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An exercise in administrative self-analysis.

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AN EXERCISE IN ADMINISTRATIVE SELF-ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

"An Exercise in Administrative Self-Analysis" is a descriptive self-analysis of a leadership style and decision-making process, written from the perspective of a Black administrator directing a federally funded project in the Louisville Public Schools. As Director of Project Action - a Justice Department program designed to develop "intervention strategies" for the prevention of delinquency - the author analyzes his role as a Black educational leader striving to improve the quality of life for Black, and other poor, minority children.

Following a brief description of Project Action, the author explores some contradictions inherent in his directing a program which focuses upon delinquency rather than upon what he considers to be "more fundamental social issues which create delinquency," and the author explains his personal concerns and goals related to his leadership role. He then explores some current, changing views on the role of the "strong leader" in promoting social reform; and he applies to his own behavior a model for decision-making which categorizes leadership
behavior in terms of four approaches: democratic, bureaucratic, ideosyncratic, and technocratic.

Through a description and analysis of four critical decisions, he concludes that he has most often operated in the fashion of a bureaucrat, and has most often been forced into decision-making behavior which is directed at preserving "the organization," rather than achieving the stated goals of that organization. He reasons that the pressures and forces directed at keeping the system in operation create serious obstacles to utilizing the system for effective "intervention" in bettering the opportunities for Black and other minority children.

The author calls on Black administrators to continue to accept positions of leadership within mainstream organizations in order to better understand their operation, and to change them for the better where possible; however, he concludes that in addition what is needed is more grassroots, community organizations - cadres of people working outside of formal institutional structures and dedicated to specific tasks/goals for change. Black leaders can assume important leadership roles both inside and also outside of formal organizations. With respect to the former, the author concludes that a strong Black leader is called for; with respect to the latter, he concludes that a more democratic/facilitator role can be most effective.
AN EXERCISE IN ADMINISTRATIVE SELF-ANALYSIS

A Dissertation Presented
By
James Corbin

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A Dissertation Presented
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The past three decades have witnessed some surprising changes in the nature of large organizations, the means by which they are managed, and the ways in which they are analyzed. One general trend—initiated in the Depression programs of the New Deal, and stimulated by the Second World War—has been the increasing involvement of the federal government in shaping the nature and direction of virtually every type of business and educational organization in the United States. Indeed, the force of what some people term "federal intervention" has been felt on the farms, no less than in the factories and the public schools. President Eisenhower spoke of the negative dimensions of this force when he warned the American people of a military-industrial complex, and a number of social critics/theorists, past and present, have offered variations of this same, negative theme. C. Wright Mills spoke of the dangers of a "power elite";¹ and more recently, John Kenneth Galbraith spoke of the massive growth and influence of the combined business/governmental complex, a "new industrial state."² In this same period of a few decades a number of studies have been written in an attempt to analyze the psychological and sociological

implications of huge, modern organizations. The Lonely Crowd,\(^3\) presented a somewhat negative picture of the impact of modern organizations. (Arthur Miller gave this picture a popular, dramatic twist in The Death of a Salesman.)\(^4\) And Vance Packard's The Hidden Persuaders\(^5\) raised a number of questions about the price that Americans were paying for the marriage between businessmen and social scientists, especially social psychologists skilled in the arts of human manipulation. Recently, from still another perspective, Robert Townsend's Up the Organization\(^6\) has provided a breath of fresh air for what has otherwise been a pretty stuffy environment of analysis and criticism. In addition to all of the above, the field of systems analysis—almost a discipline in itself—creates still another focus for understanding the nature and impact of modern organizations. In terms of action, Ralph Nader has demonstrated that there are some ways in which the American people can protect themselves from being mesmerized, and perhaps even maimed, by the power of modern organizations.

Because of the wealth and complexity of data and research techniques, not to mention the different fields and frames of reference available for the study of organizations and their management, any attempt to know where to start in trying to understand modern organizations is bound to be a frustrating task. It is essential, therefore, in beginning a study in admini-

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\(^3\) David Reisman, The Lonely Crowd, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950.


strative self-analysis, that the author make clear where he stands, and what he intends to do. First, as the title suggests, this dissertation is an excoire in "self-analysis"; it involves a personal perspective on the nature of organizations and how they function. (Because of this, I will not hesitate to utilize the first person throughout.) It further involves a personal definition of what constitutes a good organization in terms of its goals, its effectiveness, and so forth. My perspective is that of a Black American. In addition, I am a parent and an educator, with experience in a number of educational contexts, as a teacher and as an administrator. In the pages which follow it will become increasingly clear that my perspective provides me with a basis for analyzing the nature and goals of educational organizations in general, and more specifically the nature and goals of the organization with which I am now affiliated, as Director, which is Project Action, a delinquency prevention program located in the Louisville, Kentucky School System. My major concern in developing this study is to extend, and where necessary, to develop a more effective leadership style. Effective, that is, relative to my fundamental concern for making reality from the illusion that Black Americans possess all of the rights and opportunities associated with the stated ideals of this democracy. I believe in the stated ideals; however, I do not believe that Black Americans fully possess the rights supposedly extended by those ideals, and thus I believe, that we must take what is rightfully ours.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The next chapter of the dissertation is a description of Project Action,
providing information about its stated goals and the way it is organized to achieve those goals. Chapter III is a discussion of personal concerns and goals in relation to my assuming the directorship of the Project. Chapter IV provides a brief analysis of the literature on the major schools/theories of decision-making and presents a decision-making model which I have found helpful in my efforts to direct the Project. The model offers a spectrum of leadership choices, some of which are reached democratically (which represents one end of the spectrum), others arrived at through more authoritarian leadership procedures (at the other end of the spectrum). In addition, the model suggests four types of decision-making processes: democratic, bureaucratic, idiosyncratic, and technocratic. (These categories refer to the kind of steps that a leader might take in arriving at a decision, e.g., while a leader might be authoritarian in style, he or she might utilize a democratic process in reaching certain decision.) Chapter V provides description and analysis of "four critical decisions." The analysis is based upon the model presented in Chapter IV. Two of the decisions discussed will be representative of the "democratic" end of the decision-making spectrum. The other two decisions will represent the more "authoritarian" mode of operation. All of the cases will be analyzed in terms of the particular process or combination of processes utilized (i.e., democratic, bureaucratic, idiosyncratic, technocratic). Chapter
VI provides a summary and conclusion, along with some general recommendations.

The Appendix will contain relevant information about Project Action, and data related to the four critical decisions.
CHAPTER II

PROJECT ACTION: OBJECTIVES AND ORGANIZATION

Project Action is a federally funded delinquency prevention program with the major aim of developing an intervention model which reduces and prevents delinquency, and thereby helps develop the educational and personal potential of inner city youth. This project, located in Louisville, Kentucky, has a total staff of seventy professionals and paraprofessionals, with two major components, one at the junior high level, the other at the elementary level. Two-thirds of the staff have as their primary responsibility the day to day management of in-school educational activities; Project Action teams work with approximately three hundred students in a total of ten elementary and junior high schools; there are seven home-school coordinators who support and supplement the activities of the teaching teams; and there is a central office staff of thirteen, consisting of the director, curriculum and counselling coordinators, and research and evaluation specialists. The number of professionals (including teachers, paraprofessionals, and home-school coordinators) who have direct contact with students in the program is much higher than is the case for other students in the Louisville system; also, the financial resources available for instructional purposes exceed what is available for the average teacher/classroom/student.
The major objective of the Project is to examine the behaviors of two groups of students - junior high students who manifest certain types of behavior considered delinquent, and elementary age children who may be classified as pre-delinquent - and to develop intervention strategies that can be tested with both groups. In addition, the Project is to determine "predictors" for various kinds of delinquency and at various age levels. These predictors, along with the intervention strategies, may then be used to identify potential delinquents and place them in appropriate preventative programs.

A major task for the central office staff is to package curriculum, research data, etc., in such a way that other school systems might benefit from the Project's activities.

The major objectives of the first phase of the Project (which was begun in the summer of 1971, and will run through the summer of 1972) were described as follows (Corbin, 1971):

During the first phase of the Project (16 months) intervention strategies will be built at the junior high school level and the elementary level which are successful in raising student achievement levels, decreasing the number of delinquent and predelinquent behaviors, actively involving parents in the preventive process, and training teachers to respond sensitively to student needs.

At the junior high school level, three full time professionals will be involved in designing and testing intervention strategies with the aid of teachers, paraprofessionals, and
home-school coordinators. New curricula will be designed and implemented, new counseling techniques will be used and new strategies for involving parents in the educational process will be designed. Evaluation of these techniques will be done at every step so that continuous revision can be undertaken on the basis of hard data.

The following indicators will be used to measure reduction of delinquent and predelinquent behaviors in the classroom:

1. the reduction of hostile behavior between predelinquents/delinquents and instructors

2. the reduction of hostile behavior between predelinquents/delinquents and their peer group

3. the reduction in the occurrence of overt delinquent acts

4. an increase in student ability to be "on task" in their classroom performance

5. an increase in "self esteem" of predelinquents/delinquents

6. an increase in the number of "accomplishments" which predelinquents/delinquents can cite

7. an increase in the frequency with which the student influences decisions about his programs of study

8. an increase in the ability of delinquents/predelinquents to master basic skills in reading, mathematics and language arts

9. an increase in self-discipline
10. an increase in predelinquents/delinquents ability to set personal standards for behavior

11. an increase in pupil independence

12. an increase in task-oriented behaviors

Teachers and paraprofessionals will be trained in a number of specific teaching techniques, evaluation techniques, and aspects of curricula design during the summer training period. They will also be exposed to strength training, an experience designed to produce teaching behaviors that are strong and supportive.

When classes begin, teachers and paraprofessionals will have daily help and support from the curriculum director, counseling director and evaluation director in executing, modifying and evaluating new intervention strategies. The kind of behavioral indicators above will be used as criteria for success of these strategies. Since planning and design, modification, and evaluation will be a constant process, the teacher-student ratio will of necessity be low.

The program of home-school coordination will have as its aim a meaningful linkage between the student's family and school environments. This involves actively involving parents in students' school life, and involving teachers in the students' home life. Four home-school coordinators will be specifically charged with providing this home-school link. Specific target indicators of this link will be:

1. changes in student perceptions of self, family, life, authority figures, teachers and learning, and peer relations

2. changes in student personality

3. changes in student socialization

4. changes in disciplinary action
At the elementary level, the basic intervention program will be the home-school coordination component. It will be concerned with delinquency prevention as opposed to reversal, and will attempt to do the following:

1. provide the child with a strong male model who will seek to develop a continuing, supportive relationship with the student

2. provide enrichment programs at the school for scholastic underachievement

3. provide the student with a wide variety of opportunities for accomplishment-achievements that are both personally rewarding and socially beneficial

4. actively involve parents in the preventive process through educational, planning and action programs

5. training for students' teachers both to understand the history and motives of the students' antisocial behavior and to try new strategies for building more relevant personal and social behaviors

Another program objective is the development of reliable measures of delinquent and predelinquent behaviors and of significant correlates of delinquency and its prevention. These, used in connection with the intervention strategies, will yield an effective preventive/reversal package. The development of these measures entails the use of a number of data sources including police, court and school records and data obtained from delinquents, families and school personnel. Extensive records of this kind will be kept on all students participating in the Project. Four data analyses will be employed to obtain and process this data.
Phase one of the Project will be concerned with developing and testing classroom intervention models, assembling a detailed, validated teacher training package, and monitoring police/court data, achievement scores, family life data, school discipline data and socialization measures for students in the Project.

Phases two and three of the Project (through June, 1974) will entail continued testing and refinement of the intervention strategies, with an emphasis on determining which kinds of programs work best in preventing and reversing various kinds and levels of severity of delinquent behavior. At this writing (February, 1972) the planning for phase two is well under way; major changes have been initiated based upon initial research and evaluation results.

Project Action enjoys almost complete autonomy from the kinds of regulations and restraints which characterize the normal teaching set-up in the Louisville schools. Because the Project is located in several elementary and several junior high schools, there are a number of practical and political considerations which complicate this situation; however, in terms of the formal organizational structure, the Director has complete responsibility for Project activities, for the hiring and firing of staff members, and for meeting the objectives and following the guidelines of the proposal, so long as such policies do not blatantly contradict general guidelines for the Louisville System.

In summary, Project Action is a federally funded delinquency prevention program, with the major aim of developing an intervention model which re-
CHAPTER III

PERSONAL CONCERNS AND GOALS

Definition of A Crisis:

"Crisis" is a term that has a long and respectable tradition in describing social conditions or events in America. At the time of the birth of the Republic, Thomas Paine wrote a great deal about "the crisis," and the "times that try men's souls."

Abraham Lincoln spoke about "the crisis" of a "nation divided against itself," and in more recent times we have heard the term used, and abused, in a variety of ways: there is the "population crises," the "pollution crisis," the "Vietnam crisis," the "urban crisis," and, last but not least the "racial crisis." (Some people are even suggesting that there is a crisis of crises, due, of course, to so many crises happening in such short periods of time.) Martin Luther King once commented to the effect that America was an eight-day crisis nation: it taking about eight days for Americans to recover from an event of crisis magnitude, then returning to business as usual, forgetting about the crisis initially.

\(^1\)Aside from the well known statements of "crisis" in The Crisis, and in Common Sense, Paine also wrote of the crisis situation of American Slavery.
duces and prevents delinquency. The specific objective is to develop and "package" material that will be suitable for delinquency prevention in any school system in the United States with a similar population. The professional (and paraprofessional) staff is concentrated in teaching teams (at least during phase one) within ten elementary and junior high schools in Louisville. In addition to home-school coordinators there is a central office staff consisting of the director, curriculum and counseling coordinators, and research and evaluation specialists. The Director has major responsibility for all decisions, subject to the most general guidelines of the Project proposal and the Louisville system.

Many Americans today think of national crises in relation to specific (though often vague) problems under the umbrella of "law and order" issues (e.g., rape, robbery and riots); it is often assumed that crime and other urban problems are caused by specific individuals and groups who refuse to live by the rules of a "democratic society." Simple-minded as this interpretation is in my opinion, it enjoys great credibility, and, in recent months has been expounded by a number of officials in high places, including the Vice President and the Attorney General of the United States (Spiro Agnew and John Mitchell respectively). In many instances it is assumed that societal crises come and go quickly: that with the help of a new law, or some new technology, or a new social agency or project, the crisis in question will pass away forever. This, however, is not what usually happens.
My concern with a definition of crisis is somewhat different from that suggested in the above. It is more in line with a definition provided by W. E. B. DuBois, writing at the turn of the century, pointing to the ever-present-prevailing crisis of being born Black in America. He defined crisis in terms of living under the ugly "veil of racism," which, for DuBois as for other Blacks, was not a passing phenomenon but rather a deep, institutional sickness which infested virtually everyone, and was/is of such a magnitude which justified/justifies its being called "the problem of the 20th century":

The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line - the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the seas.  

It is in this light that I view all of the so-called "crises" in American society. The Urban crisis, the educational crisis, the crisis of crime in the streets, and so forth - all are interwoven under the "veil" which determines that some Americans, because of the color of their skin - be it red, black, yellow, or brown - will automatically be denied many of the rights and opportunities which are "God given" for other Americans, the majority who are white. (There are, we know, the poor whites, who have suffered terribly, and still do; however, even they seem to enjoy some "justice" when compared with peoples of color.) Thus, in certain respects it is "the norm" - business as usual - which constitutes the source of crisis for Blacks and other non-whites.

It is obvious that I do not share the position which views crime and delinquency as the cause, or even a cause, of crisis; rather, anti-social

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behavior is symptomatic of the deeper all-pervasive conditions of social injustice which are the heritage of almost all Americans - regardless of color, but often because of color - who are trapped in the vice of poverty and social discrimination. As a Black man and an educator I am especially enraged by the conditions which maim the lives of Black children. From this perspective I am not optimistic about the many attempts which have been made (or supposedly have been made) by the Federal Government to "change" these conditions. There is mounting evidence that many, if not most of the Federal programs of this type are not designed to create fundamental changes in the conditions of social injustice which are at the root of the racial crisis. One does not need to share the view that "the Federal Government is planning genocides" in order to see that most of the legislation that has been passed and most of the projects funded, fail to create change at the grassroots. Three national commissions - composed of respectable leaders and scholars from all fields of public and professional life - have pointed clearly to the lack of public and private concern with root causes.4

The point here is important in making clear my views on federally funded programs in general, and Justice Department delinquency prevention programs in particular. I view such programs with skepticism, if not disgust,

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3 In recent months (1971-1972) I have spoken with many men and women working in Federal programs who have concluded something to the effect that "the Government really does not want to see basic changes in the conditions which produce the problems." And it should be no surprise that none other than George Romney (March, April 1972) - in his very honest and very naive way - has spoken about the failure of urban programs.

for in both their spirit and also their "letter" they often smack of a "law and order" mindset, often combined with a "we-outsiders-are-going-to-do-good-for-you-poor-people" mentality. In my personal experiences, in Milwaukee, in Chicago, in Louisville, and from many instances which have been related to me directly by others working in similarly "funded" urban centers, it seems that the general picture prevails. And it is not just to so-called bureaucrats who have promoted the "picture." Scholars, white and Negro, have turned forests into books with research studies which are at best condescending to those living in the ghettos, and at worst, outright racist.

Almost everyone who has written about urban/racial/poverty conditions has assumed that those living in such conditions suffer from cultural deprivation of one type or another - the term "disadvantaged" usually carries with it the notion that the individual (or group) so designated must be helped "up," pushed "up," pulled "up," or given the incentive to "pull up" into more humane cultural conditions (which imply new values, new attitudes, new ideas, no less than equal socio-economic opportunities). It is almost never assumed that such individuals (groups) might possess their own cultural integrity.

\[^5\] The term "Negro" will be used to describe individuals/perspectives which have yet to free themselves from certain dominant attitudes and beliefs prevailing in the historical patterns of socialization to the effect of denying the legitimacy of Black power (as defined by Carmichael and Hamilton) - this, then, might include those who have traditionally been called "Tom," as well as those who have been tagged the "black bourgeoisie" (Frazier).
This, of course, is not to say that certain living conditions and the way(s) people are forced to live in them, are desirable. I seek to change many of those conditions, and to make life richer in every way for those trapped in poverty conditions; however, I deplore the manner in which this society has gone about this task.

Reasons for Assuming Directorship of Project Action

Having made clear my personal dislike for federally funded programs, especially those which might emerge from the Justice Department, I will now explain my reasons for having assumed the directorship of precisely this kind of program. The overriding reason is, as the saying goes, as American as apple pie: "if you don't like what is happening, do something about it." This, of course, is what I seek to do. In more specific terms, my reasons for assuming the directorship fall into four interrelated categories: (1) staffing patterns, (2) the education of Black children, (3) testing a theory of decision making, and (4) understanding the operation of "informal" organizations.
1. Staffing Patterns

By assuming the directorship of Project Action I have been able to select a staff which reflects my concerns about the importance of designing programs which are Black in perspective. This does not mean that there are no whites on the project staff; several of the "top" positions on the central office staff are held by whites, as are a number of positions on the teaching teams. But the pattern is definitely along the lines of establishing a Black staff for designing and implementing programs for Black children. This same general rule has been followed in hiring consultants. Aside from the larger issue of

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6 Because of the rapid turnover in staff - due to a number of factors - figures are constantly changing; however, the percentage is approximately ten (%) of a total staff (about 60).

7 There is no simple formula which can be used in this hiring process. There are a number of forces, factors, and complications which enter in. For example, while my primary concern is with Black children, and their education, this concern cannot be divorced from a concern for adult members of the Black community who need jobs, and whose presence in the project increases the "community" dimension of the project. Yet, sometimes the people available for employment (as paraprofessionals, for example) are, by virtue of their own poor educational backgrounds, not up to the task. Some of these complexities will be discussed in Chapter IV.
having a staff that is qualified for designing and implementing educational programs for Black children, one immediate result of hiring a Black staff, and hiring Black consultants, is to provide decent jobs for Blacks.

2. The Education of Black Children

In addition to the crime/delinquency stigma that is often projected onto the Black community, there is a long standing stigma to the effect that Black children are not as intelligent as white children. Professor Arthur Jensen is just the latest of a long line of "respectable" scholars who have perpetuated this little bit of ugly mythology. Indeed, mainstream America has a tradition of establishing "tracking systems" for "disadvantaged" students (of "lower" socio-economic groups) regardless of ethnic or racial background. Such tracks are often referred to as the "vocational," or "general" course of study, as contrasted with the "college" course of study; and it is hardly surprising that there is usually a direct correlation between a student's socio-economic background and his or her educational track, since most of the tests designed to determine a student's track are "middle-class intelligence" tests. Tracking has been especially evident with respect to keeping Blacks in non-academic

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8 For examples of the inadequacy of "intelligence" tests and testing, see some of the work by Robert Williams, who has written widely on this subject.
courses of study, for racial discrimination has exacerbated the socio-economic conditions of poverty which lead to the initial "low intelligence/achievement" scores. This system is, as many are not proclaiming on the basis of research, just one element in the veil of institutional racism which justifies my claim that being born Black in America, is in itself, to live in a social crisis.  

None of this is news to educators, and there is some evidence of sincere attempts to change this vicious, educational circle.  

As Director of Project Action I am working to provide Black children with the opportunity to achieve success along the same academic/professional lines which are available to children from "higher" socio-economic backgrounds. The acquisition of academic knowledge and skills is a primary avenue into various walks of professional life.  

In recent years there has been a movement among educators to bring to the inner-city disadvantaged student a type of learning which is often termed "humanistic." This movement has merit for it seeks to help students to be more in touch with their emotions (the affective side of  

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10 The University of Massachusetts School of Education is one of many institutions now seeking to do something about the general picture.  

11 Ibid.
personality development); however, the movement also has its dangerous side, for it can obscure the importance of providing Black children, all children, with the opportunities to gain valuable academic (cognitive) types of learning.\textsuperscript{12}

As Director of Project Action, one of my primary concerns is to help Black children acquire the academic skills which in turn will open various avenues of professional advancement. In this respect, I am not concerned with delinquency and delinquency prevention per se, but rather with the development of educational experiences (and perhaps curriculum "packages") which will make it possible for all children to maximize choices in human potential. In part this means making it possible for Black children to achieve influential positions in the professional mainstream of American life. I see Project Action as having responsibility for shaping educational policy for some three hundred Black children; and the so-called "intervention" packages (mentioned in Chapter 11) and strategies are being designed with this in mind.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12} Glenn W. Hawkes, The Humanistic Delusion, A critique of the "humanistic movement," University of Massachusetts, School of Education, 1971, unpublished manuscript.

\textsuperscript{13} Even as I write these words I am reviewing research data which suggest that our "intervention" strategies, as initially designed, are not working. The concluding chapter speaks more about this matter.
3. **Applying A Model of Decision-Making**

Another reason for my interest in assuming the directorship of Project Action is that it provides me the opportunity to apply a model of decision-making on which I have been working (in consultation with Professor Gus Economus, at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee). This model is designed to reflect both leadership style (in terms of authoritarian vs. democratic orientations) and also methods/processes for arriving at decisions (in terms of democratic, bureaucratic, ideosyncratic, and technocratic procedures). In the application of the model, success or failure will be defined in relation to my assessment as to whether or not the decision leads to positive or negative results for Black people. (Needless to say, this kind of assessment cannot always be made in clear-cut, black/white terms.)

4. **Understanding the Operation of Informal Organizations**

Interwoven with my interest to test a decision-making model is my desire to know more about informal organizations. By informal organizations I refer to arrangements among individuals which affect change toward predetermined ends, but which are not officially (formally) sanctioned on paper. Another way of stating this is an organization of human resources which has the power to affect change but which is not formally constituted with the social authority it possesses. An example or two might help give this definition some functional meaning. Most experienced public school teachers have long understood the "authority" of the school custodian. Many teachers know that it may be as crucial, or even more crucial, to check occasionally with the custodian than
with the principal. This is not a matter of official/formal policy; however, because of the great influence which many custodians hold - in relation to the school building, and often with respect to students, and other teachers - the experienced teacher respects the custodian's power. This relationship between the teacher and the custodian is one element in the school's informal organization. The secretary in the central office might be another person who, in unofficial ways, has a great deal of power and influence; and there might be one or two key members of the PTA who are also members of the informal organization.

As the Director of a large Federal project, I am seeking to understand the nature of informal organizations at several levels, one relates to the processing and funding of Federal programs, like Project Action; another is at the Louisville School Board itself; and still another is at the local schools and in their surrounding communities. I believe that through this approach, I might gain greater understanding about the ways in which formal organizations might be operated more effectively. While my interest in understanding informal organizations is interwoven with the concern for testing a model of decision making, it is at the same time a much broader interest, and for this reason I have discussed it as a separate category.

In conclusion and summary, it is evident that I have mixed thoughts and feelings in having assumed the directorship of Project Action. At the same time, I believe strongly in the potential which this position provides for me in dealing directly with some of the dimensions of a social crisis which is the heritage of all Black Americans. With respect to both staffing and also
determining educational programs, I have been able to act upon this concern.

Along more personal lines, the directorship provides an opportunity to better understand my own leadership style, and the nature of informal organization.
CHAPTER IV

TOWARD A MODEL FOR DECISION MAKING

Introduction:

We begin this chapter by looking briefly at two general trends which seem to be emerging in leadership/decision-making theory. Then we turn to some of the views that I hold in relation to my position as Director of Project Action. The third part of this chapter presents some guidelines for decision-making which presently serve me in my role as Director.

Two Trends in Leadership/Decision-making Theory:

Leadership entails major responsibilities for making choices. The leader may choose not to choose, but that too is a choice. Leadership is a process of choosing:

To govern, as wise men have said, is to choose. Lincoln observed that we cannot escape history. It is equally true that we cannot escape choice.  

Leadership entails loneliness. A leader is outstanding in the sense that he or she stands out from the others in a particular group. Every leader

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shares in some of the truth which has been spoken of the American Presidency; that it is one of the most lonely of positions:

A wise President . . . gathers strength and insight from the nation. Still, in the end, he is alone. There stands the decision — and there stands the President. "I have accustomed myself to receive with respect the opinions of others," said Andrew Jackson, "but always take the responsibility of deciding for myself."²

Leadership entails power — the power to command — but it is more than a simple "follow the leader" process:

At the very least, the mere recognition of legitimate authority disposes most men to obey. But this is a rather negative conception of the leader’s role. Although power is an essential part of leadership, involving the ability to secure compliance by persuasion or command, formal authority or position cannot by itself insure leadership.³

Leadership today, both theoretically and in fact, is undergoing significant change, especially in light of the findings from various fields of social research:

Traditional concepts of leadership have been sharply modified by social research, particularly the notion that leadership is a somewhat authoritarian, individualistic, and general capacity exercised over a passive group.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.
Increasingly, leadership is viewed as situational; its requirements and manifestations vary greatly in time and place.

Broadly, we may say that command is being replaced by manipulation as the primary tactic of leadership. Administrative behavior is group behavior; thus persuasion, compromise, and coordination assume a new importance. New demands for technical skill have also encouraged the change from command to manipulation, even in such typical bureaucratic structures as the military, where the technical complexity of modern arms and the fluidity of battlefield situations force delegation of responsibility. ⁴

Leadership – as defined situationally – means that the good leader in one context might reflect certain kinds of personal traits and characteristics, but the good leader in another context might reflect different personal traits and characteristics:

. . . campus political leaders have been found to be socially adaptable but intellectually mediocre; campus editors, bright and self-confident but ill-adjusted socially; university debaters, exceptionally intelligent but very insecure emotionally. Each of these types is a "leader," but each possesses specific qualities required for leadership in his own setting. ⁵


Leadership, in short, is seemingly less and less a process of leadership per se, and more and more a process of group interaction, a process of facilitating, coordinating, and administrating the dynamics of a group. This is not a mere matter of semantics. Leaders, and potential leaders, today are probably reading much more in Carl Rogers, and his likes, than in Machiavelli and his. The emphasis today is on "the individual" within the group, "... they (individuals) do better when they have a part in decision making."  

Although the present historical scene is both complex and fluid in relation to changes in the theory and fact of leadership, two trends seem obvious. One is the de-emphasis on the "strong leader," and the emerging, new emphasis on leader as "facilitator." The other trend is that which construes leadership in relation to context - situational leadership.

To Be (Boss) Or Not To Be (Boss), That Is The Question!

As Director of Project Action I seek to provide strong leadership in shaping and carrying out educational programs for inner city children, most of whom are Black. It is significant to me, in this light, that the position I hold is not termed "project facilitator," or "project manager," or "project

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administrator" for that matter, for these terms suggest to me a coordinating/facilitating function rather than a policy-making/leading function. I am not comfortable with the leader as facilitator trend which we discussed in the above paragraphs. On the other hand, I am not fully in agreement with the traditional Machiavellian notion of the strong leader. Rather, I am seeking to define a style of leadership which encompasses both. (This may appear to be contradictory on its face; however, some explanation may help us see that it is not.

It is quite possible, of course, that there are some paradoxes and contradictions in the position - the style of leadership - which I seek to explore here. Where this is the case, I hope to recognize them for what they are. While I feel strongly about many of the points I am about to make concerning my personal views of leadership in relation to my role as Director of Project Action, I hasten to add that my views are constantly changing. This section deals with some of the changes now taking place in my thinking about myself as an educational leader.)

I once attended a large university where many exciting programs were being introduced. Most of the innovation was the direct result of a strong administrator who was able to achieve a position of considerable influence through a high level of political sophistication. He seemed to understand the various strengths and weaknesses of working with both formal and informal organizations, and was a master in utilizing various insights about informal organization to effect changes in formal organizations. This person held
considerable power and was held accountable for his actions. While it was his personal style to function as a strong leader pulling strings, tapping sources of form and informal power behind the scenes, and thus acting like a boss, it was not his desire to be known as a boss. Almost immediately upon assuming his responsibilities, he began establishing what appeared to be democratic procedures through which the institution would henceforth function, however, within a short period of time it became evident to most keen observers that he had no intention of relinquishing his considerable powers (formal and informal) to the faculty, staff, and students of the institution, even though the mechanisms for a more equitable distribution of power were being established. Case in point: One body of the institution was empowered with decision-making regarding the appointment of new faculty positions. The process for making decisions about new faculty was thus complicated somewhat by a time-consuming, and cumbersome system of democratic checks and balances. A situation arose where the administrator had an opportunity to act immediately in filling several new positions which had to be filled immediately or else the positions might be lost (due to some time constraints imposed from the outside). The positions were not filled and the administrator was quite upset, for the procedures which had been established for a democratic decision-making process would not bend to the time constraints in this particular case. Many people were upset with the administrator. Some were upset with the process, for not having permitted more flexibility under special circumstances. My analysis of the problem is as follows.
The administrator chose to place himself in a position of weakness in relation to making certain kinds of decisions. He did so by promoting the image - and to some extent the reality (especially in matters of personnel) - of being a facilitator, when in fact he did not wish to relinquish very much of his power in the first place. The result of this was that many people were angry with the committee - in that it could not function quickly, given its mandate for deliberation - and many people were angry with him, thinking of him as a hypocrite for his attempts to manipulate the committee. Had he so desired, he could have made the decision over the head of the committee; however, that would have meant a total loss of credibility, and so he was just left hanging in a limbo of frustration.

I mention this instance because it illustrates well the problems that can and do arise when leaders seek to decentralize certain kinds of responsibilities. The administrator mentioned in the above discussion has, on numerous occasions, sought to wield power through informal channels, while generally promoting an image of deferring to the people.

There are still other reasons why I am attracted to the concept of strong leadership within the limits legitimate of an established position. For several centuries now Black people in America have been subject to a decision-making process in which and through which their rights have been systematically denied. The nature of this historical reality is complex, and I do not wish to suggest any simple explanation in relation to it; however, one thing is over-
whelmingly evident, and that is the extent to which the mainstream white leadership - be it in politics or university administration - has been conspicuously strong when it has come to the denial of basic rights for Black Americans. "Bossism" has been a major device utilized in "keeping niggers in their place." This device is not, as some people would like to believe, simply a relic of the past. In a very enlightening book about Richard J. Daley of Chicago, Mike Royko has pointed to hundreds of instances where the Mayor of the city has acted to enhance his power at the expense of Blacks. Appropriately entitled Boss, this book demonstrates the extent to which strong leadership is employed in an everyday basis to control the lives of millions of Americans.

One of the saddest but most enlightening chapters of American history is the one - perhaps still being written - of how various ethnic and other interest groups have achieved power through illegal means. Blacks for the most part have not sought to achieve power through such means, and I am not advocating that this is a viable option today; however, I am suggesting that there is a lesson to be learned from the hard realities of such a picture. The cliche that power begets power, that money talks, etc., are more than cliches in terms of past and present realities in American life. Blacks who manage to achieve positions of power and influence (mostly through respectable democratic means) cannot afford to allow those positions to be undermined in the name of romantic notions about how power is achieved and maintained in this democracy. As a Black who is fortunate enough to have achieved this kind of
position (on a relatively small scale), I am very weary of those (Blacks and whites, but especially whites) who maintain that the essence of affective leadership is to create processes of decision-making which permit complete openness, total consensus, and (in the language of modern humanism) a general facilitating atmosphere. More often than not, the strong leader will remain strong (at least if he or she is Black) by guarding with care the power which has been achieved.

With respect to the functioning of leadership in a democracy has always been something of a romantic myth to the effect that each individual is his or her own leader, in that each individual can and should formulate and carry out the matters of public policy which most directly reflect his or her personal interests. Today, as in times past, many Americans believe in what might be termed participatory democracy in the sense that every individual should have a direct say in the formulation of policy. Appealing as this position might seem, especially from the vantage point of one who believes in community control and the general right of individuals and groups to determine their own destiny, there are some qualifications that must be made when seeking to understand the dynamics of leadership in American society. Like it or not, indirect democracy - democracy through chosen representatives - is a more
realistic way of viewing the leadership process in this society.

Several decades ago Professor E. E. Schattschneider made some observations about the confusion which often characterized the way people (in this democracy) thought about the role of leadership. To Schattschneider - whose studies focused upon party politics - the romantic idea of individuals formulating their own policies and programs was nonsense; what was real, he argued, was a system wherein leaders and potential leaders formulated policy and programs, and where the great majority simply said "yes" or "no" at the polls:

The people are a sovereign whose vocabulary is limited to two words, "Yes" and "No." This sovereign, moreover, can speak only when spoken to. As interlocutors of the people the [political] parties frame the question and elicit the answers. To say this is not to disparage democracy; it merely demonstrates that parties are made possible by nature's limitations on the behavior of large numbers of people. Nor does it follow that democracy is unreal, for the alternatives remaining in the free market of political organization and agitation are extremely valuable.\(^7\)

Professor Schattschneider's observations were directed at the political system, but the general insights about how decisions are formulated and carried out can be applied in other areas where individuals and communities seek to participate in policy-making. Most specifically, my concern is with the Black

community, where citizens are seeking to exert more direct control over the affairs which shape their destiny. The question which arises is how much direct democracy - first hand participation in formulating policy - can/should exist? Other questions follow: can a Black leader operate from the romantic perspective on "direct democracy?" Can a Black leader hope to succeed if he or she does not operate in this fashion? Are Schattschneider's insights about people merely saying "yes" or "no" applicable?

For sake of illustrating a concern in relation to the above questions, let us suppose that Malcolm X had taken the position that he could not speak out for Blacks unless a majority in the Black community were in support of his program. It seems obvious to me that the result would have been that Malcolm would have been silenced, for the majority of Blacks would have, for a number of reasons, been fearful of supporting his position. Thus, consensus leadership strategy would have made it impossible for Malcolm X to speak out. The same would have been the case with W. E. B. DuBois, and with Frederick Douglas, many years earlier. The point here is to suggest that strong, effective leadership - creative leadership - cannot always afford to follow a facilitator/romantic model of decision-making. (J. F. Kennedy made this point in his Profiles in Courage.)

The "strong leader" orientation is one that has been appealing to me for a number of reasons. It is a style which I have considered to be realistic in
the situations which I have encountered. It is the style which I have brought with me to my position as Director in Project Action. It is my experience that where strong leadership has been lacking in the Black community, whites have been able to dominate, exerting their own forms of leadership by virtue of superior influence, numbers, power, etc. What has this meant in terms of my role as Director?

Some of the people working in the Project use the term "boss" when referring to me. Many people do not like that term; however, given the nature of the position which I hold, it does not bother me that staff members may think of me as "boss." I have the power to "hire and fire," and to make most of the important decisions which must be made for the Project, and since I am held accountable for the success or failure of the Project, I accept full responsibility for use of the power which accompanies the position. Those who participate in the Project - students and staff, and people of the community on a less direct basis - do so on a voluntary basis. Where there is fundamental disagreement on how policy is made and for what reasons, there is always the opportunity to discuss the disagreement fully and openly, and the opportunity to cast a negative "vote" if need be (that is, to withdraw from the Project).

The idea of functioning as a director (a "boss" if you will) does not necessarily rule out the idea of dialogue and democratic processes in decision-making. (More on this in a moment.) From my vantage point the "title" makes clear certain loci of power and their accompanying responsibilities (and accountabilities).
Having noted some personal dissatisfaction with the leader as facilitator trend, I want to emphasize my agreement with the other major trend in leadership change: the idea of situational leadership. As a Black leader of a large, Federally funded project, I am indeed in a unique situation, and it is for this very reason that I find it very difficult to accept any particular model of leadership style/functioning reference to my position. Almost all studies of leadership have focused on individuals in corporate and governmental positions. With some exceptions (to be noted in a moment), these studies have been based upon research design and analysis which avoided raising certain kinds of questions about social conditions and problems related to race. A concern for the dynamics of situational leadership must take into account a complex set of factors, data, circumstances, etc., which comprise the particular leadership context. So few Blacks have been/are in positions of leadership in the United States, and the contexts in which they operate are so complex, unstable, and potentially explosive, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to venture scientific claims about what kinds of leadership might be best in what kinds of contexts. There just has not been enough data, so to speak.

The complexities of my immediate situation are many. Consider the fact that many of the members of my immediate staff are Black, and have

Furthermore, even if such information were available, it would not be prudent - as a matter of strategy - to publish it in this document where individuals could exploit the data to the detriment of Black people.
managed to cast of the "Negro-ness" of their American heritage; consider this in light of the fact that many Black people in the Louisville area - including some parents, teachers, and students - have not moved nearly so far in terms of the Black perspective. This, of course, is complicated by the ever present fact of white racism - a force operating within the project as it is within the society at large, for the Project lives within the larger society. (Even as I write these words I am aware of two unresolved "brushfires" in two of the Project schools, one involving a white team leader and a Black team member, another involving a Black team leader and a white team member.)

Another issue which cannot be avoided - but which hardly lends itself to a neat model of leadership theory in the present situation - is that which relates to the concept of Black Power and the need for separation as a road to inclusion. It may be, as Ms. Barbara Sizemore, has pointed out, that there are developmental stages in the process by which Blacks might achieve equity of opportunity without surrendering integrity and identity; it may be, as she persuasively argues, that "separation" is one strategy on the way toward a goal of humane togetherness. If so, then this poses a special problem for Black leadership which seeks to work on a context where whites and Blacks are integrated - as they are at the Louisville School Board, for example, and in the teaching staff of the schools, and in Project Action - for it could be that while some Blacks

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and whites are ready to function together on a basis of equity and dignity, others may not be ready to so function; and, as a general rule, the entire Black community may not be yet separate enough (in Sizemore's sense) to deal effectively within the mainstream (still racist) white power structure.

In still another inter-related realm I find myself in a rather unique situation with respect to the extant models for leadership behavior. In *Modern Organizations* Etzioni writes, in reference to the new leader as facilitator role:

> Clearly, the individual must be made to feel a part of the group before he will identify with its objectives and values. Coordination may sometimes require the acceptance of objectives which are inconsistent, if not in conflict, with the immediate, personal values of the individual. Thus essentially emotional appears are often necessary to evolve individual loyalty. It appears that an organization, like a nation must possess a system of commonly shared values and objectives.

Now consider the complexities of this process - helping individual members of an organization feel a part of the group - in the context of a program like *Project Action*. My orientation toward values in relation to the Project Action group is summed up nicely by Ms. Sizemore:

> Some common core values could be: love, peace, industry, honesty, democracy, humanity, and knowledge. Others, that are now common core values, could become alternates: property, western civilization, conformity, white male superiority and Protestantism.

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11 Barbara Sizemore, op. cit.
Now, if there are great pressures to insure the latter set of values, and these pressures do exist, no less in many public schools than in the great business organizations of this nation, it is indeed a serious question as to whether or not a Black leader can afford to become a "coordinator," if it means taking a position which is "inconsistent, if not in conflict," with my Black perspective. Throughout my life I have been forced to take a position which denied to myself and my race a certain level of basic dignity. If "coordination" might mean - coordinating (compromising) on such matters again, and on a voluntary basis, then I am indeed confused and upset.

There are other complexities interwoven in the "situation" of leadership from a Black perspective. Charles A. Valentine's study, *Culture and Poverty*, provides an analysis of many studies which have been done "on" Blacks, especially on inner-city, ghetto conditions, reasons for those conditions, and suggestions for "improving" those conditions. One of Valentine's major points is that almost every study that has been done - by whites and by Blacks - is based upon mainstream (white) attitudes and values which fail to recognize even the remote possibility that Blacks might have some rich, cultural values and attitudes which can and should be preserved. 11 It is a truism that most leadership - white or Black - seeking to deal with conditions of poverty and

suffering in the Black community has failed to appreciate the kind of cultural perspective/respect which Valentine has tried to promote. This is another factor contributing to the complexity of the leadership/decision-making situation in which I operate.

I do not intend to pursue these issues other than to suggest the extent to which they are illustrative of the problems and paradoxes which are built into the role of leadership from a Black perspective. Those living in a Black community may be deeply distrustful of any Black man who works in mainstream institutions. In speaking with brothers and sisters who feel the need to develop Black power positions, I am sometimes asked "how can you work for the school board and still work for Black people at the same time?" The answer is not simple, and it is fraught with paradoxes; but these paradoxes are not unique to my situation, they permeate the lives of almost all Black people living in the United States. The problem of being a Black leader without selling out to the racist system is a problem for which there are no simple solutions. This same problem arises in relation to the question of education for Black children. Is there any way to provide the needed learning without also providing the vicious lies and half-truths which carry racially loaded information?

Black leadership in the United States has long been the target of the more powerful, mainstream white leadership as a source of power which must
be shared, and, when possible, dispersed. Malcolm X pointed this out in his "Message to the Grassroots." The famous "march on Washington" - initially planned and controlled by certain Black leaders - was quickly co-opted by mainstream white leadership in a manner which, from the white vantage point seemed only reasonable and democratic in that it seemed to bring more Americans into the whole process. In fact, one of the major concerns promoted by white leadership in this instance was to bring influence and control (power) to bear on the movement, and thus to keep the whole thing in order. It seems that the price of such "order" might, indeed, be very high, (and not just for Black Americans), for as the hopes and dreams of Martin Luther King, Jr. were continually eroded, watered down, "sold out," and generally debated in a more open context, the seeds of massive social unrest were nourished, and the fruits were soon harvested: ironically, just after the murder of "the dreamer" himself.

Thus, it is not only as a student of political theory that I take a position which lends support to the concept of strong leadership, it is also as a student/citizen who has studied/experienced the less savory side of past/present history which suggests that many leaders want power to be shared (really dispersed) when it is not in their hands, but at the same time wield their own power in a
manner which is designed to perpetuate and extend.

Having said all of this in behalf of a conviction for strong leadership/decision-making behavior, I now want to qualify this position. Over the past few years my views of what constitutes a "strong leader" have been shifting; while my general "style" is indeed very much in the mold of the traditional image - "boss" - recent experiences have created many questions which are currently leading me toward a revised image of what that style should be. It may be that at some point (in some situations) a certain kind of leadership is essential, but as situations change, revision is necessary. To be specific, it may be that the strong leader - the outstanding man or woman - is no longer the most effective leader for Black Americans (and perhaps not for whites). History records the assassinations of many such leaders. When the strong leader is shot down, who then will carry out the mandates for change? With this is mind, I have recently been working on a model of leadership which somewhat revises my initial style of operation.

A Model for Decision-Making:

Having discussed some of the changes which have characterized my development as a leader - changes of a general nature taking place over a period of several years - it is time to explore a conceptual tool, a model, which I have been utilizing recently in an effort to better understand this change process and to act more intelligently as I move through it. The "conceptual
tool" that I have utilized (and will apply to the four cases in Chapter V) is derived from several sources (which will be noted); however, the general design is one that I have developed with consultation from Mr. Gus Economus, of the College of Commerce, DePauw University. Let us now turn to the elements of the model.

Economus has spoken about the reality and the necessity for good leaders to possess both masculine and feminine qualities. He speaks of masculine qualities in terms of dominance, organization and power, with the emphasis on action. [Where masculine qualities are themselves dominant, he uses a large letter "A" (for action) to designate such, and a small "a" where those qualities are recessive.] Feminine qualities entail high involvement, sensitivity, and empathy, with the result being a capacity to read situations. [Where feminine qualities are themselves "high," Economus uses a large letter "R" (for reader), and where low, a small "r".]

The good leader, according to Economus' approach, is high in both masculine and feminine qualities, and thus able to "read" situations well, and then able to "act" decisively.

13From a lecture given by Mr. Economus at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, April 23, 1970.
As I have suggested, leadership involves the power, and the consequent responsibility, of making choices on behalf of a group.

Such power and responsibility are generally conferred on a candidate by an agent who is higher on the "chain of command," and who personally represents the organization at that level. The leader's power, then, is defined and limited by the nature of his task, as set forth by his own "bosses."

So the leader is in a position of delicate balance. On the one hand, he is responsible to his group; on the other, he is responsible to his superiors for the group. Commonly, a certain amount of tension exists between the leader's two constituencies. He can devote much of his energy to dispelling such tension, or use it - carefully - as a manipulative device.

At any rate, the exercise of a leadership role involves considerably more than merely giving orders. The leader must see that the group he leads is able to perform its task efficiently, and be able to relate that function to the operation of the larger organization.

If he were operating in a vacuum, the administrator's role would be simple. It is simple, in theory. But because he is always in fact working with individuals, and because even immediate goals are seldom self-evident or born of consensus, the role becomes, invariably, a complex one.

Thus leadership must be defined situationally. As I have said, the good leader in one context might reflect certain kinds of personal traits and characteristics, but in another context he might reflect totally different values.
Hence when I speak of four different kinds of decisions (choices), I am really speaking of four kinds of leadership models defined by Economus. These are:

The **Democracy**, in which all employees to be affected by the decision are granted shares in the process by which it is made. It is my bias that employees often feel better in such a democratic context. However, the method can be very time consuming; and, when the decision to be made is a complex one, consensus may be virtually impossible.

The **Bureaucracy**, in which the already established tradition of the organization, and its machinery, are used in a way so well precedent as to eliminate argument. It is the nature of bureaucracies that such a method of decision-making is most efficient; however, it cannot be used in all cases because precedents or channels are often lacking.

The **Idiosyncracy**, in which the leader tends to lead by handling organizational problems on an individual basis.

The **Technocracy**, in which the leader again makes an individual choice, citing his superior knowledge and training as the basis for his decision. The implication here is that the leader is willing to explain his action on request.

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14 Taken from a talk delivered by Mr. Economus at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, April 1970.
CHAPTER V

FOUR CRITICAL DECISIONS

In my position as Director of Project Action, I made many decisions on behalf of the seventy professionals and paraprofessionals on the staff. The decisions were often questioned - and because of the basically democratic bias of the Project, many of them were openly discussed. I was thus able to determine which of the decision were popular with the staff, the through relatively open lines of communication I was able to ascertain the positive and/or negative results of those decisions as they affected the ongoing work of the Project. With the benefit of hindsight, I can now label those decisions in terms of the four decision-making processes I have mentioned.

Case 1: The Spanking of a Seventh Grade Girl

One case involved the physical spanking of a seventh grade girl of eleven by a paraprofessional member of the staff. Both the student and the paraprofessional were Black.

The problem was simply set forth, and easily dealt with. I acted as a bureaucrat and merely used the machinery of the organization to effect the termination of the offending staff member.

His action was not sanctioned by his fellow members of the teaching team;
nor was it sanctioned by the school administration. All had in fact considered the paraprofessional a renegade. Furthermore, all members of the Project Action staff are informed that physical punishment is strictly off limits. (Even though under certain conditions such punishment is acceptable within the Louisville School System, as it is in many of the nation's big cities systems.)

My course of action seemed clear to me: I simply utilized the bureaucratic channels of the organization, and the man was fired. Everyone breathed a sigh of relief to be rid of him. Had I opened this course of action to debate, it is possible that the paraprofessional could have constructed his case in such a way to gain support from community and staff members who - for any number of reasons - might want to cause trouble for the Project and thus make an issue of the case. It seemed like a good opportunity to use the organization's machinery in an efficient and open way, demonstrating at the same time my personal position relative to the striking of a child, any child, but especially a Black child who already has too many strikes against her.

This case was resolved successfully, through firm, bureaucratic action. My behavior was very much in the style of the traditional leader in a position of authority: "You're fired!"

Case 2: The Challenge of an Immediate Superior

Another problem/decision arose when my immediate superior bypassed and questioned my autonomy to a more distant superior.
While the questions raised by my immediate superior are treated in the next paragraphs, what I believe to be the real issue was never discussed in the letters which were exchanged. By way of background, it should be noted that the immediate superior was managing an operation that was becoming progressively smaller. Large segments of his operation were being taken away in the name of reordering administrative priorities. I believe that he saw in me and in Project Action an opportunity to reassert some of his waning authority, since this Project was reasonably entrenched and well funded.

The immediate superior had written a letter to a state-level official, questioning an item in my program budget. The official notified actually had nothing to do with Project Action. Copies of his questioning letter were also sent to the school superintendent and to several others of my superiors.

The circumstances gave me an opportunity to assert my authority - in spite of his superior standing in the system - and my decision was to use a combination of the technocratic and bureaucratic methods of operation. I went through bureaucratic channels, arguing from a position of strength, since my superior was wrong in his implication concerning the budget (See Appendix #2). The "technocrat" in me made me quite certain that I was on solid ground - for not only had my superior been unaware of what he was saying about the Project Action budget, he was also unaware that he was not going through appropriate channels at the state level.
Had I attempted to deal with this matter ideosyncratically it is possible that my superior might have interpreted my actions as "weak." When challenged on such touchy grounds - as that dealing with the budget - it seems appropriate to "let the world know" of one's innocence. On the other hand, "letting the world know" does not necessarily mean that it is wise to open the matter up to discussion in the democratic sense.

My actions were upheld - through appropriate channels - and his actions were reprimanded.

Case 3: Dealing with a "Subversive"

Not all of my decisions were made and vindicated so gracefully. On one occasion I was advised that a member of the Project staff had been conducting a campaign to scuttle the entire program. Without my knowledge this person had been attending closed and public meetings, criticizing the Project and its staff, suggesting that its funds be discontinued, and generally exercising his disloyalty.

I chose a democratic mode of operation, counseling with other staff members about the proper course of action, and it was their consensus to allow the staff members most immediately involved with that person to deal with the problem.

The staff members confronted the disloyal member of the staff, but they were sharply rebuffed. At that point, they suggested that I intervene and
solve their problem - since, by virtue of my authority, I might be expected to have more success.

Since I had given that responsibility to the staff, I firmly refused to take it back and "bail them out." They tried several more times to deal with the problem, but were unable to decide on a mutually acceptable course of action. Nothing was done. The disloyal staff member remained an employee of the program until the end of the year.

In this case, my attempts to solve the problem democratically met with abject failure. I should have known that such an attempt would be ill-fated; by dropping the responsibility in the laps of my staff members, I was probably abdicating my own responsibility. Whether that is the case or not, however, I should have realized that my staff would be unable to deal with the problem - if they could have, it would probably never have come to my attention in the first place.

The better course of action might have been to go directly to the person in question, perhaps influencing him to change his behavior without creating any waves throughout the organization - an idiosyncratic approach. Or, if that failed, I could have utilized bureaucratic channels to settle the matter. In any event, the democratic approach failed; and I might add that I was uncomfortable with the approach, for it is not the approach which is most compatible with my "boss" style.
Case 4: Staff members bypassing my authority

In another case, the Director of Research and the Elementary Program Supervisor of the Project Action staff went to the Superintendent of Schools about some project concerns they thought could only be addressed to him.

An understanding of some of the dynamics operating here are necessary at this point. The Supervisor thinks that nobody has the kind of commitment to the program that she has. The Researcher believes that most program decisions should be made in the name of research, pure research of the type that has long been conducted on minority and poor peoples. They are both white, and they both seem to have paternalistic attitudes about Black people as evidenced by their constant need to redefine and explain jobs that are assigned to Blacks working with them.

All this is further compounded by the administrative style of the Superintendent which is an "open door" to anyone in the system who wants to talk with him about any matter, which is not necessarily wrong, but which does break down certain established lines of communication when individuals in the system seek to abuse the open door policy. Thus, it is my opinion that the Superintendent - in this case - initiated action on the basis of biased information.

As the situation was tailored for it, I performed as the classic bureaucrat. By going directly to the Superintendent, the two employees had obviously been trying to embarrass me - rather than to address any real concern.

Because of the deep, bureaucratic nature of the system - regardless of the
"open door" policy - the Superintendent was in a difficult position. I simply stated that he had been given biased information, and the matter should be settled within the Project. He was supportive of my autonomy and authority on the matter. By utilizing my knowledge of how the system operates, and by asserting my right to operate in certain established channels within the Project, I was able to maintain control in this matter.

One of the major frustrations which I have experienced in the handling of various issues and problems - those mentioned above, and a host of others - is that much of my behavior (and the behavior of other leaders in the system) seems to be focused upon keeping the system going, rather than utilizing the system to make effective educational change. In each of the above cases, save number one (the spanking), much time and energy was given to simply maintaining the status quo. Many wise men have long known that this is one of the major functions of most any organization. I think that I have learned the lesson the hard way, first hand.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is apparent to me that my most successful leadership method was the bureaucratic. Since I was in a position to take action, and since I held strong ideas as to how the Project should operate in order to insure the best chances of improving education for Black children, I was most comfortable and successful in exercising directly the authority of my position. Furthermore, this is not surprising for the energies of a bureaucracy are always directed toward forcing decisions into the bureaucratic mold. (One of the reasons that Up the Organization is so popular is that it deals with exceptions to this general rule.) The bureaucratic process is the least personal and least threatening method of decision-making, since it virtually eliminates all personal responsibility for decisions and invests that responsibility in the "Machine."

My personal style has remained somewhat authoritarian and traditional throughout this year as Project Director; however, like most people - even most bureaucrats - I find this style of leadership quite offensive at times. Yet, by its very nature, leadership is manipulative, and thus one Machiavellian way to approach the issue is to find a method and style that is most smoothly manipulative, given one's personal goals. I think that this is an unswervingly

...
realistic attitude, and it tells us much about the nature of our organizations, educational and political.

It is not simply the size of institutions which makes them so resistant to humane reformation; the definitions of leadership which are built into the system(s) militate directly against certain kinds of changes. The dominant leadership function in a bureaucracy is to preserve the status quo. (This, as stated before, is one of the reasons that I am so little attracted to the facilitator style and the democratic process as it is so often practiced within organizations.)

All of this, of course, has tremendous implications for members of minority groups seeking social justice in this country. I spent a year in the Louisville school system, working shoulder-to-shoulder with many of the most powerful men in the system; but I was able to do little to "blacken" the system. That is, I was generally unable to effect progressive change in attitude in the system as regards Black students and staff (or, as regards the children of poor whites and other oppressed minorities).

Early in the year I suggested that the Black administrators in the system form an organization, in order that we might formulate common goals and bring limited pressure to bear on the system itself. The mere suggestion left some of my colleagues gasping - as bureaucrats, or "organization men," they felt threatened by any suggestion that would threaten their invisibility. When they had been convinced that the idea was a good one - and that it would not cost them their jobs - some wanted to call the group the "Louisville Negro
Administrators." This choice of the loaded word, "Negro," was more significant than they were able to realize. Even more telling was one administrator's suggestion that Black women be banned from the group. The whole experience only served to show the extent to which Black administrators had been co-opted from the Black community, and even from their own nationality.

From a somewhat different vantage point I must report failure, rather than success, in my efforts to create change through my position as Director of Project Action. Most of the data collected on the intervention strategies - the learning materials and teaching techniques utilized in Project Action classes - showed little or no positive change on the part of Black children in relation to the Project goals and objectives. The one significant finding was that the home-school coordinators were successful in their efforts to affect the lives of Black children. (We will return to this point in a moment.)

In summary, efforts to promote fundamental and positive change in the lives of Black children were not successful through the usual kinds of bureaucratic operations and channels. Perhaps there is little room in any American institution for this kind of leadership which might be expected to effect such change. While federally enforced Supreme Court decisions and federally imposed racial guidelines are not without great merit, they cannot change the basically conservative structures of American organizations.

It is my personal belief that these traditional models of leadership - democratic, bureaucratic, ideosyncratic, technocratic - are all unsatisfactory
for Black leaders. This is especially true for those of us whose clientele are Black people. We must devise a very different model of behavior if Black children and Black communities are to be enriched by our efforts.

For one thing, we resemble old-line white administrators (leaders) when we use present models of leadership. We are already working with a handicap when we choose to become part of a mostly white institution, such as a school system. Black people, after all, can be expected to make only so many concessions to Black people who are part of an organization which is suspect. White administrators of such systems have been properly identified as the oppressors. Why are Black leaders who resemble white oppressors in their exercise of leadership entitled to a more generous appreciation?

This may explain why Black administrators who insist on "rocking the boat," refusing bureaucratic hiding places, and acting Black seldom have a future in many of our school systems. They are expected to "whiten up," or at least to "shapy up" if they expect to be promoted into positions of real authority.

A second reason Black administrators and other Black leaders must devise new leadership models is that Black people are becoming more and more reluctant to follow anyone using traditional styles of leadership. They have too long a history of unkept promises and broken dreams.

As already mentioned (in Chapter IV), the traditional models fail to meet the needs of Black people because once the leader is gone, his movement
or organization is effectively stymied. Gleaming examples are the civil rights movement headed by Martin Luther King, Jr., and Black Nationalist organization headed by Malcolm X. These leaders' styles of leadership might be described as romantic-autocratic. The authority to act autocratically on behalf of large numbers of Black people is granted on the basis of their charisma. Thereby the energies of their people become investments in the leaders' persons. When the persons die - or when they are assassinated - the energies dissipate and the movement stops in its tracks.

That kind of leadership - which has been the traditional model of Black leaders for a century - does not today provide for a sense of history and direction - for Black Perspective - in the general Black community. This is probably the greatest reason that it cannot bring changes in the learning patterns of Black children. It is true that many of the great "teachers" of Black people in the past have been powerful and charismatic leaders. Many of them have been bureaucratic within their own ranks; however, they (F. Douglas, W. E. B. DuBois, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr.,) have generally been successful through avoiding white-dominated organizations and institutions, often forming their own organization. Unfortunately they have also become "good targets" for their enemies!

One way of attempting to solve the problem of the needs of the Black community in relation to the role of Black leadership is to turn away from the formal organizations and bureaucracies. Instead of having traditional organi-
zations with the old, familiar flow-charts, Blacks could develop cadres of Black people - at least some of whom would have positions and responsibilities within the general framework of mainstream organizations - thus forming separate power centers, not directly under the thumb of mainstream organizations. Because of the knowledge and expertise of those working within the "system" they would be valuable sources of data, information, and strategy regarding actions which are designed to bring change in that system. No one person would be depended upon as a storehouse of energy and source of inspiration. Thus, no one person would become a target for assassination or harrassment. And since the operation of the cadre would not be under the jurisdiction of any mainstream organization (like the public school system), those participating would not be so easily punished through the mainstream system of rewards and punishments (e.g., lack of promotion). If the Black people of a city could pool their resources and develop ten such cadres to deal with ten specific areas of need in their city, progress would be genuinely accessible. Each cadre would bring pressure to bear on persons of authority. For example, one cadre's area of responsibility would perhaps be the school system. Members of the cadre, with the cooperation of Black politicians, educators, businessmen, and Black people in general, could bring significant pressure to bear on the leaders of the system. In so doing they would violate the system's normal "channels" of leadership, and create a leadership style of their own, rooted in the community itself.
This can be done. When we look closely we see that this is precisely what Martin Luther King, Jr.'s organizations did where they were most successful; however, the emphasis was still on the head man, and his organization, and as such, King could always be pointed to - for better and for worse - as the "leader," or the "outsider," the "agitator," etc.; and in each case, when King left the city, a gulf was left in his place. There was no grassroots foundation. On a national level King's leadership was romantic-autocratic; he told people what would be advisable to do. On the local level - where real progress was made - one could usually find the beginnings of the cadre approach, which grew from, but was not totally dependent upon, King's charisma.

This development of cadres of Black leadership is imperative because so many Black people have not had the opportunity to attend institutions of higher learning and earn credentials as "masters" and "doctors." This lack of opportunity is primarily due to racist admissions policies - and is only partly eliminated by making federal funds available to "pay the niggers' way."

If we are not to suffer the fate of our white counterparts - and be mired in bureaucratic mazes which blunt our efficacy as leaders - we must change as leaders. White leaders did not create their institutions; the institutions created the dominant style of leadership. Black people must avoid that trap.

The difficulties to be encountered in establishing such minority leadership are many. My experience in the relatively "open" Louisville school system is a case in point.
None of this is to say that Black leaders should leave their positions in the mainstream organizations of the society; although this has been, and still is, the choice that some will make, and understandably so. From my vantage point - even with the disappointments of the past year under my belt - it is impracticable to think of a totally separatist movement among Black Americans. I believe that Black leaders should continue to take positions within white-controlled institutions, but avoid lending their support to the "machinery" which robs them of their Blackness. What does this mean in terms of the kinds of leadership styles and processes that might be developed.

First, even before considering leadership style/process, it means that Black leaders must be secure in their situations of employment. In the finest tradition of labor organization, Black leaders must search for security in numbers, in courageous visibility. At present too few of us can feel secure so long as the white arm of the bureaucracy can take us or leave us at will.

Given more security, Black administrators could begin asserting themselves within the system. They could begin to act as leaders and not as "tokens," as so many do today. This would amount to seeking change from within. I have tried to work in this way during the past year, and although my present position is somewhat precarious, I believe that the effort has been in the right direction.
In several places in the above manuscript I have discussed my negative thoughts and feelings about the present leadership trend toward facilitation. I have not changed my position about this trend, in spite of the fact that my own style/process of leadership has not succeeded to my expectations. One possible effect of the "facilitator" trend - and this can be seen clearly in many of the so-called humanistic educational innovations - is that it often deludes people (students, community people, Black administrators, etc.) into thinking they have a voice in the decision-making process when, in fact, they do not. It is frightfully easy for the "facilitator" to dupe his constituents - to allow them to make decisions, and then to autoeratically circumvent those decisions.

One case that comes to mind involves grassroots political participation in the nation's largest cities. In recent years there has been a trend toward giving community people a voice in "little city halls" which are established in various parts of large cities. Sometimes these political "voices" can be heard, but more often than not they are little more than safety-valves, established to allow community members to blow off steam. In many instances, though, the steam has intensified as community people begin to realize that they have been given little or no power or authority to affect change.

I urge that Black leaders continue to work within the educational and political systems of this nation. I urge them to act differently than white persons might - because a Black person's responsibility is different. Black leaders - to be specific, Black educators - must accept the responsibility to
radically change, and in some senses totally alter - the institutions in which they work. I have come to the conclusion that this can happen as Black people learn to better understand the nature of both the formal and the informal organization; and as more energies are given to lending support to non-establishment, cadre-type organizations. Thus, while I have become even more disillusioned about my potential as a Black leader caught in the web of white institutional powers, I have not concluded that the answer to my frustration lies in some form of exile or separatist movement. I have sought to make evident the possibility of exploiting the formal, mainstream organization, changing it when and where possible, maintaining a strong Blackness in the face of its negative, whitening force, and where feasible making important, constructive changes which will improve the lives of oppressed minority peoples. In this latter respect, the experiences which I have had recently, and throughout my life, make me somewhat pessimistic; however, the idea of developing ad hoc community organizations - cadres - to supplement efforts taking place within mainstream organizations is very appealing. In certain respects Blacks have always had to live "two lives" in order to survive in this nation: one to preserve their lives in the face of blatant hostility and aggression, and the other to preserve their souls in the heritage of a proud and beautiful Black heritage. Today I call on myself, and my colleagues in positions of leadership in politics and education, to consider the possibility of cultivating two kinds of behavior: one within the organizations of the mainstream society, in part to survive, and
in part to learn about them, and perhaps to change them for the better; the other kind of behavior will have to be "where it's at," in the mainstream of Black culture (and the culture of other oppressed groups) where grassroots change will result from the most diligent efforts to form intelligent cadres of dedicated men, women, and children. Far from being autocratic or bureaucratic, this "other" kind of behavior represents democracy and humanity at its best.

There are as yet very few preceedents for this kind of behavior on the part of Black educators. All that is lacking is the imagination and the will.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX #1
The overall aim of the Delinquency Prevention Project known as Project Action is to develop an intervention model which proves to reduce and prevent delinquency and develop the educational and personal potential of urban youth. This will be done by examining the behaviors of two groups of students; those junior high school students who manifest certain types of behaviors that are considered pre-delinquent, and a group of elementary students who may also be defined as pre-delinquent. Intervention strategies will be designed and tested with both groups of students. Then measures will be taken to determine if these have been effective in preventing and reversing pre-delinquent behaviors at the elementary and junior high school levels.

A second component of the Project is the determination of delinquency predictors for various kinds of delinquency and at various ages. These may then be used to identify potential delinquents and place them in appropriate preventive programs.

The aim of the first 16 months of the Project is to build and do some preliminary testing of the aforementioned intervention strategies. In the junior high school component of the project, there are two types of interventions: classroom and home-school coordination. Three full time professionals have been involved in the design of classroom interventions, together with teachers and paraprofessionals. These interventions have involved specifically designed curriculum packages, strategies for hiring, staff training strategies, and team teaching. The effects of these strategies on such indices as student achievement
levels, hostile behavior, school attendance, and achievement motivation are being measured.

The junior high school component of the project is housed in DuValle, Parkland, Russell and Shawnee junior high schools. Thirty-five students selected on the basis of court and school records containing evidence of pre-delinquent behaviors compose one team at each school. Three teachers and four paraprofessionals compose the teaching staff at each school, and each team has one home-school coordinator.

The program of home-school coordination has as its aim a meaningful linkage between the student's family and school environment. This involves actively involving parents in students' school life, and involving teachers in the student's home life. Four home-school coordinators are specifically charged with providing this home/school link in the junior high schools. Specific target indicators of this link are:

1. Changes in student perceptions of self, family, life, authority figures, teachers and learning, and peer relations.
2. Changes in student socialization
3. Changes in student personality
4. Changes in disciplinary action

At the elementary level, the basic intervention program is the home-school coordination component. It is concerned with delinquency prevention, and will attempt to do the following:
1. Provide the child with a strong male model who will seek to develop a continuing, supportive relationship with the student.

2. Provide enrichment programs at the school for scholastic underachievement.

3. Provide the student with a wide variety of opportunities for accomplishments/achievements that are both personally rewarding and socially beneficial.

4. Actively involve parents in the preventive process through educational, planning and action programs.

5. Train the students' teachers both to understand the history and motives of the students' antisocial behavior and to try new strategies for building more relevant personal and social behaviors.

Students were selected for this component of the Project who had records containing evidence of pre-delinquent behaviors. These students attend Byek, Brandeis, McFerran, Shawnee, Washington, or Young elementary schools. They were placed in regular building classrooms. Three home-school coordinators serve these children; each has a caseload of 24 students in two schools.

An evaluation completed in February indicated that student achievement levels have been positively affected by classroom interventions. However,
reading scores at three of the four junior high schools have not improved. It has also been found that team teaching has not proven itself to be an effective staffing model.

Student attendance levels have significantly improved for Project children. In comparison with control students (i.e., same patterns of pre-delinquent behaviors, same schools), Project junior high school students missed fewer days. This effect is probably due to the influence of the home-school coordinator.

Attendance was also positively affected by the elementary home-school coordination program. Here, results reflect the effects of individual home-school coordinators, i.e., some are more effective in producing improvements in attendance than others.

Another program objective is the development of reliable measures of delinquent and pre-delinquent behaviors and of significant correlates of delinquency and its prevention. These, used in connection with the intervention strategies, will yield an effective preventive/reversal package. The development of these measures entails the use of a number of data sources including police, court and school records and data obtained from delinquents, families and school personnel. Extensive records of this kind are kept on all students participating in the Project.

Phase one of the project is concerned with developing and preliminary testing of the classroom and home-school coordination models, assembling a teacher training package and monitoring police/court data, achievement scores,
family life data, school discipline data and socialization measures for students in the Project. This phase is a 16 month period, and ends in October, 1972.

Phase two and three of the project depend upon refunding of the Project by the United States Department of Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. They will entail continued testing and refinement of the intervention strategies with an emphasis on determining which kinds of programs work best in preventing various kinds and levels of severity of pre-delinquent behaviors. The final outcome of the Project is designed to be a detailed, sophisticated package for delinquency prevention usable with a similar population of youngsters anywhere in the United States.
APPENDIX #2
TO: Jim Corbin  
FROM: J. M. Meisburg  
SUBJECT: Financial Reports - Project ACTION  
DATE: October 21, 1971

I have talked to Mr. Bill Wiley, Kentucky Crime Commission (1-564-6710) and he has summarized the situation as indicated below. (If you detect an error in this information, please call me.)

1. We must submit two financial reports - (KCC6) which are now past due,  
a. The first report should be dated June 30, 1971, and indicate project expenditures for March, April, and May, if any.  
b. The second report should be dated September 30, 1971, and reflect expenditures of June, July, and August. (Thereafter Form KCC6 should be submitted each quarter.)  

It is my understanding that the above financial reports should have an attachment describing the progress of the project.

2. I know you have requested (and we have received) $50,000 for the first quarter (June, July, and August). This is fine, and means that we are not using general funds for the project. However, as you know, our second request for funds is now past due and must be submitted at the earliest possible date.

As I indicated in my memo of October 6, 1971, it is imperative that we renegotiate or adjust the ACTION budget to provide funds for the things we actually want to do and, where necessary, to issue journal vouchers assigning "invalid" expenditures to approved line items.

If there are any questions about this memo, please call me.

CC: Dr. Sparks  
Mr. Schrembs  
Mr. Grissett
October 25, 1971

Mr. Jack Meisburg
Chairman
Department of Instructional Services
Louisville Public Schools

Dear Mr. Meisburg:

I received your memo this morning regarding a conversation that you had with a one Mr. Bill Wiley, Kentucky Crime Commission (1-564-6710).

Concerning Mr. Bill Wiley, I don’t know a Mr. Bill Wiley. I had said to you, Jack, in a couple of previous conversations that my Project Manager is Kathleen Friend. I think it’s only proper then that any inquiries made about Project Action at the State Crime Commission level be made at least initially with Miss Kathleen Friend. Jack, I think it is extremely important for the two of us to at least have the same contact at the Kentucky Crime Commission to avoid us from getting different messages from different people about the same Project or questions.

In a previous conversation that we have I believe I mentioned to you at the time that I understood we had two (2) fiscal reports to turn in. I also suggested that I would turn these reports in as soon as I possibly could. I also stated that I would make the request for additional funds today, Monday, October 25. I also said to you that I had an appointment to see Chuck Grissett, October 26, at 1 p.m., to straighten out the matters concerning all of the invalid expenditures and the budget as they were brought to my attention in a memo from Bernie Schrembs dated, September 28, 1971.

Attached is a copy of a letter sent to Mr. Billie Elliott by Miss Kathleen Friend verifying her as Project Manager for Grant No. 71-DF-736.

Respectfully,

James Corbin
Director
Project Action

JA/dw

cc: P. Sparks, C. Grissett, B. Schrembs, F. Yeager
Enc.
TO: Mr. Jack Meisburg

FROM: Jim Corbin

Date: October 26, 1971

I had a meeting with Chuck Grissett and Bernie Schrembs today regarding the invalid accounts. (Re: memo that you sent to me asking me to get this matter straightened out and report to you.) I think that this is a direct quote from Chuck Grissett that as far as he is concerned all the invalid accounts and all matters concerning them have been straightened out.

The meeting was held today at 1 O'clock in Chuck Grissett's office.

Respectfully,

James Corbin
Director
Project Action

JC/dw

cc: Chuck Grissett
Bernie Schrembs
Frank Yeager
TO: Mr. James Corbin
FROM: J. M. Meisburg
SUBJECT: Project Action Budget
DATE: October 27, 1971

Thanks for your letter of October 25, 1971, regarding the budget and financial accounting for Project ACTION. I have re-read my memo of October 22, 1971 (dated October 21 in error), and I can see that your letter is accurate and most of my memo was not needed.

Actually, my memo was written primarily to summarize the problem. (I knew it contained little new information.) The memo was prompted by my telephone conversation Friday, October 22, 1971, with Mr. Wiley who called Dr. Sparks and spoke as if he (Wiley) is the person responsible for consolidating financial reports from all Kentucky Crime Commission projects. I agree that we are likely to get mixed messages if we deal with more than one person; but since he called Dr. Sparks asking for our reports, I thought everyone concerned should know it.

My only purpose in this entire affair is to help prevent a situation where line item expenditures will be disallowed or where we must use borrowed general fund money to operate the project.

I realize now that my memo (regardless of my purpose) gave the inaccurate impression that you are neglecting the financial reporting. Your letter clearly shows that this is not the case.

Incidentally, my memo was inaccurate on another point. The "quarters" are apparently as follows:

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cc: Dr. Sparks
Mr. Grissett
Mr. Schrembs
Dr. Yeager