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Grassroot Organizations in the Black Community in Portland

Danny B. Copeland
Portland State University

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APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

[redacted]

Mel Henry, Chairman

[redacted]

Kay Toran

[redacted]

Arthur Emlen

This is a descriptive study of grassroot organizations in the Black community of Portland, Oregon. The primary objective of this study is to determine whether the Black community of Portland is actively working to improve the socio-economic and political position of the Black residents of Portland, or whether it is disorganized, apathetic, and removed from the main stream of society.

To achieve the goals of this study, answers will be sought for the following questions: Are there grassroot organizations in the Black community of Portland, Oregon? If yes, how many are there? Who are the members? What is the nature, scope, and range of their activities? What are their accomplishments? Are leadership roles clearly defined and

identifiable? What is the perception of successful leadership in the Black community?

In order to develop a theoretical framework for this study, a general review of the literature in the field of voluntary organizations and community development was necessary. The review presented a conceptual overview of three major components of analysis in the field of voluntary action research with specific emphasis placed on the literature of organizations in Black communities. The literature reflected 1) attitudinal characteristics related to participation; 2) demographic characteristics of voluntary grassroot organizations, and 3) socio-demographic characteristics of the Black community related to participation and leadership in grassroot organizations.

Data for the study were gathered via personal interviews with the leaders of sixteen of the thirty-seven organizations contacted. Introductory letters were sent out explaining the purpose of the research and asking for the leaders' assistance in this endeavor.

Due to the small sample size, no statistical tests were conducted. Data were presented in tables; however, caution should be exercised in generalizing from the results.

Findings indicate that there are thirty-seven grassroot organizations in the Black community of Portland, with the majority of constituents and executive board memberships being Black. Most of the organizations are directed by Black females.

In looking at the nature, scope, and range of these organizations' activities, they were divided into two groups. First, the single-issue oriented organizations where involvement was in the promotion of neighborhood improvement through housing, transportation, social work, economic

and educational development.

The second group was service oriented, where energies were geared toward providing constructive, educational, recreational, cultural, civic, and social programs for the Black youth of Portland.

The major accomplishment identified by all groups was their length of existence. Other accomplishments include improved street lighting, traffic lights, and crosswalk markings, community schools, park improvements, and many others.

Data related to socio-demographic characteristics of leaders indicates that most are in the $10,000 or above income bracket, all are high school graduates, but there is no relationship between education and income.

Finally, most of the leaders expressed a combinantion of inner and outer directed responses regarding their past and present participation in community activities geared toward community improvement and livability. What they liked most about participating was centered around the idea of helping others who were less fortunate.

Although Albina is the identified Black community, whites outnumber Blacks more than 2:1, according to the 1970 Census for the Portland-Albina area. The majority of Blacks who reside in Portland live in the Albina area; however, it should be pointed out that the majority population (69%) in Albina is white. Albina is only 29% Black, with 2% being other minority groups.

Although these organizations are providing the needed services to improve the economic, social, and political postions of Blacks in Portland, these services are not available to the majority of poor Blacks. In essence, these organizations are perpetuating the status quo, where the poor get poorer and the rich, richer.

Although Portland Blacks are in need of increased grassroot involvement and political sophistication, there does not seem to be any proliferation of grassroot organizational activities in the near future.

GRASSROOT ORGANIZATIONS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN PORTLAND

by

DANNY B. COPELAND

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TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH:

The members of the Committee approve the thesis of

Danny Bernard Copeland presented May 20, 1977.

[redacted]

Kay Toran

[redacted]

Arthur Emlen

APPROVED:

[redacted]

Guido Pinamonti, Assistant Dean, School of Social Work

[redacted]

Stanley E. Rauch, Dean of Graduate Studies and Research

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This is a descriptive study of grassroot organizations in the Black community of Portland, Oregon. The primary objective of this study is to determine whether the Black community of Portland is actively working to improve the socio-economic and political positions of the Black residents of Portland, or whether it is disorganized, apathetic, and removed from the main stream of this society.

A second purpose of this study is related to the preparation and compilation of a comprehensive directory listing and identifying the various Black organizations and their stated purposes. This will provide an easy reference or a guide for the professional, as well as the lay community.

To achieve the goals of this study, answers will be sought for the following questions: Are there grassroot organizations in the Black community of Portland, Oregon? If yes, how many are there? Who are the members? What is the nature, scope, and range of their activities? What are their accomplishments? Are leadership roles clearly defined and identifiable? What is the perception of successful leadership in the Black community?

In an attempt to provide answers to these questions, the following areas will provide the scope of both the literature review and the

instrument for data collection:

1) history of voluntary organizations in the Black community of Portland;

2) number and size of grassroot organizations in the Black community of Portland;

3) nature and scope of organizations in regard to philosophy, function, objectives, duration of existence, frequency of meeting, nature of communication both internally and externally with other organizations and social service agencies;

4) constituency of organizations, with emphasis upon ethnic origins, sex, age, and other socio-demographic characteristics;

5) description of the leadership of these organizations with special emphasis on types and representativeness of leadership of these organizations; and

6) degree of support the leaders receive from the Black community; attitudes and motivation of the leaders; and leaders' perceived effectiveness of their organization.

SIGNIFICANCE TO SOCIAL WORK

The review of social science literature pertaining to the present study vividly indicates that grassroot organizations are natural networks and an integral part of the history and development of social work as a profession. Over the years, social workers have had a variety of contacts with natural networks, and the indications are that this interest is being rekindled. Collins and Pancoast cite a definition of natural networks as the study of social phenomena. They see natural networks as basically

different from the traditional approach of categorizing individuals in social units according to such constructs as class, role, and institution, but an approach that is equally useful.[1]

> Natural networks exist as semi-permanent social structures in all cultures; in cities as well as villages; among people of every class. Their importance for social order and integration may increase rather than diminish as society becomes more complex.[2]

In its practical applicability for social work, the concept of networks has advantages over other ways of describing social collectives. Social workers are encouraged to consider the person in his setting and to recognize that behavior is a function of both the person and the environment.

Collins and Pancoast suggest that the concept of network is an analytical tool which focuses attention on real relationships between real people in a way that suggests both useful information and appropriate intervention for social workers. The importance of this study to the profession of social work is further emphasized by Collins and Pancoast's suggestion that if it were not for the informal services of helping networks, social agencies whether they recognize it or not would be swamped with requests for services.[3] Besides carrying the bulk of the service load in many areas, helping networks also carry out a widespread preventive program.

In an attempt to gain insight into social problems and social needs, social workers used the existing natural networks to achieve what they believe to be a primary objective of the profession of social work; namely,

[1] Alice Collins and Diane Pancoast, Natural Helping Networks: A Strategy for Prevention (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers, 1975), p. 17.

[2] Ibid., p. 28.

[3] Ibid., p. 24.

helping people improve their social conditions. Consequently, the early history of social work reflects the wide use of natural network helping systems as a means of social intervention.

Thus, the profession of social work had its origins on the grassroots level, beginning with the provision of social services through the church, monastaries, and hospitals. These services were manifested through alms to the poor, shelter to the homeless, and care and comfort for the sick.

In 1869 in England, the Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity was organized; it later became the Charity Organization Society. Their goal was to provide effective coordination of existing welfare services and agencies, where relief could be expeditiously and economically administered without duplication and competition.

When the colonists came to America, they brought with them English ideas, customs, common laws, and institutions. Consequently, the foundation for providing social welfare services for the poor and dependent was immediately established. In addition, various religious and ethnic groups expressed and demonstrated great concern for the poor. Among these groups were the Protestants, Catholics, Jews, the St. Andrews Society of New York for the English (1756), and the French Benevolent Society of New York for the French (1807).

However, the most impressive of these early organizations was the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, organized in 1843 in New York City. Among its efforts was the directed action toward improvement of housing, sanitation, the establishment of medical dispensaries for the indigent and sick, and the establishment of juvenile reformatories for youthful offenders.

The settlement movement is another example of grassroot organizing in the early history of social work. Pioneers of the settlement movement believed that they themselves could be in closer contact with those who needed better living conditions so that they might teach them and support their efforts. These convictions were carried out by leaving their own upper middle class homes and becoming neighbors in every sense to those they saw as needing their help in the slums.

These social workers attempted to relate to the residents in times of need and in times of celebration, using the existing networks to achieve their objectives of helping neighbors improve their social condition.

As can be seen through this succinct history of social work, the early social workers were volunteers who drew on the long human tradition of helping through "natural networks of kith and kin when they began to reach out to assist those who were not so related to them."[4] As the professional social work services became more costly, and as large sums of public as well as private funds had to be justified, time saving office interviews replaced neighborhood visiting. Social workers were less concerned with seeking out those in need and offering them services than they had been previously. They were preoccupied with attempting to meet the increased demand for services generated by their growing expertise and by programs of assistance they had helped to institute.

Collins and Pancoast go on to say that considering the important role these networks play, it is especially unfortunate that professional social workers often consider their services as competitive with those

[4] Collins and Pancoast, p. 36.

provided by nonprofessional persons whose motives are questionable.[5] Because grassroot organizations are seen as synonymous with natural networks, this study, therefore, becomes an integral part of the profession of social work as defined by Fink, et al:

> Social work is the art and science of providing services designed to enhance the interpersonal competence and social functioning of people, both as individuals and in groups. It is a helping profession whose methods focus upon the interaction between man and his environment. Its auspices may be voluntary, governmental or some combination of both. As a whole, social work functions in a complex system of social welfare services reflecting and determining the larger, social, economic, political and cultural setting of which the system is a part.[6]

From the above definition, it is clear that social work is one of those professions which attempts to operationalize the concept of social welfare in society. Like grassroot organizations, social work is concerned with the quality of life for individuals and groups, especially those who are the victims of poverty, racial injustice, ill health, and other socio-economic circumstances which place them in a dependent position.

In addition to the provision of resources to individuals, families, groups, and communities, both social work and grassroot organizations have a value structure which is rooted in the democratic traditions; designed to enhance and maintain individual dignity, pride, and worth; emphasizing the role of cooperation and human relationship, and above all, using the resources of people where they are to achieve their own goals.

It is in these regards that the goals of social work are intimately

[5] Collins and Pancoast, p. 17.

[6] Arthur E. Fink, et al, The Field of Social Work, 5th ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 1.

related to the concerns of grassroot organizations within the Black community.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF PORTLAND, OREGON

From the earliest records of travel in the northwest of Captain Gray in 1787, Lewis and Clark's Expedition, and the westward migration of the caravans and wagon trains, Black people have been involved in the history of the northwest settlement and its eventual industrial growth and development.

Oregon was first recognized as a Territory in 1849 and on February 14, 1859, was admitted to the Union as a state. At this time, slavery, a national political issue with strong political, economic, and racial overtones, was defended by the southern states and opposed by the northern states. With the admission of new states into the government came the question - Shall this state be a free state or shall it be a slave state?

If the new territory appeared to favor slavery, the Democrats would fight in Congress in favor of its admission. On the other hand, if it favored the free side, the Republicans would support its admission.

Although Oregon was not a "slave" state, it began an exclusionary process against Black people, whether slave or free. Although Blacks were few in number, the issue of entering the Union as a slave or free state was kept alive by virtue of political and economic interests, and by virtue of habits, customs, taboos, and racial attitudes, in addition to racial and religious convictions acquired and transported from native origins.

This exclusionary process took the form of residential restrictions, special legislation, poll taxes, and Black laws. In essence, these exclusionary actions by the state deprived Black residents of all their rights

as American citizens.

A bill prohibiting slavery was sponsored by Peter H. Burnett, and passed by the Provisional Legislature in 1844.[7] The first section of the bill prohibited slavery, as well as involuntary servitude in the state of Oregon. The second and third sections stated that if a slave were brought into the state, the owner had three years from the time of arrival to remove the slave or he/she would be set free. The next section implied that any free Black man had two years and any woman had three years to leave Oregon after his/her eighteenth birthday. The punishment for not abiding by the law was arrest, trial, and twenty to thirty-nine lashes once every six months until he/she decided to leave the state.

In 1857 another legislative action prohibited the migration of Blacks into the state:

> No free Negro or Mulatto, not residing in the state at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall come, reside or be within the state or hold any real estate, or make contracts, or maintain any suit therein.[8]

These bills were not repealed by the people of Oregon until 1926, under pressure from the federal government.

The Cockstock incident in 1844, involving a Black (Cockstock) who killed an Indian who was Secretary of the Provincial Government, was viewed as the initial event contributing to the enactment of Black exclusionary laws in Oregon. There were additional factors which influenced

[7] Daniel G. Hill, Jr., "The Negro in Oregon: A Survey," Master's Thesis, University of Oregon 1932, p. 7.

[8] Calvin O. Henry, "The Need for Political Maturity and Activism Among Blacks in Oregon," an unpublished paper presented and discussed at the CALMAX Symposium, The Status of Blacks in Oregon, held August 23-24, 1975, Corvallis, Oregon, p. 1.

these laws. "It has been suggested that the white's fear of Blacks might stir up the Indians against the whites. Also, the law was enacted simply to protect the virtues of whiteness."[9]

The Black community of Portland evolved after the city obtained a transcontinental railroad connection in 1869. The Black population consisted mainly of porters, ship attendants, and dining car waiters. Through discussion with some elderly Black residents, there is indication that Black migration into Portland was overlooked for a period of time because of white concerns and concentration of energies on decreasing the Asian population. According to some reports, Blacks congregated in houses and hotels of the red light district in what is now "old town."

As Little and Mason point out, the first sizeable increase in the Black population in Oregon occurred in 1890, with the majority of Blacks settling in the Portland area.

TABLE I[10]

BLACK POPULATION IN OREGON
1890 - 1970

Year	Population	Increase	Decrease
1880	487	141	0
1890	1,186	699	0
1900	1,105	0	81
1910	1,492	387	0
1920	2,144	652	0
1930	2,234	90	0
1940	2,565	331	0
1950	11,529	8,864	0
1960	18,133	6,604	0
1970	26,308	8,175	0

[9] William Little, et al, Non-White Races in the State of Oregon (Portland, Ore.: Scl. of Urban Affairs-Black Studies Cntr and the Oregon Pop. Research and Census Cntr, 1976), p. 21.

[10] Ibid.

Black migration to Portland had its second major increase during the second World War. This increase was due primarily to employment opportunities for Blacks in the northwest, particularly in the aircraft industry, shipyards, and shipping and lumber mills. There was also a large number of Blacks in the military stationed in the West who decided to remain in the area after the war.

During World War II, the federal government built the city of Vanport north of Portland to house the Kaiser shipyard and other federal employees. Vanport was a relatively integrated city of 40,000 people. The destruction of the entire city of Vanport by the flood of 1948 and the industrialization of the northwest section of Portland created housing difficulties for Blacks. The result was a migration of Blacks to the town of Albina and a search for greater economic opportunities in other parts of the country. The Black population declined from 18,000 to about 8,000 in 1948. However, as with World War II, the Korean Conflict brought increased employment opportunities for Blacks; by 1950 there was a marked increase in the Black population to 11,000.

Contemporary Portland.

The Black community of Portland today is concentrated in a relatively minute portion of the City's northeast section, once known as the city of Albina. Albina is now a part of Portland, but it was originally a separate municipality. It was laid out in 1872 and incorporated in 1887. Portland, East Portland, and Albina were consolidated in 1891. It was named for Albina G. Page, daughter of William W. Page, by William Edwin Russell, one time manager of the Bank of British Columbia in Portland.

Albina is bordered to the north by the Columbia River, to the south

by Broadway Street, to the east by 42nd Avenue, and to the west by Interstate Freeway #5. This area provides the most extensive integration of both ethnic and socio-economic echelons coexisting in the city. The Black population resides mainly in the original eight Model Cities neighborhoods of Woodlawn, Vernon, King, Boise, Irvington, Elliott, Humboldt, and Sabin.

> The development of black political organization in Oregon has been complicated by the lack of mere numbers and political sophistication. It appears that the civil rights movements of the 1950's and the Black Power movement of the 1960's had little or no impact on Blacks in Portland.[11]

Little and Mason go on to suggest that the "black political organizations in Oregon have tended to operate with a small professional base."[12]

Henry suggests that Blacks are not organized into any effective pressure groups in the state, giving rise to a sense of powerlessness and frustration among young Blacks. He goes on to suggest that being politically powerless is one of the pressing problems facing Blacks in Oregon.[13]

In examining the political activity of Black people in the state of Oregon, Henry presents tha idea of "gate keeping" as the reason for the limited Black political development in Oregon.

> Gate keeping is a term used to describe the philosophy and internal politics of Blacks in Oregon who do not want anything sponsored or done by Blacks to be successful unless it was approved by them.[14]

[11] William Little and James Mason, "The State of Black Political Organizations in the Northwest: A Comparative Study of Three Cities" (Prepared for delivery at the Black Political Scientist Conf. Americana Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia. March 16-18, 1977), p. 21.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Henry, p. 3.

[14] Ibid., p. 7.

It may be essential that the Black population in Oregon overcome the political and economic deficiencies and develop long range goals and objectives that can be achieved in an organized manner. As Henry suggests, these political and economic deficiencies have to be first recognized as causes of the lack of political and economic maturity.[15]

Data collected by Olmos suggest that while Blacks in Portland still face numerous problems, they continue to make progress in the areas of housing, employment, education, and politics.[16] Change has and is coming for Portland Blacks in many forms.

He goes on to suggest that the Black community in the 1970's has substituted the catch-all phrase "we're moving on" for the Black movement rally cries of "we shall overcome" of the 1960's. There appears to be a move away from such slogans, with Black concerns and consciousness being geared more toward quality of life, education, and career opportunities.

Although the political efficacy of Portland's Black population is deficient, as discussed earlier, Olmos' presentation suggests that Portland's Black population feels encouraged by the changes that have been made by Blacks to become more visible in positions of power.[17] "We now have a Black State Senator, a city councilman, and state, city of Portland and Multnomah County affirmative action officers are all Black."[18] It is noteworthy to mention, however, that visibility does not always mean power.

[15]Henry, p. 8.

[16]Robert Olmos, "'Albina: American Dream' Replaces Black Militancy," Portland Oregonian, 12 Dec. 1976, p. E1, cols. 1-6.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid.

According to Olmos, these increases in political and economic status are attributable to the skills and professionalism acquired through involvement with the war on poverty programs and Model Cities Project.[19] It appears that more Portland Blacks are aspiring for roles of leadership and are feeling optimistic about the achievement of these goals.

Report:

This study was written in five chapters. Chapter I, the Introduction, included the purpose of the study, its significance to the field of social work, and the historical overview of the Black migration to Oregon. Chapter II, Literature Review, covered the general overview of the literature in the field of voluntary organization. It concentrated on attitudinal characteristics related to participation, demographic characteristics of voluntary grassroot organizations, and socio-demographic characteristics of leaders and participants in voluntary grassroot organizations in the Black community.

Chapter III, Research Methodology, covered the research procedure, design, sources of data, research instrument, data collection methods, data analysis, and the limitations of the study. Chapter IV, Data Analysis, presented the analysis of data and social profiles of each organization studied. The final Chapter, V, Summary and Recommendations, covered the findings, implications, and recommendations.

[19] Olmos, cols. 1-6.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In order to develop a theoretical framework for this study, a general review of the literature in the field of voluntary organizations and community development was necessary. The review presented a conceptual overview of three major components of analysis in the field of voluntary action research with specific emphasis placed on the literature of organizations in Black communities. The literature reflected the following: 1) attitudinal characteristics related to participation; 2) demographic characteristics of voluntary grassroot organizations; and 3) socio-demographic characteristics of the Black community related to participation and leadership in grassroot organizations.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GRASSROOT ORGANIZATIONS

There is no universal definition of a voluntary grassroot organization; however, there is general agreement as to component characteristics of this phenomenon. Warner cites ten attributes of voluntary organizations:

1) where affiliation, activity and disaffiliation are voluntary, if a person is not paid for his involvement or legally required to take part presumeably his participation is optional;

2) they are usually relegated to leisure time activity, this varies in relation to vocational interests, because some voluntary associations are extensions of the members occupational or professional endeavors;

3) normative involvement of members is typical;

4) specialization of interests;

5) members tend to be only partially involved in any given organization;

6) frequently a vocational operation;

7) usually intermitent activity;

8) centralization of power and authority is fundamental to the nature of voluntary organizations;

9) characterized by a low degree of organizational formality, which lessens demands on members; and

10) usually private organization lacking accountability.[20]

Smith presents the idea of a need for scholars of voluntary action to adopt conceptual frameworks that will link together the various studies in the field. He points out that fragmentation has occurred in the knowledge that does exist in the field, and that intensive work is necessary to synthesize the ideas and concepts that have been developed in the field of voluntary action.[21]

Smith's theoretical framework was an initial contribution to the synthesization efforts. His efforts provide the foundation and direction for needed research in the field of voluntary action. In his work, Smith distinguishes five main types of voluntary action, each with corresponding types of individual volunteerism:

1) Service-oriented Voluntarism is that form of voluntary action that is primarily dedicated to helping others or doing things for others.

2) Issue-oriented or cause-oriented voluntarism is that form of voluntary action that is primarily directed at some kind of public issue, usually at making some kind of change in society or the bio-physical environment.

[20] W. Keith Warner, "Voluntary Association and Individual Involvement in Public Policy-making and Administration," Voluntary Action Research: 1973, ed. David Horton Smith (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973), p. 12.

[21] David Horton Smith, Voluntary Action Research: 1972 (Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, D. C. Heath & Co, 1972), p. 12.

3) Consummatory or self-expressive voluntarism is that form of voluntary action that is primarily aimed at enjoyment of activities for their own sake and for the sake of personal self-expression and self-realization without any major focus on altruism of external goals.

4) Occupational/Economic self-interest voluntarism is that form of voluntary action that is primarily aimed at furthering the occupational and/or economic interests of its participants.

5) Philanthropic/Funding voluntarism that is primarily aimed at raising and/or distributing funds to non-profit and voluntary organizations of all kinds in order to further philanthropic purposes in such areas as health, welfare, education, religion, politics, environment, etc.[22]

In order to give some perspective to the study of participation in grassroot organizations in the Black community of Portland, it is important to present another phase of Smith's analytic framework. This framework represents a number of conceptual categories for research as a basic part of his efforts to synthesize the ideas and concepts of voluntary action.[23] It is useful to present all of the categories in order to determine where the present study fits into Smith's framework. The elements are:

a) definitions, theory, and conceptual issues;
b) nature and development of voluntary action from early time to modern society;
c) history of theory, concepts and ideas of voluntary action and related topics;
d) nature and determinants of the incidence of growth, change, and cessation of voluntary activity in territorially based systems;
e) nature and determinants of the incidence, growth, change and dissolution of voluntary groups and organizations;
f) nature and determinants of relationships between voluntary groups and other groups and individual affiliates;
g) nature and determinants of the effectiveness of voluntary groups and their impact on social processes, social institutions, the larger society, and the bio-physical environment;

[22] Smith, p. 12.

[23] Ibid., p. 13.

h) nature and determinants of the internal structure and functioning of voluntary groups, organizations, and related collectivities;

i) nature and determinants of individual voluntary activity and role selections;

j) nature and determinants of the impact of voluntary action upon individual participants;

k) nature and determinants of the impact of exceptional individuals upon and through voluntary action of various kinds;

l) the values of voluntary action;

m) the futures of voluntary action;

n) development of methods of studying voluntary action;

o) development of voluntary action theory and research as a professional and scholarly field of interdisciplinary study.[24]

Perlman's definition of grassroot organizations is consistent with the purpose of this study.[25] She states that what grassroot organizations all have in common is that:

> They are independent community based membership organizations or coalitions of such organizations, composed of people acting on their own behalf. They focus their own social, economic and physical welfare through: 1) demands directed at the public and private institutions controlling selected goods and services; 2) electoral strategies to take over the institutions, and/or 3) initiating alternative arrangements to cope with the needs of the population that those institutions fail to meet.[26]

To expand on Perlman's definition for the present study, grassroot organizations may be nationally based organizations with local chapters; but in such cases the local chapters must have been initiated and controlled by members of the local Black community. As used in this study, grassroot organizations will exclude organizations that are controlled by federal, state, or local governments, United Good Neighbors, or other private funding agencies and formalized religious organizations such as

[24] Smith, p. 13

[25] Janice E. Perlman, "Grassrooting the System," Social Policy (September/October 1976), p. 7.

[26] Ibid.

churches. Advocacy organizations such as legal aids or advocacy planners which act on the behalf of others will also be excluded. Perlman suggests that grassroot organizations deal in collective rather than individual activities and are typically both multi-issue and multi-strategy groups.[27]

ATTITUDINAL AND MOTIVATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

The following portion of the literature review will focus upon findings from the literature which the author deemed necessary to the development of areas of investigation related to attitudinal and motivational characteristics of the population studied with regard to participation in grassroot organizations.

It is frequently argued by social scientists that poor communities are disorganized, dysfunctional and composed of people isolated and alienated from the main stream of society.[28] Other research on the poor, however, indicates that they are not nearly as passive and apathetic as we are accustomed to believe. Rainwater suggests that what often appears to the middle class observer as the apathy of the poor is really a strategy for survival which they use to adapt to their environment.[29]

O'Brien suggests that since all individuals within a particular neighborhood are similarly affected by the quality and quantity of services the neighborhood receives, they have a latent or potential basis of common

27 Perlman, p. 9.

28 E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 20.

29 Lee Rainwater, "Neighborhood Action and Lower Class Life Styles," Neighborhood Organizations for Community Action, ed. John B. Turner (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1968), p. 17.

interest.[30] Unlike many other aggregates in similar circumstances, however, he indicates that poor neighborhoods remain disorganized and without political power. He goes further to say that they frequently organize around a specific issue, such as urban renewal or police brutality, but these efforts normally dissipate once the issue is resolved.

Carmichael and Hamilton, on the other hand, suggest that only when Black people fully develop a sense of community for themselves, can they begin to deal effectively with the problems of racism.[31]

One of the most popular explanations for the fact that the poor do not become politically involved is the "culture of poverty" thesis. An explanation of this thesis is cited by O'Brien in studies by Harrington (1962) and Lewis (1966): The poor feel powerless to effect change in their lives, through political or other means, because they have internalized a subculture - the culture of poverty, which defines the world as unamenable to change and the poor person himself as relatively powerless to effect changes in his life situation.[32]

On the other hand, the "pluralist interest group theory," as cited by O'Brien, indicates that interest groups will emerge when individuals have a need for them.[33] Central to the pluralist theory is the notion that men are rational and self interested. However, as Carmichael and

[30] David J. O'Brien, Neighborhood Organizations and Interest Group Process (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 22.

[31] Stokley Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 45.

[32] O'Brien, p. 5.

[33] Ibid., p. 22.

Hamilton state, the values of the American society support a racist system.[34] Therefore, it is incongruous to expect Black people to adopt and support most of society's values. They go on to state that

> Negroes tended to be the objects rather than the subjects of civic action. Things are often done for, or about, or to, or because of Negroes, but they are less frequently done by Negroes.[35]

Even though pluralist theorists see man as rational and self interested, Carmichael and Hamilton state that "politically, decisions which affect Black lives have always been made by white people - the white power structure."[36] In essence, those who oppose this view overlook the fact that American pluralism quickly becomes a monolithic structure on issues of race. "When faced with demands from black people, the multi-faction whites unite and present a common front."[37]

Davis hypothesized that an important factor influencing the success or failure of Black organizations is a belief that Blacks are inferior.[38] Black organizations, therefore, are likely to run inefficiently and incompetently. He further suggests that this belief is held by many Black people and is responsible for Blacks' failure to utilize community services. This sense of Black inferiority results in Blacks utilizing white organizations, on the assumption that they are superior and more competent.[39]

Some of the most salient and explosive domestic political issues are

[34] Carmichael and Hamilton, p. 10.

[35] Ibid., p. 43.

[36] Ibid., p. 6.

[37] Ibid., p. 7.

[38] King E. Davis, Fund Raising in the Black Community: History, Feasibility and Conflict (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1975), p. 145.

[39] Ibid.

struggles for power between residents of poor neighborhoods on the one hand and local interest groups and local public authorities on the other. These struggles for power have been generated by the emergence of Black Power ideologies and welfare rights organizations which advocate the indigenous organization of the poor. But as O'Brien suggests, the significance of these struggles is that they remind us that we live in a nation whose constitution dictates that the quality of our lives will be determined to an important degree by our influence in local decision-making processes.[40]

Davis points out the fact that Black people have realized that their needs were not and are not being met by existing social institutions and that their needs were not given high priority by such institutions. Blacks have sought to build their own social institutions or to integrate existing ones, and in each area have been confronted by legal and illegal barriers to social change which still exist.[41]

He further asserts the idea that Black Americans have not benefited from America's periods of economic prosperity.[42] Priorities and values in America contribute to the perpetuation of inequality and maldistribution of resources. Americans seem to lack the will and time to pool their resources and energies to ensure that the needs of the total population are met as nearly as possible. The values and priorities of the country continue to evoke and reinforce extreme individualism, materialism, competition, and hoarding mentality that pit one group against another for limited resources.

[40] O'Brien, p. 32.

[41] Davis, p. 122.

[42] Ibid., p. 123.

Accordingly, O'Brien argues that the fundamental reason for the failure of neighborhood organization efforts lies not in any peculiar social psychological or cultural characteristics of the poor, but rather in the inability of these organizations to solve a problem which all interest groups must solve.[43] O'Brien defines this problem in terms of Olsen's 1965 public goods theory of interest groups, which states that individuals in a large aggregate will not voluntarily pay for the costs of collective goods unless aware that they will receive individual benefits from these goods.[44]

In attempting to further explain why poor people do not organize their neighborhoods, O'Brien presents the argument of a number of writers that even if the behavior and attitudes of the poor cannot be attributed to a unique culture, they can be attributed to such psychological states as anomie, alienation or apathy, which are a result of the structural system of poverty.[45] In essence, this argument states that the poor fail to use their resources for political purposes because they are relatively passive and apathetic members of society.

The poor may be viewed as purposive actors who consciously try to make adaptations to their environments. If poor people do not support movements to change the basic structural conditions of their impoverished lives, it is not necessarily because they are alienated and adrift from the main stream. Given the conditions of poverty, the poor cannot afford the luxury of being involved in such activities which only promise some

[43] O'Brien, p. 28.

[44] Ibid., p. 22.

[45] Ibid., p. 18.

relief of his plight in the future. Poor people's concerns are with more immediate tangible things such as jobs, decent housing, and everyday life essentials.

Much of the push for participation by the poor derives from more immediate and pragmatic concerns over a crude correlation between the degree of participation on the part of any given segment of a community in politically relevant associations and in community decision-making roles, and how this segment is represented by private and public agencies.

Effective participation by the poor in behalf of what they believe to be their own interests and needs is seen as an antidote to the derogatory view held by the majority of Americans, a view which Bloomberg and Rosenstock indicate relieves the rest of the community of responsibility for poverty or provides a rationale for emphasizing and reinforcing the dependency of the poor.[46] Finally, the poor can contribute a lot from their experience to the formulation of programs and projects to alleviate and reduce poverty.

Although organizational involvement is positively associated with socio-economic status, and regardless of measures of status and organizational participation--the higher the socio-economic status, the higher tends to be the rate of participation in organizations.[47] The majority of Americans, contrary to popular stereotypes, belong to only one or two organizations if any, and for the most part are passive members rather

[46] Warner Bloomberg and Florence W. Rosenstock, "Who Can Activate the Poor? One Assessment of Maximum Feasibility Participation," Power, Poverty, and Urban Policy, ed. Warner Bloomberg, Jr. and Henry Schmandt (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1968), III, 324.

[47] William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, 21(April 1964), p. 204.

than part of the active core of any association to which they belong. Supporting evidence in the research of Foskett, Hodge and Treiman, and Olsen indicates that given the socio-economic variables being constant, there is in fact a higher rate of participation by Blacks than there is by whites.[48, 49, 50]

Research by Hyman supports this argument with findings that voluntary association membership is not characteristic of the majority of Americans.[51] Although not characteristic of the majority of Americans, there was a small increase in voluntary association membership between the mid 1950's and early 1960's. The trend toward an increase in association membership is not confined to the more well-to-do strata of the population, but occurs all along the line and especially among those of poorer economic means.

It is clear from a brief review of the literature of Black history that Black organizations are not a new phenomenon. Blacks have tried for years to pool their meager resources in order to improve their socio-economic condition and protect their lives. Davis makes the point that prior to the 19th century, Blacks defined and set their own priorities among their socio-economic and political problems.[52] Resources and energies of Blacks were directed by their analysis of their circumstances.

[48] John Foskett, "Social Structures and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, 20(1955), p. 433.

[49] Robert W. Hodge and David J. Treiman, "Social Participation and Social Status," American Sociological Review, 33(October 1968), p. 731.

[50] Marvin Olsen, "Social and Political Participation of Blacks," American Sociological Review, 35(August 1970), p. 684.

[51] Herbert Hyman and Charles R. Wright, "Trend in Voluntary Associations Membership of American Adults," American Sociological Review , p. 202.

[52] Davis, p. 123.

He goes on to say that with the entry of white financial support came differing definitions of Black problems and a perceptible shift in priorities, tactics, and timetables employed to bring about social change.[53]

Therefore, the fundamental problem in inducing the support of poor Blacks for neighborhood organizational efforts is not that they are irrational or non-rational, but rather that they act as rational, self interested people. Individuals in poor neighborhoods have reasons to believe that an individualistic solution to their problems is more feasible than a collective solution.

Davis suggests that there are needs for collective and mutual support on the part of Black people, particularly at the level of the family and local community, and suggests that the healthiest line of development for the Black man would be toward group solidarity and cohesion and the sense that being a Black man has positive value.[54] The Black community must define what is "good" and desirable and what is "bad" and undesirable from the standpoint of its own interests and condition of its existence. These arguments lead directly to the conclusion that the poor must, relative to the middle class majority, "over participate" in politically relevant associations and campaigns.[55]

The majority of the studies cited do not view the Black community as the highly complex structured system that it is. Blackwell argues that the conditions of low income, inaccessibility to high paying occupations, widespread unemployment, and pervasive poverty are problems in the Black

[53] Davis, p. 125.

[54] Ibid., p. 146.

[55] Rainwater, p. 32.

community today.[56] If allowed to continue unchecked, they will have major consequences for the quality of life not only in the Black community itself, but also for America as a whole. He goes on to say that these conditions have a profound impact on the stability of the family and on those who are forced to seek public assistance, and must suffer severe psychological trauma in the process. They create invidious stratification systems, inhibit the mobility of the people from one social stratum to another, and determine to a large degree who shall and who shall not be educated. These conditions combine with racism to keep Blacks contained in rural areas or spatially separated in the South, and restrict them to areas surrounded by white suburbanites who continually seek to block their exits. Low income, unemployment, and poverty effectively unite with racist practices to reduce the availability of Black capital necessary for the construction and survival of Black businesses. This situation, in turn, all but destroys the potential political power that could be generated in several Black communities, for power is not only the possession of resources, but also a function of the mobilization of those available resources.[57]

Payne et al, as well as other studies, examine the literature addressing various issues studied by researchers in voluntary action. A summary of these studies is presented here under the topics of socio-demographic characteristics.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

As the literature review of socio-demographic characteristics will

[56] James C. Blackwell, The Black Community: Diversity and Unity (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1975), p. 316.

[57] Ibid., p. 32.

show, the Black community today is unique, with a variety of distinguishing characteristics and features. Blackwell indicates that several variables are necessary in making an evaluation of the Black community.[58] These variables include income, unemployment, work and occupation, education, race, sex, distribution and nativity, sex, and marital status.

For the purposes of this research, community will be identified by the five major functions Roland Warren indicates are essential in a community of locality relevance.[59] These are, 1) production-distribution-consumption, which concerns the availability of goods and services essential to daily living in the immediate locality; 2) socialization, which refers to the transmission of basic values and behavioral patterns to the individual members of the system; 3) social control, which is the structural arrangement for influencing members toward behavioral conformity; 4) social participation, which refers to those structures that facilitate incorporation into the community by virtue of opportunities for participation in its life; and 5) mutual support, which describes the process of care and exchanges for help among the members of a group especially in times of stress. As Blackwell points out, this definition encompasses a number of important elements of community and permits the elaboration of other issues.[60]

Age

Payne et al cite a study by Mayo (1950) which they consider to be

[58] Blackwell, p. 11.

[59] Roland Warren, Perspectives on the American Community (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1966), p. 21.

[60] Blackwell, p. 201.

the best study relating age and participation in voluntary organizations.[61] Mayo's findings indicated an increase in participation from age 10-14 to age 15-19. There is, however, a sharp decline in the participation rate in the years between 20 and 30. Participation in this age range is the lowest of all age ranges studied.[62]

The rate of participation increases dramatically in the middle years (40-45), plus or minus 10 years; with most research indicating that membership and participation increase throughout the middle years. Studies representative of these findings are Chandain, Chapin, Devereaux, Evans, Schuyler, and Wilensky.[63]

As Blackwell's findings indicate, the Black population is essentially young; whites tend to be on the average about seven years older than Blacks. The median age of Black males and females in 1971 was 21.1 and 23.6 respectively.[64]

Research shows that 45 percent of Black males and 43 percent of Black females were under the age of 20 in 1971; yet only 6 percent of the men and 8 percent of the women were over the age of 65.[65] Blackwell states that the data showing a large percentage of age dependent Blacks "have a number of implications for family life, poverty structure, welfare

[61] Barbara Payne, Raymond and Richard Reddy, "Social Background and Role Determinants of Individual Participation in Organized Voluntary Action," Voluntary Action Research: 1972, eds. Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin (Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1972), p. 217.

[62] Ibid., p. 216.

[63] Ibid., p. 219.

[64] Blackwell, p. 20.

[65] Ibid., p. 25.

and institutional participation."[66]

Marital Status

Studies have shown that married persons have higher rates of both membership and participation in voluntary associations than those who are widowed, separated or divorced. According to Payne et al, representative studies showing this pattern are by Bell and Force, Scott, and Booth and Babchuck.[67]

Income

The most salient generalization relating to this variable is that high income is markedly associated with greater membership, participation, and leadership in voluntary associations. Lehrman and Abrams cite a number of studies in which these findings hold consistently, including those by Mather, Komarovsky, Reid and Ehle, Uzzell, Reissman, Axelrod, Wright and Hyman, Babchuk and Thompson, Hodge and Treiman, and others.[68]

In general, the literature indicates that the amount of participation and membership is strongly associated with higher income levels. Participation does, however, decrease when the income level is extremely high. Since higher income levels are related to voluntary participation, one can make the assumption that there is more eligibility for a wider variety of special and general interest groups. As Pivins points out, lower class people have few of the requirements to generate a stable organization,

[66] Blackwell, p. 25.

[67] Payne et al, p. 220.

[68] Douglas E. Lehrman and Janet Abrams, "A Descriptive Study of Participation in the Evergreen Community Organization," Master's Practicum, Portland State University, 1976, p. 214.

they have few organizational skills, less professional expertise, less money, and fewer personal relations with official positions.[69]

An interesting finding by Barth indicates that the majority of leaders of voluntary organizations also occupy high positions in the economic organizations of their community.[70]

Census data for 1971 show that Blacks still earn far less than their white counterparts, with the median income for Black families being approximately $6,400 compared to $10,670 for white families.[71] As these data indicate, Black family incomes are only 60% of that of their white counterparts.

Blackwell indicates that,

> the dollar gap between black and white families has steadily widened so that it would take extremely sharp rises in the total incomes received by black families accompanied by little or no increases in white family incomes for black families ever to approximate parity. Racist hiring practices, automation and mechanization of agriculture conspire to keep the gap from closing. Although demonstrations and organized protests in the 1960's attacked unfair labor practices in the construction industry and in other aspects of labor, they helped to change the situation only slightly. The average black worker is still paid $1,200 less than the average white worker performing the same type of work.[72]

Income disadvantages coupled with low occupational status and high rates of unemployment are considered by Blackwell to be the sources of disabilities that are characteristic of many segments of the Black

[69] Francis F. Pivins, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community Action Progress," Citizen Participation in Urban Development, ed. Hans B. Spiegel (Washington, D.C.: NTL Institute for Applied Behavior Science, 1968), I, 116.

[70] Ernest A.T. Barth and Baha Abu Laban, "Power Structure and Negro Sub-Community," American Sociological Review, 24(February 1959), p. 71.

[71] Blackwell, p. 29.

[72] Ibid.

community.[73] This is due mainly to the fact that across the country the income structure favors whites which in turn relegates the Black population to a disadvantaged position.

These income disadvantages in Portland are further emphasized by Little. His evaluation of the census data of 1970 shows that the median family income of whites increased from $5,912 in 1960 to $9,529 in 1970.[74] However, the median family income for Portland Blacks and other non-white residents was $4,549 in 1960 and increased to only $7,514 in 1970. This shows an overall median family income increase for whites over non-whites to be $632; thus in reality, non-whites have been losing ground in the process of equalizing incomes.

Individual median incomes also showed a dramatic increase in white income levels over non-white. In 1960 white median individual income was $1,649 and non-white, $1,362, showing only a $287 difference. But in 1970, a decade later, white median individual income increased to $2,441 compared to $1,644 for non-whites, not only showing a difference of $797, but also an increase in the income gap of $510.

Of the total census population of 11,321 non-whites residing in the state of Oregon in 1970, 2,680 or approximately 23.67% had incomes below the established poverty level of $4,000 per year. This compared to 73,970 or approximately 13.93% of whites who were living below the poverty standard.

[73] Blackwell, p. 30.

[74] William Little, "Non-White Races in the State of Oregon," paper, Portland, Oregon: School of Urban Affairs - Black Studies Center and the Oregon Population Research and Census Center, 1977, n.p., n. pag.

Unemployment

Another variable which Blackwell believes contributes to the Black population's situation today is the disparity between white and Black unemployment rates:

> The unemployment rate among blacks remains about twice as high as that for whites. The unemployment picture is an extremely complex phenomenon consisting not only of those persons who are traditionally unemployed (those who are reportedly looking for jobs and cannot find them) but also those who constitute the subemployed (those persons who are so disenchanted that they stopped looking for work or who are able to locate only part-time work that is inadequate to support either self or family, or who turn to whatever they can find that seems more promising.[75]

Four significant observations regarding the unemployment situation in the Black community can be made. First, in 1975 the unemployment rate of Blacks was 14.9 percent as opposed to 9.6 percent for whites. Second, the unemployment rate for Black teenagers was more critical than it was for adults; there was approximately one third or 31.7 percent of all Black youth unemployed in 1971 nationally, whereas there was only 15.1 percent white teenage unemployment. Third, Black women are more likely to be unemployed than white women; their unemployment rates are 9.6% and 8.8%, respectively. This discrepancy exists even though 50.6% of the Black women between the ages of 15 and 49 with children under the ages of five are in the labor force. Comparable figures for white women are 43.5% respectively, as of 1975.

Fourth, a most disturbing picture emerges when one examines data concerning the Vietnam War veterans:

> The black veteran has an unemployment rate of 17.5 percent while his white counter part's rate is 11.6 percent. Both rates are

[75] Blackwell, p. 30.

> considerably above the national unemployment rates. This indicates that a sizeable number of Vietnam veterans fall into the category of the discouraged, alienated, and subemployed. True measures of the unemployed, subemployed and underemployed would reveal the depths of the employment crisis among black people in this country.[76]

Work and Occupation

There is very little research on the relationships between work and occupational roles and voluntary group membership and participation; neither has there been a systematic attempt made to study rates and patterns of participation by and across occupation. According to Babchuk, there does, however, seem to be some type of relationship between type of work one does and the type of voluntary organization one is likely to join.[77] Hodge and Treiman suggest that the higher level of participation of professionals and white collar workers can be considered an extension of their formal work roles of professional work.[78] Komarovshy suggests that this excess of professional participation is due to a strictly occupation oriented society of America.[79]

Historically, Blacks have constituted a major proportion of the work force at the lower echelons of the occupational scale. Research by Fisher on the Black experience in the labor market illustrates what he calls

[76] Ibid., p. 31.

[77] Nicholas Babchuk and C. Wayne Gordon, The Voluntary Organization in the Slum, No. 27 (Lincoln Nebraska: University of Nebraska Studies, 1962), p. 45.

[78] Robert Hodge and David J. Treiman, "Social Participation and Social Status," American Sociological Review, 33(October 1968), pp. 722-40.

[79] Mirra Komarovshy, "The Voluntary Association of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, 11(1946), p. 60.

a process of halt, progress, and retardation.[80]

> Following emancipation and with increasing education opportunities even though a disproportionate number of blacks was working in agriculture and domestic work, a select few blacks turned to the professions of teaching and preaching. This situation persisted for several decades until the end of the Civil War. Three factors, in large measure, explain this situation: 1) the destruction of the artisan class of blacks, which came about as a consequence of the influx of 9 million members of white ethnic groups from Europe, who were given jobs, especially in the North, that would normally have gone to blacks; 2) the displacement of blacks by white artisans during the post-reconstruction period, aided considerably by the failure to enforce post-reconstruction civil rights legislation and by the enactment of Jim Crow legislation; and 4) the rise of the share cropping and tenancy system, which was buttressed by a system of legalized peonage in the South.[81]

The importance of these findings is further escalated by three significant points Blackwell makes regarding the ratio of whites to Blacks in the upper echelons of the work force in 1971. These are, 1) whites out numbered Blacks by 300 percent as managers and administrators; 2) whites out numbered Blacks in professional work two to one, and 3) there are four times as many whites as there are Blacks in sales work.[82]

Blackwell's findings are further supported by data presented by Little in which he found the following information after dividing occupations into eleven major categories (see Table II).[83] As indicated in this table, Blacks hold higher percentages than whites only in occupations in the lower income echelons of the work force: 15.7% in "Operatives Except Transportation" compared to 8.9% for whites;

[80] Sethard Fisher, Power and the Black Community (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 60.

[81] Blackwell, p. 27.

[82] Ibid., p. 28.

[83] Little, n. pag.

TABLE II*

OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY MINORITY STATUS 1970 AND 1975

OCCUPATION	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER RACES	SPANISH AMERICAN	MINORITY GROUP
All occupations - 1975	179,900	168,209	8,141	3,555	2,641	14,332
- 1970	156,299	145,978	7,180	3,141	2,351	12,672
- % 1970	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Prof., Technical & Related	14.9	15.1	9.0	15.5	15.7	11.9
Engineers	1.1	1.2	0.2	1.1	0.5	0.5
Medical & Health Workers	3.0	3.0	1.5	3.6	3.5	2.3
Teachers, Elem. & Sec. Schools	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.0	0.9	2.0
Other Professional	8.1	8.3	4.8	8.7	10.7	7.0
Managers & Administrators (nonfarm)	9.1	9.3	4.0	7.7	5.3	5.2
Sales	8.5	8.9	2.0	2.7	7.5	3.2
Retail Stores	4.2	4.4	0.9	1.8	4.2	1.7
Other Sales Workers	4.3	4.5	1.1	0.9	3.3	1.5
Clerical	22.7	23.0	18.8	20.0	15.7	18.5
Sec., Stenos & Typists	5.9	6.1	2.9	3.9	4.3	3.4
Other Clerical Workers	16.8	16.8	15.9	16.1	11.4	15.1
Craftsmen, Foremen & Related	11.3	11.6	8.1	6.8	15.0	9.1
Construction Craftsmen	2.3	2.4	1.3	0.8	2.6	1.5
Mechanics & Repairmen	2.5	2.6	1.2	1.2	4.5	1.9
Machinists & Other Metal Craftsmen	1.3	1.3	1.6	0.2	2.1	1.4
Other Craftsmen	5.1	5.2	3.9	4.5	5.7	4.4
Operatives Except Transport	9.3	8.9	15.7	12.1	12.6	14.2
Durable Goods Mfg.	3.8	3.6	7.8	2.3	7.0	6.3
Nondurable Goods Mfg.	2.3	2.2	2.8	5.1	3.2	3.5
Nonmanufacturing	3.3	3.1	5.1	4.7	2.4	4.5
Transport Equip. Operatives	3.8	3.9	2.6	1.4	1.9	2.2
Laborers (nonfarm)	4.6	4.5	7.2	4.8	6.9	6.6
Service Ex. Private Households	14.2	13.3	27.7	26.2	17.6	25.4
Cleaning & Food Service	3.2	7.6	15.0	20.8	12.9	16.0
Protective Service	0.9	1.0	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.4
Personal Health & Other Services	5.1	4.6	12.2	5.2	4.2	8.9
Private Household Workers	1.1	1.0	4.0	0.7	1.4	2.7
Farm Workers	0.5	0.4	0.7	2.0	0.3	0.9

*Source - William Little "Non-White Races in the State of Oregon" 1977 (Unpublished)

7.2% compared to 4.5% as "Non-farm Laborers; 27.7% in "Services Except Private Households" compared to 13.3% for whites; 4% compared to 1% as "Private Household Workers"; and .7% compared to .4% as "Farm Worker."

Another interesting finding is that percentage-wise Blacks rate of participation in the labor force is somewhat higher than whites overall; Black women are more likely to work than white women. Little shows that 59.17% of the Black population overall are working and 50.6% of Black females are participating in the work force.[84] These percentages are compared to 59.6% and 43.3% respectively, for whites.

In evaluating these findings, the reader should take into consideration that population distribution for the greater metropolitan Portland area is quite disproportionate when comparing racial breakdowns. This can be seen by reviewing the 1970 census. There were 23,284 Black residents or 2.3% of the total population of 1,009,129 in Portland, compared to 970,857 whites or 96.2% of the population of the greater metropolitan Portland area.

Education

The major generalization to be made concerning this variable is that participation in voluntary formal organizations is strongly related to level of education, with higher levels of education being associated with more extensive and intensive involvement. This relationship has been reported by a wide range of researchers, including Mather and Erbe.[85, 86]

[84] Little, n. pag.

[85] William Mather, "Income and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, 6(June 1941), pp. 380-383.

[86] Erbe, p. 198.

Hodge and Treiman, Hyman and Wright, and others also noted the relationship of education to participation.[87, 88]

Foskett's research supports these findings through his suggestion that there is a simple and direct relationship between participation and education.[89] These findings show that a person with low income and low formal education, regardless of sex, will generally occupy a different position in the social system than another with high income and high educational achievement. Smith confirms the hypothesis that more educated people participate more because of a) greater access to voluntary associations at their higher socio-economic levels, b) greater ability to understand and be committed to abstract goals, c) greater understanding of and familiarity with organizational operation and d) greater self confidence and social confidence.[90]

Research findings indicate that there is a difference in types of organizations a person belongs to according to income and educational levels. As Lehrman and Abrams point out in their review of the literature, more educated people tend to participate more in professional, business, civic, educational, scientific, cultural, social service, and political groups.[91] Less educated persons tend to participate more in labor unions, sports and recreational groups, hobby clubs, fraternal lodges, and other kinds of groups with rather concrete and immediate goals, whether

[87] Hodge and Treiman, p. 739.

[88] Hyman and Wright, p. 200.

[89] Foskett, p. 436.

[90] Smith, p. 219.

[91] Lehrman and Abrams, pp. 24-25.

instrumental or consummatory.

Race

As pointed out earlier, the most salient findings reported indicate that when education and social class factors are controlled, Blacks are more likely than whites to be active participants in voluntary associations. Olsen's findings show that ethnic identifiers tend to participate more than non-ethnic identifiers in community, social, and political activities.[92]

Sex

Lehrman and Abrams make the point that most studies relating sex to membership and participation in voluntary associations have found men to have more membership and participation than women.[93]

Types of memberships are consistently reported to vary according to sex. Women are more apt to belong to more religious and service oriented organizations. This appears to be changing, however, according to Payne et al:

> The increase in urbanization, in the number of working women, in the impact of the women's movement, and in civil rights legislation, can be expected to increase the rate of membership and active participation of women in those organizations avoided or not accessible to women in the past.[94]

Mather suggests that women are more active organizationally and hold more leadership roles within the lower income class. He also states that this

[92] Olsen, p. 693.

[93] Lehrman and Abrams, pp. 29-30.

[94] Payne et al, p. 219.

holds true across income lines with regard to participation.[95]

Distribution and Nativity

Blackwell's findings show that as of 1971, more than one-half (53%) of the Black population remained in the South; and according to his interpretation of the 1970 census, approximately three fourths of Black Americans now live in metropolitan areas of the United States.[96] His findings further indicate that thirty-nine percent of Black Americans can be found in the north, northeastern, and north central states and the remaining eight percent are located in the western states.[97]

In general, the

> . . .larger the metropolitan areas, the greater the proportion of Black people residing in the central cities. Simultaneously, the white population has become more suburbanized by moving away from all parts of the city. As a result, an ecological pattern of succession has already started as Blacks replace whites in the cities and the cities of America are increasingly inhabited by Blacks and poor whites.[98]

Data collected by Little indicate that over half (52.3%) of the Black population in the state of Oregon was born in different parts of the country.[99] The majority of those Blacks not born in-state, migrated from southern, north central, and other western states.

SUMMARY

In summary, the primary objective of this study was to determine

[95] Mather, p. 381.

[96] Blackwell, p. 19.

[97] Ibid., p. 20.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Little, n. pag.

whether the Black community of Portland is actively working to improve the socio-economic and political position of Portland Blacks, or whether it is disorganized, apathetic, and removed from the main stream of the society. The second purpose of this study is related to the preparation and compilation of a comprehensive directory listing and identifying the various organizations and their stated purposes.

The importance of this study to the field of social work was demonstrated through the use of Collins and Pancoast's natural networks theory, and Fink, Anderson, and Conover's definition of the profession of Social Work. (See Chapter I.)

A review of the literature in the field of voluntary organizations and community development provided the conceptual overview of three variables discussed in the literature review. These were: 1) demographic characteristics of the Black community; 2) socio-demographic characteristics of the Black community related to participation and leadership in voluntary grassroots organizations; and 3) attitudinal characteristics related to citizen participation.

Other general findings include the following: 1) Virtually all studies report that individuals in the lower socio-economic groups tend to have few or no affiliations except religious affiliations. 2) The working class or blue collar worker is likely to belong to one or no more than two formal organizations; 3) Working class individuals usually belong to different types of organizations than do members of the middle and upper classes. They are most likely to participate in those organizations that stress practical and personal benefits, and direct action, in contrast to most formal organizations whose goals are abstract and intangible. 4) Many working class persons may have sufficient income and not have access to

certain formal voluntary organizations or interest in many that are open to them.

The middle class person is expected by society and by the nature of his/her occupational roles to have more memberships in voluntary organizations because such organizations provide occupational and professional development opportunities. Also, socio-economic status has been found to affect the social participation of the upper class professional and managerial couples, who most frequently approximate the popular notion of togetherness by their frequent joint participation in church and recreational organizations. One national study by Mather of urban married women found participation in voluntary associations to differ by socio-economic class, with the definition of the role of wife being the significant variable.[100]

[100] Mather, p. 382.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The primary purposes of this study were to determine if the Black community in Portland was apathetic or vibrant, and to compile a comprehensive directory of Black organizations for professional and lay persons.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

To achieve the goals of this study, the author conducted a descriptive study of grassroot organizations in the Black community of Portland. This study examined four major areas of concern described in Chapter I. The population for this study consisted of voluntary grassroot organizations appearing in the records of Portland Northeast Office of Neighborhood Organizations' list of Minority Organizations. The organizations all were within the boundaries established by the Northeast Coalition Board; namely, Interstate Freeway #5 to the west, Northeast 42nd Avenue to the east, Broadway Street to the south, and the Columbia River to the north.

Once identified, these organizations and their leaders were contacted by an introductory letter explaining the purpose of this study (APPENDIX II). Of the thirty-seven organizations contacted, seventeen were not interviewed. Two were no longer in existence and fifteen declined to participate for various reasons. Most were not interested or did not have the time, and one was no longer active. This left a sample of sixteen organizations whose leadership were surveyed for this study.

One week after the letters were mailed, there was a telephone contact

to establish an agreed upon time for a personal interview. This interview would provide the opportunity for the administration of the research schedule, from which data were collected. The major questions for which answers were sought were: Are there grassroot organizations in the Black community of Portland, Oregon? If so, how many are there? What are the nature, scope, and range of their activities? What are their accomplishments? Who are the leaders? What is their perception of successful leadership in the Black community? Who are the members? The anticipated time for this interview was forty-five minutes. At the completion of all interviews, letters of appreciation were sent to each participant, thanking each for his/her assistance and cooperation in this research endeavor (APPENDIX III).

RESEARCH DESIGN

To answer the questions asked by this study adequately, a descriptive design utilizing survey research techniques was utilized. The descriptive design was selected over the other research designs such as experimental or exploratory primarily because of its exploratory-descriptive nature and lack of hypothesis testing and establishing of causal relationships. Also, it was hoped that from the results, hypothesis and other research questions would be generated for further research.

SOURCES OF DATA

Data for this study were obtained from grassroot organizations and their leaders in the Black community. There were thirty-seven organizations and all of these were contacted. Knowledge of these organizations and their leaders was initially obtained from existing records of Minority

Organizations prepared by the Portland Northeast Office of Neighborhood Associations. As previously mentioned, of the thirty-seven organizations contacted, sixteen were surveyed for this study.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The research instrument for this study was an eight page interview schedule, specifically designed to permit closed ended questions as well as some diversity through open ended questions (APPENDIX I). Its design was simple to facilitate ease of response and to reduce ambiguity. The major themes around which the instrument was constructed were the four main areas of concern for this study: 1) the nature, scope, and range of the organizations' activities; 2) perceived effectiveness of the organizations; 3) kind of people who participate in these organizations; and 4) kind of leaders of these organizations, with specific emphasis on Black leaders.

Questions were grouped not only to aid data analysis, but also to follow logical subject order. In order to put the respondents at ease, the interviews began with questions easily answered and progressed to more difficult questions involving perceptions and conceptualization.

Preliminary interviews were conducted to determine the clarity and understandability of the questionnaire items. A selective sample of four organizations was chosen for this purpose. These organizations were chosen because they possessed similar characteristics to those subjects which would be used in the study but were not among the sixteen included in the study. Subsequent to this pretest, the research schedule was refined and prepared in final draft.

The final form of the interview schedule was the product of the

revisions made before and after the pretest. The schedule includes both demographic/social background and attitudinal questions with respect to various aspects of participation in grassroot organizations.

The length of the interview schedule and its open ended nature made it necessary to provide ample space for recording responses. Respondent's permission was obtained in every case, after careful explanations regarding the purpose of the study and the uses to which the findings would be put. Respondents were assured of total anonimity.

DATA COLLECTION

The questions in the interview were designed to gather certain factual information and the subjective interpretation of this information by the leaders of the Black community. The sixteen leaders who agreed to participate in this study were interviewed by the researcher in their homes (12) or offices (4).

The interviews themselves proceeded smoothly, with the most notable resistance developing around the issue of age with female respondents and income level with one respondent. Most females did, however, reveal their ages; some emphasized the phrases "about" and "over" in responding to the question, "What is your approximate age?"

Other problems included the inability or difficulty of some respondents to answer questions regarding the issues of existing coalitions; familiarity of organization in the community; degree of internal and participant turnover in the organizations; recollection of major defeats and/or failures of the organization; and most of all, perceived problems and prospects in the future for the community.

One unforeseen problem that arose was with time constraints of the researcher, with some of the more vocal respondents elaborating in response to the open ended questions with some inappropriate and unwanted material (e.g., "What do you consider some of your major victories and/or accomplishments. What is the purpose of the group? What are the goals of the group?")

One respondent expressed concern in the length of the interview schedule. Others commented that it was thorough, though it appeared somewhat repetitive in obtaining some information.

Additional observations with regard to other items in the construction of the interview schedule and its application include: "Housewife" was included as an occupational category, and it was treated as such in questions related to occupation and work. The section of the interview schedule most readily responded to was the personal data of the leaders. All respondents were prepared for the researchers arrival with data and other material on their respective organizations. There were also some problems which arose around establishing convenient interview times. Rescheduling proved to be extremely time consuming. A delay in data collection was also attributable to some contact persons having to receive approval from the organization prior to discussing its activities with the researcher.

In addition, several respondents were ill or involved in organizational matters at the time of the initial telephone contact, but were more than willing to establish an interview time at a later date. One situation that arose on several occasions was that during the initial telephone contact, the researcher was informed that there was a new chairperson or another contact person more knowledgeable on organizational matters who

should be contacted instead. Since the original contact person had informed the other people of the researcher's request, the researcher decided not to send the introductory letter to them, but instead to make an initial telephone contact in which he introduced himself, the purpose of the research, and the referral source.

There were several persons, including some who declined to participate, who expressed interest in the researcher's referral source -- which was explained. Among the more reluctant respondents, there was concern with regard to how and if they could actually enhance this research study.

The majority of respondents was quite cooperative and helpful in the identification of possible additional organizations that had not been contacted.

The final question, "Do you have any other comments you'd like to make concerning the kinds of things we've been discussing" was included not so much to gather data as to give the respondents a chance to verbalize anything he/she felt strongly about which had not been covered in the interview.

DATA ANALYSIS

In view of the sample loss and small sample obtained, no statistical tests were made. The tables in Chapter IV present the results, but great caution should be exercised in generalizing from the results obtained. Data analysis was logical and pragmatic in describing and reporting responses to the research instrument by the various organizations in the study.

LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Since the subjects for this study do not represent a true random sample, generalizations from the findings to other Black organizations and cities are not valid. Also, the size of the sample (N=16), limited the power of the findings to predict and establish any type of correlation. This situation could not be helped, since the sample was a purposive one and the population limited. In general, there were problems with the instrument itself in that many of the questions had to be interpreted or explained, thus respondents were not necessarily responding to the scheduled questions, but to their perception of the interviewer's interpretation. However, in spite of problems of reliability and validity, the purposes of the research were accomplished; that is, the identification of the viability of the Black community in Portland and the development of a directory of Black organizations for the lay and professional communities.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of data will focus on the major questions of the research. Are there grassroot organizations in the Black community of Portland, Oregon? If yes, how many are there? Who are their board members? What is the nature, scope, and range of their activities? What are their accomplishments? Who are their leaders? What is the perception of successful leadership in the black community?

In answering these questions, data analysis will be presented in two parts: first, narrative profile of each organization studied; second, socio-demographic and attitudinal factors of organizational leaders' participation.

Applying the definition of grassroot organizations presented in Chapter II, there are thirty-seven such organizations in the Black community of Portland. A sample involving sixteen organizations was chosen for this study.

The executive boards of these organizations are comprised of 56 percent predominantly Black constituents; 19 percent predominantly white; 19 percent unable to determine; and 7 percent equally integrated. (See TABLE III.)

Exactly half of the executive boards were directed by females; one fourth were managed by a male majority, and the remaining one fourth were equally distributed between male and female program managers. The

age range for board members was twenty to seventy-five, with the mean age being thirty-five.

TABLE III

SEX AND RACE OF BOARD MEMBERS

Organization	Sex		Ethnic Identity		Membership of Board
	Male	Female	Black	White	
National Council of Negro Women	0	8	8	0	0
Albina Youth Opportunity School	2	1	2	1	3
Neighborhood Options in Child Care	3	9	5	7	12
Elliott Neighborhood Development Association	-	-	-	-	5
Oregon Association of Colored Women's Club	0	15	15	0	15
Irvington Community Association	Mostly		3	18	21
Jack & Jill's of America, Inc. Portland Chapter	0	28	28	0	28
Urban League	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed	27
Northeast Coalition Planning Board	-	-	-	-	18
Woodlawn Improvement Board	7	3	4	6	10
Sabin Community Association	-	-	-	-	-
Multnomah Women's Club	0	5	5	0	5

TABLE III (Continued)

SEX AND RACE OF BOARD MEMBERS

Organization	Sex		Ethnic Identity		Membership of Board
	Male	Female	Black	White	
Boise Citizen Improvement Association	7	4	11	0	11
Humboldt Neighborhood Improvement Organization	5	6	6	5	11
The Links, Inc.	0	6	6	0	6
Kwanzan Club	0	12	12	0	12
TOTAL:	24	97	106	37	184

Implimentation of Smith's theoretical framework, presented in Chapter II, warrants the categorization of the organizations studied in his first two types of voluntary action: 1) service oriented voluntarism, which is that form of voluntary action that is primarily dedicated to helping others or doing things for others; or 2) issue oriented or cause oriented voluntarism which that form of voluntary action that is primarily directed at some kind of public issue, usually at making some kind of change in society or the bio-physical environment.[101]

Of the organizations studied in the Black community, 94% were developed over a 36-year period from 1941 to the present. More than half (63%) of these organizations evolved during the war on poverty era of the 1960's, and the remainder (38%) developed between 1911 and 1957. (TABLE IV)

Although a few of the organizations were single-issue oriented, most

[101] Smith, p. 12.

of them were involved in the promotion of neighborhood improvement through housing, transportation, social, health, economic, and educational development.

Generally, citizens' participation in these associations are reactive to issues, such as street and alley way lighting, side walk improvement, crosswalk marking, and needed installation of stop signs and traffic lights.

The service oriented organizations and alternative institutions studied (Jack and Jill's of America, Inc., Oregon Association of Colored Women, Albina Youth Opportunity School, and Neighborhood Options in Child Care and others) appeared to be more specific in the services they provide, particularly to the recipients of such services.

These organizations are more geared toward providing constructive educational, recreational, cultural, civic, and social programs mainly for the Black youth of Portland in an attempt to stimulate their growth and development.

All of the organizations studied attributed their length of existence as their major accomplishment to date. More specific accomplishments for the service oriented organizations were noted as being able to make financial contributions to the various Black educational funds, day care centers, cultural and social organizations and agencies. They have made the community recognize the overall needs of Black youth and provided the major force for Black women's awareness and their uniqueness.

The accomplishments of the neighborhood associations or issue oriented organizations were much more concrete and visible. Through the efforts of Elliott, Boise, Woodlawn, Irvington, and Sabin neighborhood associations and others, the community as a whole has gained improved

TABLE IV

SCCIAL PROFILE OF GRASSROOT ORGANIZATIONS

Type of Group	Location	Age	Constituency		Size		Issues	Funding
I. Direction Action Groups - Multi-Issue	Boundaries	Date of Origin	Class	Race	Staff	Member-ship	Goal Statement	Sources
Irvington Community Association	Broadway - South 7th - West 26th - East Fremont - North	1963	All	All	0	200 at peak; 17 now	Local neighborhood issues	0
National Council of Negro Women - Portland Section	City-wide	1964	Lower	Black	0	75 at peak; 15 regular	Educational, civic, and other local neighborhood and family issues	Contributions, fund raising, dues
Elliot Neighborhood Development Assn.	Williams - West 7th - East Fremont - North Broadway - South	1961	Lower	Mixed	0		Housing and neighborhood revitalization	PDC (Portland Development Commission
OACWC (Oregon Association of Colored Women's Club)	State-wide	1911	All	Black	0	75	Local neighborhocd and family issues	Contributions, fund raising, dues
Jack and Jill's of America, Inc. - Portland Chapter	Greater Metropolitan Portland including Vancouver and Hillsbor	1956	Middle	Black	0	28	Provide constructive educational, recreational, cultural, civic, and social programs for Black children to stimulate their growth and development	Dues, contributions
Urban League of Portland	Nation-wide	1945	All	Mixed	1	Large	Education and employment	National office, dues, contributions
Northeast Coalition Planning Board	I-5 - West Columbia River - North 42nd - East Broadway - South	1975	All	Mixed	0	18	Local neighborhood issues	Contributions, fund raising

TABLE IV (Continued)

SOCIAL PROFILE OF GRASSROOT ORGANIZATIONS

Type of Group	Location	Age	Constituency		Size		Issues	Funding
II. Direct Action Groups	Boundaries	Date of Origin	Class	Race	Staff	Membership	Goal Statement	Sources
Woodlawn Improvement Association	22nd - East Union - West Ainsworth - South Lombard - North	1970	Working	All	0	Everyone over 14 years	Local neighborhood issues	None
Sabin Community Association	Wygant - North Fremont - South 21st - East 10th - West	1968	Working	All	0	100	Improving and rehabilitating housing; keeping community single family residential	None
Multnomah Women's Club	City-wide	1941	Upper & Middle	Black	0	22+	Improvement of the moral, economic, and religious welfare of Black families	Dues
Humboldt Neighborhood Improvement Association	Skidmore - South Rodney - East I-5 - West Ainsworth & Peninsula Park - North	1969	Mixed	Mixed	0	Everyone over 14 years	Improve and upgrade homes in neighborhood; work with City and County in providing needed services; support school & other organizational improvements	None
Boise Citizens Improvement Association	Fremont - South I-5 - West Skidmore - North Union - East	1969	Mixed	Mixed	0	All residents	Promote neighborhood improvement through housing, transportation, social, health, and economic development	None
The Links, Inc.	State-wide	1957	Middle	Black	0	26	Local and national educational, cultural, civic, social affairs	Dues
Kwanzan Club	City-wide	1946	Lower Middle	Black	0	12	Local neighborhood issues	Dues

TABLE IV (Continued)

SOCIAL PROFILE OF GRASSROOT ORGANIZATIONS

Type of Group	Location	Age	Constituency		Size		Issues	Funding
III. Alternative Institution	Boundaries	Date of Origin	Class	Race	Staff	Member-ship	Goal Statement	Sources
AYOS (Albina Youth Opportunity School)	City-wide	1966	Mixed	Mixed	8	3	Options in education for troubled youth	Portland School District, fund raising, contributions
NOCC (Neighborhood Options in Child Care - Piedmont Project)	Mostly Northeast Portland	1975	Mixed	Mixed	2	12	Develop Creative Options In Child Care	Contributions

street lighting, improved parks, maintenance of historical boundaries, community schools, traffic lights and crosswalk markings (mainly for school children; such as the restructuring of the intersection at fifteenth and Prescott.) These types of concrete accomplishments go on and on for each association.

The neighborhood association's actions often begin when people become aroused over some local grievance. But once the grievance is settled, e.g., stoplights installed, potholes in the streets fixed, or the freeway re-routed, it is difficult to maintain their interest. It appears that people "burn out" quickly, and after victory or defeat, energies become diffused and dissipated.

LEADERSHIP

The first topic to be considered is the socio-demographic characteristics of the leaders of grassroot organizations. A total of sixteen community leaders, nine females and seven males, was interviewed. They ranged in age from 26 to 72 years, with a mean age of 51 years. The mean age for the females was 50.2 years and 52.1 years for the males. The two females giving their ages as 40+ and 65+ were arbitrarily assigned to the age category indicated prior to the "+" sign.

TABLE V

AGE AND SEX OF LEADERS OF GRASSROOT ORGANIZATIONS

Age	Number of Females	Number of Males	Total
26-30	1	0	1
31-35	0	0	0
36-40	1	1	2

TABLE V (Continued)

AGE AND SEX OF LEADERS OF GRASSROOT ORGANIZATIONS

Age	Number of Females	Number of Males	Total
41-45	3	0	3
46-50	0	3	3
51+	4	3	7
TOTAL	9	7	16

MARITAL STATUS

Of the sixteen leaders interviewed, eleven (69%) were married; one (5%) woman was widowed; two (13%) were divorced (one man and one woman); and two (13%) males had never been married.

TABLE VI

MARITAL STATUS

Marital Status	Number of Females	Number of Males
Single	0	2
Married	7	4
Divorced	1	1
Widow(er)	1	0
TOTAL	9	7

SEX AND ETHNICITY

The data indicated that a larger percentage (56%) of the leaders was female as opposed to male (44%). This preponderance of women leaders was expected, and is frequently characteristics of poverty areas. These findings are supported by findings in the literature of service oriented organizations presented in Chapter II. Of the total sample of women, well

over half (78%) were Black; this was also true for the men (72%).

INCOME

Of the sixteen leaders interviewed, three (19%) fell below or at the $5,000 annual income level, and thirteen (75%) were above this level, with one not reporting her income level. These findings further indicated that 62.5% of the leaders interviewed were above the $10,000 a year income bracket.

Of the three leaders below the $5,000 income level, one was white and two Black. All of these leaders were either retired or semi-retired persons. Only one white leader was in the $10,000 or more income category, and the remaining ten leaders in this category were Black. The other two white leaders were in the $5,000 to $10,000 annual income category.

TABLE VII

TOTAL FAMILY INCOMES OF LEADERS OF GRASSROOT ORGANIZATIONS

Income	Total
Under $5,000	3
$5,000 - $10,000	2
$10,000 - $15,000	4
$15,000 - $20,000	2
$20,000 or more	4
No Response	1
TOTAL:	16

In terms of income alone, the grassroot organizations' leaders involved a large percentage (63%) of middle class Blacks. This finding is supported by the literature which shows positive correlation between higher income and educational attainments and the level of citizen participation. These findings may, however, be attributable to the goals, purposes, and

requirements for membership in some of the organizations interviewed. For example, the Multnomah Women's Club membership is limited, and any new applicant for membership must be sponsored by an existing member in good standing. In addition to being natural mothers, these Black women must be either professional or volunteer career women. They must also have an interest in charitable, civic, or educational work.

EDUCATION

An important dimension is the educational attainment of organizational leaders. The percentage of individuals who completed high school (100%) was much higher than expected for the population under study. During the early part of the twentieth century when rampant discrimination, alienation, and overt racism was an accepted part of life for Black people, it was suspected that they would not have had the opportunity to complete an educational pursuit.

TABLE VIII

FORMAL EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY SEX

Education	Number of Females	Number of Males	Total
High School	9	7	16
Some College	4	2	6
College Graduate	3	2	5
Post Graduate Work	3	2	5
	19	13	32

An additional finding was that 69% or 11 out of 16 respondents had some college or graduate education. In fact, 31% of the total population had received graduate degrees or done some graduate study, with 78% of the

women obtaining graduate degrees as opposed to 57% for the men.

Although the sample was small, in cross-tabulating income with educational attainment, no specific relationship between education and income was found. It should be pointed out that the three persons in the under $5,000 annual income category were retired, thus placing a ceiling on their financial resources. This was also true for some of the other persons in the below $15,000 annual income category.

TABLE IX

INCOME STATUS BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF LEADERS

Educational Attainment	Income				
	Under $5,000	$5,000-$10,000	$10,000-$15,000	$15,000-$20,000	$20,000 or More
High School	3	-	2	-	-
College:					
1 Year	-	-	-	1	-
2 Years	-	1	1	-	2
3 Years	-	-	-	-	-
College Graduate	-	-	-	-	1
Post Graduate:					
Masters	-	1	1	1	1
Ph.D.	-	1	-	-	-
TOTAL:	3	3	4	2	4

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

The following table shows the occupational status of the leaders interviewed. Three immediate observations can be made regarding occupational status of the leaders: first, 44% of the leaders were professional people; second, 25% of all leaders interviewed were retired persons; and third, 74% of the professional persons or five out of seven were males.

Although not included in the professional category, two of the retired persons were also professionals prior to their retirement.

TABLE X

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF LEADERS

Type of Work	Sex		Number of Respondents
	Male	Female	
House Wife	-	3	3
Professionals	5	2	7
Skilled Labor	1	-	1
Unemployed	-	1	1
Retired	1	3	4
TOTAL:	7	9	16

It is noteworthy to point out that the percentage of minorities with professional training in this study was higher than it was for the minority population at large as indicated by the 1970 Census data. This is certainly worthy of further study.

Additional topics pertinent to characteristics of leadership are religion, politics, distribution and nativity, and participation in other community or service organizations.

RELIGION

As shown in Table XI, there was not a clear indication that religious preference had an effect, positively or negatively, on the decision to or degree of participation of leaders in grassroot organizations. However, one fourth of the respondents were Catholic, which is somewhat unusual for Blacks.

TABLE XI

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE OF LEADERS

Religious Preference	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Baptist	1	2	3
Catholic	0	4	4
Episcopal	0	2	2
Methodist	1	0	1
Penticostal	0	1	1
Protestant	2	0	2
No Preference	3	0	3
TOTAL:	7	9	16

Politically, all leaders indicated that they were registered voters; the majority (81%) was involved in local political activities only. There was a 69% inactivity rate on the state and national political scene. Local political activities included voting, campaigning for candidates, participating in partition drives on specific local issues such as gun control and police brutality.

Some political inactivity was attributed by respondents to their feelings of being too old to actively participate in local, state, or national politics.

This brings us to the issue of residential mobility and length of time the leaders have resided in their given neighborhoods. The data indicated that 88% of all respondents were very stable residents of their respective neighborhoods, having lived there for six or more years. Additional data showed that only one of the leaders was born in the state of Oregon; all the others immigrated here from various other parts of the country.

Of the Black leaders interviewed, twelve or 100% were born outside

the state of Oregon. These findings are supported by the work of Little, who found that 52% of the total Black population of Oregon were born outside of the state of Oregon.[102] These findings go further to indicate that 44% of the Black population studied were from north central and 25% from southern states; this same trend was indicated by Little.[103]

A final issue relating to organizational affiliation is that of membership in other community or service organizations. As can be observed in TABLE XII, 88% of the leaders were active or members of one organization other than the one they represented in the interview. These extra affiliations vary between service organizations and civic groups such as Albina Action Center, NAACP, Region 10 Citizen Participation Council Board, School Affairs, Katherine Gray Club, Albina Lions Club, American Cancer Society, Catholic Daughters of America, Urban League, Church Affairs, and many more.

TABLE XII

PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY/SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

Type of Organization*	Sex		Number of Respondents
	Males	Females	
Church	1	7	8
Educational Group	5	8	13
Service Organizations	5	7	13
Civic Groups	6	7	13
Advisory/Executive Boards	4	6	10
No Participation	2	-	2
TOTAL:	23	35	59

*Multiple Responses Possible

Findings indicate (TABLE XII) that there is very little difference

[102] Little, p. 17.

[103] Ibid.

between men and women in the participation in other community or service organizations. There is, however, a slight tendency for women, more so than men, to participate in church related activities and organizations.

Attention will now be shifted to the area of attitudes and motivations for participating in grassroot organizations, which fell into several broad categories. Leaders frequently indicated multiple reasons for their participation, which accounted for the total number or responses exceeding the total number of respondents. The following table, XIII, summarizes the decisions made by the leaders relative to initial participation and continued active participation.

TABLE XIII

LEADERS REASONS FOR PARTICIPATING

Questions and Responses	Number of Respondents
Why did you decide to participate in this organization?	
Enjoy community work	2
Offered a job	3
Goals of organization	6
Friend or spouse encouraged	2
Saw the need for community organizing	5
Was the founder of the organization	1
What is it that helps maintain your continued participation and interest in this organization?	
Got elected	1
Get a great satisfaction in helping others	10
Desire to improve the neighborhood, to make it a better place to live	4
Wants to remain involved in community	1
Community in great need of citizen participation	3
Goals and activities of the organization	2

MOTIVATIONS FOR PARTICIPATION

When asked why they decided to participate, the majority of the

leaders gave inner directed responses stressing the enjoyment and great satisfaction they received in helping others (TABLE XIII). While the other leaders were more out directed in their reasons for participation, e.g., "felt the goals of the organization were meaningful and worthwhile," "there is a need in the community and in individuals lives."

However, most of the leaders expressed a combination of inner and outer directed responses regarding their past and present participation in community activities geared toward community improvement and liveability. What they liked about participating was centered around the idea of helping others who were less fortunate.

EFFECTIVENESS AND SUPPORT

Seventy-five percent of the leaders indicated that their organizational efforts were strongly supported by the community. The remainder felt neutral (19%) or negative (6%) support from the community at large. They stated that their organizations have been effective and worth the time they have devoted to the program, otherwise they report they probably would not have continued their present level of active involvement.

In summary, education, occupational status, and individual desire to help others were the major variables shown to be directly related to leadership in grassroot organizations in the Black community.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The political, economic and racial discrimination process that has resulted from the exclusion of Blacks in Oregon has been extremely difficult to overcome. This struggle has been compounded by the fact that the Black population in the state is quite small, only comprising 2.3 percent of the total population

Although Albina is the identified Black community, whites out number Blacks more than 2:1, according to the 1970 Census for the Portland-Albina area. The majority of Blacks who reside in Portland live in the Albina area; however, it should be pointed out that the majority population (69%) in Albina is white. Albina is only 29% Black, with 2% being other minority groups.

This study evolved from the premise that grassroot organizations and their leaders in the identified Black community in Portland had certain characteristics which were definable and subject to study. The two most relevant characteristics under study were: First, socio-demographic characteriestics of the leaders, with specific emphasis on types and representativeness of leadership; degree of support perceived from the community, and attudinal and motivational factors that develop to initiate and sustain these leaders' participation.

The second characteristic was related to the nature, scope, and range of the identified grassroot organizations' activities. These characteristics were investigated through looking specifically at the philosophy,

functions, objectives, and duration of existence of the identified organizations. Previous research gave little help with regard to these questions.

As indicated previously, the leaders of the grassroot organizations interviewed were middle-class in terms of educational attainment and occupational status, with a slight variation in income. As sociological research points out, Blacks have a high rate of joining and participation in church and community groups as compared to whites of comparable socio-economic status. The present study points to a close relationship between concerns for community needs and participating in grassroot organizations.

In essence, Blacks from all socio-economic backgrounds may be participating in their community, but the leaders appear to be those with higher socio-economic status. This is in agreement with Orum's findings that the relationship between social class and membership in voluntary associations is not as pronounced for Blacks as it is for whites.

An important issue concerning Black leaders' participation is whether or not they focus their energies in the Black community and Black organizations. The data indicated that 58% or seven out of twelve Black leaders were volunteering in connection with designated, exclusive Black organizations. The majority of the Black leaders' volunteering efforts were done <u>for</u> Black recipients and involved working with other Blacks.

The majority of additional community involvement by the leaders was through membership, usually in church, social, and fraternal groups, followed by civic and community action groups.

The attitudinal and motivational factors which induce individual leaders to participate in the various organizations and which sustains that participation, once it is initiated, formed the final focus on

leadership. The most salient generalization about leadership of the grassroot organizations in the identified Black community interviewed appears to be the presence of a general feeling of obligation to the community and the desire to be of assistance to others. It seems that the factors which motivate participation also sustain that participation.

Focus will now be shifted to the second characteristic: the nature, scope, and range of activities in the identified grassroot organizations of the Black community of Portland. Most of the grassroot organizations in the Black community share a loosely defined common ideological outlook. They are reformers rather than revolutionaries.

Areas most commonly addressed by the direct action organizations interviewed were housing improvement and rehabilitation, public transportation, zoning and land use planning, crime and safety, deliquency, health facilities and senior citizen issues.

Although the organizations interviewed can be and are classified as natural helping networks, their continued existence does not seem to be feasible. Their out-dated civil rights era tactics implemented to bring about social, economic, and political change within the system for the betterment of Blacks in Portland are no longer adequate.

Seven out of sixteen, or 44% of the organizations studied, specifically provide services to the middle and upper middle class Blacks of Portland. These services are the type of services that will be needed to help improve the economic, social, and political positions of Blacks in Portland. But they are not and have not been available to the vast majority of the socially, economically, and politically deprived Black people of Portland. In essence, these organizations are perpetuating the status-quo, where the poor get poorer and the rich, richer.

These organizations must become conscious of their less fortunate Black neighbors and open their doors and resources to them. These organizations do not appear to be moving, nor are they geared toward, the culture of Black people as a whole in Portland. They seem to be on the same level as the existing bureaucratic organizations, monolithic when it comes to less socially, economically, and politically sophisticated Blacks.

Although Portland Blacks are in need of increased grassroot involvement and sophistication, there does not seem to be any proliferation of grassroot organizational activities in the near future.

As Carmichael and Hamilton point out in Black Power, Blacks who would assume the responsibility of representing Black people in this country must be able to throw off the notion that they can effectively do so and still maintain a maximum amount of security. Jobs will have to be sacrificed, positions of prestige and status quo given up, and favors forfeited.[104]

In Carmichael's words, there must develop a process of

> ". . .political modernization, a questioning of old values and institutions of society; a search for new and different forms of political structure to solve political and economic problems; and a broadening of the base of political participation to include more poeple in the decision making process. This is a difficult process, but Black people must meet the challenge.[105]

Ultimately, the political and economic institutions must be revised if the political and economic status of Black people in Portland is to improve. However, given the nature of the American society as a whole, and Portland in particular, enhancement of Black political, social, and

[104] Carmichael and Hamilton, p. 15.

[105] Ibid., p. 40.

economic position will continue at a slow pace.

This has been a preliminary study intended to provide an overview of what is happening in the identified Black community of Portland in terms of grassroot activity. It was also hoped that this would provide the stimuli necessary for further inquiry into activities and advancement of the social, economic, and political position of Black people in Portland. While this study focused mainly on the organization's own perception of their impact on the social, economic, and political conditions of the Black community, it appears appropriate to obtain a more objective impact of these organizations on the areas discussed. Further work is needed, especially on those factors that account for the successes and failures of organizational efforts, and actual potential for affecting social, economic, and political change in the Black community.

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Date: _____

I. Grassroots Organizations

1. Name of Organization _____

2. Name of Respondent and role in organization.

_____

_____

3. Does the organization have an office? _____

History of Organization

4. When was the organization formed? _____

5. Under what circumstances? _____

New group? Coalition of existing groups? Continuation former group? _____

6. Why? Response to on-going felt needs: _____

_____

Response to external crises or threat (Physical-Government-Private Business): _____

7. What were the historical antecedents? _____

_____

II. PURPOSE AND GOALS

8. What is the purpose of the group? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. What are the long-range goals of the group? _____

_____

10. What are the immediate objectives? _____

_____

11. What are the types of activities (strategies, tactics) used to achieve the goals (pressure, direct action, protest, economic public opinion, electoral, legislative/judicial)?

_____

_____

12. What types of specific issues have you undertaken? _____

_____

13. What is the group's ideological bias (conservative, establishment, liberal, left liberal, Marxist/Lenonist, independent left)? _____

_____

III. CONSTITUENCY

14. Social Base: who does the group represent? Whose interests does it serve?

Class _____ Age _____

Ethnic Group _____ Locale _____

Sex _____ Subculture/Lifestyle _____

Geographic concentration vs. dispersion _____

_____

15. Social Force: What types of people have taken the initiative in organizing efforts?

Class _____ Age _____

Ethnic Group _____ Geographic Origin _____

Sex _____ Subculture/Lifestyle _____

16. How do most people in the community make their living?

_____

Are they home owners/renters?_____

Are they automobile owners or are they strictly users of public transportation?_____

_____

SIZE

17. Is there formal membership?____ If so, what is the criteria?

_____

18. How many members do you have?____: At Peak?____At low point?____

Of the members now, how many are:

Very Active_____Participants in Meetings_____

Relatively Active____ On Mailing List_____

Mostly inactive_____ Dues Paying_____

19. How many names on your mailing list? (Is it local, city-wide, state-wide, or national?) _____

_____

FORMAL STRUCTURE

20. Constitution or similar document?_____

21. Board of directors?_____

Composition: Number_____, class_____, race_____, sex____

age_____.

How selected_____Responsibilities_____

_____

How often do they meet?_____ Responsibilities_____

_____

How often do they meet?____Meetings open?_____

22. President/Director/Leaders?

How selected_____ How many have there been?_____

What are the responsibilities?_____

_____

What are the former ones doing now?_____

IV. Current Leaders:

23. Occupation_____

24. Ethnic Identity _____

25. Age_____ Sex_____ Birthplace_____

26. Time in community _____

27. Active in any other organizations_____

28. Active in local/state/National politics?_____

29. Marital status: Single_____ Married_____ Divorced_____

Separated_____ Widow(er)_____

30. Years of formal education:

Grade School_____ Some College _____

Some High School_____ College Graduate_____

High School Graduate_____ Post-graduate work_____

GED_____ Trade/technical_____

31. Religious preference?_____

32. Spouse's occupation_____
(Include Housewife)

33. How many years of formal education does she/he have?

_____

34. Which letter best corresponds to your total income, including yourself and your spouse?

a) Under $5,000.00
b) $5,000.00-$10,000.00
c) $10,000-$15,000.00
d) $15,000.00-$20,000.00
e) $20,000.00-or more

35. How long have you been a member of this organization?

36. Is your spouse a member also?_____

37. Why did you decide to participate in this organization?

_____

_____

_____

38. What is it that helps maintain your continued participation and interest in this organization?_____

_____

V. INFORMAL STRUCTURE

39. How do decisions actually get made?_____

_____

_____

40. How diffuse or concentrated is internal authority? _____

_____

41. Are relations within the organization goal-oriented and business like or personally involving (instrumental vs. expressive)? _____

42. What are the major areas of conflict within the organization?

_____

_____

43. What problems arise around: Elitism/Sexism/Racism?

_____

_____

How are they generally handled?_____

Has the organization changed over time in this regard?

_____

44. FORMS OF OUTREACH

Newsletter?_____How wide a circulation?_____Door-to-door organizing?____ Around what issues?_____

Open Meetings?_____ How often _____ Where _____

Other _____

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

45. Allies and Coalitions -

Existing alliances:

With regional or national networks_____

With other organizations within the community _____

_____

Potential alliances: which desirable? _____

Which possible?_____

Limiting factors _____

SOURCES OF SUPPORT:

46. Existing: Financial _____

Technical_____

Ideological _____

47. Resources: What resources are necessary to fulfill your goals? _____

48. What is present and what is lacking?_____

_____

49. How do you feel about government and foundation support?

_____

50. Enemies and Opposition

Ruling Groups:

Government: Local/State/Federal_____

Police (arrests) _____

Business: Monopoly/Competitive _____

People's Groups: Labor_____ Grassroots_____

Media Relations:

How treated in press, _____TV_____, Radio_____

How often get exposure?_____, Favorable or not?

_____

VI. COMMUNITY CONTEXT

51. How well is the organization known in the community?

_____

52. What are the boundaries of the organization?_____

_____

53. How do people mostly find out about it?_____

_____

54. Would you say the general sentiment of non-members is supportive, neutral, or hostile?_____

_____

55. If it would be in more people's self interest to join the organization, why don't they? (Privatism, cynicism, fear, conflicting loyalties, time constraints, money constraints, other.) _____

_____

_____

56. For those who have been involved, how is committment sustained?

_____

_____

What degree of internal turnover?_____

What degree of participant turnover?_____

How do you keep people from burning out?_____

_____

How do you keep energy going after a big victory?

_____

How do you keep energy going after a big failure?

_____

How do you feel the incentives and rewards are balanced between material/solidarity/ideology?_____

_____

VII. MAJOR VICTORIES AND DEFEATS

57. What do you consider some of your major victories and/or accomplishments?_____

_____

_____

How do you explain the success?_____

_____

58. What do you consider some of your major defeats and/or failures?

_____

_____

_____

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

59. What are the problems as you now see them for your:

Organization? _____

Community/Constituency?_____

_____

60. How would you explain the cause of these problems?_____

_____

61. What needs to be done to begin to alleviate some of these problems?_____

_____

_____

62. What can your organization do?_____

What do you see as the prospects in the future for:

Organization?_____

Community/Constituency?_____

63. How has the community changed since this organization was formed?_____

_____

_____

64. Do you feel the organization has been successful?_____

partially successful_____ or Unsuccessful_____

Why?_____

_____

_____

65. Do you have any other comments you'd like to make concerning the kinds of things we've been discussing?_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX II

INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

November 26, 1976

Name of Person
Name of Organization
Address
City, State ZIP

Dear Sir:

I am a candidate for the Masters of Social Work Degree (MSW) in the School of Social Work at Portland State University. For my thesis, I am interested in studying voluntary grassroots organizations in the former Model Cities area of Portland with special emphasis on Black leadership, membership and participation in these organizations.

In an attempt to collect data on this subject, I am planning to interview leaders and active participants in the Black community. Your name has been suggested as one who might be of considerable help in this regard. I will be contacting you by phone shortly to arrange a convenient time for an interview which should not exceed forty five (45) minutes. Your responses will be held in a complete confidence and anonymity will be strictly maintained.

Upon completion of this study, I shall be happy to provide you with a copy of the findings. I look forward to our telephone contact, subsequent to our interview. Without your help this study may not be possible. Thank you for your cooperation and participation in this matter.

Sincerely,

Danny B. Copeland

APPENDIX III

FOLLOW-UP LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

March 25, 1977

Name of Person
Name of Organization
Address
City, State ZIP

Dear (Name of Person):

Thank you for allowing me to interview you recently regarding your organization's goals, objectives, and present activities. I appreciate your having taken the time to talk with me and assist me with this research.

I am presently compiling and analyzing the data received from the interviews. If you are interested in a copy of the results, please contact me at 281-1576.

Again, thank you for your time and cooperation in this research project.

Sincerely,

Danny B. Copeland