INSIDE THE INNER CITY

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LLOYD DAVIS
Model Urban Neighborhood Demonstration
Baltimore, Md.

Abstract

A review of the conditions existing in urban areas and a review of the Model Urban Neighborhood Development (MUND) Program in Baltimore are presented. An appeal is voiced for a reversal of national priorities in the interest of national survival and the public interest with regard to housing, urban goals, and social problems so that the quality of life for our cities and their people may be improved.

The events of the last few years have caused many Americans in all walks of life, at all levels of our society, to come to the profound realization that the problems of poverty and the problems of the cities affect everyone. Industry has discovered that the other America affects it not only in such areas as lost market potential for its goods, but in other more fundamental ways as well.

In a word, industry is discovering that it cannot escape the problems of poverty, pollution, housing, education, transportation, or discrimination. These problems are part and parcel of life in the United States today and we had better start doing something about them or witness the ludicrous spectacle of a nation disintegrating in the midst of affluence such as the world has never seen.

Therefore, the battle to return to the neighborhood, to reconstitute democracy on a face-to-face level, is not just a battle on behalf of the child of the ghetto. It is a battle for all of us, for all of our children, for the shaping of the ideals of our nation.

For the child of the suburbs has suffered from the loss of community as well. He lives, after all, in a vast bedroom, removed by ribbons of concrete from the city, where his father's work and the cultural and social amenitites that are the heart of urban community life are located.

He, too, suffers as he grows up from a sense of being unable to be an active, determining force in his own life. If there has been a drug scene in the ghetto for years, we now read increasingly of the use of LSD and other dangerous drugs on college campuses. The suicide rate among children and teenagers is rising. If there is crime and violence among young people in the ghetto, there are also disturbances and increasing delinquency among the children of the suburbs.

Let no man think, therefore, that he fights this battle for others. He fights it for his own children and for us all. The sense of community is dear and powerful to us all, for none of us can have an identity except in relation to his community, to his fellow man.

One great problem is sheer growth, growth which crowds people into slums, thrusts suburbs out over the countryside, burdens to the breaking point all our old ways of thought and action—our systems of transportation and water supply, education, and even garbage collection. It also weighs heavily on our means of raising money to finance these vital services.

A second problem is the destruction of the physical environment, stripping people of contact with sun and fresh air, clean rivers, grass, and trees, condemning them to a life among stone and concrete, neon lights, and an endless river of automobiles.

A third problem is the increasing difficulty of transportation, adding concealed unpaid hours to the work week, removing man from the social and cultural amenities that are the heart of the city, sending destructive swarms of automobiles across the city, leaving behind them a band of concrete and a poisoned atmosphere. And sometimes, as in Watts, our surrender to the auto-

mobile so crippled public transportation that thousands literally could not afford to go to work elsewhere in the city.

A fourth destructive force is the concentrated poverty and racial tension of the urban ghetto, a problem so vast that the barest recital of its symptoms is profoundly shocking.

The fifth is both the cause and consequence of all the rest. It is the destruction of the sense, and often the fact, of community, of human dialogue, of the thousand invisible strands of common experience and purpose, and of the affection and respect which tie men to their fellows. It is expressed in such words as community, neighborhood, civic pride, friendship. It provides the life-sustaining force of human warmth, or security among others, and a sense of one's own human significance in the accepted association and companionship of others.

A program of inner-city rebuilding must contain at least the following elements.

1) Residents of the areas in which projects are undertaken should have employment priority.

2) Public and private training programs should concentrate their funds and their efforts on on-the-job training at these projects.

3) Our conventional educational system should be directly integrated with the rebuilding effort. In the case of many of our most serious educational problems, there is real hope of solution within such a program.

4) The rebuilding should be consciously directed at the creation of neighborhoods which are also communities; the building of neighborhoods in which residents can take pride; neighborhoods in which they have a stake; neighborhoods in which physical surroundings help the residents to create the functioning community, which must be our goal.

5) Present social service programs, particularly welfare, should be integrated with the rebuilding effort. Such a program would make it possible for families to turn dependence into self-sufficiency, for example, by using a man's new employment as an aid to reuniting him with his family. Also, the rebuilding program should focus to a significant degree on many of our unmet social needs, for example, constructing and staffing outpatient clinics in the ghettos, which are notoriously short of medical services.

6) Using the building program as a base, occupational opportunities and training should be opened up in all related ways. As building takes place, for example, some could learn and then operate building supply businesses, small furniture manufacturing establishments, or restaurants in which the workers can eat.

7) Active participation of the business community in a partnership of shared costs and effort with government and neighborhood should be considered an essential component of every part of any program for regeneration of the ghetto.

Housing, for example, should be constructed by limited-profit corporations, with financing guaranteed and appropriate rent subsidies furnished by the government. Business should be encouraged to create jobs in the ghetto, for example, by establishing branch franchise operations in which local residents would be trained for ultimate management; this is no more than business now does in foreign countries. The ingenuity of American industry should also be engaged in the job training programs and in job development. Commercial and industrial facilities should be erected and leased to both major industry and local merchants. The business community should be encouraged not only to do better the things we now do, for example, to improve existing building techniques for lower cost housing, but also to show us entirely new things to do, such as is proposed with HUD's Operation Breakthrough. In fact, business should become a generator of social change and improvement.

8) The full participation of private groups, especially labor unions and universities, must be considered equally as important as the participation of the business community. Labor unions can furnish training cadres and supervisors on the job and instructors in the training programs. Unions can also establish and administer neighborhood health and social-service programs similar to those they now operate for their members. Most important, our unions must provide maximum equal employment opportunity for all even if it means a major institutional reform of the prevailing "system." Universities can not only establish special education programs but can lend their expert knowledge in the planning and execution of every part of the process. Medical schools should help to train medical aides, and to instruct the population generally about hygiene and sanitation. Law schools can furnish legal assistance to projects and to individuals. Business schools can have special training classes and consultant services for small businessmen.

What is called for, in short, is a total effort at regeneration, an effort to mobilize the skills and resources of the entire society, including the latent skills and resources of the people of the inner city themselves, in the solution of our urban dilemma.

America has poor people, 40 to 50 million of them, and many live in cities. Who could close their eyes to this? We also have some consensus in this country that poverty ought to be eliminated, and we have declared war against it. The problem with many efforts to help the poor is that there is no real agreement on a conceptual definition of poverty. Perhaps by poverty we mean a certain level of annual income below which minimum needs cannot be met. If so, a guaranteed annual income would be a solution. Or is poverty to be viewed as a relative term which defines the poor as those who perceive themselves to be less well off than the rest of the population? In this case, we are talking about the need for a more equitable distribution of income, which the first

definition implies only to a limited extent. Or, referring back to the first definition, do we mean a minimum standard of consumption so that poverty would be defined not by how much income a family receives but by how much it spends on the necessities of life?

Maybe by poverty we mean a psychological state of hopelessness and apathy which is not strictly associated with any particular income level. Or do we mean by poverty the type of culture which some scholars suggest characterizes low-income areas (and if we do, can this culture be eliminated by merely providing residents with more money)? Or do we mean by poverty the whole cycle of problems that prey upon and reinforce each other: unemployment, substandard housing, poor or little education, discrimination, bad health, lack of motivation, and lack of effective means to cope with the problems facing one? Many believe that what we mean by poverty is simply this last definition.

So, five or more years after the declaration of war on poverty, most of us are unable to agree even on what we mean by "human poverty," and, therefore, unable to isolate and attack its causes in a comprehensive and concerted fashion. About the only encouraging sign recently has been the growing widespread admission that little is known about America's poor and disadvantaged.

President Nixon's address to the nation relative to public welfare had some interesting quotes. Said the President:

> Here in the United States, we are more fortunate. We have the world's most advanced industrial economy, the greatest wealth ever known to man, and the fullest measure of freedom every enjoyed by any people anywhere. Yet . . . we face an urban crisis, a social crisis and, at the same time, a crisis of confidence in the capacity of government to do its job. It is no accident, therefore, that we find increasing skepticism—and not only among the young, but among citizens everywhere—about the continuing capacity of government to master the challenges we face.
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> One common theme running through my proposals is that of providing full opportunity for every American. A second theme is that of trying to equip every American to play a productive role. A third is the need to make government itself workable, which means reshaping, reforming and innovating.

I would suggest that our urban problems are more threatening than we are aware of and wholesale urban paralysis is a possibility. Large gaps between urban needs and urban resources that are now apparent are only part of the huge deficit faced by cities. Cities are being held together only by using previously hidden but necessary reserves, physical as well as fiscal, to meet current problems. How long, we ask, can this continue?

Recently, I delivered a paper at a very important conference sponsored by the Catholic Church in this country. The overall theme of the conference was "The Stewardship of Power," which I regarded as most appropriate and very relevant, for today, community self-determination and community control and, in many places, "Black Power" (the idea that the racial and cultural personality of the Black community must be preserved and that community must win its freedom while preserving its cultural integrity) have indeed become the new battlecry of the disadvantaged inner-city neighborhoods of America.

I made reference to a press release issued on July 12, 1969, entitled: "MUND Comes of Age." MUND means Model Urban Neighborhood Demonstration program and the press release announced an event which marked the first time in Baltimore that residents of a poor neighborhood have been provided with as much as $810 000 by the Federal Government (OEO) in its war on poverty. The event signaled the complete transition of funding and policy control of the two-year-old program from the Greater Baltimore Committee (100 of the leading industrialists in Baltimore city) to the MUND Neighborhood Development Corporation. The 20 member Board of Directors of the Neighborhood Development Corporation was chosen last August in an unprecedented community-wide election with a voter turnout of over 15 percent in a community of 18 000 persons (88 percent Black). A more recent election for the board on September 27, 1969, produced over a 20 percent turnout of voters.

Austin E. Penn, Chairman of the Board of the Baltimore Gas and Electric Company and the Chairman of the Greater Baltimore Committee, termed the "transfer of power, the coming of age of the MUND experiment and the successful climax of two years of intensive effort by the Greater Baltimore Committee, the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, and the neighborhood residents to build a model of self-government in an urban community." Mr. Penn might have added that the MUND project has been a valuable experiment, for business and neighborhood. The Baltimore business community has learned much about dealing with inner-city residents and the residents have gained considerable experience in dealing with the "establishment." We have begun to develop that kind of program which can have major impact on the MUND neighborhood and other communities across the country.

The goal of the preliminary phase of MUND was to develop ways in which a partnership of business, residents of a poverty neighborhood, and agencies of city government could develop a model to permit the people of the community to deal effectively with a range of urban problems including housing, employment, education, crime, health, and basic city services. In order to achieve this goal, MUND planners have utilized the advanced planning tools of technology—systems analysis techniques—to identify and deal with the wide variety of persistent problems that are both the cause and result of the life style of the poor and disadvantaged.

The Westinghouse Systems Operations Division, whose experience has been used in developing management and planning techniques in America's space program, was selected to direct this phase of the program.

At a later stage, a Baltimore-based management consultant firm, Strategic Planning Corporation, was employed to conduct research and translate the sophisticated techniques and data of this complex approach into usable forms for the neighborhood residents.

The single overriding effort of MUND during these two years was to involve the local residents in the program's planning and management, to train them for eventual supervision of all phases of the program, and to assure that the program reflected the needs of the people it was established to serve. The purpose of the MUND project was not merely to treat the obvious symptoms of poverty, such as poor housing, but to develop a plan in which the residents of the community (working with business leadership and local, state, and federal government agencies) could mount a continuing attack on the causes of poverty and inadequate community services. To date, funds invested in MUND by OEO have had a significant multiplier effect, generating $30 million worth of commitments for housing, schools, parks, and other city services.

This more sophisticated approach to community action was why OEO chose to fund the program on a demonstration basis. MUND officials believe that concrete results depend on sound planning for action, education of the residents, and the development of an arena of participation for the people to learn the procedures of government and the methods of orderly growth. This emphasis on resident participation and self-determination has become a hallmark with the MUND team. MUND hopes both its successes and failures will serve to aid other community action and model cities programs around the country to do a more effective job in meeting real and felt needs of the people they are intended to serve. MUND hopes to prove that community action is not dead as some would like us to believe and that it is indeed "the most notable effort to date to mount a systematic social response" to the problem of the national integration of racial and ethnic minorities which do not participate satisfactorily in the process of government.

A keystone of the entire MUND experience from its inception has been to establish a neighborhood development corporation with the capability for self-government, program management, and to expand and enlarge upon its base of neighborhood "community power" and influence. Obviously, there are many who would differ with us about this matter of local rule, power of decision, and citizen involvement. There are also other models for citizen involvement: political, program, community development, urban renewal, anti-poverty, or model cities.

Participation in the political model takes place by voting for or belonging to a political organization. The program model, OEO or urban renewal, sees citizens fundamentally as recipients of services who will exercise some influence on the planning of said services. Most models, of course, are mixes. A social protest organization engages in self-help and politics. OEO launches a group

and soon the local politicians feel threatened. Urban renewal or model cities, especially in a rehabilitation program, needs a good deal of self-help activity.

We pride ourselves in MUND on developing a meaningful partnership and team effectiveness. We contend that we are fashioning a partnership of neighborhood, business, and government, in the restoration of a community and the revitalization of its people. We have committed ourselves within this context of fashioned partnership to maximum local self-rule and control and are convinced of the ability of neighborhood residents to establish that machinery and acquire that capability which is necessary for them to assume the awesome responsibility for major program operations and expenditures of funds.

We believe, also, that a neighborhood can maintain the integrity of local control and creatively utilize the resources of private enterprise and government in achieving the objectives of improving the quality and style of life of residents and obtaining that local environment in which any citizen would be proud to live and participate. Only the passing of time will tell if we who are involved in MUND can successfully demonstrate that our community development model is the right one and can, in fact, point the direction for others to follow our example.

MUND action programs are expected to achieve a measurable improvement in the area in eight categories:

1) physical improvement,
2) economic development,
3) housing development,
4) community development,
5) improved city services,
6) education,
7) legal aid,
8) health care.

We expect in the MUND program to decrease unemployment in our area. We expect, even more importantly, to do something about underemployment. We expect to increase the average income of our residents and to be able to measure progress. To date (since July 1968) we have placed over 600 residents in new job situations at an average hourly rate of $2.38. It has cost $140 000 to operate our employment program, but if we project the yearly salaries of those placed in jobs, we have a return on this investment of over 3 million dollars, 3 million dollars in take-home pay for our citizens.

A major objective of our planning and action effort for an economic breakthrough is the proper utilization of business in such a manner as to make substantial contributions to the sound and orderly economic growth of our community. This includes providing new investment opportunities, i.e., "a little Charles Center," a miniature of the Baltimore major downtown economic and physical development, but a development in which provisions will be made for the inclusion of poor people

by providing for innovation in housing and physical development technology, with training and manpower development and employment, with local buying practices and merchandising with managerial development, with improvements in transportation to link inner-city residents with outlying jobs, with helping the young to understand and appreciate the business world and to take advantage of newly opened doors and career possibilities; in other words, with the whole range of economic development activities.

We also expect the business community in Baltimore to help MUND with talent identification, crime reduction, and improved health care; with better neighborhood shopping facilities and better delivery of city services; with cleaning up the air and improving the water supply; and with provision of recreational facilities and other services through the use of its own resources, plants, grounds, and personnel.

MUND is fully committed to its people achieving gainful employment and the ownership and control of the resources of their community, including businesses, housing, and financial institutions. To this end, MUND has established a profit-making development corporation and, in using its funds for the generation of economic development projects, is seeking as much leverage as possible. Implicit in this approach is the fact that very few sources are willing and/or capable of supplying one hundred percent of the cost of real estate and equipment in economic development projects. Moreover, these programs do not supply working capital and other monies needed for economic development activities. Such other monies ordinarily are not borrowed but represent the equity investment of interested entrepreneurs in business activity.

Prospective businessmen in the MUND area do not have available funds to supply the needed equity investment, nor is there otherwise available an adequate source of equity monies for investment as risk capital in economic development activities in the MUND area. The equity capital which is available from nongovernment sources is usually not available in substantial amounts at reasonable rates in areas such as MUND. The MUND profit-making development corporation will work with the MUND parent neighborhood development corporation in a business development program designed to overcome existing deficiencies. The corporation has the following specific overall objectives:

1) to generate entrepreneurial initiative in the MUND area and supply equity funds for residents of the MUND area who have the desire and ability to enter manufacturing, industrial, commercial, and retail ventures as entrepreneurs;

2) to educate the residents of the MUND area in corporate democracy and participation in business activities through the vehicle of stock ownership in business enterprises operating in the MUND area;

3) to provide a vehicle through which interested individuals and organizations from inside and outside MUND may participate with residents of the area and with government agencies in focusing and financing the economic development of the MUND area.

The third objective is where private enterprise can be of great assistance in using their capital, managerial experience, and facilities to help the poor and disadvantaged to obtain selfhood and economic power. Additionally, private enterprise can do great good in supporting efforts for housing construction and rehabilitation so as to not only provide our people with shelter but also with employment and other economic opportunities.

An excellent example: the life insurance business's first one billion dollars diverted from investment channels to provide better housing and more jobs and community services for Americans living in urban core areas. These funds were used for the types of projects not previously financed by most provate investors, including insurance companies, because of their location or risk as compared to normal investment opportunities. The insurance companies have now pledged a second billion dollars of investment capital to finance improved housing, job-creating enterprises, and community services for the people of the city core areas.

Presently, goods are manufactured in MUND and services are provided. However, many residents feel that the profits derived from these activities do not accrue to any significant degree to the residents of the area. They believe that the profits are removed from the area by business interests based outside of the community. They have good reason for this attitude for, in fact, 6804 employees working in MUND generate sales of $254 770 000 and their average salary is $109.00 per week. Only 11 percent of MUND residents work in MUND, while 42.1 percent work outside of the city. In fact, 73.2 percent of all MUND residents work in industries which do not have any firms located in MUND. Hence, opportunities for employment in MUND do not exist for almost three-quarters of its residents.

Having community residents participate in the profits and gains of the businesses to be financed in the MUND area and those presently operative will tend to counteract the attitude of the residents that they and their community are the conduit of economic benefits for others and not the recipients of such benefits. It will permit them the opportunity ultimately to participate in the management process and to benefit from the process and profits of businesses which are created or assisted through the MUND profit-making corporation.

We do not seek handouts or charity but offer an opportunity for business to become relevant to the times and needs of at least the people of MUND. We expect business to receive more than a fair return on its investment through the purchase of stock in businesses

operated by MUND or through sharing of interest in the development corporation itself, which, if it is to mount and sustain such a program, must have the kind of operating capital necessary to back economic risk ventures, outside normal investment practices and procedures. Whether we call upon private enterprise in the name of James Forman's Black manifesto with its call for reparation or under some more reasonable banner is not important. What is important is that business investment be made available for community economic stimulation, and it does not make much difference whether it flows over, under, or around the table.

Now, a recent survey by Urban America and the Urban Coalition revealed the following.

1) An alarming increase in crimes of violence has created an atmosphere of fear inside and outside the slums.

2) Relations between the police and slum dwellers have changed, if at all, for the worse in the last year.

3) Communication between the city halls and the slums has increased but this has not necessarily meant any improvement in relations.

4) There has been no evidence that any more than a small minority of Negroes were ready to follow the more militant leaders toward separatism and the tactical use of violence. These leaders, however, continue to have an important impact, particularly on the young.

5) There has been a deepening of the movement toward Black pride and the control and improvement of Black neighborhoods.

6) There has been a great increase of concern among Whites about problems of the slums, but Black and White Americans remain far apart in their perception of the causes and the meaning of civil disorders.

7) The physical distance between the places where Blacks and Whites live has not diminished during the year and is likely to increase with population growth.

8) The Black neighborhoods in the cities have remained slums marked by poverty and decay, and the ghettos marked by concentration and confinement.

9) The nation has not yet made available to the cities, or Blacks themselves, resources enough to make a significant change in their residents' lives. Nor has it offered those who might want it the alternative of escape.

10) If current policies continue, there is a likelihood that the nation could keep disorders from spreading into major riots through the use of prompt and disciplined force. This is what happened in 1968.

11) The continued present policies will make permanent the division of our country into two societies, one largely Black and poor located in the central cities, the other predominantly White and affluent, located in the suburbs and outlying areas.

A word about Black people and Black communities. Throughout this country, vast segments of the Black communities are beginning to recognize the need to assert their own identities, to reclaim their history, their culture, to create their own sense of community and togetherness. There is a growing resentment of the word "Negro," for example, because many feel that this term is the invention of their oppressor; it is his image of Black people. Many Blacks are now calling themselves African-Americans, Afro-Americans, or Black people because that is their image of themselves. "Integration" is another example of a word which many believe has been defined according to the way White Americans see it. To many of them, it means Black men wanting to marry White daughters; it means race mixing, implying bed or dance partners. To Black people, it has meant a way to improve their lives, economically and politically. But the predominant White definition has stuck in the minds of too many people. Many Blacks have concluded that "integration" is really "irrelevant" at this point and time in history.

There is a growing feeling across the land that Black people must lead and run their own organizations, that only Black people can convey the revolutionary idea, that Black people are able to do things themselves, and that only they can help create in the community an aroused and continuing Black consciousness that will provide the basis for political, social, and economic strength.

Many Black people now conclude that there is no "American Dilemma" because Black people in this country form a colony, and it is not in the interest of the colonial power to liberate them. Many would hold that Black people are legal citizens of the United States with, for the most part, the same legal rights of other citizens. Yet, they stand as colonial subjects in relation to the White society. Thus, many believe that institutional racism has another name: colonialism.

Many Black people are convinced that the racial and cultural personality of the Black community must be preserved and that the community must win its freedom while preserving its cultural integrity. Integrity includes a pride—in the sense of self-acceptance, not chauvinism —in being Black, in the historical attainments and contributions of Black people. They believe that no person can be healthy, complete, and mature if he must deny a part of himself; and that this is what "integration" has required thus far. They maintain that this is the essential difference between integration as it is currently practiced and the concept of "Black Power."

This country is known by its cities, those amazing aggregations of people and housing, offices and factories, which constitute the heart of our civilization, the nerve center of our collective being, and which have become the major domestic problem facing our nation in the second half of the twentieth century. Suspicion and mistrust block most communication between the city government and the inner-city residents. Residents recall a long history of neglect and second-class treatment that cannot be overcome by words or short-term actions. The key is their involvement in the planning process in a way

that will lead to recognition that the results desired can be achieved by a public and private effort which cannot be mounted solely with resources from within the neighborhood itself.

This is absolutely necessary for the civic peace for there is no other effective way of overcoming the suspicion and alienation of the residents.

The era of "planning for" is over, especially since "planning for" too often meant no planning or a failure to understand the hard reality of conditions and the implications of discrimination in housing, jobs, education, and basic city services. The vocal element of any minority community want control for two basic reasons. 1) They believe that without control they will get the short end of the stick in terms of benefits and flow of funds. 2) Control means jobs, patronage, and power for those in charge. This is the way it is.

Like it or not, we live in times of danger and increased uncertainty. This is especially true of our urban environment. But they are also more open to the creative energy of man than any other time in history. All of us will ultimately be judged on the efforts we have contributed to building "anew" our cities, our communities, and our world, and on the extent to which our ideals, goals, and good work have shaped events.

We believe the people of MUND in Baltimore are meeting this challenge and this opportunity. They have made it known by their deeds that the old, captive, "engineering of consent," kind of citizen participation is no longer acceptable. They have also learned that power must be shared in reality, not just on paper; that the purpose of power sharing must be positive—to identify and meet real needs and to develop the capacity to function effectively in a society where coalitions, not absolutes, control; and that success will be determined by the way persons work together, not the rhetoric that often tears them apart.

Finally, I need not remind you that the nation achieved its space goal in the sixties because it was assigned full national priority. The time has come for revision—in fact, a reversal—of our national priorities. In the decade ahead, the public interest and indeed our national survival requires us to assign our housing, urban goals, and social problems a high priority at least comparable to the priority we gave our space program in the decade just ending.

Let us press forward in space, but let us turn our principal energies, our chief concern, to the speedy betterment of the quality of life for our cities and people on earth.

Lloyd Davis received the B.A. degree in philosophy from DePaul University, Chicago, Ill., and the M.A. degree in social and industrial relations from Loyola University, Chicago, Ill.

He was employed as Assistant Director of the New Haven Redevelopment Agency, New Haven, Conn., and Director of the Dixwell Renewal and Redevelopment Project. He was Manager of Urban Programs, Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Baltimore, Md. For three years he served as Intergroup Relations Specialist, U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, where he was also Secretary to the HUD Intra-Department Council on Equal Opportunity, a member of the HUD Task Force on Social Concerns, Staff Resource Aide to the Subcommittee on Housing of the White House Task Force on Civil Rights for 1968, and Acting Assistant Director in charge of the Intergroup Relations Staff in the office of the Secretary. He was then Program Manager of the Model Urban Neighborhood Demonstration (MUND), Baltimore, Md. He is now Director of Assisted Programs, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Davis is President of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO).