Significance of the Study for Network Research

The concept of network is particularly useful in describing the helping interorganizational field because it articulates the abstract nature of existing interorganizational relationships. Most of the professionals working in helping agencies do not consciously think of their associations as a network. Rather, the network is viewed as almost a latent association; it is not consciously recognized. There are few visible coordinating mechanisms between organizations, so that the network researcher must infer the network from a variety of sources. Building coalitions among organizations, or in the popular sense of "networking," has proven difficult in the helping field because participants are not aware of the shared field. As long as the environment is stable, the organizations can operate reasonably well on the basis of domain consensus.

Summary

This was our first effort at "mapping" the interorganizational network in Pontiac. We did find the school removed from the helping interorganizational network. Except for specific linking professionals, the school domain was even separated from the children's helping network. On the other hand, data from the social resources inventory (See: "School-Community Relations") show that school employees, as individuals, are active in church youth groups, scouts and other youth

associations. This suggests that school personnel, formally and informally, are reluctant to deal with troubled youth, but are comfortable working with youth in preventing problems. We conclude that the definition of the school's domain by both persons inside and outside is that of a specialized organization that is not thought of as providing helping services.

COALITION FOR COMMUNITY CHANGE *

The Coalition for Community Change was interesting because the association's leadership had a strong ideological bond. Membership in the inner network was based much upon cognitive association as upon official program objectives. The official coalition tried to create a formal association of organizations, but actually built a network of local groups that came to be identified as "the grass roots network."

All interviews were conducted by Sharon Howell, who had been active as a member of the coalition before joining Oakland University as a faculty member. She continued her activities as a participant observer for another year. In addition to interviews, material on the coalition was also developed from newspaper files, reports, and interviews with those familiar with the coalition but not members of the association. The coalition network provided an opportunity to study networks as they changed over time.

This study consists of an organizational network - those organizations that worked with the coalition - and a personal network - the inner network mentioned above.

*fictional name

History

The history of the coalition is complex. It is made up of the small, mundane and intensely local issues that mark the life of countless such community action groups across the nation. Small victories over impassive bureaucrats, arguments with unresponsive landlords about peeling paint and leaking faucets, noisy demonstrations at city hall and scrambling for money and supplies circumscribe their constant battles with local heroes and villains.

Within these daily incidents and issues emerges the subtle shifting of the power relationships undergirding the political process in Pontiac. For the development of the coalition over the last decade documents the entrance of a new political force in decision making in the city -- the "voice of the grass roots." However imperfectly the coalition may represent that voice, that it should be heard and taken into account cannot be denied. This voice has been characterized in a number of ways: to some it is the voice of "liars"; to others, of "manipulators" or "Marxists"; and to still others, of "concerned Christians."

It is particularly ironic, then, that official recognition of the coalition as a voice of the grass roots comes at the very time when the coalition is moving further and further away from its original configuration as a loose collection of citizens, churches and social organizations. Its strategies of confrontation politics have given way to quiet meetings with members of the city administration. Rather than storming council chambers demanding to be heard, the coalition is now routinely consulted as city officials formulate plans and policies. Members of the organization who once spent their days canvassing neighborhoods now spend their time writing grant applications and complain "I've become nothing but an administrator."

The coalition was founded in 1976 at its first annual convention. However, its membership and activities can clearly be traced to the turbulence and political activity of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The initial leadership and idea came from an interdenominational group, the Concerned Clergy, formed by ministers who thought that the function of the church should be to "bridge the gap" between blacks and whites and "unite" people. They began to meet on a monthly basis to talk about community issues and hear outside speakers. In 1971 after the violence of busing, the clergy decided they could play an important role in calming racial fears by riding the buses. Black and white ministers, Protestant and Catholic dressed in their clerical garb did this. The presence of the clergy in such a visible way was thought to be a key element in keeping the violence to a minimum.

Several of the members argued that the group should play a more sustained and consistent role in social action. Essentially, they claimed that unless fundamental changes were carefully thought out, the clergy would constantly be put in the position of reacting to explosive

and divisive issues.

This pressure for social action was intensified by another community group, VOCAL, also organized to "do something other than talk." VOCAL found its membership (in many cases overlapping with the clergy) pulling in two directions, one for social service activity, and the other toward militant action.

The demand for militant action was seen as the extension of Christian responsibility. A new group, the Pontiac Ministers United (PMU), combined a commitment to social action with religious obligation. Their initial purpose statement reveals the peculiar blend of activist rhetoric and a religion.

We believe that the Church has a mandate to be advocates for the poor and powerless. The Pontiac Ministers United understands itself to be a mission of the Church. It is a unique component of the Church, different than the parish ministry, yet at the same time, Pontiac Ministers United could not survive without the parishes. It is also true that Pontiac Ministers United is an opportunity for the Church to act out demands of the Gospel, and to make the life and mission of our local churches more real and more effective in its attempt to be a power for reconciliation and redemption. The Church has preached the Gospel in Pontiac for generations and people still do not believe in themselves, and continue to live in a condition of hopelessness. It is clear that we must find new ways to preach and act.

Unpublished document, PEM, 1973

But by 1975, a tension mounted within PMU. The uneasy alliance of social action and religious obligations began to crumble. Some ministers felt that social action, rather than "preaching the gospel," had become the focus of the group. In addition, leaders were becoming increasingly vocal and visible in the community, giving the group a "radical image." The group was especially divided over the hospital issue. They would either have to dissolve or disassociate themselves with the Citizens Coalition on the Hospital, a group opposed to the hospital board's decision to relocate Pontiac General Hospital. After the "hospital issue," the Pontiac Citizens Coalition became an independent entity, although it still shared membership and staff with Pontiac Ministers United.

Hospital Issue

Virtually every member of the coalition regards the "hospital issue" as the most important activity of the coalition. The major theme of the coalition was that citizens had been excluded from the decision-making process. Their real concern was with citizens' input and community discussion: essentially, the hospital was the first issue around which the coalition put forward what was to remain its central theme--it is

not the decision that matters, as much as the process by which the decision is made. More specifically, that process should include the "average" citizen, those "left out." This idea was especially important in Pontiac, as the idea of decisions being "forced on people" was a theme that ran through the busing controversy.

In order to carry out the campaign against the hospital board's decision, the coalition depended on the tactics of confrontation and conflict. Hospital board meetings and city commission meetings were packed with coalition members. These meetings were described as "emotion packed" and "hostile," with the coalition characterized as mostly black and the "best organized" of citizen groups (Oakland Press, November 1975). During this struggle, many of the main actors in the coalition became identified. Most of the public statements and positions were put forward by blacks. Despite the prevalence of blacks in the role of spokespersons, three white men were considered to be orchestrating the conflict. The identification of these men with the coalition was so strong that a year after the controversy, the Pontiac-Waterford Times ran a story complaining about the lack of progress on the renovation of the hospital and charged that the problem was all because these three had "decided that they didn't want to build the hospital according to the methods proposed by the trustees" (December, 1976).

Vindication--We Are Not Racist

To the members of the coalition, the hospital controversy has achieved the status of myth or legend. It is universally recounted by members as an example of the power and influence of the coalition. Interestingly, in the recounting of the fight, the victory is not that the coalition "stopped" the move of the hospital outside of Pontiac, rather, it is pointed to as the example that blacks and whites were able to work together for the common good of the city. Several people recount the story of coalition meeting after coalition meeting where two main antagonists from desegregation worked together: one black woman, pro-busing, and one white woman, anti-busing.

During this controversy, the coalition forged a broad network with indistinct boundaries. Actual membership in the coalition was over one hundred people, cutting across racial and class lines. The coalition was able to mobilize anywhere from fifty to two hundred people to attend city meetings; to collect first 1,800 signatures and then 2,000. The network had an inner core of three white males, surrounded by a more visible ring of blacks (predominantly men) who did most of the public speaking and acting. From these two concentric rings, the coalition was able to reach in two very distinct directions. The inner circle of white men brought a variety of skills in organizing, as well as outside organizational ties to the group, such as the Campaign for Human Development, the UAW, the archdiocese, and the National Peoples Action. The second layer of blacks had additional networks into the black community through black churches, workers in the hospital, and

neighbors. It was this combination which then attracted the third layer of white liberals and white churches.

The effect of the coalition was an image of blacks and whites working together. By the founding convention in 1976, the coalition was established as an important force to be reckoned with inside the city.

Housing

Organizational network ties shifted from neighborhood and church to broader base. The coalition, especially the paid staff, began to participate in programs such as the anti-redlining campaign and bank monitoring sponsored by Michigan Housing.

In the spring of 1978, however, the coalition returned to the center of controversy in Pontiac by challenging the establishment of the Downtown Development Authority. Members were fearful that downtown redevelopment would draw attention away from housing. In addition, the formation of the Downtown Development Authority drew heavily on the business "establishment" and excluded the "poor" and the "powerless." In May, the coalition announced a petition drive to have a city-wide referendum on the creation of the Downtown Development Authority. This brought the coalition into open conflict with C. Don Davidson and The Pontiac-Waterford Times, a prime mover behind the redevelopment of Pontiac. He launched an attack on the coalition and its tactics, claiming that the coalition was not really representative of the citizens. He used such phrases as "local pressure group that uses the name Pontiac Coalition for Change," "so-called Citizens Coalition," a "Political Presssure Group, liberally oriented which ostensibly grew out of a number of other community organizations." He characterized the opposition as lacking intelligence: "Thought they were more intelligent," and "Leaders fail to comprehend the importance of the project." Finally, he argued that those citizens who would sign such a petition were misled: "Duped, the pawns in the latest power play." As the controversy continued to accelerate, the new city manager, Phil Mastin, entered the picture.

Mastin was a close personal friend of C. Don Davidson and also had strong ties to the UAW and the Democratic party (ties shared by many members of the coalition). He initiated an "open door policy" in an attempt to bring the two sides together. Perhaps his most dramatic gesture was to invite the leaders of the coalition to his home to talk and give them his personal pledge that housing would continue to be a major concern. As a result of this initial meeting with Mastin, the Coalition agreed to stop its petition drive (privately it doubted it could carry out the drive successfully, but the intensity of the opposition showed they had no sense of this) for a commitment that housing would have a high priority. With this commitment efforts were abandoned to stop the Downtown Development Authority and to redirect city funds. The coalition began to establish its own housing programs. Much of the impetus for this change in strategy came from the National

People's Action group (which saw the government funding drying up) as well as from Mastin who was anxious to circumvent the rigid Community Development Department within the city.

In the course of these events, the definition of the problem of housing changed dramatically for the coalition. In the mid-1970s, the "housing problem" was very vivid and concrete: porches needed to be fixed, threatening letters from the bank had to be answered, there were unfulfilled promises from the city, and there was a need for local home repairs rather than "window dressing" in the downtown area. By 1980, the problem had lost the texture of individual complaints about slowness and the ineptitude of government bureaucracies. Instead, housing issues had been translated into the Neighborhood Improvement Project. The change in the rhetoric from the initial concerns of the coalition to the summary report on housing published in August of 1980 is striking and reveals the shifting conceptualization of the coalition's perspective. For instance the original purpose statement of the coalition illustrates the initial emphasis on poverty and power:

... it is obviously the poor and the powerless who cannot escape; therefore, the burden of changing the direction of Pontiac, if not the responsibility, must lie with them. It is the poor and the powerless who must find the kind of organization that can help them control the physical and social deterioration of their city. They are also the people with the least status, the least political influence, and the least financial power with which to make that change happen."

It is our belief that the development of a strong organization encompassing the many factions for the lean, black and poor white communities of Pontiac, and controlled by them, is the best tool available to those who hope to restore strength to a divided and depressed community.

The concern for the "poor" and for people organizing to change their own lives has become replaced by a concern for the creation of a "planning process"--poverty and powerlessness have disappeared as a focus of the problem instead, the goal is "to improve as economically feasible the physical condition and safety of the existing housing units." Thus, housing illustrates more and more an abstraction of the problem, away from the very real concerns of the citizens to a concern for "planning."

Location in the Interorganizational Field :

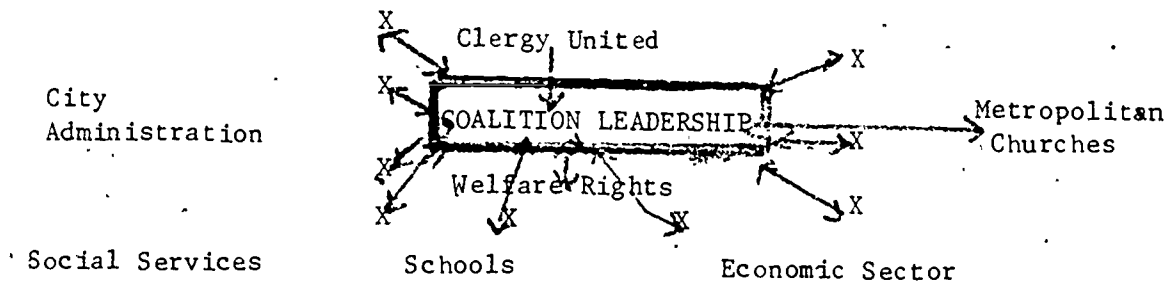
The coalition exists in an organizational field populated with friends and enemies. There are few natural relationships. At its inception, the PCC was firmly anchored to the religious community both within Pontiac and the metropolitan area. The initial membership identified with religious organizations, and funding came from major religious denominations: the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit, the

Detroit Conference of the United Methodist Church which provided the major support, the Michigan Synod of the Lutheran Church of America and the Episcopal Diocese of Detroit. Metropolitan church ties were augmented at the local level by Pontiac churches including most of the smaller black congregations.

Along with the churches, the coalition has ties with social service agencies and non-profit organizations concerned with social issues. Ties are closest with those organizations the coalition judges to be action oriented or "progressive." Thus, the YWCA, Women's Survival Center, NAACP, and the Lighthouse are most frequently referred to as friendly organizations. A weaker affiliation is assumed with more "conservative" social agencies such as the YMCA, the Urban League and other traditional service organizations.

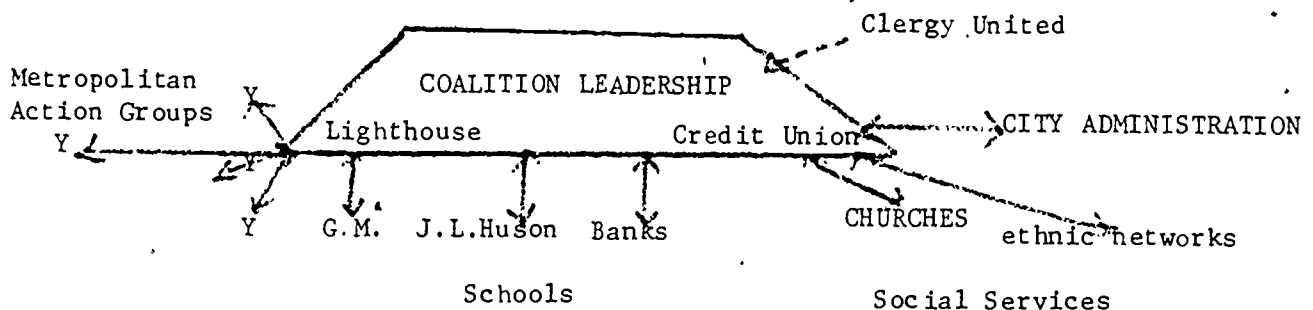
COALITION FOR CHANGE - INTERORGANIZATIONAL NETWORK

1975



X = individual block clubs, Latino citizen groups and small black organizations

1980



Y = Anti-redlining organizations, unions, Michigan Housing Coalition

Over the decade the antagonism between the city administration and the coalition has turned into an uneasy partnership. The coalition now receives funding from the Community Development Department and is cited on official city grant applications as an important group. Three members of the coalition, one of them the president, now hold positions as city commissioners. While the tie with the city commission has become much stronger, city administrators are universally viewed as "the enemy."

Ties to the financial community are complex. The coalition has almost no direct relationships with banks except in antagonistic ways. It participated in the Detroit-based anti-redlining efforts which embarrassed local banking interests, established the citizens' credit union that competes with the local banks for depositors and has recently succeeded in winning a contract from the MSHDA to administer mortgage loans. Finally, it has moved to mobilize financial resources from corporations outside local banks: J. L. Hudson Foundation and Mott Foundation.

Like relationships with city hall, local media associations have almost completely reversed themselves. Most of its coverage, however, has been negative. More recently, the coalition is cast in a better light and its members are now featured as a voice of community concern.

The coalition has loose ties with the UAW and the Democratic party. Essentially these associations come about because of shared membership and shared concerns on issues such as unemployment and utility hikes.

The coalition allies itself with community action groups in Detroit such as the Michigan Housing Commission, the Redlining Coalition, and the Interfaith centers. Information is shared frequently. Likewise national groups relate to the coalitions through the housing program and the United Farm Workers. These national affiliations are maintained by the leadership of the coalition, but resources from the organization go to support them. The coalition approved office space and telephones for farm workers organizing in Pontiac.

Official Purpose of the Coalition

The official purpose has been quite clearly stated by the coalition in its constitution and in its applications for funding from various sources. It is dedicated to "improving the quality of life" in Pontiac, especially for the "poor" and the "powerless."

Its goal is to "develop a coalition between ethnic or community groups and to challenge existing institutions as well as to develop alternative structures to improve the lives of those "left out" of the decision-making process of the community.

The roles of the coalition as both the advocate and initiator of alternative structures are accepted and understood throughout the network.

Involvement and Recruitment of Members

Membership in the coalition is very indistinct. While there is a formal membership list including major organizations and individuals in the community, membership extends far beyond those who officially affiliate. For participants in the network, membership includes any community figure or organization they identify as speaking for the "poor" or those "left out." Thus membership is informally conferred upon "fellow travelers." Likewise, the importance of the precedent of "likemindedness" for membership can be seen in the changing lineup of friends and enemies. For example, the editor of one local newspaper, an enemy since the inception of the coalition, has been transformed as "friend" during the city manager and charter controversies. Likewise, as he moved further and further away from the Downtown Development Authority, the coalition included him in their camp, opposing "outside" money interests concerned only for profit.

In the opposite direction, a longtime coalition member and heroine of the busing controversy has lately been referred to as acting "funny." Her appearance at coalition meetings is viewed with suspicion as she has been articulating the city administration's view.

Membership, then, is as much an attitude as an action. It is conferred on all those who are like-minded, who oppose the city administration or who support the cause of the poor and the minorities.

The initial membership of the coalition came almost exclusively from the religious organizations within Pontiac. All of the early leaders were ministers or ex-priests and had ties not only with long-established parishes in Pontiac, but with city Christian Service committees. These service committees provided the bulk of the original volunteers.

Membership was actively recruited through the churches and through door-to-door canvassing by volunteers. However, membership did not experience any significant growth until the hospital controversy, when members of the hospital union who were also active in the smaller black churches that are characteristic of the Pontiac religious community joined. Concerned over their jobs, as well as the future of the hospital, they turned to their ministers, who in turn called upon their white colleagues to join them at citizens meetings. Virtually all members of the coalition who were ministers, priests and nuns began to speak out independently on this issue, and this galvanized growth. Membership was exceptionally diverse. A growing group of young professional black men and women who had become politically active during the busing controversy also became involved. Racial and class lines were transcended.

As the hospital issue subsided, official membership dropped. Except for the core of activists (mostly with church affiliations) members rarely attended meetings, but they maintained membership by considering themselves in "support" of various community positions taken by the coalition.

Since the New Charter drive, active membership has dwindled to those working directly on the credit union or on the housing projects. Coalition leaders indicate they have neither the time nor the personnel to do door-to-door recruiting as was done during the early formation.

As a result, recruitment is at a standstill and membership remains stable. Many people who do not attend meetings or participate directly in coalition actions consider themselves to be members through activities such as voting for the charter revision, supporting minority candidates for offices and being on the "progressive" side of local and national issues.

Leadership

Since its beginning, the coalition has had black and white leadership. In the first years, however, the leadership was primarily offered by the white Catholic priest and Methodist minister. Although the public spokespersons were often blacks, the real leadership and direction came from these two men. As the coalition developed, two black men, both ultimately elected county commissioners, became more and more central to the decision-making processes and to carrying out the responsibilities of the coalition. By 1980 the leadership was effectively shared by the executive director, who is a white, an ex-priest, and a younger black man who has been the county commissioner from Pontiac for four years. Both are paid staff members and are closely supported by two volunteers effectively forming a leadership core of four people, two black and two white. This core is well supported by an executive committee of about twenty people, most of whom have been with the coalition from its inception. About six of the twenty regularly attend meetings.

Leadership is very nondirective and is exercised almost exclusively in relation to the development of the housing project and the functioning of the credit union.

Coalition - Leadership Network

W1	W2	B1	B2
W3	W4	B3	
B4	B5	B6	B7 W7

Issue "folk"

W = white influential
B = black influential

Coordinator, Facilitator

The executive director is clearly the public coordinator. He is the official spokesperson and attends most citywide functions in his role as a coalition member. Virtually all members, black and white indicate a great deal of trust in his judgment and decisions. An older white woman who has been secretary to the coalition and treasurer of the credit union has also played a key role in facilitating the development of the coalition and in attracting outside resources. She has been instrumental in developing grant proposals and in keeping the books for the credit union. These administrative skills, coupled with her close ties to many women, have helped provide much of the physical human effort in carrying out the activities of the group.

Decision Making

Within the coalition, decision making happens on a number of levels. The "annual" conventions (they have held two in six years) identify the major issues, and then the staff and executive board work to meet these objectives. In actual functioning, most of the major decisions are made within the leadership in an informal core in an informal way--often in response to issues that emerge rapidly in the community or a crisis within the functioning of the coalition, such as the decision by the church not to provide space for either the coalition or Lighthouse.

All decisions of any public consequence are carefully couched within the framework of "this is what the community wants." For instance, the coalition housing project has numerous steps for community input: identification of the problems, surveys of needs of people in the area, and public meetings to explain and "ratify" the steps the coalition will take. While the actual level of community involvement is questionable, the commitment to this process is evident.

Network Activities

The primary activities include information sharing and the assessment of community events. Going to a public meeting to "keep an eye on things," speaking up at meetings, and supporting those who speak up, are functions that the coalition sees for itself within the community.

The coalition has also entered the political process through petition drives, endorsing candidates and spearheading the charter revision efforts. These activities required the mobilization of large segments of the population to attend meetings, to sign petitions, and simply to get out the vote (no easy task given the city's record).

Likewise the housing project has meant not only the securing of funds, but the organization and carrying out of neighborhood meetings and surveys. The coalition has members or supporters on virtually every

major committee or decision-making body within the city. And like many local groups, the coalition struggles to attract resources to keep itself functioning. Over the last few years, most of the major staff effort has gone into this activity.

Sub Networks

As a loosely framed group, embracing attitudes as well as activities, the coalition is replete with subgroupings. The most notable is the leadership core. These four individuals spend a great deal of time together both as members of the coalition and in general socializing.

A subgrouping of women also emerges in informal contact and in participation in the wider social service network. In meetings and activities throughout the city they often function together--speaking for the same concerns. The same is true for the younger black professional group. While participating in many black-white relationships, there also is a tightly knit group of the new political and professional elite, some with radical or activist backgrounds who have begun to come into prominence in the community. These individuals meet socially as well as in professional settings and are clearly developing a unified perspective on the activities of the city.

The Work of Nets

The coalition has become the voice of the grass roots community. To the city government, it now serves as the official stamp of citizens' input into local decisions. To the members, the coalition provides an important identification with progressive and liberal issues, and for many a place to practice their responsibilities of "Christian service," as it stands as a testament to the ability of the black and white community in Pontiac to come together on issues.

Over the decade the coalition has been able to change both the nature of decisions being made and the process by which they are made in the city. Likewise, it has also been able to exert pressure to attract resources for the development of neighborhoods through pressure on the city. Any major community decision must now take into account the coalition.

Finally, the coalition has served as a source for what might be considered the "loyal opposition." Members consider its very presence as a constant antagonism to city department heads whose interests are considered by those relating to the coalition to be at odds with the people of the city. The coalition is seen as a voice that helps to keep the city department heads under control by constantly speaking for those who have no other voice.

Significance of the Coalition for Change in the Interorganizational Arena

The coalition was able to achieve stability in the inter-organizational field over a period of time, in spite of the ebb and flow of members around different issues. This was partly due to the network of core leaders, and partly due to the strong links with the larger black community network that was consolidating political power in the city. In the process, however, the coalition, as an organization, displaced its original goals and substituted more service-oriented projects. This can be demonstrated by a comparison of the initial resources in the organization--churches and community groups, and the present set of resources--J.L. Hudson's Corporation and the city of Pontiac itself.

The Future of the Network

Ironically, this position of power in decision making has been achieved at the time when the coalition itself is probably least in touch with the broad grass roots support that coalesced during the hospital issue. The executive director who was attracted to the coalition because of its community change orientation has decided to resign early in 1982. Likewise, the church support, the source of the most vital and committed membership has decreased, and the secondary leadership has become prominent in various official political positions throughout the city. As a result the coalition, despite its short-term financial base from J.L. Hudson and Community Development, holds a dim future as a citizens' group speaking for "the poor and the powerless."

Significance of the Study for Network Research

The coalition demonstrates how a stable internal network can exist within a larger shifting network. The leadership network was able to bring individual and organizational role resources into the official coalition structure that sustained the larger organization, and to maintain the strength and stability of the inner network. In this instance, the flow of trust among the leaders in the core network was strong enough to form the nucleus of the larger structure.

Summary

In tracing the evolution of the Coalition for Change from an adversary to service-providing organization, we are able to observe the boundaries of a network structure. The core network, held together by shared ideological commitment, was able to change significantly over a period of time. After its separation from the original church group (largely because this group could not shift dramatically) the network of core leaders was able to make a significant change in the coalition's direction while remaining intact itself.

THE PARENTS ADVISORY GROUP *

The Parents Advisory Group network study developed from our interest in charting the interorganizational network of the school. Obviously, PTA associations would be a significant part of this network. However, because of desegregation and the growing political influence of black citizens in Pontiac, as well as the guidelines in federal programs that mandated citizen participation, the Parents Advisory Group played a significant part in school outreach activities. The more we learned about the Parents Advisory Group, the more it seemed useful to approach school-community relations by examining some participants in this network.

We decided to concentrate upon the "area-wide" leaders because they appeared to have more influence on educational politics. The data was collected by interviews during the Spring/Summer 1980 and by interviews with key community leaders throughout 1979 and 1981. In addition, we reviewed grant applications and some evaluation reports on the program monitored by the Parents Advisory Group.

History

When supplemental federal educational funding became available during the sixties, it was obvious to both administrators in the school district and black community leaders that Pontiac would be eligible for some of the funds on the basis of poverty and disadvantaged populations. The core network of leaders in the program consisted of district administrators and parents already working in the school system as teacher aides, and black leaders who were engaged in the community controversies preceding the desegregation court order. As a result, the Parents Advisory Group had strong links into local black organizations. Many of the original leaders are still active in the Advisory Group today. The core network has not changed significantly and

*fictional name

remains influential in determining the direction of the local program. With the exception of the principal leader, most of the core leaders in the district network were or became employed by the district.

When funds for bi-lingual programs became available, efforts were made to include Hispanic parents. However, there has been an uneasy relationship in some ways between black and latino parents, largely because the original founding parents were black, and the latinos were outside the core group. This breach has been reduced in recent years.

Originally there was hostility between the leadership network and the district administrators. Parents describe hostile experiences with school principals when they originally visited individual buildings, and some white central administrators (before the Court order) did not welcome their outspoken criticisms of the district. However, as time passed and the operation of advisory groups became a familiar aspect of federal programs, and as desegregation was implemented, some of this hostility decreased. What the leadership network provided, over a period of time, was a stable mechanism for guaranteeing required parent involvement.

Location in the Interorganizational Field

The Parent's Advisory Committee is located centrally in the school's orbit. The core leaders in the network have direct ties to school board members and to the school superintendent and key administrators. Because of strong ties to black community groups, the core leaders are influential in other community areas as well and can be identified in other community settings. Their influence is filtered throughout both school and community politics. Along with the Coalition for Change (many are members of both) they made themselves integral factors in the local grass roots network.

Official Purpose

The official purpose of the group is to monitor, advise and assist in a special federal program in the school district. Parent participation is essential if the program is to continue. The official goal of parent involvement in the program is to improve academic achievement among "disadvantaged" students.

Involvement and Recruitment of Members

Originally the core members of the network self-selected themselves to some degree as representatives of black parents. Principals in individual schools also selected some other participants. The base of power of the core network has been the ability to get sufficient numbers of minority parents out for programs. In other words, they can "deliver" the citizens required by law for funding and allow the district to demonstrate parent involvement in the programs. Mobilization is accomplished by using the resources of the program (access to jobs, conferences, information) judiciously. The core

members also maintain control by by-passing parents who criticize the leadership of the programs or do not work well with the core leadership. As a result the standard for membership determined by the network core went beyond that of being black or poor.

The Parents' Advisory Group was perceived, justly or not, as a black parents' group, and the PTA as a white group. Although the divisions were blurred by the late seventies, the perception made the group highly political. Over the course of time, the leadership network was able to obtain considerable power. For one reason, at the local level, the complexities of federal policies were baffling and confusing to citizens. Furthermore, they changed rapidly. Information about eligibility, reporting, and evaluation were difficult for many parents to comprehend, especially the subtle shifts in emphasis in some of the changes. This made the expertise of the leadership network particularly important. They served as local translators and interpreters.

Because the leadership network learned about various federal programs and job opportunities available to low-income blacks, they were able to take advantage of these to improve their own status and to help friends. Other parents resented this and some called the group an employment agency. The resentment reflected both the high rate of unemployment in Pontiac, and the recognition that the program gave the leadership network political power through the use of information as a resource.

One of our difficulties in studying the group was that the core leadership constituted a tight-knit clique, with "in-group" and "out-group" status attached to different sets of participants. Questions asking for information about the leadership network were perceived as threatening, and we could not pursue the matter as far as we thought necessary.

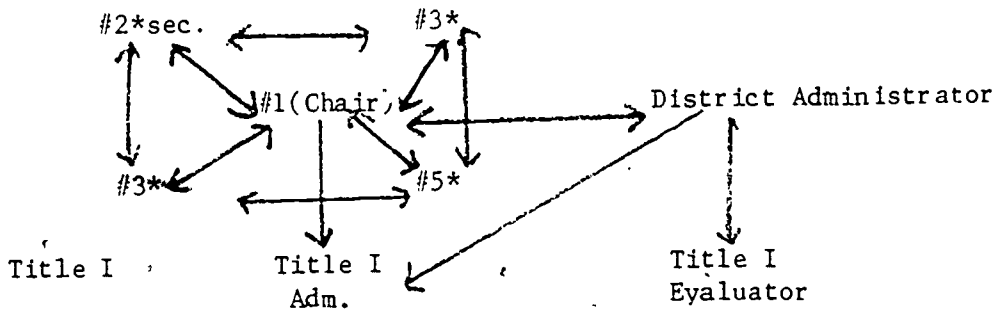
Leadership

The most important leader is a noted black woman activist in the community. She has successfully used the Parents Advisory Group to form a political block from which she has been able to wield considerable influence in school politics. In a district heavily dependent on federal dollars, as well as experiencing tension in race relations prior to desegregation, the Advisory Parents were able to become the "official" black citizens in the eyes of the school administrators. In the early days of the civil rights struggle, this woman was able to articulate what blacks felt about conditions in the schools, and earned the respect of blacks in the community. Her base of leadership rested upon legitimate concern for black interests. In subsequent years, she has been able to use the network as a basis for influencing other decisions in the schools in a manner similar to that of urban politicians at the turn of the century. She was both feared by whites because of her aggressive defense of black rights and admired by blacks. By the end of the decade, however, largely because of desegregation, she was operating within a much more divided black community. She is still considered a staunch advocate

of the schools, and with the selection of a black superintendent and several black school board members (she is credited with helping these people become elected) she is now an advocate of the system, rather than an adversary. The core leadership in her network still maintains dominant influence over the Advisory Group's activities. This loyal group of black females has had considerable impact on the selection of the program administrator, who also listens to their opinions.

Throughout the decade members of the network have served as officers of the Advisory Group. The secretary has held that position since the program began. The chair has been in charge for ten years. There is an "in" group of parents in the network and an "out" group of parents who participate in the programs marginally. Originally the group was all black, but in recent years, as the group developed a more service role and replaced its original adversary stance against the school district, white and Hispanic parents have been invited to participate more actively.

INFLUENTIAL DECISION MAKING IN THE PARENTS' ADVISORY GROUP



*employee of the School District

Parents active in the group program are not part of the core leadership network and have changed in composition during the history of the program.

Coordinator or Facilitator

The school administrator in charge of the program works closely with the chair. As a result, all decisions are coordinated directly. He reports to the district's Community Relations Director who is dependent on the Parents

Advisory Group for support to guarantee parental participation. The bottom line for all parties is to make sure that the federal dollars continue to come in to support the educational programs that they believe important. This leads to considerable pressure to work together closely.

Decision Making

At the local level, the advisory committee makes most decisions. This is dominated by the core network. Decisions must respond, however, to federal and state guidelines, so that local discretion is reduced. Those areas in which the network has the most influence are related to programs of parent training, advisory group meetings, and shared decision making with administrators over equipment purchases.

Activities

Meetings and conferences are important activities. The latter are thought desirable to attend, especially by poor parents. Thus, invitations are a "plum." At meetings, food is served (a source of contention with the more traditional PTA). In addition, the network has helped initiate a national organization concerned with parent involvement that has brought national prestige to the community and again provides several attractive incentives for the core to use in encouraging parental participation. The group monitors the federal programs, although actual control is in the hands of district administrators. Because of the legal status of their mandate and the need to involve black parents in school programs, the network is quite powerful. In recent years they have been strong community advocates for the millage.

Resource Mobilization

Because of close ties to black community organization and access to parents (especially mothers), the core network is able to organize parents to participate in programs. They also cooperate or not with other volunteer groups in the community, and use this decision making as a resource. White administrators are pleased to have an organized black group with whom they can work closely. An important resource of the network is influencing job decisions within the district.

Sub-Networks

A small group of disenchanted white parents formed a rival organization that has not gained too much influence. For many years there was also some tension between the PTA and the Advisory Group. However, as the Advisory Group became more service oriented and as the financial crisis of the schools worsened, the groups began to work together. Parents interviewed outside the network were reluctant to give the names of those who opposed the network leaders because they believed this would antagonize the leadership network.

The Work of Nets

The Advisory Group provided an internal operating base from which a network of black parents has been able to influence the public school system in the district. It became a critical factor in securing administrative positions for blacks working in the district and to help black parents gain jobs in other capacities. Moreover, it has provided black children with access to some of the benefits of the federal funds in compensatory programs, and just as importantly, given the core network some bargaining tools to use for political favors. Although the official purpose of mandated parents' advisory groups was to monitor programs, such groups are able to gain information about schools and this information has proven to be a valuable resource. As the parents network became more successful, it became an advocate and service group rather than strictly an adversary and monitoring group. In so doing, the social distance between the inner leadership network and some other parents not in the network, increased.

Although not intended, the network played a key role in the desegregation of the district because it provided an internal power base for blacks.

The Future of the Network

As federal funding for education decreases, the leadership network has fewer rewards to distribute. They are now viewed as "part of the system" and in a sense, represent another arm of the black political base within the district. Combined with the influence of black voters who select black school board members and high ranking black central administrators, the network has become a significant component of the existing school-community structure. In the future, the leadership network could be challenged by Latino parents or others outside the leadership network because the leadership network has become so closely identified with official school operations.

Significance of the Study for Network Research

The network illustrates how micro structures relate to macro structures. In this case the network was tight-knit and cohesive, providing leadership to a larger, amorphous organization. Because the leadership elite controlled information closely, we inferred interaction patterns, but we could not develop recipe knowledge. In the absence of trust between researchers and subjects it is virtually impossible to obtain this data except through participant observation.

Summary

The leadership network is a small network of 6-8 individuals operating within a larger, formal organizational structure. At the same time, the members of the leadership network had ties that moved out into the larger black grass roots network. Over time, the leadership network could use their

positions in the advisory group as a base from which they could influence some aspects of school activities, and relate their information to other black goals within the community. When there was a gradual transfer of political leadership to some blacks in the community and the school district, this network provided a home base from which internal parent support could be developed.

If such a description sounds like a battlefield operation in which a small core establishes a fringe bunker in unfriendly terrain, the analogy is not altogether far-fetched. Desegregation required a redefinition of social relationships within a complex organizational framework known as a school district. Blacks had to find ways in which they could gain some influence and power to renegotiate social relationships. The leadership core network was able to use their strategic location as part of compensatory educational funding to secure a "beachhead", and then by careful distribution of rewards and consolidating individual influence into united political power, it was possible to develop significant influence within the school district. Such a process is probably as old as recorded politics. It makes it possible for existing structures to modify and change slowly, opens up the opportunities for co-opting opposition, and is the essence of "reform" activities.

RECIPES

In our view recipes provide evidence of trust in a network. In voluntary networks, trust is a critical component of network flow. A recipe is a statement that explains a series of other statements drawn from our data. No one specifically articulates a recipe as we phrase it, but the logic of the recipe rests upon meanings found in other statements within the overall structure of a conversation. Recipes refer to "deep" structure as opposed to surface structure (Geertz) and must be understood in light of the total context of meaning rather than the individual statement. Trust is generated from two sources: one is ongoing observation and participation in events and activities and the other is the recognition of shared perspectives. Recipes

are essential in examining the shared perspectives. It is these that provide for understanding of the world, and when linked to social relationships, provide the social reality of phenomena.

We have argued that recipes function in three ways: to provide an explanation for phenomena, to evaluate what exists, and to give a prescription or direction for action. Although recipes are tied to networks to some degree, not all recipes are network specific. However, recipes are important in locating the boundaries of the network, especially in voluntary association, because some recipes must be shared by members of the network for trust to be established.

Finally, recipes are internally consistent although they may be contradictory across the community. What usually happens is that different networks give a particular focus or saliency to different parts of the recipe. Shared recipes suggest the presence of trust. Thus, recipes are also important in bringing coherence to the network, as well as providing the mechanisms for generating trust. Since facilitating the flow of trust in network canals is an important "work" of nets, recipes are suggestive of how the network operates.

Examples of community-wide recipes are as follows:

Recipe: Everything would be fine if citizens participated in community decisions.

Assumptions: Citizen involvement in decision making is good. Decisions made without citizen involvement harm some members of the community.

People would understand decisions more if they were involved in making them.

People would bear the negative effects of decisions in their personal lives if they were part of the decision making process.

Recipe Functions:

Explanation: The reason why the school millage fails is that not many persons are involved in school decision making.

Evaluation: There is a negative evaluation of school administrators because citizen involvement has not been effectively stimulated.

Prescription: Get people involved; make school administrators deal with citizen involvement.

Recipe: The major problem with Pontiac is its image.

Assumptions: What is good in Pontiac isn't reported in the media or generally is not well known.

Our problems are never as bad as they are made out to be.

If people knew the reality, they would think better of Pontiac.

There are not really difficult and unsolvable problems.

Recipe Functions:

Explanation: The reason why Pontiac needed the Superbowl was to show its positive features.

Evaluation: If people see Pontiac, they will realize how good a community it is.

Prescription: Tell the good things about Pontiac; get people to know the community, don't report the negative.

Recipe: Only people who live in Pontiac really care about the community.

Assumptions: Outsiders are out for their own gain.

Residents have a vested interest and know what is needed for the good of the community.

Residents are more involved in community affairs.

Recipe Functions:

Explanation: Outsiders and "experts" are to be distrusted because they really do not care about Pontiac.

Evaluation: What an insider says is more likely to be true, especially if the insider has a record of involvement.

Prescription: Residency requirements should be put in place for all top positions in the community.

Recipe: Everyone has hidden agendas in Pontiac.

Assumption: There are competing factions that are trying to make gains. Personal interests and private gains are to be achieved in Pontiac.

Being straightforward is dangerous.

Recipe Functions:

Explanation: Find out what people are up to in order to interpret events.

Evaluation: Always be suspect of overtures, situations, and actors.

Prescription: Check your facts -- use your networks for information, Keep you eye to the ground and only trust what you see.

Recipe: If people would only work together, Pontiac would succeed.

Assumptions: The basic problem is that people work at cross purposes.
All activities with a broad base of support are good;
controversy is bad. A good leader can bring people together.

Recipe Functions:

Explanation: The amount of support explains why community events work or don't work.

Evaluation: The reason why so many events fail in Pontiac is that nothing brings groups together.

Prescription: Bring representative groups and persons together to achieve unity.

Discussion

The test of a recipe is that it is possible to predict what will be said on the basis of recipe knowledge. Again, we developed recipes from systematic analyses of statements in our interview data, but in everyday life, people who know each other "know" the recipes they share unconsciously. They "know" how their friends think and can anticipate what will be said. As a result, social interaction is familiar and not threatening: actors "know" what to expect and can be prepared for the reactions of others.

Many recipes are shared within a culture, but the difference between segments of the culture, and within groups and networks, functions to provide boundaries around the unit. For example, both the Coalition for Change and the sorority are anxious to stimulate black leadership, but a comparison of the recipes expressed within the network suggests that they differ considerably upon how to achieve this end.

Comparison of Recipes from the Sorority and the Coalition

Coalition

Recipe: All decisions in the city could be made with input from the poor powerless, nonwhite citizens.

Assumptions: A ruling elite makes community decisions based upon their private interests.

Because Pontiac is poor, a large number of residents have no voice in decision making.

Blacks and latinos are especially overlooked in community decision making.

Recipe Functions:

Explanation: The coalition can provide a mechanism to insist upon grass roots input.

Evaluation: The success of the coalition in the hospital struggle was based on developing the power of the powerless.

Prescription: Protest any decision made without community input even if this disrupts the program. (e.g. Downtown Development.)

Sorority

Recipe: Improvement and changes come about through individual effort.

Assumptions: Black women can improve themselves by working hard.
Education is the key to advancement.

Recipe Functions:

Explanation: As black women professionals we can help other young women.

Evaluation: We have succeeded and others can also.

Prescription: Help young women obtain a good education. Education must be supported.

Coalition

Recipe: Blacks should be in highly visible leadership positions.

Assumptions: When blacks are visible, it is a sign to the community that pluralistic leadership can exist.

Recipe Functions:

Explanation: If blacks are in leadership roles, they can develop strong power bases in the community.

Evaluation: Black leaders have achieved a good measure of visibility and power in the community through the efforts of the coalition.

Prescription: White coalition leaders should remain in the background and promote local blacks.

Sorority

Recipe: Individuals have a moral obligation to promote change.

Assumptions: Individuals can accomplish a good deal on their own if given opportunities.

Successful persons have a moral obligation to assist others.

Recipe Functions:

Explanation: Education and a good family have made it possible for blacks to assume leadership roles.

Evaluation: Throughout the community sorority sisters have achieved influence.

Prescription: The sorority is not a group meeting together to socialize. We work hard for good causes.

In sum, the coalition sees changes from political pressure, by having blacks in leadership positions and by challenging existing decision makers. The sorority believes that blacks advance through individual effort, largely through education.

Many recipes are in the form of maxims based upon conventional wisdom. Like proverbs, one can almost always make a case for their opposites as easily as a justification for their logic. Yet, interpreting statements in interviews by using recipes helps to define the cognitive borders of a network. Within a network, certain recipes are more salient than others. This can be empirically determined by counting references to the recipe. Saliency also depends upon the structure of the network, its reason for being and its function for both those who are a part of the network and for identification by those not in the network.

Trust and Recipes

One important function of social networks is to generate trust by passing along recipes. In this way new information is coded into recognizable forms: it is interpreted and certified. It is almost as if the recipe is the software package that enables us to program data into socially usable forms. Once the process has begun and the "program" in place - the social relationships structured and the recipes adopted - processing data is simple. Hence, social complexity is reduced. A major work of nets in emergent

networks, we repeat, is to ensure the flow of trust throughout social relationships.

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY SOCIAL NETWORKS: A GENERAL OVERVIEW

Our study of networks in Pontiac became an effort to plot, if possible, the school-community'interorganizational field. From the inception of our study (1978), we had adopted an interorganizational model to conceptualize the interaction of schools with other community organizations (Warren, 1976; Turk, 1973). In the course of our fieldwork, we were particularly influenced by the work of Galaskiewicz (1979) and his study of interorganizational relationships in a small community and Benson's (1974) view of the interorganizational network as a political economy in which organizations engage in power struggles over scarce resources. Following their examples, we wanted to develop an interorganizational map that would locate the school within information, money and support community networks and explain the political struggles of the decade. Unfortunately, we had serious difficulties collecting data to accomplish both tasks. Traditional survey methods, as explained in Part I ("Theoretical and Methodological Issues") did not produce valid data. We were blocked from obtaining significant data from the private sector (General Motors, banks) and thereby from tracing the power relationships. Galaskiewicz had used lists of organizations to facilitate recall among organization officers for interviews, but the community in which he worked was half the size of Pontiac and less diverse. When we attempted to

use rosters, we found that the number of organizations was too large to be practical. For example, the number of organizations volunteered by respondents in interviews came to 709. Finding data on the political economy was also difficult. Benson's data on interlocking directorates was obtained from public documents. In our local field, this was not possible. On the other hand, we did collect considerable data on the interorganizational field through a variety of nontraditional means. The following diverse sources of information were used:

1. A social resources inventory conducted for the school district of the city of Pontiac (February, 1981). In this, all employees of the district were asked to identify the organizations to which they belonged. A total of 633 employees responded and volunteered information about their organizational membership, those dimensions of their work role that had immediate relevance to the general public, their opinions of significant events in Pontiac that had affected school-community relations, as well as their opinions of school and community leadership. We also invited suggestions about ways that the school district could increase public support. This data was analyzed and reported to the central administration (Pontiac School District Inventory of Social Resources, March 20, 1981).

2. A study sponsored by the Communications Council of the City of Pontiac was conducted among member organizations in an effort to understand what kinds of communications take place among members and how these could be improved. In addition, organization members were asked to provide samples of newsletters, reports and informational bulletins that explained their programs. Of the 245 surveys mailed, 32 were returned. To supplement these, we conducted 76 interviews with leaders in member organizations. Although the

interviews also contained questions used in the survey, they yielded considerably more data. This was reported to the Communications Council, June 24, 1980 (How to Improve Communications in the City of Pontiac).

3. An evaluation of the Pontiac Motors Division Community Relationships Program was conducted in winter 1981. It consisted of 28 long interviews with community leaders who had worked actively with the director of the program. In addition to those persons interviewed, we collected all newsletters and press releases associated with the community relations program for two and one half years.

4. In December, 1981 we assisted the city manager and city commission of the city of Pontiac with a two-day conference to develop goals and objectives for the next few years. As part of our preparation for this program, we reviewed annual reports for the past three years, city planning documents, and other materials related to city programs.

5. In all interviews related to the four network studies reported (ZZZ Sorority, The Coalition for Change, The Parents Advisory Group, and The Helping Interorganizational Network), we utilized a core set of questions dealing with school-community exchanges. In all, we had 73 interviews.

6. We also conducted a series of mini-studies to write the history of Pontiac between 1964-1981. These include interviews with school principals and leaders involved in the Human Resources Center, the Urban League, the U.A.W. and leaders in Lake Orion. In all, we have 42 interviews from the mini-studies.

7. We conducted a content analysis of the Oakland Press over a ten-month period, June 1979-March 1980, to examine systematically items related to schools. This report was given to the editor of the newspaper and the central

administrative staff of the city of Pontiac school district (Content Analysis of School Information in the Oakland Press, April, 1980.)

8. We conducted a telephone survey of voters in February 1980 to obtain views of the school district. A representative sample of 300 voters was selected from all precincts. In this sample, 88 were too busy to participate, 54 were unwilling to respond to the questions, 35 were not at home or the telephone out of service, and 123 persons did respond (Telephone Survey: School and Community Relations, Pontiac, Michigan, February 1, 1979.)

9. In addition, we could draw upon the documentary materials already listed in Part II. These included two voter opinion surveys conducted for the millage elections, former Superintendent Whitmer's files, research and evaluation reports prepared by the School District, United Way studies and an extensive newspaper file.

Much of the research on school-community relations has been conducted by educational researchers who begin their work with the school as the focal organization. Our strategy was to examine the community context first, and move from the broader interorganizational field to the school in a traditional anthropological mode. In both cases, the final presentation provides only a partial representation of the interorganizational field because of the sheer complexity and volume of ties. Not only is the complexity of interorganizational ties impressive, but the interrelatedness and multiplexity of ties is almost overwhelming.

Typologies

Several researchers have developed typologies to analyze school-community relations. Gittell (1979) combined several of these to come up with the following categories:

service organizations
 educational advocacy organizations
 workers associations (unions and professional groups)
 multi-issue advocacy groups
 traditional civic interest groups
 civic interest organizations by race, ethnicity and sex
 community development and housing
 university and media
 church, mutual help, fraternal and social organizations (584)

Because of her particular research problem, Gittell included advocacy groups, race issues, and education. Following her example, we developed a typology that reflects the unique characteristics of our site and research focus. For example, because we were interested in finding out the role of schools in the helping inter-organizational network, we identified a helping network. We used the term "advocacy" network to refer to those community groups that promote particular causes or programs, and we did not separate these by race or function, but distinguished them from a volunteer service network, from churches, and from the civic network of established community organizations.

In addition, we made a distinction between direct links based upon formal agreements, routine communication and frequent interaction among personnel in the organization, and indirect links or ties built upon informal association, friendship patterns, or mutual membership in other community organizations.

From this, we developed the following categories of organizations as important in the school-community interorganizational field:

PROFESSIONAL HELPING NETWORK

This network includes all the institutions and professions that provide professional assistance to clients, including hospitals, courts, police. A sub-set would be the CHILDREN'S PROFESSIONAL HELPING NETWORK that consists of those agencies dealing directly with children, particularly Family and Children's Service, Oakland Village (a home for children), Juvenile Court. A key goal was to determine the relationship between schools and the professional helping network. In particular, Family and Children's Services,

the criminal justice system (probation, juvenile court, family court), mental health (counseling services) and public health are linked to the schools' "professional helpers": counselors, social workers, psychologists.

CIVIC NETWORK

This network consists of community organizations with a local orientation. It includes the Chamber of Commerce, Jay-Cees, Rotary, Kiwanis, Civitan, and local political clubs. A sub-set of this network are black organizations, such as black sororities and fraternities, Rema Club, etc. The civic network is only loosely affiliated with schools and has indirect ties, primarily through scholarship programs. However, they do relate to the PTA and other parents' groups for millage elections. By the end of the decade, the black civic group was more closely related to the schools by strong indirect links to other community organizations.

ECONOMIC NETWORK

In Pontiac, the economic network is dominated by General Motors. In addition, banks and other local business organizations play a role. Unions are also influential in both the economic network and the civic network. Contact with schools is indirect, except through co-op or special vocational programs or in the event of financial difficulties in the district. On occasion, the economic network supports student activities with funding.

ADVOCACY NETWORK

This consists of groups especially linked to "causes." During the past decade, ethnic groups were the strongest advocacy groups, but there were other strong advocacy sub-networks such as women (associated with voluntary organizations, such as the YWCA and the Women's Survival Center). A federation of advocacy groups (The Citizens Coalition for Change) brought together many local organizations. Unions may also be considered in the advocacy network, particularly when the local was affiliated with an institution such as the hospital or city hall. This network also includes groups established to monitor programs, such as the Title I Advisory Council. During the decade various advocacy groups were influential and then declined in importance. For example, in 1970 the Welfare Rights organization was influential, but much less visible today. On the other hand, Latino groups have been growing steadily and becoming more influential. Most of the organizations in the advocacy network have only an indirect link to schools, except those specifically devoted to education.

VOLUNTARY SERVICE NETWORK

This network consists of established volunteer service organizations, such as the United Way, YWCA, Boys Clubs, etc., as well as ad hoc committees of other organizations, such as the service committee of a bank or union. The volunteer service network has only indirect link to the schools, except for the official school volunteer organization, the PTA.

CHURCHES

Pontiac has many different churches, including a large number of fundamentalist groups. A few churches have direct links to young people in schools and provide counseling and tutoring in school and youth programs after school. However, for most churches the separation of church and state dictates indirect links. A growing number of private church-affiliated schools in Pontiac have direct links to students.

MEDIA

The media network consists primarily of the local press (the Oakland Press and the Pontiac Waterford Times, a radio station, WPON, and the Detroit newspapers. Because the metropolitan newspapers have national ties to other newspapers, on occasion Pontiac becomes a part of the national media. The newspapers give regular coverage to school news, particularly public meetings, and provide the major source of information about schools according to our telephone survey.

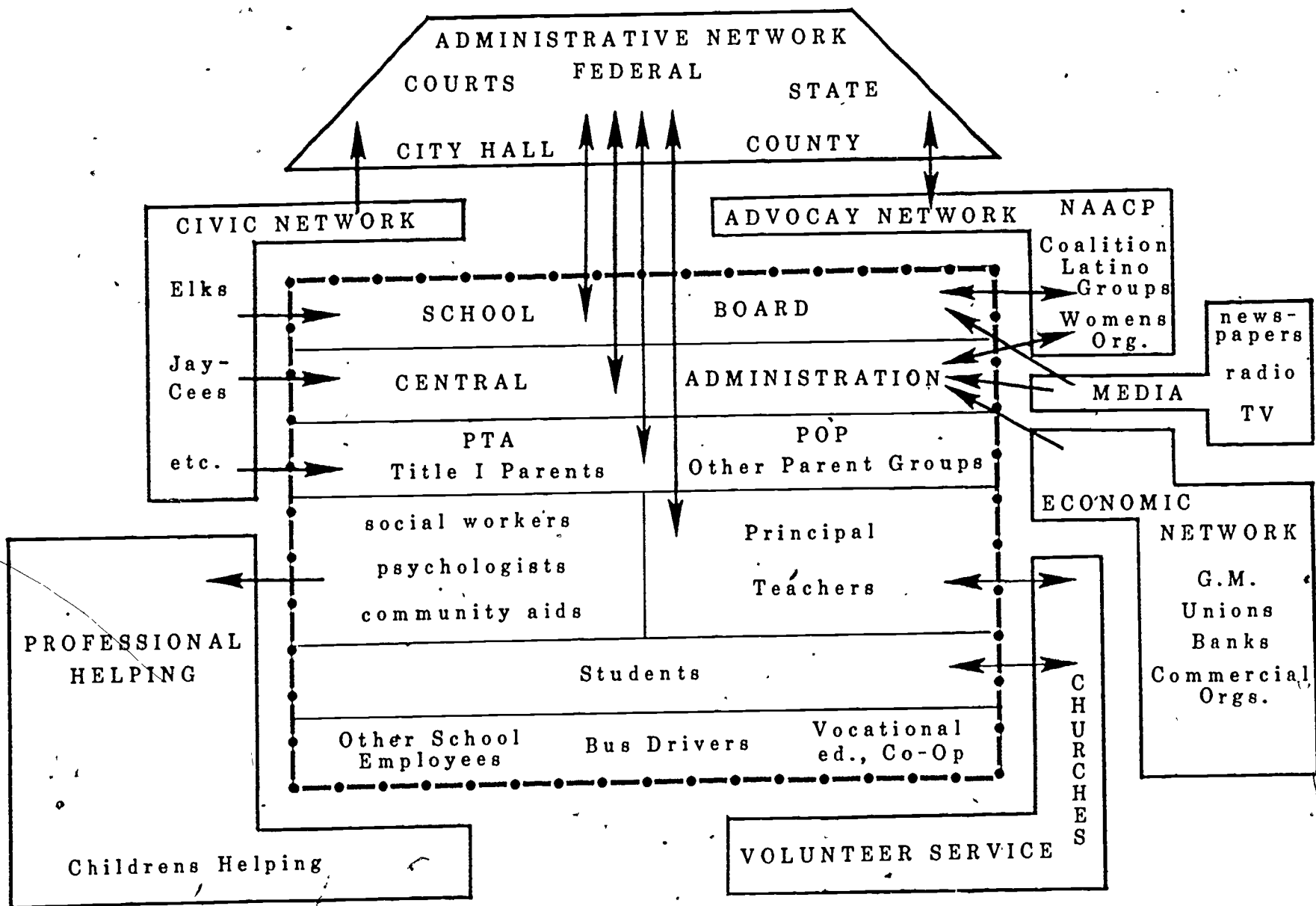
ADMINISTRATIVE NETWORK

This consists of those units of government and the educational bureaucracy that deal with school programs--what Schwartzman (1980) calls the "paper" context. In Pontiac, the paper context has grown in importance throughout the decade because of desegregation and federal and state programs. It includes the county intermediate school district, the state department of education, the federal government, city and county government, local and federal courts and specific agencies that deal with educational issues. There are indirect links with city government, fewer with county government.

SCHOOL NETWORK

In addition to the variety of community organizations within the interorganizational field, there are some organizations primarily associated with the schools. These include parents' associations, monitoring boards, and athletic boosters. During the course of the study, we had an opportunity to chart those groups publicly identified with the schools because there was a community drive sponsored by the Oakland Press to raise \$150,000 to maintain the athletic program. Unless specifically asked not to do so, donors were identified in the newspaper. Support came from a wide range of individuals and organizations, especially politically active persons in the community, small business persons, and service organizations. The drive did not reach its financial goal, in spite of the fact that athletics has been one of the most outstanding programs in the school district. Two Olympic medal winners graduated from Pontiac schools, as well as many outstanding college and professional athletes. It was ironic that although the community was proud of having the Superbowl at the Silverdome and attractive national publicity during this event, the local schools could no longer fund athletic programs.

INTERORGANIZATIONAL NETWORK: THE SCHOOL AS FOCAL ORGANIZATION



III-68

Interorganizational Analysis

Our first step was to determine what organizations were perceived by members of the community to be influential in the local interorganizational arena. In addition, we wanted to know if there was a significant difference between white and black perceptions, and so we developed a social score based upon the number of black and white subjects selecting this organization. If the proportion of white to blacks was relatively equal, we called the organization "desegregated."

The following local organizations were rated as a composite of three features: "belonging to" (3), "considered important" (2) and "work with" (1). If an organization received 5 out of the 6 points it was considered significant. We used a sample of our interviews, selecting those in which the subjects were most knowledgeable and answered our network questions completely. The sample consisted of 58 whites, 57 blacks, 4 Hispanics, 1 Asian, and one not available. Of this group, 8 held elective office, 27 were volunteers and 78 held paid positions in an organization. The average number of persons cited was 7; the average number of organizations cited was 13. 490 community organizations were named at least more than once. In all, 709 were mentioned.

We developed an index of desegregation by noting the proportion of black to white respondents either belonging to or working with the organization. The population of Pontiac is roughly 45% black, 45% and 10% Latino.

Most influential organizations according to the sample:

Racial Score
White:Black Nominations

Very Influential (Score 20-40)

General Motors - 39	*	3:2
Urban League - 34	*	2:3
City Government - 32	*	5:5
NAACP - 24*	black	1:4
United Way - 21	white	6:1
Citizen's Coalition - 24	*	5:5
PTA - 24	*	5:5

Moderately Influential

YWCA - 15	*	5:5
Pontiac General - 13	*	5:4
Oakland Press - 12	*	3:2
Title I Parents' Organization - 12	*	4:5
North Oakland Chamber of Commerce - 12	white	5:2
Downtown Development - 12	*	4:5
Lakeside Clinic - 12	*	3:2
St. Joseph's Hospital -- 10	white	9:1
Oakland Livingston Human Services - 10	*	5:5
Dept. Social Services - 10	white	8:1
One Hundred Club - 9	*	3:2
Youth Advocacy Group - 9		
Family and Child Services - 8	white	8:0
Oakland University - 8	*	3:2
UAW - 8	*	3:2
Pontiac Waterford Times - 5	*	3:2
Boy Scouts - 8	*	5:3
Campfire - 6	white	6:0
Pontiac State Bank - 6	white	4:1
Community National Bank - 5	white	4:1
Consumers Power - 5	white	2:1
Cultural Council - 5	*	3:2
Salvation Army - 5	white	4:1

*"desegregated organization.

By these measures, we conclude that Pontiac is more desegregated in 1981 than in 1971 except in the "money" network (banks, Chamber of Commerce, Consumers Power); in some religious associations (Salvation Army, St. Joseph's Hospital) and with several "traditional" social service groups: The United Way, Campfire Girls, and the Department of Social Services, and Family and Children's Services. Two black organizations, The Urban League and the NAACP, are divided: the Urban League is recognized as influential by both blacks and whites, but the NAACP remains a predominantly black organization.

We recognize that these measures are crude indices of desegregation and only suggest dimensions of community perception, but they are useful to indicate some shifts in community identifications. In addition, we examined perceptions of organizations according to the status of respondents. We wanted to determine if there were any differences in perceptions about interorganizational influence based on whether or not the individual earned his/her living as a decision maker in the community organization, served as a volunteer, or held an elected position. The results were as follows:

Important Organizations as Reported by Status of Respondents

	<u>Elected</u>	<u>Volunteer</u>	<u>Professional</u>
General Motors	17%	50%	33%
Urban League	9%	12%	79%
City Government	17%	25%	58%
NAACP	17%	8%	75%
United Way	--	10%	90%
Citizens Coalition	21%	7%	72%
PTA	7%	63%	30%
YWCA	--	13%	87%

	<u>Elected</u>	<u>Volunteer</u>	<u>Professional</u>
Pontiac General	11%	22%	67%
Oakland Press	25%	8%	57%
Title I Parents	--	66%	33%
North Oakland Chamber of Commerce	8%	15%	77%
Downtown Development	9%	36%	55%
Lakeside Clinic	--	10%	90%
St. Joseph's Hospital	--	20%	80%
Department of Social Services	--	10%	90%
Oakland University	--	--	100%
UAW	62%	--	38%
Pontiac Waterford Times	20%	40%	40%
Boy Scouts	--	13%	87%
Pontiac State Bank	--	33%	76%
Community National Bank	--	--	100%
Consumers Power	--	--	100%
Cultural Council	--	--	100%
Salvation Army	--	20%	80%

Of interest is the high ranking given to the UAW by elected officials and the comparative low ranking of PTA and Title I school organizations by professionals. Some service organizations were only recognized by professionals. Elected officials are almost unaware of social services but sensitive to those organizations that can "make trouble", such as UAW and media. Professionals have the most comprehensive view of the community.

Unlike business organizations, schools are tied to communities in special ways. Since their major identification is first within the locality, schools are an important community decision organization. Moreover, in Pontiac parts of the school district include sections of other communities, making decision making more complex. Most importantly, General Motors dominates community activity even when the corporation does not choose to participate in local decision making. For example, a decision by G.M. not to participate means the following:

1. The community is denied access to some of the brightest and most dynamic individuals working in the community who will not use their talents for the project.
2. The project is immediately rated as less important and given a lower priority because some of the most influential community leaders are not involved.
3. As a result, local decision makers assume full responsibility and internal community divisions are heightened. This makes it appear that local decision makers are inept or not as organized as G.M. decision makers.
4. More subtly, access to outside support and to county, state, federal and metropolitan groups is diminished.

During the seventies educational decision makers worked with the new organizations rather than with more established organizations. This was possible because of external funding. The new organizations made the interorganizational field more complex. They also provided a line of community contact that brought new forces to play in educational politics, such as black citizens interested in schools, while keeping other community forces at a distance, such as General Motors.

According to Warren, et al (1974), community decision organizations interact together only when threatened rather than in a positive way, to take advantage of new opportunities. Schools are somewhat cushioned against threats in the field because the millage tax is separate from city financing. Another key structural feature of the school's interorganizational status is that many employees live

outside the district and have no other association with Pontiac except their jobs.

All of these factors played a significant role in locating the school's domain within the community, but it must be added that choice plus environmental restraints determine domain position. Schools have also chosen to be apart because many educators believed that there is already too much interference in school decision making by citizens. As Cohen notes, schools "are more, not less, responsive to social demands than they used to be, and if there are more complaints, it may be because hopes have risen, not because schools' performance has fallen." (1978, 431). Moreover, views about school activities are shared by citizens and professionals alike. As a result, we suggest that recipes are as much a factor in locating the school within the interorganizational field as everyday negotiations for autonomy. Another significant feature of change is the importance of persistence in promoting change. In our view, persistence is also related to trust as an important coping device to handle complexity.

The Black Network

Placed among the various organizational domains and interpersonal ties, we observed the operation of a more inclusive and less distinct network that we refer to as "the black network." Membership is restricted to blacks or whites and Latinos who are trusted by local blacks because of their record of support for "black" welfare. We found, for example, three white people nominated favorably by black respondents. Two were white women who had been

consistently active in local events: the director of the YWCA and the Pontiac Motors Community Relations Director. The head of the Coalition for Change, an ex-priest, was also nominated, although his name did not evoke the consensus that was given to the two women leaders. In the case of the director of the YWCA, respondents spoke about her long history in Pontiac of working with black people for "black" causes. The Community Relations Director was nominated because they believed her position in G.M. opened the door to the corporation for community people. Her initial appointment was greeted with distrust and annoyance (many respondents believed the position should have gone to a black male), but her persistence and constant attendance at community meetings gradually achieved grudging respect. Although there were strong divisions among some black organizations (such as between the NAACP and the Urban League), and major class divisions among the black population, sensitivity to black concerns remains a common interest among all groups. In Pontiac controversy over desegregation cemented this informal alliance in 1971, but it weakened considerably during the decade as the natural divisions among black persons in the community became evident. However, since race persists as a critical issue in contemporary American society, the black network is a latent network that can easily be re-activated in response to threats.

Schools in the Interorganizational Field: Empirical Conclusion

There has always been a strong movement among educators for what is known as "community education." Minzey (1981), for example, argues

that schools should be assigned more responsibility for meeting local needs and coordinating community resources. Although this is a very attractive idea and successful examples can be cited as models, our analysis of Pontiac makes us less optimistic that this can happen in urban communities, and we even question previous understanding of local problems and the kinds of personal difficulties that are the basis of the everyday lives of many poor citizens. School personnel are neither trained to deal with such problems, as we noted in the study of helping professionals, and do not seem anxious to accept such responsibilities, as we learned in our interviews. Moreover, the general public does not perceive an expanded domain for schools, but appears to support a more restricted academic role. The debate over accountability and achievement testifies to the depth of this public concern.

In addition, there is a voluminous literature concerning the "search for community" in contemporary society (Scherer, 1971). Some would like to see schools as instruments for restoring a sense of community to both students and other residents. Philosophically, as Dewey (1916) pointed out years ago, the link between schools, communities and democracy should be strong. But there is little empirical evidence to show that people choose community over other goals, such as achievement and economic success, privacy or personal independence. In addition, there is considerable empirical evidence that without some means of coercion voluntary systems of local coordination are not effective. An alternative view worthy of consideration is to accept that schools will have a restricted domain

in the local community interorganizational field. Schools can support enlarged and enriched supplemental organizational domains in such areas as recreation, health and counseling. In this way, local resources might go further and other professionals might be more successful than educators in assisting youth. In fact, this is what actually happens in most communities, but it is done without planning, with limited resources and without the support and assistance of educators. If educators could provide the initiative to clarify domains, as well as the leadership to reassign resources, an important step in community development could begin.

Summary

Viewing communities as interorganizational fields in which community decision organizations negotiate and compete with each other for resources is a particularly useful perspective for social network research. It is possible to understand how domain consensus can be socially implemented in terms of recipes. Views about domains are, in effect, shared recipes that are usually not linked to any one network. Thus, the domain recipe for schools is as follows:

Schools are institutions where children learn basic skills.

Assumptions: The most important task of schools is to produce competent adults.

All other activities are secondary. The "quality" of education can be measured by the competency of the

students, but home background has some influence in this success also..

Explanation: Desegregation is good if achievement rises; it is unsuccessful if there are no academic gains.

Evaluation: Achievement in Pontiac is lower than in suburban areas so this must mean that schools are not doing a good job on students.

Prescription: Do whatever is necessary to improve learning outcomes: better teachers, new administrators, back to basics, etc.

There are some in the community who hold other recipes about the functions of schools: that schools should foster equal opportunity through desegregation, that schools should train students for jobs, or that schools should provide other forms of socialization. But, in general, the domain of the school in the interorganizational field has been protected by recipe consensus. True, the monopoly of public education has been challenged and a growing number of private schools share the educational domain. However, the justification for the private schools is that they can achieve better results than the public schools, not that they should be doing something different.

THE RATIONALIZATION OF COMMUNITY

Another implication from the interorganizational perspective, however, is what we call "the rationalization" of community. The concept was enunciated by Max Weber when he examined the development of

capitalism and bureaucracy. It refers to the processes by which the division of labor is organized through systematic calculation designed to accomplish goals. Rational organization is based upon legal authority. Just as science brought about disenchantment with religion and other belief systems not based upon rational inquiry, organizational rationalization leads to a decline in spontaneity, particularism, and informality in social life.

One of the few areas in contemporary society that appeared to be resistant to rationalization has been communities. Scholars seeking patterns of authority in communities have encountered a maze of unorganized, arbitrary and often competing, associations. As a result, research on community power structures and local decision making have not been as useful as expected in explaining the dynamics of community life. Unlike economic organizations, many local community organizations have been staffed by volunteers and locally elected officials who maintain some particularistic ties and operate on an informal, often ad hoc basis. Community structures are not clearly laid out in organization charts, but have to be discovered through observation. Although some legal regulations specify some organizational domains, (e.g., city charters, police regulations), many of the most powerful guidelines are unstated, although well-understood, by persons in the community.

Although geographic communities serve as administrative units, the geographic base of communities has been eroded by rapid communications and travel. The bonds holding communities together are increasingly emotional ties based upon common values and shared

interests. There is a body of romantic literature that makes "community" a totally expressive concept by ignoring all structural features of association. It is clear that the forms of community evolving in contemporary society differ from those of the past. Communications, for example, may replace economic dependency as the focus of social ties; kinship bonds may become even weaker and occupational associations more diverse. In addition, our research in Pontiac suggests that communities may have become more rationalized.

By rationalization, we refer to the process by which community decision making has become more organized and systematized. Several factors have brought these changes about including the following:

Political Awareness

Community leaders in Pontac learned valuable lessons about political activism during the civil rights struggles of the sixties. One important lesson was the value of community organization for achieving political goals. Several professional community organizers worked with local groups through the decade. There were also opportunities to link up with similar groups in Detroit, Michigan and nationally (e.g., National Action Group, National Welfare Rights Organization). Nor were the lessons of urban unrest lost on established community organizations. Several sponsored community relations units to participate actively in local organizations. Thus the gas company and the telephone company supported community representatives who attended many local activities including millage campaign efforts for the schools. Company representatives presented a

concerned image of the local corporation, but also could keep the company informed of local conditions. Some organizations appointed a member to represent the organization for particular events or on special occasions. The result was that when we attended a forum on education, we noted that of the 64 people in attendance, all but 8 were "representatives" of community organizations. Few spoke as private citizens or as independent taxpayers.

Citizen Participation through Organizational Affiliations

A major factor in bringing about the rationalization of community has been a variety of legal mandates requiring citizen participation in federally funded programs. The legal requirement forced local community leaders to seek out, support - however reluctantly - and pay attention to those groups who have been given a legal role in institutional life. The best example of this in Pontiac would be the Title I Advisory Councils. Federal regulations gave parent groups a degree of authority that made them a force with which to be reckoned. In response, school administrators, in Pontiac and throughout the U.S., found mechanisms that would structure and channel parent participation into formal and orderly processes. This was done by capitalizing upon the "official" nature of the participation. Thus, formal meetings had to be scheduled to meet program guidelines, specific persons had to be appointed to the monitoring board and publicly identified with the program, and records of parent participation maintained. Administrators used the powerful mechanism open to those who operate organizations - control over the agenda - as

a key rationalizing strategy. In this way, citizen participation gradually shifted from the original intent of federal guidelines - to monitor, evaluate and oversee educational programs - to a new role of supporting and providing services for existing programs.

In summary, the legal power behind mandated citizen participation was a powerful factor in legitimatizing "formal" mechanisms of citizen participation. Participation could not be occasional, hap-hazard or scattered: it had to be rationally organized and documented.

Desegregation

The court order for school desegregation also required counting participants according to race and legitimized the practice of classifying an organization (e.g. schools) as desegregated or not by the number of black and white persons actively engaged in the work of that organization. In this sense, the concept of desegregation spread throughout the community beyond schools. Thus, City Hall was desegregated when there were several black commissioners elected; departments were desegregated when the proportion of blacks and whites reflected the community at large. It became important to have visible evidence of desegregation in many areas of community life, and so the need for official representatives spread. In some instances, the official was simply a token representative, but in other cases, there was an official status given to the person or persons. Eventually, the official status became an unofficial expectation that major community activities would include black representation.

In another way desegregation blurred the lines between private and public roles, since one's personal status became a feature of organizational consideration. Housing and family income, for example, also became involved in determining program eligibility.

Grants

However, one of the most significant factors in rationalization was the development of a grants economy. In 1830 Alexis de Tocqueville received a grant from the French government to study prison reform in America. Since he visited the heart of the frontier on this journey, Pontiac, we can assume that this is the first recorded instance of grantsmanship in the community.

The impact of grants on communities goes far beyond the dollars generated for programs: it influences management styles, civic participation - and most importantly, the ways in which communities are organized.

The first area in which grantsmanship had a critical influence is that of record keeping. To process grants it became necessary to collect statistics and other official information. The community had to be described with more accuracy and detail than had been necessary before. Programs had to be monitored and checked. As a result, a group of highly qualified grant writers and administrators developed expertise and influence during the decade in city government, the school district and county government.

In Pontiac, as elsewhere, one can locate a new base for authority tied to access to grass roots information. Representatives

of locally indigenous people had opportunities to obtain bureaucratic positions, resulting in a shift from tradition, habit, instinct, and personal morality as the foundation of politics to organizational, rational and information based activities.

In the late sixties there was a considerable money available for community grants but a minimum of expertise in the community.

Political skills rather than technical skills were important in obtaining funding. But as the seventies progressed, more expertise was required for fewer dollars. Professionals took over from politicians and began to systematize grant operations.

We usually assume that record keeping is a passive activity that has little impact on events themselves. However, record keeping has an active side also. A record keeps plans, goals, intentions and assumptions; influences decisions, and often conceals the intentionality of those preparing records. Intentions vary from dishonesty to human tendencies to save time; errors are caused by misjudgment or poor supervision; materials are recorded to obscure or highlight information. The point is that record keeping required a more rational, systematic and coherent process of accounting for community activities.

In the shift from political to managerial expertise in obtaining grant money, charisma is also routinized. "Official" citizens or local leaders are given formal status. In some ways, this provides these persons with a base of power, but in some ways, it also takes away their potential as local leaders. They are locked into a citizen spokesperson role at the time they find it difficult to speak

easily and informally with those they are speaking for.

Grants forced people who would rather not have ongoing relations with each other to meet together. For example, many administrators regarded community participation as a problem and a "good administrator" became one who could handle citizens. In this way, a good school superintendent was defined as one who could control the board. But given the timetable usually associated with grant applications, it was inevitable that professionals gradually assumed control over the process and citizen participation became perfunctory.

To summarize, there are four phenomena associated with grants that affected community rationalization:

1. the development of grant specialists
2. an emphasis upon record keeping
3. creating "official" citizen representatives and communal "myths"
4. management strategies to avoid direct citizen participation by structuring contacts.

National Developments

The impact of national media and non local events on local communities is not clearly documented but one would expect that events in other cities are quickly reinterpreted in local terms. Pontiac, for example, responds quickly to Detroit events. The local preoccupation with image suggests an intuitive understanding on the part of many that Pontiac is unfavorably compared with other suburban communities. (It is interesting that people seldom compare Pontiac with Flint, another G.M. town located nearby.) The competition from

International automobile manufacturers, for example, is clearly understood locally and provides a justification for G.M.'s reindustrialization moves in spite of the negative impact on the city. Auto workers have generally responded to the need for technological rationality with acceptance rather than conflict. Furthermore, there is a recognition that the community has to have a coherence and rationality for outsiders.

Complexity

As the interorganizational field increased in complexity, largely because of the development of new community organizations wishing to provide new services, it became a major problem to keep up with what was happening. For example, during the period between 1974-1978 we counted at least 11 community resource books prepared for local groups to assist in "information and referral." This did not include some directories prepared for the county or metropolitan area. Innumerable positions in organizations were created to fund positions to develop resource inventories, and these positions ranged from a volunteer, unpaid position (FISH) to various agency positions that paid very well. Listing of an organization as a resource requires, at a minimum, that the organization define its purpose and identify an individual with an address and phone number that can be contacted on behalf of the organization. In this way, rationalization was also spurred by the classification and labeling of organizations.

Complexity also stimulated community rationalization through regulations. For example, state rules requiring an organization to document activities for tax exemptions demanded that organizational leaders list considerable information about the organization, its funding, purpose and membership. An

examination of organization records between 1970-1980 illustrates the growing sophistication of managers in this area.

Moreover, as the interorganizational field became crowded, the impact of changes in one local organization were quickly felt throughout the field. Closing the Women's Shelter meant that other organizations in the community had to take up the slack in helping battered women and rape victims. When a health clinic expanded its operations, the hospitals had to face competition among clients. Complexity explains why organizations supported community scanners who participated actively outside the organization as a representative in many community projects.

Efforts to coordinate community organizations were made. The City established a Communications Coordinating Council that tried to bring representatives of all local organizations together to share information. This also legitimized the city's growing interest in a variety of organizational activities. Other than General Motors, however, almost no local organization (including City Hall) had sufficient power to bring about any degree of coordination. What could not be done well officially, was done unofficially through overlapping network associations, (particularly the Black Network and the Grass Roots Network), and through pressures for coalition building to achieve ends. Gradually, coordination efforts gained some influence locally. Although the process of rationalization has a long way to go to be complete, these efforts are a start.

Impact on Schools

Schools in Pontic have enjoyed a protected domain for many years. Governed by an elected school board, administered by professional educators,

enjoying financial support from a separate local tax base, their domain was secure from city politicians and most local organizations. There was limited competition from private schools in the area, power based on the large size of the district (20,000 students), and a tradition of success built up through the years. The only "public" of significance appeared to be parents of students and other educational professionals.

Federal and state programs changed this protected status. Desegregation was the most dramatic example, but the combination of other programs during the sixties added to this process. As competition for scarce resources accelerates, and as demography and private education make inroads in the client population, schools will either have to take more initiative and enter into the interorganizational field more aggressively, or reduce the scope of their organizational domain.

To preserve organizational autonomy in the interorganizational field requires justification concerning the division of labor, specialization and other factors. It is unlikely that consensus on these issues will exist, especially since judgments about effectiveness will be made by non-parents and non-educators. As a result, schools will face increasing conflict over community resources. The rationalization of community may require educators to develop spanner personnel and strategies similar to those used by other local organizations, as well as to negotiate and conduct exchanges in the interorganizational field.

Rationality leads to predictable results based upon organizational inputs that are standardized and routinized. When applied to communities, rationality will alter social relationships towards more universalistic and instrumental relationships that are functionally specific. The effective,

particularistic and diffuse relationships also necessary components of social relationships, will be found in network associations that overlap, undercut and in general, form the web of human associations. In summary, networks will become important "affective" associations, bearing many expressive components, especially the one that can most directly deal with complexity - trust.

Conclusion

The rationalization of community is another response to the legitimization of pluralism in American society. In the past a mixture of ideology and social science suggested a view of community as a culturally homogenous association. The American "melting pot," for example, was presented as a model of urban assimilation. Political controversy based upon group differences was often seen as dysfunctional at worst, and at best, regulated through democratic political structure. This was also reflected by social scientists absorbed in the study of community power structures, during the sixties, a preoccupation that implied reasonably structured forms of community organization. Some writers on community, in contrast, abandoned structural constraints to speak of psychological communities, or association of interest. These views do not seem useful in understanding contemporary urban structures in 1981. However, the rationalization of community organization and the legitimization of pluralism within the community interorganizational field enables us, as researchers, to ask different questions. In some cases the new questions may turn out to be classical sociological issues repackaged. But, nevertheless, the view of community as an interorganizational field affords the opportunity of understanding urban communities like Pontiac more effectively.

PART III
NETWORK INVESTIGATION: DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

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THE WORK OF NETS - CONCLUSION

The discussion of "weak" and "strong" ties has been one of the most interesting theoretical issues in network research. It has been argued that weak ties help integrate social systems because they provide structural mechanisms to facilitate the flow of information and transfer of persons and roles that, in turn, build social cohesion. Based on this assumption, there has been a growing body of network research interested in linkages and bridges and other boundary or switching mechanisms to enhance resource exchanges. We believe that this view of networks can be enriched if we add the component of trust to our understanding of flows.

For example, the work of nets in the sorority is fundamentally to enhance, maintain and support the status of the members as professionals in the community. Network associations reaffirm this status; those sharing the view are trusted sisters who share common recipes about the roles of black women, their responsibilities, and the proper ways in which they should behave. In this sense, the network functions in the same way as a peer group. The work of nets in the helping interorganizational network provides a latent resource exchange, again bound together by shared recipes concerning the nature of helping. Those who ascribe to this view can become trusted resources. Membership in the Coalition for Change is contingent upon shared recipes about social problems and the ways in which they should be addressed. The Parents' Advisory Group uses personal loyalty as a condition of network belonging. In each case

the work of nets (as exemplified by shared recipes) is to pass along trust combined with information and other resources. We argue that there is a potential for network affiliation among others who would share the recipes, or stated more correctly, with others who have either ideological, psychological or social similarities from which trust can be generated. In other words, trust is the energizer--the sunlight that enables plants (networks) to grow. Should sunlight fall upon other areas in which growth is possible, the latent fertility will become activated. Without trust, there is little possibility for development in most cases.

Interest in trust flows requires that network researchers pay attention to some qualitative components of relationships that are sometimes neglected. In particular, the historical roots of relations provide significance clues.

Bronfenbrenner (1978) has argued for an experimental ecology of education that can conceptualize both relationships and environments in terms of systems. By this he means that we must understand how learners operate in the principle environments of life (e.g., home, school, work, neighborhood, community) and at many levels - the situation, the exo-system level that deals with the institutions of society and a macro level that includes overarching cultural patterns. We argue that there is another significant systems level - the interorganizational environment. In Pontiac, this level of analyses reflects a variety of environmental conditions and history, and suggests the reasons why the school may not be central in the interorganizational field.

EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

In the original request for network research, N.I.E. suggested that social networks could be used to stimulate educational innovation. Networks were thought to be "opportunities for collaborative problem solving and the source of psychological support and stimulation which contribute to professional development and renewal" and serve as mechanisms for "broadening support for educational decision making and for encouraging access to and use of new ideas and practices." (RFP, N.I.E., 1978) Two difficulties lie in these assumptions. First, it is not clear what is meant by educational innovation: the goals of educational change are not obvious and the processes by which change take place are only dimly understood. Secondly, the state of art in social network research does not lend itself easily to application by practitioners.

In Pontiac, for example, we assumed that desegregation could be considered a major educational innovation and that networks would provide clues in detecting the origination, dissemination and acceptance of this innovation. We tried to respond directly to the questions that N.I.E. posed. These were:

1. Can networks act as a countervailing influence to the power of educational elites?
2. Can newly formed networks coordinate scattered initiatives on behalf of the disadvantaged, and prevent duplication and gaps in a program of school reform?

3. Can networks encourage pooling of resources and provide broader access to a larger pool of shared resources than would otherwise be available to a smaller set of actors?
4. Can networks provide the social and emotional support to otherwise isolated individuals who take aggressive stands and need to withstand heavy pressures?
5. Can networks reconcile differences of opinion within coalitions of disparate interests and promote common causes?

The answer to each question, based on the Pontiac study, unfortunately for policy makers, is yes and no. In Pontiac, black community leaders did successfully challenge the existing educational elite, but only because other mechanisms were available to be used by the network, such as the federal courts, federal and state funding, and a supportive climate of opinion for change in the nation. In other words, because persons in the network had access to resources, they were able to achieve some goals, not because they existed as a network. It is the resources available to groups, not the existence of formation of a network, that stimulates change efforts. Moreover, it does not appear that networks can sustain an adversarial role against professional elites, except for sporadic challenges, without independent resources. We believe that this is because the dominant assumptions, or recipes, about education are shared by those who are both within the professional system and lay persons outside education. This is why media, books and other features of society that influence recipes play such an important role in educational change. All the network can do is utilize

resources to achieve goals--the goals (whether innovative or preserving the status quo), the resources--money, influence, knowledge--exist to a large degree independently of the network. Persons in the network can use these more effectively but without resources, cannot achieve countervailing power.

Question two reflects a voluntaristic assumption about network membership. To coordinate "scattered initiatives" or "prevent duplication and gaps in program of school reform" require power. To the degree that a network has power, it can either coordinate reform efforts or create new efforts that duplicate existing programs. In fact, the latter is more typical of urban groups. Rather than work with existing programs directed by educational elites, local community groups try to initiate new programs that they can control if they have the resources to do so. New programs in Pontiac provided administrative and semi-professional jobs for blacks in the community, and created a political base of influence from which black middle class leadership could enter into political controversies in other sectors of the community, particularly city hall. Rather than coordinate, local groups used resources to duplicate those programs and organizations they could not control.

Question three suggests that networks can lead to cooperation and sharing resources, and this is a possibility. The other possibility, however, is that networks are used to capture some resources and hold on to them. Likewise, question four suggests that networks do give emotional support to leaders, but only if the stance of the leader is one that the group supports. In Pontiac,

for example, anti-busing groups used network ties to block innovation.

Finally, networks do facilitate coalitions among disparate interests and function to glue together parts of our complex society. How they do this is the thrust of our particular research in the work of nets. We suggest that it is done through the communication process, in particular, by providing reliable information. The information is reliable because it comes from trusted persons, is simple, and basically agrees with the beliefs, perspectives and views of the receiver. But none of this suggests networks as mechanisms to facilitate change.

The tenacity of ideas and expectations about education held by the general public is matched only by many unrealistic assumptions about new ideas held by professionals. The politics of educational research are bizarre: evaluators become debunkers and evaluation is viewed with suspicion and hostility by professionals, while at the same time, citizens protest against the waste and unsuitability of even modest proposals to change.

Our conclusion is that social networks can facilitate innovation or block change because they function to "translate" ideas into acceptable recipes. In the process, the innovation could be clothed with trust, but the critical component is the nature of the innovation rather than the network process per se. The cognitive frameworks surrounding innovations are crucial. Because networks can reaffirm a recipe, an innovation can be made legitimate, but at the same time, because networks reduce complexity, the form of the

innovation is usually changed to make it more familiar.

Our second point concerns the state of art in network research. Throughout the report we have argued that an emphasis on precision in measurement obscures issues of validity in data collection, and excessive quantification has reduced the usefulness of networks as explanatory metaphors for practitioners..

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