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Working Paper #23

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR HUMAN RELATIONS IN SIXTEEN CITIES:
PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

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PREFACE

This report summarizes and assesses under one cover data which were previously widely scattered. The intent is also to provide information to be used in assessing the desirability and feasibility of performing further data collection and analysis on the topic of community relations activities in American cities. To that end, shortcomings in our data are pointed out, and hypotheses, theoretical approaches, and topics of high research potential are offered. Apart from this, the report is mainly a description of trends and exceptions which occur in our sample.

The data were collected mostly within the last two years. The main data sources were organizational publications (pamphlets, reports, and periodicals) and memos, as well as tape recorded interviews (most of which currently are untranscribed).

A recurrent obstacle to our analysis reveals an important limitation of the data. That is, many of the interviews with members of Community Relations Commissions (CRC) were conducted as part of the monitoring phase of the Disaster Research Center (DRC) sixteen cities study. Thus, they deal with recent racial incidents in each community and utilize the CRC respondent as a community observer, rather than addressing themselves directly to the organizational characteristics of the CRC's themselves. Another limitation stems from the fact that CRC's were not included as one of the organizations examined in the initial base line survey. The information thus was obtained in a somewhat unsystematic way. That is, an interviewer in one city might ask certain questions of CRC personnel and collect one type of literature, whereas a different interviewer in a different city would ask different questions and gather different written material. And finally, the choice of what tapes to listen to or have transcribed was based largely on the apparent relevance of the organizational position held by the respondent with regard to our topic. Thus, there may still be some important information hidden in taped but as yet untranscribed interviews which on the surface appear to be irrelevant to an analysis of Community Relations Commissions.

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INTRODUCTION

Types of Community Relations Commissions

There are many different types of organizations bearing the official title of Community (or Human) Relations Commissions (CRC or HRC). Classified by jurisdiction and membership these include the following, with examples:

- Type I. State Agencies, e.g., Kentucky Human Rights Commission.
- Type II. County Agencies, e.g., Dade County Community Relations Board.
- Type III. City Agencies, e.g., Buffalo Department of Human Relations.
- Type IV. Joint County-City Agencies, e.g., Louisville and Jefferson County Human Relations Commission.
- Type V. Incorporated Suburban Agencies, e.g., Coral Gables Community Relations Department.
- Type VI. County Police CR Unit, e.g., Los Angeles County Sheriff -- Community Relations Division.
- Type VII. City Police CR Unit, e.g., St. Louis Police Department Public Relations Division.
- Type VIII. City Fire CR Unit, e.g., Cincinnati Fire Department Community Relations Unit.
- Type IX. City Board of Education CR Department, e.g., Detroit Board of Education Division of School and Community Relations.
- Type X. Private CR Agencies, e.g., Urban League, Los Angeles Council on Police Community Relations, Buffalo Citizens' Council on Human Relations, New Orleans Community Relations Council, Avondale (Cincinnati) Community Council, Councils of Churches.

Unless otherwise specified, the following discussions pertain only to Types II, III, and IV.

TYPES II, III, AND IV
COUNTY, CITY, AND JOINT COUNTY-CITY CRC'S

History

There is a wide range in the date of origin of Community Relations Commissions. For our cities, the first CRC was established in Los Angeles in 1944 as a direct consequence of the "zoot-suit riots." Others were established in the early 1950's (St. Louis -- 1950, Detroit -- 1953), and still others in the early and mid 1960's. Detroit's CRC was initially called the "Interracial Committee" but a 1961 amendment changed its name and apparently some of its functions, although our data do not permit a specification of these changes. Another interesting change occurred when the Louisville city agency became a joint county-city organization.

Goals and Purposes

Most CRC's have overall purposes which may be described as those of bringing about mutual respect and understanding among the different special interest groups in the city (e.g., racial, ethnic, religious, etc.), promoting good will, cultivating responsibility for a common community welfare, eliminating prejudice, bigotry, and discrimination, and giving effect to the Constitutional guarantee of equal rights to all citizens. (In effect, most cities are concerned mainly with race relations problems.) Of course, apart from these general purposes there are other specific related purposes. Naturally, the distinction between these specific purposes, responsibilities, powers, and even daily activities is sometimes quite blurred.

Specific purposes include all or some of the following:

- a. initiation of or cooperation in informational programs;
- b. acting in an advisory capacity to the city council (this is made possible through research programs conducted by the CRC's);
- c. receiving and investigating citizens' claims and reports of tension, conflict, and practices of discrimination;
- d. maintaining a "barometer" on community racial tension;
- e. operating a Rumor Control Center (RCC);
- f. assisting nonwhites in obtaining employment and employers in recruiting them;
- g. providing other agencies and community groups with speakers and information on human relations problems;

h. and cooperating with governmental and nongovernmental agencies having similar functions.

Structure

CRC's are typically established in the following manner: The county commissioners or the city council establishes the CRC by statute or ordinance, defining the powers and broad purposes of the organization. The legislators and/or mayor retain the power to appoint the Board of Commissioners of the CRC, usually to rotating terms of two to five years. In at least one city (Buffalo) the mayor may remove a commissioner "without cause assigned." The size of boards of commissioners ranges from nine to thirty-five members, none of whom receive any financial remuneration for their services. The composition of the board usually includes representatives from the different religious, racial, and prominent interest groups in the community. More detailed information on this compositional factor might be valuable.

The Board of Commissioners is assigned policy-making responsibility, although in some areas the paid professional staff virtually controls policy.

The Board of Commissioners hires an executive director who normally employs others for his professional, administrative, and clerical staff, although this may be done in consultation with the Commission or a subcommittee thereof. In most cases, the paid staff are all civil service employees of the county or the city. An exception to this pattern exists in Cincinnati where the staff is not under civil service. Although the Commissioners are appointed by the mayor, the CRC contracts with the city for its services, for which it is paid. In Oklahoma City and Toledo the CRC staff is under civil service; however, the executive director is not -- he is appointed by the mayor. The size of the staff of the CRC's varies from one to thirty-two professionals (Los Angeles County). The composition of the professional staff, and particularly the field workers, is likely to be more representative of the various ethnic and racial groups within the community than is the board of commissioners.

As the staff gets larger there tends to appear supervisors who are responsible to the director or his assistant. Our data are sparse in the realm of formality vs. informality and committee autonomy. The data suggest that any given CRC staff (nonexecutive) member is likely to hold a variety of diverse yet related responsibilities, although more probing is required along these lines.

Additional personnel are sometimes involved directly in the affairs of CRC's through their standing committees. It is typical for a CRC to have a committee dealing with employment, education, housing, police community relations, and other areas. Various civic leaders sometimes serve as members of the committees and the chairman is usually a member of the Commission. Thus, CRC's generally involve large numbers of civic leaders, either as members of the Commission or one of its committees. Personnel on these standing committees may, however, be limited to members of the Board of Commissioners, as in the Buffalo case. This likely requires that commissioners each serve on several subcommittees.

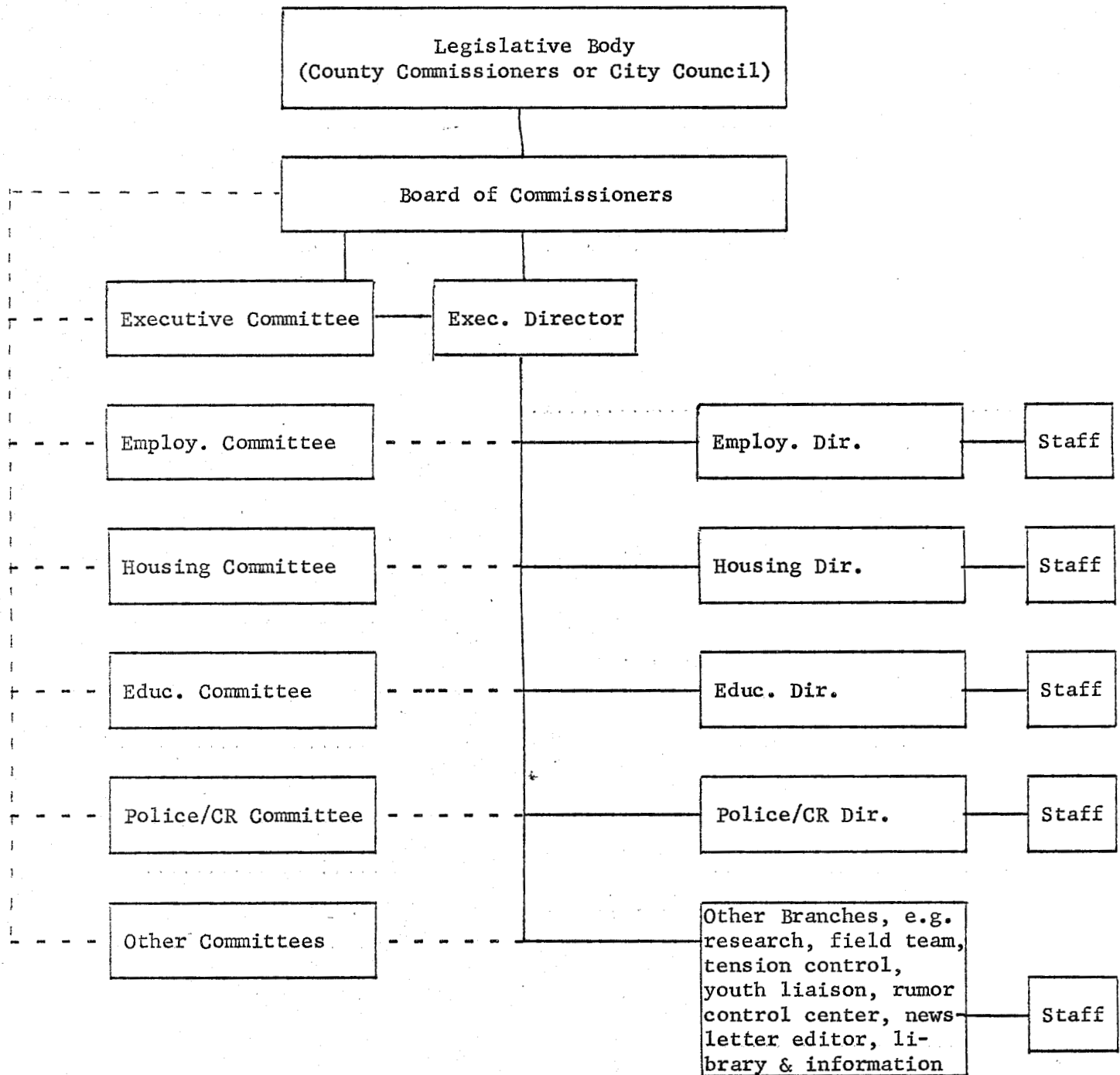
A trend which appears to coincide with the "war on poverty's" emphasis on "maximum participation of the poor" is the move to decentralize CRC offices to bring their services out to the "grass roots" people. Toledo, for example, coordinates twelve Community Action on Problems (CAP) desks throughout the city. Columbus is inaugurating a similar program.

Information concerning absolute and relative size of operating budgets was, for the most part, unavailable. It is noteworthy that the 1969 New Orleans HRC budget was reduced from \$73,000 to \$60,000 for 1970. The source of funds for city agencies is the city government. Some cities (e.g., Miami, Toledo, Louisville, and Oklahoma City) also receive federal funds for special projects, such as job training.

Research activities tended to involve investigation of complaints, studies related to fair housing and fair employment practices, studies to obtain background for policy recommendations or action programs, and studies conducted for educational seminars or programs. Data on research facilities and operations are lacking.

Relations with the city government and the mayor varied. In some cases the impression gained was that the CRC was a token gesture aimed at "keeping the lid on" and informing the civic administration of the minimal amount of concessions which must of necessity be made to minority groups. In such cases, conflict with the mayor arose, in that the professional staff held a broader or more positive and aggressive conception of their role. Consider one case where the executive director told an interviewer: "The attitude of the government? . . . They'd be just as happy if we did the minimum. Just enough to keep things cool without pushing too hard. . . . We get accused of going outside our 'bailiwick' so to speak. But, of course, it is our bailiwick." In other cities the CRC was recognized as an integral part of the civic administration. In the former situation, the CRC staff experienced marginality and role conflict. They expressed fear at being identified with "the establishment" and were constantly in danger of losing the confidence of the Negro community, especially when their efforts on behalf of their "clientele" were blocked from above. This conflict was resolved by the CRC adopting a stance along the following continuum: at the one end of the continuum they could be "pro minority group" and harshly critical of the administration. At the other end of the continuum they could be "pro city hall," in which case their legitimacy declined in the eyes of the minority group. In the middle was the solution of merely acting as a channel of communication and not taking sides. (The orientation of the staff here may be determined by the situational context and the issue involved.) This whole issue of the legitimacy of the CRC organization and how it perceives its role is worthy of closer examination. One hypothesis would be that the larger and more vocal the size of the minority community relative to the white community, the more will be the legitimacy, autonomy, and even influence enjoyed by the CRC. (We might also look for differences along these dimensions between geographic regions.) In light of the above hypothesis it is interesting to note the contradiction posed by the Detroit and Miami city cases, where the CRC is defined as merely one of the mayor's many advisors, and not a very influential one at that.

TYPICAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF CRC*



*All positions in the above structure are occupied by different individuals except that some members (not all) of committees may be members of the Board of Commissioners.

Powers and Responsibilities

I. The most conspicuous realm of power (or lack of it) is perhaps the area of fair housing, fair employment, and public accommodations ordinances. Data on the role of CRC's with regard to school desegregation is sparse with the occasional exception of CRC involvement in the issue of bussing school children out of their neighborhood. Indeed, the enforcement powers held by CRC's here might be an index of the saliency of the CRC within the overall civic administrative organization. Theoretically the range of alternatives here could extend from total responsibility for enforcement (e.g., St. Louis) to no enforcement powers whatsoever. Most cases appear to fall in between; that is, they conduct investigations, make recommendations, and/or refer cases to other authorities. In the Topeka variant, the CRC possesses investigative, conciliative, and persuasive powers, as well as the right to request the city attorney to lay charges. Conceivably this request could be denied. Detroit invests the CRC with the legal machinery to enforce one of these ordinances (fair housing), but empowers it only to conduct hearings, investigations, and make reports on the other (fair employment), without pressing legal charges.

One reason some city CRC's are not involved in this aspect of law enforcement is that county or state legislation may take legal precedence over local ordinances. In such cases the city CRC may refer the complainant to the state civil rights enforcement agency.

II. Another area of responsibility commonly held by CRC's is that of operating rumor control centers (RCC's). Since the success of these centers depends upon the faith put in them by the citizens, many cities felt success and credibility could be increased by assigning this function to some other agency than the police department. The contacts already established and trust generated by CRC's, particularly through their field workers, made them appropriate executers of this function.

Most RCC's are very new elements of social technology, having developed in response to a plea in the Kerner Report (pp. 326-27). (Indeed, in their charter this plea is often quoted.) The genesis of the Detroit RCC is unique in that it was an attempt to combat rampant racial rumors by filling the information void created by the Detroit newspaper strike of 1968.

The purposes which RCC's are designed to fulfill are to keep riot situations from escalating by minimizing the number of nonparticipants who may become involved out of fear or anger based upon provocative misinformation. Related purposes are receiving and developing accurate information regarding the locale, severity, and actual extent of disturbances, and channelling this information to community residents, police, and private agencies to dispel unfounded rumors, eliminate anxieties, and pinpoint situations which require immediate remedial action by the appropriate agency or individuals. Close formal and informal liaison with police and mayor are common and helpful.

As for innovation, it appears that smaller cities are willing to let the large cities (such as Detroit and Chicago, where perhaps the need for an RCC is

more urgent) experiment and then model their own program on those of these larger cities, incorporating few variations.

Further information on the more technical aspects of these RCC's is available in the files on Buffalo, Columbus, and Detroit. Such data pertain to staffing and hours of operation, type and number of telephone connections, and field investigation. It should be noted that for many cities we have no data on RCC's, although they may or definitely do actually exist in these cities (e.g., Louisville, Youngstown). Functional alternatives of modifications might be worthy of further study. In addition functional expansion whereby RCC's broaden the scope of their activities while retaining their essential nature in community emergencies other than civil disturbances might be a worthwhile focus of future study.

III. Another power exercised by some CRC's is that of drafting legislation and making policy recommendations on the basis of field studies. Different CRC's vary greatly in this regard, as they do in their advisory capacity on nonpolicy matters. It appears that informal relationships between the key governmental functionaries and the director or chairman of the CRC are a prerequisite to the CRC having influence here.

IV. Another very real power of CRC's, above and beyond enforcement of fair employment practices acts, is that of obtaining jobs for nonwhites. This is achieved through prodding employers, encouraging employers' aggressive recruitment of nonwhites, and sometimes through cooperating in or initiating job training programs for nonwhites (e.g., Buffalo and Dade County).

V. Our data suggest that appointed commissioners often bring with them a certain amount of power which becomes accessible to the CRC organization. This power is in the form of overlapping directorates with other organizations, or expertise in certain crucial areas (e.g., law, advertising), or informal contacts with other influentials in the resource base from which the CRC may draw.

Specific detailed questioning along these lines would be helpful in determining the extent to which this actually exists.

VI. The power of these organizations is also a function of how they define their own role (or let it be defined for them). Whether an organization acts as an aggressor, a conciliator, or merely as a channel of communication affects its power in that situation and probably in future situations.

Role in a Civil Disorder

Most CRC's (notable exceptions being Toledo and St. Louis) do not have pre-arranged written plans for civil disorders (with the exception of their rumor control centers) and their involvement in civil disturbances varies greatly. Some CRC's limit their sphere of activity mainly to the conditions

which caused the disturbance and to complaints (such as police brutality) and reports arising out of it, rather than become involved during the actual violence.

Involvement, when it does come, usually takes one or more of the following forms:

- a. operating the RCC if one exists;
- b. sending field staff out into the neighborhood to assess the situation and report back;
- c. stationing personnel in the jails to make sure the legal rights of persons taken prisoner are not violated;
- d. having influentials on the professional staff of the CRC go into the neighborhood to urge people to "cool it" and to listen to their grievances and accounts of the incident;
- e. advising the mayor;
- f. working out compromises (e.g., withdrawal of police in favor of civilian patrols);
- g. interceding to obtain a lowering in bail requirements;
- h. working with the mass media to encourage them not to disseminate inflammatory statements;
- i. supplying and receiving information from the police;
- j. serving as a liaison between municipal authorities and recognized leaders in the minority community.

No city's CRC did actually become involved in all of these areas. Usually their involvement was confined to only three or four of these areas. The data lead us to suspect that this involvement was rather spontaneous and unstructured. Racial disturbances provide an opportunity for members of the board of commissioners to become involved in the daily activities of the organization. This often is done by members of the board who can exert influence in the neighborhood experiencing the disturbance, especially members of the clergy. The data lead us to suspect that a community disturbance will be the occasion of at least a meeting of the board of commissioners.

St. Louis and Toledo have cooperated with Negro organizations in developing written plans for involvement in the event of a civil disorder. The NAACP and the Toledo CRC have planned to assist in providing medical and other services in neighborhoods affected by the disturbance. In St. Louis, the CRC and a Negro sorority, AKA, spearheaded a plan to "protect the innocent" in the event of a disturbance in the city. The St. Louis plan can be found in the DRC files, but we do not have detailed information on the Toledo plan.

It is a common practice for the CRC to investigate the circumstances of particular racial incidents (whether complaints are filed with it or not) and submit a report to the mayor. Insofar as precipitating incidents usually involve recurrent grievances, little new action beyond that mentioned above is taken by the CRC on problems deriving from or after a disturbance. This might not hold true if widespread homelessness accompanied a disturbance. However, in Detroit, where such was the case in 1967, a religious group called "Interfaith" emerged to handle tasks related to caring for the homeless. The extent of overlap with the activities of the CRC here is unknown. As for new resources and contacts in time of civil disorder, there appears to be little patterned change from normal operating conditions. CRC's with rumor control functions mobilize a list of trained volunteers to man the RCC and beyond that our data do not specify the acquisition of any new resources. Informal contacts with the CRC's "eyes and ears" in the community are reactivated to obtain information to supplement that which is acquired from the police, the mass media, and phone calls from citizens themselves.

The data do not usually indicate whether any significant changes in arrangements for activities and operations during a civil disturbance have actually occurred due to experience with past disorders. In some cases this would be because they had experienced no major disturbance since their inception. We do note, however, that the Los Angeles City Human Relations Bureau was established in 1966, after the Watts riot. The data, although very incomplete, give the impression that in cities which have experienced a civil disorder, the CRC is more likely to receive favorable reaction to its budget requests.

Relations with Other Organizations

Interorganizational contacts can be divided into several non-mutually exclusive types. One area of interorganizational interaction is that which pertains to other organizations performing similar or related functions. This would include the state and county CRC's, employment and welfare offices, the Urban League, the NAACP, the Community Action Program leaders, the Anti-Defamation League, citizens' councils on human relations, and black militant self-help groups. Another area of interaction lies within the civic administration itself with the focus of the interaction being either a citizen's grievance, or else a daily operational need. Contacts here would be the mayor, the city council, the city attorney, the police, fire, sanitation, health, recreation, and public works departments, and the board of education. A third type of interaction involves organizations around which programs are being developed. These would include business and industry, specific schools, the police training academy, adult discussion groups, Council of Churches, local universities (students and administration). A fourth type of inter-organizational contact pertains to redress of grievances. Contacts here are most frequent with police, civic administrators, employers, federal justice department (when federal Constitutional rights have been violated), neighborhood groups, real estate organizations, as well as individual plaintiffs and

violators (e.g., landlords). A final type of interorganizational interaction occurs during a time of civil disorder and involves mainly the police, the mayor, and the media.

From the above we see that the police organization is a very salient member of the CRC's organizational set (and sometimes vice versa). There exist in some cities boundary personnel within the police and human relations organizations whose explicit function is that of liaison. In addition there are overlapping personnel such as Police-Community Relations Unit officers and CRC observers at police jails. The exchange of information between the organizations (not only concerning emergencies, but note also the case of Louisville where the HRC financed the police library on human relations) also demonstrates their importance to each other. Yet, paradoxically, this relationship can become quite strained where there is a high degree of minority group dissatisfaction with the police. It appears that harmonious police-CRC relations depend to a considerable degree on the particular police chief's orientation towards "human relations". If he is sympathetic to the work of the CRC he is likely to openly demand high standards of "human relations" from his men (e.g., Louisville, New Orleans) and incorporate "human relations" education into their training. (Often lectures will be given to cadets by CRC staff members.) The result, in the long run, tends to be fewer citizen complaints and healthy relations with the CRC. However, few cities enjoy such rapport. Whereas CRC personnel may point to police-community relations as the most volatile aspect of that city's racial scene, the police may deny that a problem exists (Detroit being the classic example). Nor is the presence of bumper stickers on the police cars of one city which read "American -- Like It or Leave It" likely to be conducive to smooth relations between the police and the CRC.

Obstacles to Achieving Goals

One of the principal obstacles standing in the path of achieving CRC's immediate goals is lack of cooperation from civic officials, especially the mayor, his council, and the police chief. This lack of cooperation may be manifested in the form of a low budget, criticism in public, hostility in interpersonal relations with CRC officials, or simply an opposing orientation to the field of ethnic relations. Not only do CRC's sometimes lack legitimacy in the eyes of city officials, but some CRC's lack legitimacy by their clientele. Black militants particularly are likely to be suspicious of CRC's. When these suspicions are fed by the hiring of alleged "Uncle Toms" to the professional staff (as was asserted in Detroit) the difficulty in gaining and retaining the confidence of the minority group population is accentuated.

The third major obstacle which must be overcome by some CRC's is their lack of enforcement powers with respect to fair housing, fair employment, and public accommodation ordinances. Related to this is the handicap of having the maximum penalty for violation of these by-laws be only a token gesture, such as \$25 or five days in jail.

A SPECIAL NOTE ON TYPE IV

A City-County CRC appeared in Louisville. Their operations appear to be essentially the same as those of city agencies. However differences exist in method of selection of commissioners. For instance, in Louisville, the mayor appoints 12 members of the 21 member Commission, and the Jefferson County judge (senior county administrative official) appoints nine. The only other major difference between city and city-county agencies is simply their jurisdiction and probably funding.

TYPES VI AND VII

POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS ORGANIZATIONS

The fundamental question affecting the character of the police-community relationship in today's free society is that of what the proper role of law enforcement should be. Answers to this question would largely determine, for each community, the proper police department structure for effectively fulfilling its role. Consensus on the proper role of law enforcement, however, does not seem to exist and, consequently, the nature of police organizations is significantly varied from community to community.

Despite these differences, one point of similarity among law enforcement agencies is an awareness of the importance of "good" relations with the agencies' publics. Diversity of these publics, however, complicates organizational attempts to acquire and maintain good relations with the publics. Thus, the organizations have resorted to the use of specialized organizational subunits whose primary function is to attend to police-community relations. In the mid-fifties the St. Louis Police Department established and staffed a community relations unit which has served as a prototype for a more general application of the idea of a formal community relations unit within agencies of law enforcement.

A. St. Louis Police Department -- Case Study:

A detailed description of one of the sixteen sample cities seems particularly useful here as a point of departure in our analysis of police CR operations. The St. Louis police and community relations program was one of the first in the country and certainly one of the most extensive. It is currently involved in a great number of programs. The overall program is coordinated through a Public Relations (or Information) Division under the Board of Police Commissioners. (The following description of their program is taken from: The National Center on Police and Community Relations, Michigan State University. A National Survey of Police and Community Relations, prepared for The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Washington, D.C., Superintendent of Documents, G.P.O., January 1967, pp. 34-43.)

The Public Relations Division currently is headed by a Director of Public Relations. Within the Division is a Community Relations Manager, a consulting Professor of Sociology at a local university, a civilian Community Relations Representative, and a number of police officers, secretaries, and police Cadets. (See Chart I.)

The Director is responsible for all activities carried out by the Division which, besides the formal police and community relations program, includes press relations, speakers bureau, publication of monthly magazines, and publication of informational brochures about police problems and activities. He formally reports directly to the Board of Police Commissioners but functionally reports to the Chief of Police, especially on community relations matters.

The Manager of Police and Community Relations is much like an assistant director of the Division and is responsible for the immediate coordination of the police and community relations activity. He serves as Secretary to the St. Louis Council on Police and Community Relations and plans new projects for implementation at the district level. He attends most district committee meetings although sometimes takes little part in them, serving as an "available adviser."

The Community Relations Representative is a professional football player who works from January through July in the local high schools giving speeches to students about police activities, practices, and procedures.

The Community Relations Officers are patrolmen assigned to high crime-rate districts to work under the District Commander at making face-to-face contact with community members. He makes frequent appearances in the schools giving lectures on law enforcement and police techniques.

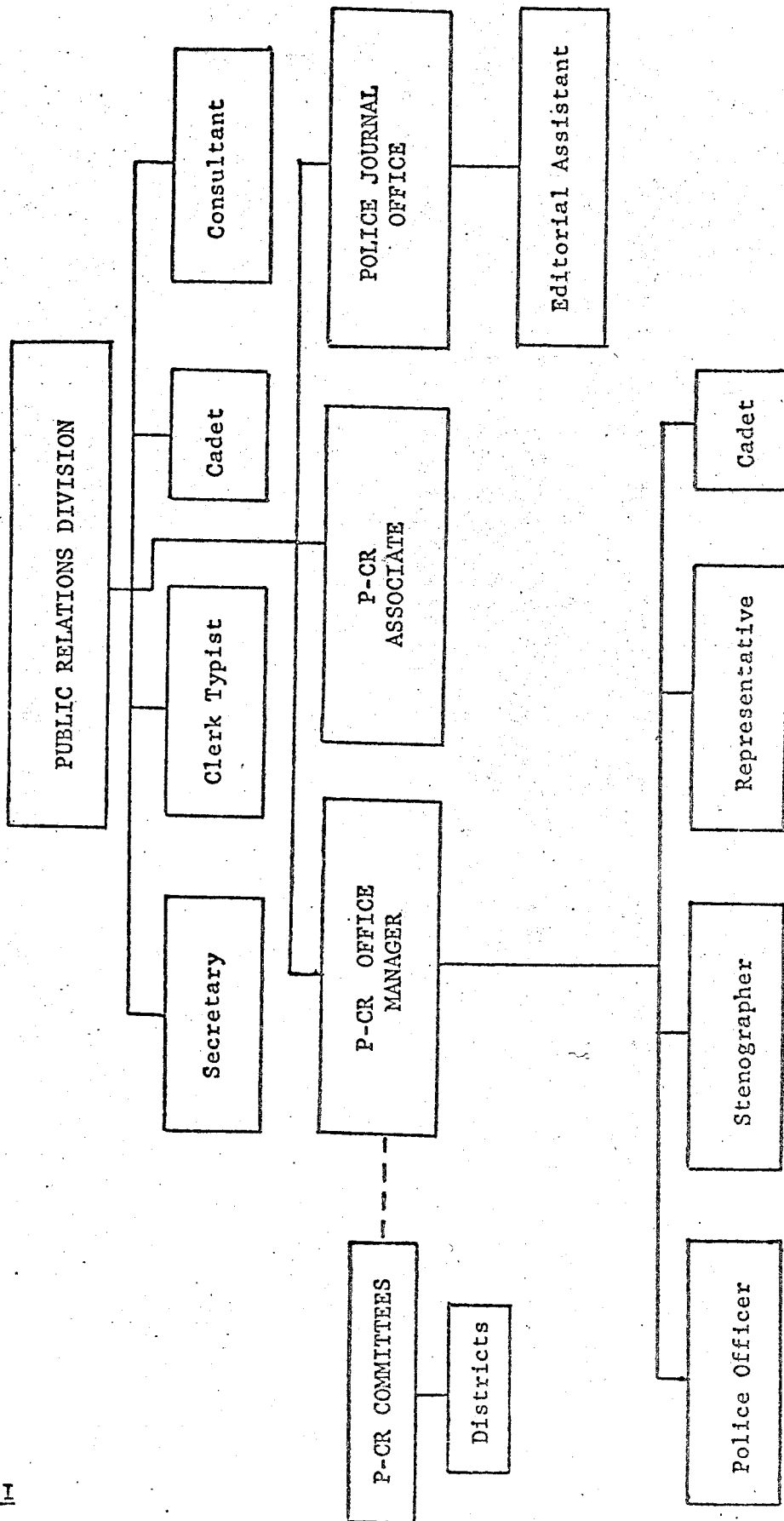
The District Committees. The programs and operation of the district committees are coordinated by both the St. Louis Council on Police and Community Relations and the Office of Police and Community Relations. The Council is a self-constituted independent body of private citizens which, although not officially affiliated with the department, meets regularly with the Chief or his representative. It is basically the original St. Louis Committee for Better Police and Community Relations established in 1955.

The programs originated in the Council and administered by the Office of Police and Community Relations are carried out by the district committees. The Committees are composed of district police officers (the Commander, and special officers assigned to specific problems, such as juvenile and sanitation), and representatives of district residents and their organizations. Each committee has a chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary-treasurer who are elected by the general membership once each year. Eight sub-committee chairmen

CHART I

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC INFORMATION DIVISION



are appointed by the district committee chairman to lead their sub-committee in one of the following areas: Public Relations, Crime, Juvenile, Auto Theft, Traffic, Sanitation, Membership, and Program. Each sub-committee chairman chooses at least five citizens to serve on that sub-committee and they are presented with proposed projects by the Office of Police and Community Relations.

The three officers of the district committee, the police commander, and each sub-committee chairman is a member of the district executive committee which meets before the monthly meeting to plan the activities. Committee membership varies with the particular district and the willingness and diligence displayed by the district chairman.

St. Louis has implemented a number of programs both city-wide and at the district level. The programs are planned by the Director of Public Relations, Manager of Police and Community Relations, and Consultant. They are then submitted to the St. Louis Council on Police and Community Relations, Board of Police Commissioners and the Chief for approval. A number of the programs follow.

Communications Programs. The Board of Police Commissioners and the Chief of Police have met with civil rights leaders, both at their own meetings, and at specially arranged meetings at Police Headquarters in an attempt to give both police personnel and the civil rights leaders a chance to discuss problems of the police and community relationship.

Meetings have also been held with representatives of St. Louis mass media to exchange information and create a better understanding of the community problems in this area. Other meetings have been held with the Urban League, NAACP, Human Development Corporation, and other community organization representatives, to keep the channels of communications between the Department and these groups open at all times. One example was a recent NAACP Workshop on "Police and the Community." The Department supplied two ranking line officers, the Personnel Director, and Public Relations Director as Workshop panelists, and then appointed one officer per district to attend as observers.

Through newspapers, radio and television, including close contact with Negro media, a constant attempt has been made to keep the public informed on all police activities, policies, and miscellaneous items such as how to avoid becoming a victim of a crime, how to prevent crimes, and new laws that may go into effect. Interviews, feature articles, and programs have also been provided to help the public better understand the Department. Another program from this effort has been the publication of pictures in the leading Negro newspaper, with Department urging, of two officers each week with a short humanly written biography of each. A Negro newspaper, which has frequently shown the Department in an unfavorable light, has run pictures of officers assisting citizens, such as sick cases, traffic control and other services.

Speakers' Bureau. Speakers from the Police Department are available to any organization or group from the Speakers' Bureau. Coordinated by the Public Relations Division to explain the various functions or specific operations of the Department, about fifty programs, on such items as self defense, canine, homicide, etc., are provided each month.

Immediately after the Police Department obtained a number of dogs for use in patrol operations, a command officer was sent on a speaking tour of the city, including schools, clubs, and civic organizations. The results were noteworthy. Resentment present in community segments when the dog purchase was announced dissipated rapidly as the reasons for and techniques of canine operation became known. Little opposition to canine operations was found in any community segment, including the large minority population. The speaker provided a useful service as he reduced community tension over a new police technique. The problem was quickly identified and steps taken to solve it using a speaker well suited to and accepted by the population to whom he was to speak. Today the canine officers with their dogs make many appearances in the schools to acquaint the children with the operation and to dispel community apprehension over their use.

School Program. Many school students are currently being reached through the police and community relations program. Beginning with the Head Start Program, an officer instructs students on pedestrian safety and they are given a chance to talk with the officer. In all school programs, the idea of allowing the students to meet the officer as a friend and human being, and not just as a police officer, is stressed. In grades one through three, a more advanced pedestrian safety program is given students and a film is shown on the subject. Another film and talk by an officer is given to students in grades four through eight.

A program is currently being implemented whereby a police officer gives an hour lecture on the Police Department in each of the City's 200 eighth grade's Civics classes. A special textbook has been developed by the schools explaining the functions of government, with one chapter devoted to the police. The textbook is well done and a fairly substantial number of the photographs are of Negroes, both as police officers and citizens.

In the high schools, the Community Relations Representative, who is the professional football player previously mentioned, presents a film on police work and gives a talk mixed with personal observations. Here, the idea of staying in school and getting a good education is stressed as much as the police and community relations element of the program. Often he takes a representative of an employment agency with him to discuss with the students the current employment opportunities in St. Louis. A police officer, usually the District Commander, accompanies him.

Youth Council. The Youth Council on Police and Community Relations is composed of representatives of all high schools in St. Louis, one representative of the four classes, freshman, sophomore, junior and senior, and a representative of the school newspaper. They meet five times each year with police officials, discuss the current programs in the high schools, arrange to have programs in the high school from the Police Department, and plan for the auditorium sessions that the Police and Community Relations Representative presents. They also distribute literature in the high schools on crime prevention.

Cruiser Tours. In this program, high school students chosen by their principals are taken on a tour of St. Louis in unmarked police cars and allowed to watch the officers performing their duties. This program is relatively new but plans for expansion are currently under consideration.

Citizens Against Crime Program. In the first phase of this program, 450,000 Citizens Against Crime cards were distributed to the citizens of St. Louis. These cards requested the citizens to call the police if they see something suspicious or a crime committed. Distribution of the cards has been made through local businesses and district committees. In the second phase of this program the Board of Police Commissioners selects from nominations made by the district committees and the Commander of the police district the citizen who, in some outstanding way, contributed most significantly to law enforcement that month. A plaque is given that citizen and other nominees receive a Letter of Commendation from the Board.

Convention Letters. All visitors to St. Louis receive, as part of their convention packet, a letter from the Chief of Police welcoming them to St. Louis and asking their cooperation in assisting the Department to protect themselves.

Businessmen's Meetings. Sponsored by the district committees, the businessmen in each district are invited to a meeting twice a year, at which time crime problems are discussed with them by experts from the Police Department and the Courts; and the businessmen are instructed in ways in which to avoid becoming the victims of crimes. Subjects discussed are: shoplifting, business burglary and robbery, and bogus checks.

Police-Community Relations Newsletter. A newsletter is published monthly for all district committee members, keeping them informed on the activities of all other district committees and the Office of Police and Community Relations. Through this means, the district committees are in constant contact with each other.

Tours. Each year, letters go to many schools and organizations in St. Louis inviting them to take a tour of the St. Louis Police Headquarters. Tours are given by police cadets and the Department averages about 1,000 persons a month who go on guided tours.

Law Enforcement Day. Every May, each police district holds an open house, during which all citizens are invited to visit the district station and view the latest in police equipment and demonstrations of the Canine Corps, Self Defense, Decoy Squad and other police activities. For the nine districts last May, the visitors to the stations ranged from 350 to 1,800.

Explorer Posts. Boy Scout Explorer Posts are sponsored by the district committees. These boys meet weekly and specialize in police activities such as firearms, finger printing, first aid and identification. The Department has no involvement in Police Athletic Leagues of any type.

Sanitation Program. A constant program is carried on by one of the district sub-committees to improve sanitation conditions in the district. Literature is distributed, and the sub-committee works closely with other organizations and the district sanitation officer to achieve better sanitary conditions.

Public Information Projects. This type of public information effort consists of the distribution of booklets which inform citizens of ways in which to prevent crimes against person and property. Each crime is featured, with ways to prevent becoming a victim.

Having found that a large percent of the calls received by police do not deal with police matters, a list of various public agencies has been prepared to inform the citizens whom to call for various problems.

Police and Community Relations Committees in Housing Projects. In a new program, district committees located in districts in which there are housing projects are holding special meetings in the projects themselves to encourage the residents to attend the meetings and to communicate with the police. This program is under development and is considered of greatest importance. The present district committee organization is not "reaching" the majority of the citizens in housing project neighborhoods and an expanded program of this type is seen by the Department as being one possible means of meeting this need.

"Say Hi" Program. Another new program is a project in which school children are encouraged to just wave or say "hi" to any police officer they might see. This is an attempt to increase communication between the police and the youth of the City. Participants in the program receive membership cards in the "Say Hi" Club.

As can be seen, the St. Louis program is well developed and utilizes a wide variety of techniques and programs. It has served as a model for many other programs now in existence and is characteristic of the "Advisory Council-District Committee" approach. It is one of the few programs utilizing a civilian director and civilian personnel.

B. National Influences on Development of Police Community Relations Programs:

The Michigan State University's School of Police Administration and Public Safety has long been one of the leading training institutions for law enforcement leaders across the country. In 1955, as its graduate program at the master's level was initiated, the school had begun to retreat from an earlier orientation in the technical and "tooling" aspects of law enforcement education, moving toward a broader based curriculum, with heavy emphasis on social and behavioral sciences. It was also in 1955 that Michigan State co-sponsored and hosted the first National Institute on Police and Community Relations, repeated annually since that time.

The other co-sponsor of the National Institute was the National Conference of Christians and Jews, an organization which realized that a multitude of social changes had made the police officer's job more difficult and that very little was being done to help police officers cope effectively and sensitively with "people problems" increasingly threatening domestic tranquility. Participants in the annual National Institutes, numbering more than four hundred in recent years, have been about two-thirds police officers with command or supervisory responsibilities in their department and one-third other types of community leaders, i.e., school officials, clergymen, correctional workers, labor leaders, etc. The National Institute's total "alumni association" today numbers approximately 2,500; only eight states have never been represented. Over sixty of the most outstanding papers presented at the National Institutes have been compiled into a book by A. F. Brandstatter and Louis A. Radelet, Police and Community Relations: A Sourcebook, New York: The Free Press, 1968. (Most of the above information was gleaned from this source.)

In 1961, on a grant of funds from the Field Foundation, the School of Police Administration and Public Safety conducted a national survey of 168 law enforcement agencies. The results of this survey strongly established a case for establishment of a National Center on Police and Community Relations. This Center, with year-round services available, was launched August 1, 1965 at Michigan State, on the basis of a substantial grant from the Field Foundation (Brandstatter and Radelet). The Center's functions include:

1. Undertaking action-related research projects.
2. Preparing, publishing, and circulating reports, manuals, pamphlets, booklets, and other literature in the field of its interest.
3. Developing and conducting educational and training programs.
4. Providing direct consultative service to interested police and community agencies and organizations.
5. Training young professionals for work in the field of police and community relations.

The Center has been the recipient of several federal grants, including one with which it conducted the National Survey of Police and Community Relations for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement in 1967.

The amount of assistance these national efforts may have given to any of the sixteen cities under investigation here is not clear; however, it should be noted that some of the police officials interviewed mentioned that their chief, themselves, or other members of the department had attended a National Institute. The availability to local officials of literature prepared nationally is also unknown, but it seems likely that a large number of local departments are reading this material. A number of the Institute papers, for example, have been published in the Police Chief magazine, Police magazine, and other sources.

Another national development which is bound to have a significant impact on local police-community relations programs is the availability of federal monies, through the U. S. Justice Department, for the expansion of local operations. The only evidence available regarding the federal funding opportunities was that the Los Angeles Police Department had a small federal grant for training police officers in effective interpersonal relations. Money can have an undoubtable influence on program quality and some departments (i.e., Cincinnati) have allocated no money to operate their community relations sections, over and above their normal operating expenses.

C. Structure:

For those police departments with a separate specialized unit for community relations, the unit normally occupies the same level in the organizational hierarchy as other specialized units such as the narcotics division, traffic division, or the detective division. For each specialized unit one person is made responsible for its activities and that person is subordinate only to the Chief of Police, or the Sheriff if it is a county department. An exception to the above lines of authority exists in New Orleans where there is both a Superintendent of Police and as Assistant to the Superintendent whose authority intervenes between the specialized units (including the community relations division) and the Chief of Police.

Heads of community relations divisions of police departments normally hold the rank of Captain although some are Lieutenants or Sergeants. Important exceptions to this pattern exist within the Dade County Public Safety Department (Sheriff) and the St. Louis Police Department where the heads of the community relations units are civilians. A number of other staff members are also civilians in the St. Louis program.

Estimates of the size of police community relations operations are difficult because of insufficient data. However, it is known that the City of Miami Police Department has just two men on its community relations staff and a questionable reference was made to the about 100 members of the Los Angeles Police Department Community Relations Division. There is reason to believe

that some patrolmen serve as community relations representatives on a part-time or temporary basis, both in Los Angeles and in other cities included in this study.

A factor which is significant to the structure of police community relations units and one which lends support to the view that St. Louis has served as a prototype for other cities is the recent trend toward decentralization of services, though not necessarily a decentralization of decision-making authority. In the previous description of the St. Louis program, for example, it was noted that committees were formed in each of the police districts for the purpose of addressing a variety of law enforcement related issues on a continuing basis. The committees included official police department representatives as well as various community residents. In each of 10 cities for which we have information (with the exception of Detroit?) there is a similar type of decentralization of police community relations efforts. An adaptation implemented by some departments however is to establish formal "satellite" branches of the headquarters community relations division. These branches, often referred to as "storefront offices," are located throughout the city but especially in the socioeconomically depressed areas, and are manned by a police officer on either a full or part-time basis. The "storefront" offices are sometimes occupied in conjunction with other agencies who are also concerned about reaching the "grass roots" citizens. There is some indication (Miami) that decentralization programs are being experimentally tried at the urging of Model Cities planners.

D. Functions:

Broadly conceived, the purposes of police community relations programs include variants of the following:

1. To encourage police-citizen partnerships in the cause of crime prevention.
2. To foster and improve communication and mutual understanding between the police and the total community.
3. To promote interprofessional approaches to the solution of community problems, and stress the principle that the administration of justice is a total community responsibility.
4. To enhance cooperation among the police, prosecution, the courts, and corrections.
5. To assist police and other community leaders to achieve an understanding of the nature and causes of complex problems in people-to-people relations, and especially to improve police-minority group relationships.
6. To strengthen implementation of equal protection under the law for all persons.

The above purposes are taken from Brandstatter and Radelet and conform to the somewhat less sophisticated pronouncements of purpose made by subjects in the cities under study here.

More specifically, the functions of police community relations units are to create and maintain the kinds of programs which they feel will help to achieve the above goals. These specific programs take a variety of forms, of which a number of typical examples are included in the description for St. Louis. Often the programs take on catchy names which make obvious what they are about. The Los Angeles Sheriff's Department has several of these programs:

1. "adopt-a-deputy" (elementary school program)
2. "citizen and the law"
3. "officer in the school"
4. "crime alert"
5. "school and ride-a-long"

A sizeable share of the community relations programming in Los Angeles and elsewhere is apparently devoted to establishing school programs. Most of the cities in fact have officers who regularly teach courses in the schools (from pre-school to high school) on a part-time or part-year basis. The Los Angeles City Police Department plans to have an officer teaching a course full-time on police science and government to 11th and 12th graders on the campus of one all-Negro school in the city.

One useful conceptualization of police community relations functions might be to differentiate between those which are internal to the organization and those which involve external relationships. This, in fact, is a distinction which several police officials made in their discussions of their own programs. The major internal community relations program deals with training of line officers. Historically, specialized police training in the subject matter of community relations goes back about 25 years and the instruction dealt almost exclusively with racial problems (Brandstatter and Radelet). Recent trends, however, are to move away from the strict race relations orientation to a broader conception of community relations instruction, including such subjects as the American culture, basic human behavior, and social disorganization (St. Louis). Several respondents in this study expressed strong sentiments regarding the extreme importance of this kind of internal program for the successful achievement of good police and community relations.

External community relations programs relate directly to the environment within which a police department operates. The essential functions of the various external programs appear to be:

1. To supply information regarding regular police services to all segments of the community.
2. To supply new (non-traditional) police services to the community.

3. To educate the public regarding the role of police in the community -- as in the school programs.
4. To gather information (or "intelligence") from the community that can be useful in helping the police perform their duties most effectively.

It appears that the various police community-relations activities could be categorized according to the above internal/external scheme. A speculative comment in this regard is that those police departments whose leaders emphasize a "get tough" kind of policy would be least likely to engage in external community relations programs, although the internal programs may be favored as simply good police practice. The external programs, to some, are too "social work oriented" and not the proper work of police departments.

Another functional distinction which must be made in any analysis of police-community relations activities is that between public relations and community relations work. The distinction is not easy to draw for the two seem to be highly interrelated. Radelet observes that community relations is like a three-legged stool, with each leg necessary to the support of the whole structure. The three legs he sees as public relations, community service, and community participation. The grand-daddy of all police-community relations units (St. Louis) in fact is named the Public Relations Division. The distinction may be largely semantic, but it appears to us that public relations activities (i.e. news releases, speakers bureau, brochures, newsletters, etc.) are all one-way channels of communication, whereas effective community relations involves two-way communication. An effective community relations program may in fact be the best public relations tool; however, the community relations program intent is to effectively serve the organization's public rather than to effectively manipulate the public's attitude toward the organization. Several of the respondents seemed to indicate general agreement with this distinction. There perhaps is more confusion over this distinction among police officials than there is clarity, though. Several items in the literature on police-community relations make particularly emphatic distinctions between public and community relations also.

One activity to which several police-community relations units give significant amounts of attention is the recruitment of black officers. This point is mentioned here only because it suggests that some police officials may now believe that many police-community relations problems stem from an imbalance of black officers on the police force. Data regarding the actual black/white ratio in the police departments studied was not generally available. It was noted however that the St. Louis Police Department has traditionally had large proportions of black officers. In spite of this, the St. Louis Police Department's relations with the black community are reported to be no better than many other cities.

E. County Police in Metropolitan Areas:

In the Miami and the Los Angeles Metropolitan areas the county government structures are quite elaborate, including large law enforcement departments. In the Dade County (Miami) area the sheriff's community relations operation began in 1967 and was quite extensive at the time of the 1968 disturbance during the Republican National Convention. At that same time the Miami City Police Department had a community relations unit only in the planning stage. The City Police Department now has a two-man community relations operation. Its staff attempt to cooperate as much as they can with the Sheriff's community relations unit and with the Metropolitan Dade County Community Relations Board. It is not clear in the Los Angeles area whether the County Sheriff or the Los Angeles Police Department has the larger community relations operation. The data indicate, though, that agreements have been reached between the departments regarding the jurisdiction of each. The County generally assists in areas where the municipal authorities are unable to do the community relations job properly. This approach is also taken by the Dade County Sheriff's Community Relations unit.

TYPE VIII - CITY FIRE DEPARTMENT CR'S

The only known fire department CR unit is the one-man operation in Cincinnati. However, a similar operation in the Los Angeles Fire Department apparently inspired Cincinnati to follow suit. The Cincinnati unit was formed in January of 1968. The CR officer was initially trained for a 12 week period by the staff of the police CR unit, established two years earlier. Major program facets are: (1) Direct assistance to citizens in terms of cutting government "red tape" (a return to the "neighborhood firehouse" concept), (2) Human relations training of firemen and recruits, and (3) Data-gathering by census tract to ascertain where in the city fire safety instruction is needed. One of the principle thrusts of the CR unit so far has been an effort to recruit black firemen; Cincinnati has only three black firemen at present. The Cincinnati Human Relations Commission assisted in this effort.

TYPE IX - CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

COMMUNITY RELATIONS DEPARTMENTS

As schools become the focus of more racial incidents, boards of education are responding in similar fashion to the city governments who experienced violence in the streets. They are introducing human relations commissions as essential subunits of the education organization. The city of Detroit provides an example of this.

In 1960 the Detroit Board of Education established a Division of School and Community Relations which was further subdivided into units such as the Intergroup Relations Department. Structurally, each school has a chairman (method of selection unclear from our data) who works with the principal both on problems and in trying to achieve positive improvement. The city was divided into regions and each school contributed a representative (whether this was a student or teacher is not clear) to the regional committee. A city-wide CR committee conducts workshops and conferences on education and race, education and student unrest, and education and the community. Other concerns of the education CRC are textbooks and courses and criteria for assessing their racial content, curriculum, parents complaints of racist teachers, the need for more Negro teachers and administrators, and student unrest at exclusion from decision making. Topeka also had a Youth Council on Human Relations. The only data on it which we have are the fact that it is an organization consisting of 30 high school students representing all of the city high schools; it works predominantly through the mass media; it sponsored a Sunday morning radio program consisting of Negro spirituals; and it apparently has rather sparse financial backing.

In light of the trend towards increasing racial tension and expression in the schools, this would likely be a very productive area for further study.

And finally, we note that these commissions were found only in the North. In New Orleans in 1969 where there were serious racial incidents in the schools, accompanied by mass arrests of students, we find no mention of any Board of Education CRC.

OTHER TYPES OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSIONS

Type I - State

It is possible that a state HRC will have an office in a city (as well as in the state capital) and will become involved in daily human relations activities within that city. This is most likely during time of civil disorder. Louisville is an example of this and it suggests that the main activities of the state HRC were information gathering and acting in an advisory capacity. There also appears to be a likelihood of involvement in daily human relations activities in small towns which probably do not have their own CRC. The data suggest that at the state level the major functions of these organizations is enforcement and program development. No data have been collected on Types V and X.

Gaps in our Data

The most conspicuous gaps in our data are the almost total lack of information on community CRC's in the following cities: Waterloo, Indianapolis, and Brownsville. A similar lack of data on police community relations units exists for the above three cities as well as Columbus, Oklahoma City, Toledo, and Topeka.

Data are meager or non-existent on RCC's for all cities except Buffalo, Detroit, and Columbus. We suspect that most cities do have some body performing RCC functions, but it may not necessarily be the CRC. For instance, in Los Angeles we have conflicting reports that the Urban League and the NAACP operate the RCC. In at least one city (Louisville), the CRC cooperates with a religious group in operating the RCC.

Except for Detroit, data are non-existent on CRC units in Boards of Education.

Except for Cincinnati, and possibly Los Angeles, data are lacking on CR units within Fire Departments. It may be that no other cities have these units.

Within any of the above types of CRC's, our main data weaknesses lie in the following areas:

1. History - events leading to establishment of CRC
2. Staff - ethnic composition
 - past experience or qualifications of professional staff
 - mobility of professional staff
 - role of volunteers
3. Budget - absolute size
 - source
 - as a percentage of the city budget
4. Research - facilities
 - topics
 - operations
5. Overlapping Directorates with other Organizations - yes or no, as well as which ones
6. Composition of Board of Commissioners and the Interests they represent and resources they contribute
7. Concern With Minorities Other Than Blacks
8. CRC's Perception of Police Community Relations
9. Own Perception of Extent to Which Have Gained Confidence of the Minority Community, i.e., Legitimacy

10. Role With Regards to School Integration Attempts
11. Inter-Organizational Interactions and Liaisons (Formal and Informal)
12. Functional Autonomy From Mayor and Police
13. Role Conflict and Organizational Marginality
14. Differential Role Perceptions by CRC and Mayor
15. Role in a Civil Disturbance
Extent of Pre-Arranged Plans
Changes Due to Last Disorder
16. Overlap of Functions
17. Formality and Informality in Professional Staff
18. Legitimacy in the Eyes of Municipal Government
19. CRC's Organizational Internal Maintenance and Decision Making
20. The Power Structure's (broadly defined to include more than just
municipal government) Expectations of the CRC.

CONCLUSION

There can be no doubt that CRC's have evolved to promote community harmony. Whether the principle impetus for their development came from groups who perceived threats to their power or from groups who were demanding more power and opportunity is not clear. Yet, it is noteworthy that the CRC's have grown along with the civil rights movement, and indeed a certain amount of overlap of functions does exist here. It is quite likely that both the "power elite" in the communities and the groups who were striving for greater participation in and sharing of the benefits of the existing system felt that a CRC would work to their own advantage. To those who are protecting vested interests, the CRC is protective in that it strives to "keep the lid on" and prevents disruption of the present structure. To those who are intent on gaining a greater share of the system's benefits the CRC is instrumental in serving as a link to the decision-makers who control the existing distribution of rewards. CRC's are, in this sense, mediators between the "haves" and the "have-nots." The degree to which CRC operations benefit, in the long-run, the haves or the have-nots is an unanswered question, but a profitable one to explore. To the degree that CRC's effectively inhibit civil disorders, they may in fact be inhibiting longer-range changes in the social structure. That is, a latent function may be to restrict social change to that which is only minor.

Besides the above function of mediating between conflicting interests, CRC's also exist to assist urban residents to adapt to unplanned social changes. The growth of CRC's has occurred concomitantly with the great pervasiveness of the influence of urbanization and bureaucratization. Urban area service organizations, upon which all urban residents depend, have grown in size, complexity, and impersonality. Citizens, particularly those of the lower socioeconomic status groups, are experiencing alienation from governmental and other organizations in the community. CRC's serve largely to bridge this gap; that is, to bring the government back to the people and to give them some semblance of control over their own destiny (e.g., through citizen participation on police CR committees). In this sense CRC's are locally promoting what national agencies like the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) refer to as the doctrine of maximum feasible participation of the poor.

This function of CRC organizations appears to have some similarity to the role of the ombudsman in Scandinavian and some other countries. It is our impression, however, the ombudsmen are clearly the peoples' agent, whereas CRC's may sometimes function to keep the pressure off government officials.

Referring again to the community services offered by CRC's, it appears that the functions and activities of CRC's and such civil rights and social service agencies as the Urban League, overlap considerably. The data lead us to suspect that any given community is willing to support a limited number of programs of the CRC and Urban League type. If this is the case, there may be covert or even overt competition for the right to operate these programs. This would lead to the hypothesis that in such communities there will be an inverse relationship between the size and scope of the activities of agencies such as the Urban League, and the size and scope of activities of CRC's.

Another perspective from which CRC's might be viewed is that which sees them as "boundary units" of the supra-organization. For example, city CRC's may be at the boundaries of city government in the sense that the CRC facilitates the interchange of information and resources between city agencies and other organizations. All professional personnel of the city CRC participate in "foreign affairs" (activities with social actors outside the organization).

In future research it might be profitable to explore the effects of professionalization of personnel in CRC agencies or units on the organization itself. Competing concepts of professionalization among police or firemen are particularly relevant here. Similarly, the conceptual framework dealing with bureaucratic versus professional organizations might be a useful tool in analyzing CRC's.

Whatever the proper role of CRC's, their actual operations are very worthwhile to study because of the CRC's central position in the community structure. Despite their relative youth, CRC's have interrelated themselves with a vast array of community organizations and diverse community interest groups. Extensive knowledge of the operations of a community's CRC, will in many cases provide a fairly complete insight into that community.