

Community Organizer Training Institute

PILOT INITIATIVE

Sponsored By
The Baltimore Neighborhood Collaborative

BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOOD COLLABORATIVE
TRAINING OUTLINE
SESSION #2: BUILDING LEADERSHIP AND BUILDING COMMUNITY

GOAL:

To introduce participants to the ideas and of and approaches to leadership development and community building.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To assist participants to develop a working definition of community leadership.
2. To assist participants to understand the personal characteristics and the environmental factors that affect the leadership development process.
3. To assist participants to understand their own leadership style and how it connects with others.
4. To assist participants to understand some of the dynamics between leaders and followers.
5. To assist participants to use what they have learned to work effectively with different types of leaders and to understand the organizer role in relation to leaders.
6. To introduce participants to several local examples of community building.
7. To assist participants to develop their own working definition of community building.
8. To assist participants to identify the chief factors supporting community building and the chief factors impeding it.
9. To assist participants to acquire attitudes, knowledge and skills which contribute to community building.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES/COMPETENCIES:

1. Participants will be able to identify their own leadership attributes and the leadership attributes of others.
2. Participants will be able to describe the dynamics between leaders and followers in terms that they might use in their communities.
3. Participants will be able to point to several local examples of community building and explain how they came about.
4. Participants will be able to identify several community building activities that they can put into action in their neighborhoods.
5. Participants will be able to identify several obstacles to community building in their neighborhoods and will have several ideas of ways to deal with them.

CURRICULUM OUTLINE

9:00 Registration, pick up materials, meet others

9:30 Welcome and Introductions

Circle name game

10:00 What is leadership?

Brainstorm all the characteristics you want in the ideal community leader. Continue for 3-4 pages of flip chart paper. Put them up. Ask how many in the room are willing to say they meet all the characteristics listed? Begin discussion with the dangers of idealizing leaders and offer the following definition of leadership. "Any act which helps the group achieve its goals or to build or maintain itself." Discuss the various ways people demonstrate acts of leadership.

Do lecturette on different theories of leadership, the dynamics between leaders and followers, and the relationship of leaders to the different needs and stages of development of the organization as well as the relationship of leadership to the environment [paradigm shifts].

Q&A. Discuss examples of leaders that participants have worked with. Best and worst.

10:40 break

10:50 What is my leadership style?

Go through leadership profile. Describe/explain.

Discuss applicability to work with others. How you will identify other styles.

12:15 lunch

12:30 Lunch Panel: Examples of Community Building

Village Learning Place

Operation Reach Out South West

Bel Air Edison

Abell -

Others?

1:30 What is community?

CESAR CHAVEZ: LEADER AS ORGANIZER
Ed Schwartz

A. Foundations

In an article in Playboy Magazine in January, 1970, Cesar Chavez observed that, "Nothing is going to happen until we, the poor can generate our own political and economic power. Such a statement might seem radical, but it shouldn't." (1) For Chavez, the statement represented more than an obligatory call to the barricades. It summed up his strategy, his way of proceeding, a way that distinguishes him from virtually every major movement leader of the past generation.

Martin Luther King, Jr. exemplified the leader as prophet; Cesar Chavez shows us the leader as organizer. To be sure, there are similarities between the two men. Both emerged from dispossessed minorities. Both succeeded in mobilizing non-violent movements for social and economic justice. Both espoused and practiced non-violence--indeed, Chavez may be America's leading practitioner of non-violence today. Both understood the importance of winning support for their demands from other groups in the population--churches, labor unions, liberals, elected officials. Most significant, both grounded their movements in civic and religious ideals widely shared by the general population.

These similarities should not obscure the important differences between them, however. King, the prophet, stands in the tradition of Moses; Chavez, the organizer, reflects the tradition of David. The prophet is satisfied when the people listen and respond. The organizer is content only when the people come together within a permanent organization. The prophet addresses large numbers at a time; the organizer works with small groups until they can work together. The prophet demands the center of the stage. The organizer frequently remains in the background. These are the obvious points of contrast between the two men.

To Reverend King, the message, the demands were the goal. Of course, popularizing the issues required mobilizing people in their behalf, but a movement was only a means to an end. Once one cause was won, a new movement would be built to fight for the next one. Organization building was simply not his kind of architecture. He designed philosophies, strategies, not constitutions and by-laws. His personal legacy remains, of course: but significantly, the Southern Christian Leadership Council barely survives.

Chavez, by contrast, hopes to leave the United Farmworkers of America as his major legacy. His private work, compared to King's is minimal. We can think of no Chavez speech comparable to "I Have a Dream"; no Chavez book comparable to Why We Can't Wait. What Chavez believes apart from the issues of his own movement is unknown. The movement itself, the organization, the Farmworkers is what we know about Chavez, because this is what he wants us to know.

Chavez' earliest political education grew out of his religious convictions. As a young man in San Jose, he attached himself to a barrio priest, Father Donald McDonnell, who mixed discussions of social justice with stories from the history of the labor movement. It is Father McDonnell, in fact, who must stand as Chavez' main teacher. A graduate of St. Patrick's Seminary in Menlo Park, California, the priest had resolved to apply the principles of justice in Rerum Novarum (Pope Leo XIII) and Quadragesimo Anno to the problems of the farmworkers. Joan London and Henry Anderson, two chroniclers of the farmworkers,

describe his encounter with Chavez as perhaps the most important single meeting in the history of the farm labor movement.

Chavez is no less enthusiastic:

Father McDonnell sat with me past midnight telling me about social justice and the Church's stand on farm labor and reading from the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII in which he upheld labor unions. I would do anything to get the Father to tell me more about labor history. I began going to the bracero camps with him to help with Mass, to the city jail to talk with prisoners, anything to be with Elim. (3.)

Father McDonnell later recommended Chavez to the second person who would influence him--Fred Ross.

Ross was legendary in organizing circles for piecing together community organizations from house meetings held throughout a neighborhood. In 1951, he was working in San Jose to establish a community service organization under the auspices of Saul Alinsky. At Father McDonnell's suggestion, he persuaded Chavez to hold such a house meeting. Though skeptical at first, the meeting convinced Chavez. As he recalled it several years later:

So he (Ross) came in and sat down and began to talk about farm workers, and then he took on the police and the politicians, not rabble-rousing either, but saying the truth. He knew the problems as well as we did; he wasn't confused about the problems like so many people who want to help the poor. He talked about the CSO and then the famous Bloody Christmas a few years before, when some drunken cops beat up some Mexican prisoners down in L.A. I didn't know what CSO was or who this guy Fred Ross was, but I knew about the Bloody Christmas case, and so did everybody in that room; some cops had actually been sent to jail for brutality, and it turned out that this miracle was thanks to the CSO.

He did such a good job of explaining how poor people could build power that I could even taste it. I could feel it. I thought, Gee, it's like digging a hole; there's nothing really complicated about it! ...You see, Fred was already an organizer when Alinsky hired him. I guess some of his theories came from Alinsky, but I learned everything from Fred. It was Fred who developed this technique of house meetings --Alinsky had never used them.

Anyway, I walked out with him to his car and thanked him for coming, and then I kind of wanted to know--well, what next? He said, "Well, I have another meeting, and I don't suppose you'd like to come? I said "Oh, yes, I would." I told the others I'd be right back and I got in his car and went with him, and that was it. (4.)

Thus, the two most important influences on Chavez gave him the political distance from his community that he needed to change it. From Father McDonnell, he acquired an understanding of social justice and labor history that reinforced his native religious and civic idealism. From Fred Ross, he learned how to turn tight barrio neighborhoods into instruments of power, then how to translate the common values and concerns of migrant workers into organized communities. This personal synthesis explains the political hybrid that Chavez has since tried to create--between the tactics of economic power and the philosophy of non-violence; between a bread-and-butter union and a moral crusade. Interestingly enough, it is an amalgam that defies the conventions of its own separate parts. Modern organizers don't

often moralize, and it is still the rare church that works to mobilize an economic movement.

To achieve this synthesis, Chavez has had to cultivate a unique style of political leadership—one that also eludes conventional analysis. How can a man become a leader in modern America who is neither a great speaker, nor an artful infighter, nor a brilliant administrator? How can a person who often stays inside a crowd end up at its head? In Chavez' case, the answer lies in both his personal approach to the movement and in his ability to blend various traditions in its behalf. Six themes come to mind--intimacy, example and sacrifice; continuity, conflict, and participation.

To understand Chavez, we must analyze how these themes reinforce one another.

B. INTIMACY, EXAMPLE, SACRIFICE

"The main thing in convincing someone," Chavez commented in an article in Ramparts in 1966, "is to spend time with him.

"It doesn't matter if he can read, write, or even speak well. What is important is that he is a man and second that he has shown some initial interest. One good way to develop leadership is to take a man with you in your car. And it works a lot better if you're doing the driving, that way you are in charge. You drive, he sits there, and you talk. (5.)

Some leaders teach from the speakers' platform; Chavez conducts an endless series of tutorials. In an age of mass communications, it is hard to imagine that one of the country's leading movements, The United Farmworkers of America, came together one member at a time. Tim Drake, a United Church of Christ minister who worked with Chavez during the early 1960's recalled that:

His consistency and perseverance really shook me...A disability case, a worker injured on the job--he would stay with that worker day and night, day and night, until he could locate an attorney who would take the case for nothing, or find some way of settling it that was of benefit to the worker. That's how his union was built: on plain hard work and these very personal relationships. It was a slow, careful plodding thing; the growers didn't even know he was in town. Even when the strike started they had no idea who Cesar Chavez was, but the workers did. (6.)

By cultivating such relationships, Chavez establishes a realistic attitude between people in the movement as a whole. He views leadership as "like taking a road over hills and down the valley; you must stay with the people. If you go ahead of them too fast, then they lose sight of you and you lose sight of them." (7.) He is a realist. "Anyone who comes in with the idea that farmworkers are free of sin and that growers are all bastards has never dealt with the situation or is an idealist of the first order," he told one reporter, "Things don't work that way. (8.)

Indeed, Chavez expresses contempt for any image of the farmworkers built upon a naive view of human nature:

"In the beginning, there was a lot of nonsense about the poor farmworker: 'Gee, the farmworker is poor and disadvantaged and on strike, he must be a super human being!' And I said, 'Cut that nonsense out, all right!' That was my opening speech. 'You're here working with a group of men; the farmworker is only a human being. You take the poorest of these guys and give him that ranch over there, he could be just as much a bastard as the guy sitting there

right now. Remember, that both are men. In order to help the farmworkers, look at them as human beings and not as something extra special, or else you're kidding yourself and are going to be mighty disappointed. Don't pity them either! Treat them as human beings, because they have just as many faults as you have; that way you'll never be in trouble, because you'll never be disappointed. (9.)

He is equally hard on himself. "Don't let the public part fool you," he says, "Me, here, I am just a plain human being, and I am reminded of this constantly at home. My wife sees me as the same old guy, you know. She has the advantage, she is removed from the public part and she lets me know very definitely ly who I am. I think that sometimes, although I don't enjoy being taken down, it is a good thing, that reminder at home..." (10.) If Chavez "doesn't enjoy being taken down," he enjoys even less any signs of adulation from his supporters. He is constantly stifling their ovations for him.

Thus, unlike leaders who set themselves apart from their followers, Chavez values intimate, frank relationships with each of them. "Chavez gave me attention that I had never had before," a migrant from the Rio Grande observed, "I don't know how to describe it...Cesar had the direct attention for us, not like the politician that shakes your hand and says, 'How are you?' and pats you on the back and is gone...Cesar gave his attention to me." (11.) Most politicians today can't even persuade the voters that they care about people like them. Chavez has no such problem.

Intimacy creates the possibility of loyalty to the movement; setting an example reinforces committments to its ideals. Chavez places a high premium on adhering to the principles that he espouses. If he preaches tolerance of human weakness, he practices it. When he demands hard work, he sets the pace himself. When he calls upon others to take risks, he places himself in the most vulnerable position. "We don't let people sit around the room crying about their problems," Chavez says, "No philosophizing--do something about it." (12.)

Of course, at the center of this teaching by example is a strict adherence to non-violence. It is far more than a tactic--"We are firm believers, you know," (13.) he told a biographer. In the tradition of Ghandi and King, he argues that violence, even violence in a good cause, destroys the perpetrator as well as the victim. "We must represent all human life, in the cities and in the fields of Vietnam," he explained in an article in Look Magazine. "Nonviolence is the only weapon that is compassionate and recognizes each man's value. We work to preserve that value in our enemies--or in our adversaries, as President Kennedy said more gently, more rightly. We want to protect the victim from being the victim. We want to protect the executioner from being the executioner." (14.)

Yet if non-volence is not merely a tactic, it is a powerful educational tool that Chavez uses to teach farmworkers many other important values of the movement. Non-violence requires courage. Following a particularly brutal confrontation with the Teamsters, for example, members of the Longshoremen volunteered to retaliate with their own "goons." Chavez rejected the offer. "They would have run the Teamsters out of town," he explained,

"They've done it before, in Puerto Rico and Chicago...Maybe we would have won the strike that way, but we would have lost a lot too. See, every time the Teamsters beat up on one of our guys, they lose. The whole idea of non-violence is you are not afraid, if you become afraid, you start doing things you are not supposed to do. Violence is a trap. We convert the farm-

workers and they can see our strength." (15.)

Non-violence demonstrates discipline, self-control. "It takes a lot not to strike back," Chavez admits, "not that you don't get the feeling sometimes. The reaction, I guess is built in us." (16.) On more than one occasion, he has had to intercede between the angry farmworkers and a grower after a particularly harsh instance of brutality against picketers. Once he even warned a mob that if it was going to "get" a grower, it would have to get him, too. (17.) On another occasion, he threatened to resign if union members embarked on a vigilante expedition. That incident, particularly, showed how Chavez persuades by example rather than rhetoric:

"You can vote right now to arm yourselves--" Chavez began, but before he could complete his threat of resignation, a woman stood up and spoke in his behalf. Concluding, she turned in a semi circle to plead with the brooding audience. "The whole world supports Cesar!" she entreated, "just because of his non-violence." A man stood up. "I offer words from the Bible," he said, "Justice of God cannot be won by the sword. We must resist the temptation to violence, especially when victory is certain." The audience fell silent. Chavez, too, was silent. His tired face reflected anything but certainty of victory. When it resumed, his voice, came quietly, as if he had been speaking all along, and only now had become audible again. "If you want a guard, and nobody wishes to guard it without arms, then I will guard it myself." He spoke very simply, and he meant it. "If they burn it, we can build again. But if a man is killed, who can revive him?" (18.)

The group came around.

Practicing non-violence also reflects a much subtler, but broader way that Chavez teaches by example--namely, by cultivating gentleness at all times. He is gentle in his criticism of other people--sometimes, say his critics, too gentle. While he sets exacting financial and administrative standards for his staff, he is careful not to abuse them. His co-workers appreciate the approach. "When someone rebukes you heavily," one told a reporter, "you remember it, you carry a scar; Cesar does it so softly that I couldn't focus on it while it was happening. I feel badly, but I won't carry a scar."

By far the greatest value that Chavez hopes to promote by example, however, is a principle as important as non-violence itself--sacrifice. "Our lives are really all that belong to us," he once said, "I am convinced that the finest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness, is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for others. God help us to be men." (20.)

Chavez dramatizes his own personal sacrifice for the movement through periodic public fasts. The first of these lasting 25 days in 1968, attracted national attention. Its public purpose was to galvanize support for the grape strike. It had a deeper significance, however, related to the internal politics of his movement.

1968 was the year in which violent elements challenged advocates of non-violence in every movement for social change. The confrontation forced Martin Luther King into the streets of Memphis to lead the marches of sanitation workers that cost him his life. Similar upheavals on the campuses drove former Congressman Allard Lowenstein, architect of the "Dump Johnson Movement," to shift from denouncing the war to condemning violent student protests--a shift that cost him much of his student support.

Chavez chose to respond personally. Jerry Cohen, a staff member at the time, explained:

"Cesar was mad. There had been a lot of loose talk about violence. He had told them the life of one man or woman was worth more than the success of the cause, but they were not listening, so he decided he had to find out who had the balls, and he showed them. He scared the hell out of them. He didn't say, 'I'm not going to eat until you guys shut up your mouths about violence;' he just said the union was committed to non-violence, then started fasting. The people responded like, 'God, what is this guy doing?' The people were scared and frustrated, they didn't know what to do with him." (21.)

Certainly, the impact of the fast exceeded even Chavez' expectations. Workers from all over the country sought audiences with him--opportunities that he used to discuss their individual organizing problems. Supporters conducted rallies in his behalf. He received media attention every night. Senator Robert Kennedy joined him at the conclusion of the ordeal for a brief public ceremony in San Jose. The fast resolved the question of who and what would lead the Mexican-American movement once and for all.

Yet if Chavez succeeded where Reverend King and Representative Lowenstein failed, it was because his style of organizing made success possible. His supporters were more than an audience--they were his students, his friends, who rushed to his side when he needed them. He had showed them how to follow his example in general; it was only a small step for them to understand the meaning of this particularly dramatic act of moral witness. His whole career had embodied sacrifice. It was easy for others to believe that he was prepared to offer the ultimate sacrifice, if the integrity of his vision depended upon it. They had to choose--if they wanted Chavez, they had to live up to his ideals. Cesar Chavez, thus, became the only non-violent leader of the 1960's to outwit his violent opponents. For his physical survival, he must thank God. For his political survival, he deserves much of the credit himself.

C. CONTINUITY, CONFLICT, PARTICIPATION

One of Chavez' favorite stories is how he and his brother developed the Farmworkers' flag:

"I wanted desperately to get some color into the movement, to give people something they could identify with, like a flag. I was reading some books about how various leaders discovered what contrasted and stood out the best. The Egyptians had found that a red field with a white circle and black emblem in the center crashed into your eyes like nothing else. I wanted to use the Aztec eagle in the center as on the Mexican flag. So I told my cousin Manuel, 'Draw an Aztec eagle.' Manuel had a little trouble with it, so we modified the eagle to make it easier to draw.

"The first big meeting of what we decided to call the National Farm Workers Association was held in September, 1962, at Fresno, with 287 people. We had our huge red flag on the wall, with paper tacked over it. When the time came, Manuel pulled a cord--ripping off the flag and all of a sudden it hit the people. Some of them wondered if it was a communist flag, and I said it probably looked more like a neo-Nazi emblem than anything else. But they wanted an explanation, so Manuel got up and said, 'When that damn eagle flies, that's when the farmworkers' problems are to be solved.' (22.)

If the flag symbolizes the Farmworkers movement, the story

reflects how Chavez is putting it together--a synthesis of various traditions that creates more energy than the sum of its parts. For the flag, Chavez drew upon the wisdom of ancient Egypt, just as Christianity is the ultimate source of authority for the movement. The Mexican-American symbol, the Aztec eagle, stood in the center, reflecting the centrality of Mexican-American history to the Farmworkers' cause. The design confronted the workers, in the way that the Farmworkers themselves are supposed to confront established institutions. Yet the flag was accessible. Manuel Chavez drew the eagle so that others could replicate it, just as Cesar Chavez builds his organization so that anyone could participate in it. These three elements--continuity, conflict, and participation--are the ingredients that hold the United Farmworkers of America (UFWA) together.

It is the Catholic tradition, even the church itself that serves as the ultimate source of authority for the movement. Religious symbols infuse the Farmworkers more directly than almost any other social cause in America, and certainly more than any other union. The religious connection is all the more unusual in that Chavez himself is not a priest. To be sure, his political education was theologically inspired, but more than one politician has shared an equivalent education without applying it directly to his work. Indeed, if we had to identify only one characteristic that distinguishes the Farmworkers from other economic uprisings, it would be this religious orientation.

Yet the Catholic appeal has been critical to winning support from the workers themselves. Chavez' first major march in 1966--from Delano to the California Statehouse in Sacramento--brought this point home even to skeptical observers. It was not merely a march, but a peregrination, with the theme of "Penitence, Pilgrimage, and Revolution" as climax on Easter Sunday. Along the way, workers paraded under the Mexican patron saint of the campesinos, la Virgen de Guadalupe. When one of the volunteers objected to this heavy religious motif -- including masses every night and morning--Cesar Chavez took a vote. Dolores Huerta, a farmworkers leader summed up the results: "We put the Virgin to a motion, and virginity won." (23.)

Later, William Kircher, an AFL-CIO organizer with the farmworkers, explained the march's tactical significance.

"The march was obviously an organizing tool. New. Radical. Different. A crew of people walking along the highway carrying the banner of Our Lady, calling meetings at night which attracted farm workers out of the fields and towns, opening with "De Colores" (a song about the colors of spring in the fields) maybe a prayer. The whole thing had a strong cultural, religious thing, it was organizing people." (24.)

Indeed, the Catholic appeal has succeeded with the farmworkers where all other traditions have failed.

Beyond the religious imagery, Chavez evokes memories of Mexican-American history. "We are men and women who have suffered and endured much not only because of our abject poverty, but because we have been kept poor," he wrote in an open letter to the California Grape and Tree Fruit League in 1969. "The colors of our skins, the languages of our cultural and native origins, the lack of formal education, the exclusion from the democratic process, the numbers of our slain in recent wars--all these burdens generation after generation have sought to demoralize us, to break our human spirit, but God knows we are not agricultural implements or rented slaves, we are men." (25.)

The letter merely echoed a point that Chavez had made to the

Farmworkers from their very first meeting--their cause was part of a history that extended back to the worker rebellion in Mexico over 155 years ago.

Chavez' third appeal is to American civic ideals, particularly when he addresses non-farmworker audiences. "What we demand is very simple," he told a Senate Sub-Committee hearing, "We want equality. We do not want or need special treatment unless you abandon the idea that we are equal men." (26.) In an article in Look Magazine he noted that, "It may be a long time before we get justice under the law, because the law is on the side of the growers. As Robert Kennedy said to the Delano Sheriff during the Senate hearings on Migrant labor--he was amazed to find that our people were arrested because they might commit a crime--'I suggest that the Sheriff read the Constitution of the United States.'" (27.)

Reference to specific civic ideals are not made as much by Chavez as they were by Martin Luther King. Certainly, religious and Mexican-American imagery is more prominent. Nonetheless, like all leaders of Mexican movements, Chavez sees himself as holding the country accountable to its own professed ideals.

Appeals to tradition do more than rationalize the demands of the Farmworkers; they strengthen the resolve of the Union to fight for them. Nonviolent, or not, Chavez understands that his movement is engaged in a sustained battle with the established interests--not just the growers, but the "Banks and railroad companies and big corporations that run agri-business, a \$1 billion industry in California." (28.) Indeed, he sees it as being "locked in a death struggle against man's inhumanity to man" in the food industry, "And this struggle itself gives meaning to our life and ennobles our dying." (29.)

The problem of leadership lies in involving workers directly in the process of conflict. Chavez believes that the picket line serves this purpose well:

"If a man comes out of the field and goes on the picket line, even for one day, he'll never be the same. The picket line is the best possible education. Some labor people came to Delano and said, 'Where do you train people? Where are your classrooms?' I took them to the picket line. That's where we train people That's the best training. The labor people didn't get it. They stayed a week and went back to their big jobs and comfortable homes. They hadn't seen training, but the people here see it and I see it. The picket line is where a man makes a commitment, and it's irrevocable; and the longer he's on the picket line, the stronger the commitment. The workers on the ranch committee who don't know how to speak, or who never speak--after five days on the picket lines they speak right out, and they speak better." (30.)

By speaking of defending ideals and preserving traditions, however, Chavez engages in this sort of conflict without trying to subject the growers to humiliating defeat. "Let them have their pride," he says, "What we want is a contract. This is what they fail to understand. We are not out to put them out of business because our people need the work; we are out to build a union, and we'll negotiate half our lives to get it. If we can't get better wages and working conditions for the workers, we are willing to give up something. But growers choose to make it a personal fight, so we have to do something to save their face...Things can't look as if we are getting a victory and they are not. (31.)

The key to the success of their process, thus, lies in the

participation of the workers themselves. Every step that Chavez takes--from his personal contacts with the workers to his insistence that they join the picket lines --aims at providing the direct involvement upon which personal dignity and political democracy depends, "We don't need perfect political systems," he says, "If you don't participate in the planning, you just don't count." (32.)

It is on this point, primarily, in fact, that both the growers and the Teamsters now resist Chavez. "The companies wanted to come direct to La Paz and have us straighten out the problems," he explains, "but we can't do that." (33.) Instead, the Farmworkers gives powers to individual ranch committees, both to manage their internal affairs and to participate directly in contract negotiations. The procedure is cumbersome, but Chavez defends it:

"We have to preserve the ranch committees. They must have direct representation at the convention. They not only have the right, but the responsibility to deal with their own internal problems. They deal with the members directly. They are involved but they must be responsible for the first and second steps of the grievance procedures." (34.)

This is participatory democracy with a vengeance, but Chavez believes that the future success of his organization depends upon it. Why spend so much time with individual workers, if not to prepare them for self-government? Why set an example of courage, if the workers themselves never feel the pride that comes from displaying it? What good is gentleness if a community's members never relate to one another? How can a congregation fulfill God's will, if the parishioners never take responsibility for their decisions? What purpose is served by endless conflict, if it leads only to the replacement of one boss by another? These questions dictate a single answer to Chavez--the workers must participate in their union, or it will not be their union.

D. THE ORGANIZING OF DEMOCRATIC IDEALISM

In the Federalist Papers, James Madison warned that, "a zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points," had, "divided mankind into parties, inflamed with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to cooperate for their common good." (35.) The possibility that private grouss might promote public values never entered the Madisonian equation. The only way to guard against the "evils of faction" was to design a government sufficiently complex to prevent any one group from gaining ultimate control.

Writing about America 40 years later, Alexis de Tocqueville came to exactly the opposite conclusion:

"Among democratic nations...all the citizens are independent and feeble; they can hardly do anything by themselves, and none of them can oblige his fellow men to lend him their assistance. They all, therefore, become powerless if they do not learn voluntarily to help one another. If men living in democratic countries had no right and no inclination to associate for political purposes, their independence would be in great jeopardy, but they migllt long preserve their wealth and their cultivation: whereas if they never acquired the habit of forming associations in ordinary life, civilization itself would be endangered." (36.)

Cesar Chavez would agree with de Tocqueville. Many observers see in the Farmworkers only a new "interest group," using extraordinary tactics to achieve essentially private

goals--economic security, higher wages, collective bargaining. Chavez views the process in reverse. To him, demands for economic improvement are beginning steps toward the overall improvement of the workers--toward their gradual assumption of democratic rights and responsibilities. Even now, the union runs cooperatives, health clinics, and community centers. It sponsors voter registration drives and supports candidates. It trains student volunteers to work with farmworkers, while it sends farmworkers to work on the boycotts in major cities. It is already a cause. The question now is whether it can evolve into a full-scale, democratic culture.

By any standard, of course, Chavez' success has been improbable. Farmworkers could not be organized, but he is organizing them. Door-to-door canvassing has vanished in the electronic age, but Chavez makes it work. Idealistic leaders either sell out, give up, or get shot today, but Chavez has preserved his principles over twenty different years. Tradition, particularly religious tradition is losing its force everywhere, but Chavez is bringing people into his movement on the strength of its appeal. Most Americans have lost confidence in politics, but the Farmworkers are devoting their lives to it. Modern organizations cannot survive unless they bureaucratize, but Chavez is creating ranch committees and democratic conventions. From this perspective, it is not surprising that the Farmworkers face problems. It is astonishing that they exist at all.

Yet Chavez' accomplishment should tell us something about the power of this kind of political leadership. The prophet worries about the vision; the organizer tends to the community itself. The people learn to love him, so that through him, they can find one another and the common purposes that will sustain them. It is a Populist leadership; and although Chavez is a Mexican-American, he has become our major spokesman for the Populist tradition--that unique synthesis of religious idealism, economic radicalism, and political democracy that modernity was supposed to have crushed. Chavez knows better than anyone what a Populist faces today--corporate dominance of the economy; bureaucratic dominance of the polity; materialistic perversion of our basic civic values. He should have lost to the growers and the Teamsters long ago, as surely as David should have lost to Goliath. His success should remind us that when Divine inspiration brings a people together, even their slingshots can turn out to be pretty powerful weapons.

FOOTNOTES

- 1.) Cesar Chavez, "Sharing the Wealth," Playboy Magazine, January, 1970, p.127.
- 2.) Joan London and Henry Anderson, So Shall Ye Reap, (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970.) pp. 143-44.
- 3.) Ibid., pp. 143-44.
- 4.) Peter Mathiessen, Sal Si Puedes, (New York, Random House, 1969,) p. 44.
- 5.) Cesar Chavez, "The Organizer's Tale," Ramparts, 5 July, 1966, p. 44.
- 6.) Mathiessen, op.cit., p.54.
- 7.) Ibid., p. 172.
- 8.) John Gregory Dunne, Delano, (New York, Farrar, Strauss &

Giroux, 1971,) p. 171.

9.) Mathiessen, op.cit., p. 115.

10.) Ronald B. Taylor, Chavez and the Farmworkers, (New York, Beacon, 1975,) p. 212.

11.) Ibid., p. 215.

12.) Mathiessen, op. cit. p. 115

13.) Taylor, op.cit., p. 139.

14.) Cesar Chavez, "Non-Violence Still Works," Look 33 (April 1, 1969,) p.52.

15.) Taylor, op.cit., p.300.

16.) Ibid., p.215.

17.) Mathiessen, op.cit., p.88.

18.) Mathiessen, Ibid., p.148.

19.) Mathiessen, op.cit., p.116.

20.) Taylor, op.cit., p.229.

21.) Taylor, Ibid., p.225.

22.) Cesar Chavez, "The Organizer's Tale," op.cit., p.46.

23.) Mathiessen, op.cit., p.128.

24.) Mathiessen, Ibid., pp. 167-68.

25.) Cdsar Chavez, "Letter to the Growers," reprinted in Paul Fusco and George D. Horwitz, La Causa: The California GraDe Strike. (New York. MacMillan, 1970,) p.14.

26.) Mathiessen, p. 126.

27.) Chavez, op.cit., p.57.

28.) Cdsar Chavez, "Non-Violence Still Works," op.cit., p.52.

29.) Ibid. p.14.

30.) Mathiessen, op.cit., pp. 83-84.

31.) Ibid., pp. 105-106.

32.) Cdsar Chavez, "Sharing the Wealth," op.cit., p.20.

33.) Taylor, op.cit., p.20.

34.) Ibid., p.20.

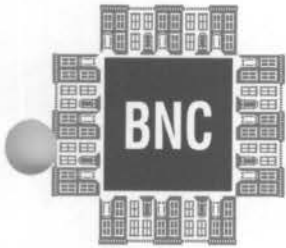
35.) James Madison, The Federalist Papers #10, Clinton Rossiter, editor, (New York, Mentor, 1961,) p.79.

36.) Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Volume II , Second Book, Chapter V. (New York, Vintage, 1945,) p.115.

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**Baltimore Neighborhood
Collaborative**

WELCOME!

The Baltimore Neighborhood Collaborative is excited to have you as a participant in the pilot initiative of the Community Organizer Training Institute!

The Community Organizer Training Institute is designed to provide skills training and peer-to-peer support for organizing staff of local community organizations to strengthen their community outreach, community organizing, and neighborhood planning work. The training program is being developed in two phases: with a pilot initiative that has been developed by a work group of local professionals who practice or manage organizing programs and by staff of local institutions that have community organizing tracks in their academic programs. The second phase of this program involves a feasibility study for a sustainable longer-term effort that is being conducted by a local consultant group.

The program will focus on the professional skill development of community organizers and will educate and teach a broad understanding of community development and the role of the organizer in that process. We hope your participation will benefit and enhance the work in your neighborhoods. Your participation will also help us 'test' this pilot by evaluating each session and the overall effectiveness of this program for a wider community organizing audience. Your recommendations are critical to continuing planning efforts.

Classes are expected to meet twice a month during full work hours. The schedule has been completed through December 2001 with future classes based on the schedule of the participants. There will be a total of 12 sessions scheduled through Spring 2002. Following the pilot will be a comprehensive evaluation of all participants, instructors, and work group members to prepare for what we hope will be an on-going training program.

Thank you again for your interest, support and participation in this training. Collectively, all of us will contribute to the success of this initiative.

Community Organizer Training Institute

Goals:

The goals of the Community Organizer Training Institute pilot are:

- To enhance the capacity of community organizing/ outreach staff by providing skills training and peer networking opportunities
- To educate and teach a broad understanding of community development and the role of the community organizer in that process
- To increase the capacity of the community organization by focusing on the role of the community organizer

Outcomes:

Possible outcomes of this pilot initiative will be:

- The development of a longer-term effort that provides training to a broad range of community organizers
- Increased knowledge and skills or identification of skills to be enhanced by the organizer
- Organizers equipped with the proper resources and/ or knowledge to obtain the right resources
- Increased confidence in understanding and performing responsibilities as an organizer

Expectations:

- That participants will attend classes regularly so that the evaluation is applicable
- That participants will provide adequate and documented evaluation feedback and comments
- That participants have an active role in classes, network and share information and resources with other class participants
- That this training offers relevant information that is useful to participants
- That instructors are knowledgeable and resourceful on relevant topic areas
- That material is up to date and related to class work and activities
- That participants benefit from the classes and peer interaction as a result of the time and effort to support the evaluation of the pilot
- That participants who leave the program before completion partake in an exit interview

**COMMUNITY ORGANIZER TRAINING INSTITUTE
PILOT INITIATIVE
SCHEDULE AND CLASS SUMMARY – Fall 2001**

1

Organizing 101- Program Overview and Introduction to Community Organizing
Tuesday, November 20, 2001 – 9:00 a.m. – 4:30 p.m. – Stony Run Center – 5516 N. Charles St.

Community organizing is a tool used to help communities increase the quality of life of residents by identifying common issues and mobilizing residents around those issues. Change is the most significant outcome in any type of organizing philosophy with processes that involve a variety of approaches and methods. This class will introduce participants to community organizing; its usefulness as a tool to support the revitalization of urban neighborhoods; and its contributions to the social fabric, physical development and political environment in communities by providing a historical perspective and a foundation for community organizing and the elements that are in place to support it.

2

Building Community and Building Leadership: The Role of the Community Organizer
Tuesday, December 4, 2001 – 9:30 a.m. – 4:30 p.m. – The Anvil Center

The National Community Builders Network defines community building as "an approach to improving conditions, expanding opportunities and sustaining positive change within communities by developing, enhancing and sustaining the relationships and social networks of those who make up the community." Community organizers are catalysts for such a process and can help initiate the community building process by working with a core group of residents who are ready to take the lead. This session will educate participants on core principles of community building and will help them identify and build off the leadership potential of others.

3

The Role of Community Organizing in the CDC Context
Tuesday, December 11, 2001 – 9:30 a.m. – 4:30 p.m. – BNC – 2 East Read Street – 8th Floor

Community Development Corporations are nonprofit organizations, contained to a specific geographic area, that create development opportunities for communities that have experienced disinvestments in residential areas within neighborhoods. Are there ways in which CDC's can develop a holistic approach to disinvestments that include community organizing as a strategy? This session will introduce the role of CDC's in communities and offer suggestions for CDC models that include community participation and community organizing as a core strategy in community development.

4

Building Power and Working in Power Relationships
Date and Location TBA

Types of power vary and take different forms in community development. There are power dynamics that occur internally at the neighborhood level and the external influences that impact neighborhood change and transformation, particularly in low-income communities, and external influences that perpetuate the "powerlessness" of these communities. This session will explore power dynamics in community development and organizing and the role an organizer can have in fostering self-help approaches for communities and people as they develop sense of their own power.

5

Addressing Issues of Diversity in Urban Communities **Date and Location TBA**

Addressing issues of diversity in neighborhoods where tensions related to difference exist is a necessary measure to truly build a community that acknowledges, supports, and encourages participation of all community members. Is there a role for the organizer in dismantling norms and attitudes that impact the appreciation of difference? What is the process and what is the risk? This session will work with participants to reflect and self assess their own diversity lens and their role as organizers in breaking down marginal practices related to race, age, gender, and class difference.

6

The Organizing Process – Part 1: Engaging Residents **Date and Location TBA**

Engaging residents in community building initiatives start with the recognition from community members that there is an issue that needs to be addressed that affects the whole community. How does an organizer learn about the issues of residents? What strategies are employed to get feedback from residents? What methods would an organizer use to motivate members of the community to participate and be involved in activities? Learn from three seasoned organizers the practical, meaningful, creative, and necessary ways to engage residents in community planning efforts.

7

The Organizing Process – Part 2: Identifying Issues **Date and Location TBA**

Identifying and prioritizing issues is a common conflict that many communities experience. This conflict can include lack of consensus, the emphasis on broader problems, and the strategy, or lack thereof, that is used to address those issues. This session will help organizers find the most effective means to helping community members identify and address neighborhood issues that link to citywide and regional strategies.

8

The Organizing Process – Part 3: Developing A Strategy and Resolving the Issue **Date and Location TBA**

Every issue requires a well-planned, strategic response to bring about resolution. Strategies are components of a larger goal and act as 'steps' in a neighborhoods plan to create change or resolve issues. This session will help organizers focus on their role in developing the strategies to address community issues and the necessary support that they should provide to residents in the planning process.

9

Managing Information: Technology, Data and Community Organizing **Date and Location TBA**

Data collection methods are becoming increasingly popular tools to support the planning efforts of communities. Learn about emerging community-based efforts that are supported by technology and its usefulness and impact as a resource for community organizing.

10

Resource Development for Community Organizing **Date and Location TBA**

Resource development in grassroots community organizing has various strategies that extend beyond proposal and grant writing. While these methods are useful, there are additional strategies that are more practical and less restrictive when it comes to volunteer based organizations that are developing fundraising plans. This session will give an overview of resource development for community organizations, types of resources and methods for collecting resources that may be useful, and provide strategies for sustaining projects and programs over the long term.

11

Managing Organizing to Manage Change **Date and Location TBA**

Organizations that have a community organizing function fused in its work often neglect to develop effective strategies and outcomes for the organizing efforts. Defining an organizing strategy is critical for a board of directors, executive director and organizing staff in order to effectively manage it. Equal to this task is keeping the strategy within the context of managing change — at the neighborhood, city, national or global level. This session will highlight effective models of organizing programs in organizations and help board members, directors and organizers learn and share experiences about managing community organizing programs and the vision for it.

12

Evaluation **Date and Location TBA**

13

CELEBRATION **Date and Location TBA**

Sponsored by the Baltimore Neighborhood Collaborative

Curriculum development work group participants: Regina Alston - CPHA, Dick Cook – UM School of Social Work, Tisha Edwards – Empower Baltimore, Mel Freeman- Belair Edison Neighborhoods, Tanya Jones - BNC, Barry Kamenetz - CHAI, Pam King - OSI, Betty Robinson - CPHA, Ann Sherrill - BNC

Community Organizer Training Institute

Pilot Initiative – Fall 2001

Session 1

ORGANIZING 101 – PROGRAM OVERVIEW AND INTRODUCTION TO COMMUNITY ORGANIZING
Tuesday, November 20, 2001 – 9:00 a.m. – 4:00 p.m. Stony Run Center

Instructors: Regina Alston – CPHA, Dick Cook – UM School of Social Work, Gary Gillespie- American Friends Service Committee, Tanya Jones – BNC, Michael Mazepink – People's Homesteading Group

SUMMARY

Community organizing is a tool used to help communities increase the quality of life of residents by identifying common issues and mobilizing residents around those issues. Change is the most significant outcome in any type of organizing philosophy with processes that involve a variety of approaches and methods. This class will introduce participants to community organizing; its usefulness as a tool to support the revitalization of urban neighborhoods; and its contributions to the social fabric, physical development and political environment in communities by providing a historical perspective and a foundation for community organizing and the elements that are in place to support it.

Goal: To provide participants with an overview of community organizing in Baltimore within the context neighborhood revitalization and community development.

Objectives:

1. Provide an orientation to the training; review trainers' goals and expectations
2. Define community organizing and introduce the history of organizing in Baltimore neighborhoods
3. Understand the impact of community organizing at local and international perspectives
4. Distinguish community organizing from social delivery, activism, and advocacy.
5. Recognize community organizing as a tool, not a goal
6. Legitimize community organizing as an integral component of community development

**Community Organizer Training Institute
Participant Schedules**

Name _____

WEEK

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:00 a.m.					
9:00 a.m.					
10:00 a.m.					
11:00 a.m.					
12:00 p.m.					
1:00 p.m.					
2:00 p.m.					
3:00 p.m.					
4:00 p.m.					
5:00 p.m.					

MONTH

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday

Name _____ Organization/Neighborhood _____

1. How many years have you been a community organizer?
2. What was your first organizing experience?
3. How did you become interested in community organizing?
4. What skills or experiences did you have to prepare?
5. What kind of professional and/or peer support do you currently receive to advance your skill and knowledge as an organizer?
6. What core values do you use in your approach to community organizing?
7. On a scale of 1 to 5 (1= weak; 5 = strong), please rate the following:

I am knowledgeable about community organizing – it's history, theory and practice.

1 2 3 4 5

Comment:

I understand what community organizing is and feel confident in my approach to organizing.

1 2 3 4 5

Comment:

I am comfortable with the skills I have to be a community organizer.

1 2 3 4 5

Comment:

I feel prepared to perform job as an organizer (training, peer support, academic programs, and mentors, etc.)

1 2 3 4 5

Comment:

I am well-equipped and supplied with the right resources to do my job effectively.

1 2 3 4 5

Comment:

I feel that my organizing work is strategically linked to a broad neighborhood revitalization plan.

1 2 3 4 5

Comment:

List 5 **new** skills that you would like **to learn** to increase your organizing capacity:

8. List 5 skills that you would like **to enhance** to increase your organizing capacity:

9. What is your most effective way of learning (please rank):

- A. Lectures and theory _____
- B. Experiential/ hands on _____
- C. Participatory exercises _____
- D. Peer learning _____
- E. Skill development (practice) _____

10. Ideally, how would you **MOST** benefit from this training program?

Community Organizer Training Institute
Session One: Program Overview and Introduction to Community Organizing
Tuesday, November 20, 2001

SESSION EVALUATION

Thank you for participating in this session. Please take a few minutes to fill out this evaluation. Your comments and suggestions are valuable and help us to determine what other opportunities would be of interest to you. Please rate on a scale of 1 to 5 (1= poor; 5 = excellent)

1. How useful did you find this session?
1 2 3 4 5

Comments:

2. How relevant did you find this session to your work as an organizer?
1 2 3 4 5

Comments:

3. How would you rate the pace of this session?
1 2 3 4 5

Comments:

4. How would you rate the length of this workshop?
1 2 3 4 5

Comments:

5. How would your rate the clarity and knowledge of the instructors
1 2 3 4 5

Comments:

6. How would you rate the quality of the materials?
1 2 3 4 5

Comments:

7. What did you like best about this session? Are there skills that you can apply as a result of this session?

8. What were some shortcomings of the session?

9. What would be a good follow-up to this session:

Logistics – Please Comment

Food:

Location:

Time/ Length:

OVERALL SESSION RATING:

1 2 3 4 5

Additional Comments:

Your name:

BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOOD COLLABORATIVE TRAINING OUTLINE

SESSION #2: BUILDING LEADERSHIP AND BUILDING COMMUNITY

GOAL:

To introduce participants to the ideas and of and approaches to leadership development and community building.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To assist participants to develop a working definition of community leadership.
2. To assist participants to understand the personal characteristics and the environmental factors that affect the leadership development process.
3. To assist participants to understand their own leadership style and how it connects with others.
4. To assist participants to understand some of the dynamics between leaders and followers.
5. To assist participants to use what they have learned to work effectively with different types of leaders and to understand the organizer role in relation to leaders.
6. To introduce participants to several local examples of community building.
7. To assist participants to develop their own working definition of community building.
8. To assist participants to identify the chief factors supporting community building and the chief factors impeding it.
9. To assist participants to acquire attitudes, knowledge and skills which contribute to community building.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES/COMPETENCIES:

1. Participants will be able to identify their own leadership attributes and the leadership attributes of others.
2. Participants will be able to describe the dynamics between leaders and followers in terms that they might use in their communities.
3. Participants will be able to point to several local examples of community building and explain how they came about.
4. Participants will be able to identify several community building activities that they can put into action in their neighborhoods.
5. Participants will be able to identify several obstacles to community building in their neighborhoods and will have several ideas of ways to deal with them.

4. Leaders are the people who are craftiest. Machiavelli
5. Leaders are the people with charisma. Washington, Martin Luther King, Mao Tse Tung, Nelson Mandela
6. Leaders are the people who rise to the challenges of the times. Revolutionary War Heroes- Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, John Adams, Abigail Adams; WWII Churchill, FDR
7. Leaders are the people who help followers get what they want. Lyndon B. Johnson
8. Leaders are people who have the best ideas. John Kennedy, Karl Marx
9. Leaders are the people who help followers agree on a common vision/program. Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Bishop Desmond Tutu
10. Leaders are people who demonstrate courage. Native Americans

Begin discussing change of focus from the **leader** to the focus on **leadership**.

DEFINITIONS OF LEADERSHIP

1. Process of getting people to do what leader wants
2. Process of getting people to do what group agrees on
3. Having followers/constituents
4. Developing constituents to achieve their aims/aspirations

WORKING DEFINITION

“Any act which helps the group achieve its goals or to build or maintain itself.” Discuss the various ways people demonstrate acts of leadership.

Discuss different theories related to leadership:

- leaders born vs leaders made,
- definitions of leadership,
- the dynamics between leaders and followers,
- the relationship of leaders to the different needs and stages of development of the organization,
- the relationship of leadership to the environment,

Discuss paradigm shifts for leaders.

- shift from industrial society to information society
- changes in information/technology - who controls information
- increase in diversity
- changes in organizational forms- centralization to decentralization, hierarchies to networks
- changes in which organizations are dominant
- crisis in credibility
- decline in voting and other forms of democratic participation
- mistakes seen as failure vs mistakes seen as learning opportunities

Q&A. Discuss examples of leaders that participants have worked with. Best and worst. List.

10:40 break

10:50 What is my leadership style? [Dick]

Go through personal profile system.

Describe/explain- motivation, task/process, risk/caution

Discuss applicability to work with others. How you will identify other styles.

12:15 lunch

1:00 Lunch Panel: Examples of Community Building

Village Learning Place [?]

Operation Reach Out South West [?]

Bel Air Edison [Mel]

1:40 What is community? [Mel]

2:10 Exercise :Win As Much As You Can [Dick/Mel]

Discuss- examples of leadership, impediments to community building, actions to overcome impediments

2:50 break

3:00 Things you can do in your neighborhood to build community.

[Mel]

Ask participants to each identify 3 concrete things they can do in their neighborhoods to build community. List/discuss/encourage

Ask them to identify what obstacles they anticipate and what they will do to deal with those obstacles. List/discuss/encourage.

3:45 Wrap up and evaluation [Mel and Dick]

4:00 Good Luck!!!

WIN AS MUCH AS YOU CAN

SETUP

I'd like to try something, an exercise which might help us talk about what's involved here.

I need eight volunteers for the exercise. Two each for
Action Alliance of Activists
Bureau of Better Businesses
Child Care Center
Defenders of the Developmentally Disabled

Get seated around a table with two of you in each organization, each pair seated together on a side of the table. Each organization number a piece of paper from 1 to 10.

INSTRUCTIONS

The name of this exercise is "WIN AS MUCH AS YOU CAN." I want you to keep that goal in mind through all ten rounds.

There are only three rules to remember.

1. Each organization must agree on a single choice [either an X or a Y] for each round.
2. Each organization is not to confer with any other organization unless it is given specific instructions to do so. This includes verbal and nonverbal communications.
3. Each organization must insure that outsiders do not know your decision until you are instructed to publicize it.

There are 10 rounds to this exercise. Each round will last one minute. Remember that your organization must decide nothing more than to play an X or a Y. If the first and second round are a little confusing, that's OK. You will get the hang of this very quickly. Are you ready?

1. You have one minute to decide and mark your choice for round one.
[Share marks with whole group and keep score on a master sheet.]
- 2-4. Same.
5. Round five is a bonus round. As a bonus round, it is different in two ways. First, I will allow all four organizations a three minute open discussion period. You can talk about the weather, sports or what you are going to do in this exercise. Second, the results of this round will be multiplied by three.
- 6-7. Same as 1-4.
8. Round eight is a bonus round. Like round five you will have a three minute discussion period. The results of round six will be multiplied by five.
9. Same as 1-4.
10. Round ten is the final round and is a bonus round. There will be a discussion period of up to three minutes and the results will be multiplied by ten.

Tally results for each organization and for the community as a whole. Point out the community score.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Who is the you in WIN AS MUCH AS YOU CAN?
2. How close was this to the reality of this community?
3. What were the obstacles we put in your path that kept you from winning as a group? Lack of communication. Lack of a common goal. Incentives for competition. Early confusion about the purpose. Lack of trust. History of unfair or deceitful behavior. Lack of internal accountability for decisions made. Outside rule maker.
4. What do you need to do in order to overcome those obstacles?
Create opportunities for communications. Resist unfair time constraints. Create accountability. Articulate common goal.

COST/BENEFIT SCHEDULE

4 X's Each X loses \$100.

3 X's Each X gets \$100.

1 Y Y loses \$300.

2 X's Each X gets \$200.

2 Y's Each Y loses \$200.

1 X X gets \$300.

3 Y Each Y loses \$100.

4 Y's Each Y gets \$100

WIN AS MUCH AS YOU CAN

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1 X X gets \$300.

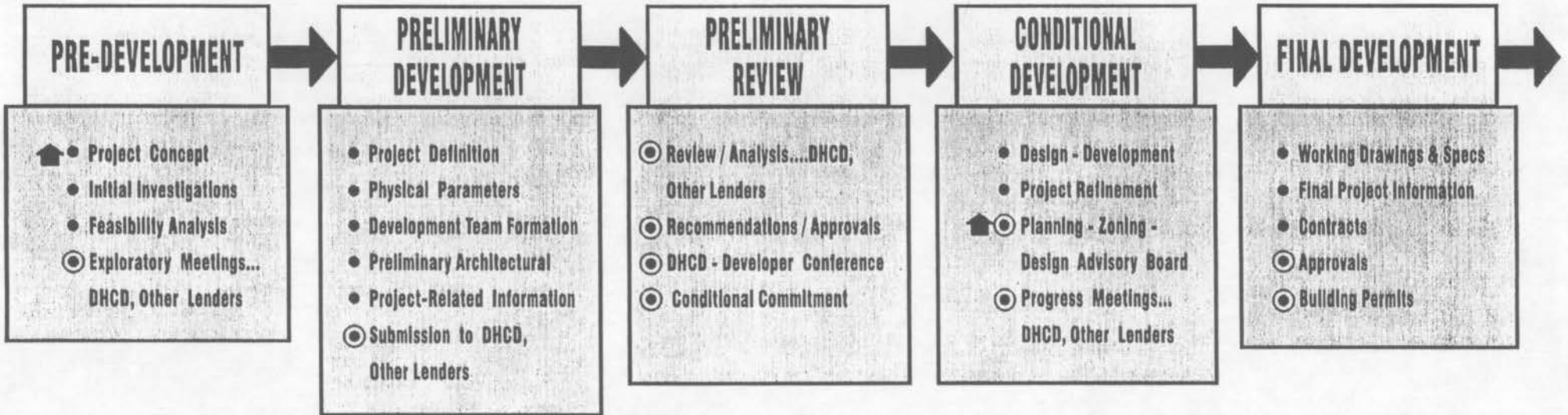
3 Y Each Y loses \$100.

4 Y's Each Y gets \$100

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Create opportunities for communications. Resist unfair time constraints. Create accountability. Articulate common goal.

THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS (Summary)

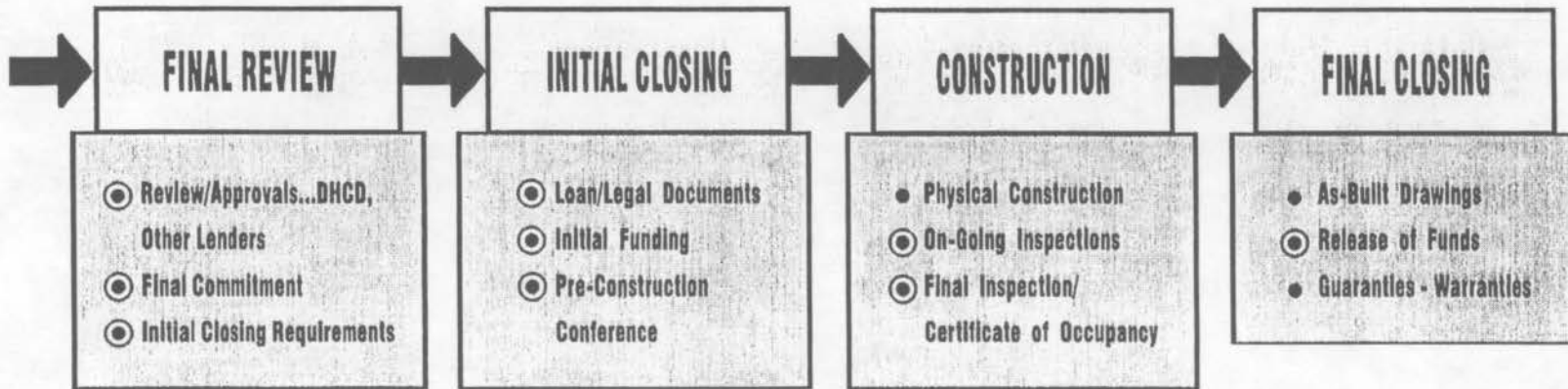


🏠 = COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

⊙ = DHCD/CITY PARTICIPATION

Revised Dec. 16, 1997

THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS (Summary)



▲ = COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
● = DHCD/CITY PARTICIPATION

Revised Dec. 16, 1997

The Role of Community Organizing in the Context of Community Development Corporations

Workshop Facilitator: Michael Mazepink

Workshop Personalities: Jackie Kelly, representing The Greenmount Community
Mary Harvin, as Mary Land, President Baltimore City Council
Michael Lee as Bobbie E. Lee IV, Mayor of Baltimore City

9:30---Overview of Workshop

10:00---Poletown Lives, a film by Jeannie Wylie

11:00---Community Organizing in the CDC Context---A Perspective

12:00---Lunch (30 minutes)

12:30---Organizing for Neighborhood Revitalization in Greenmount Community (15 minutes)

*Meeting with Representative of The Greenmount Community

*Form CDC Teams

- Mary Harvin
Pres B.C. Council*
Jackie Kelly
*Michael Lee
Mayor*
- 1) **Greenmount Commons Project, Inc. (GCP)**---Parks and Open Space Development
 - 2) **Hallelujah Housing Corporation (HHC)**---Affordable Housing Organization
 - 3) **The Youth Center, Inc. (TYC)**---Social and Educational Programs for Teens
 - 4) **Shantytown Revitalization Corporation (SRC)**---Commercial Development Group

**12:45---Exercise: Developing an Asset Building Strategy for the Greenmount Community
(30 minutes)**

1:30---Exercise: CDC Team Group Sessions (90 minutes)

3:00---Exercise: Merging of Group Presentations (30 minutes)

3:30--Presentation to Mayor and City Council President (45 minutes)

*Presentation

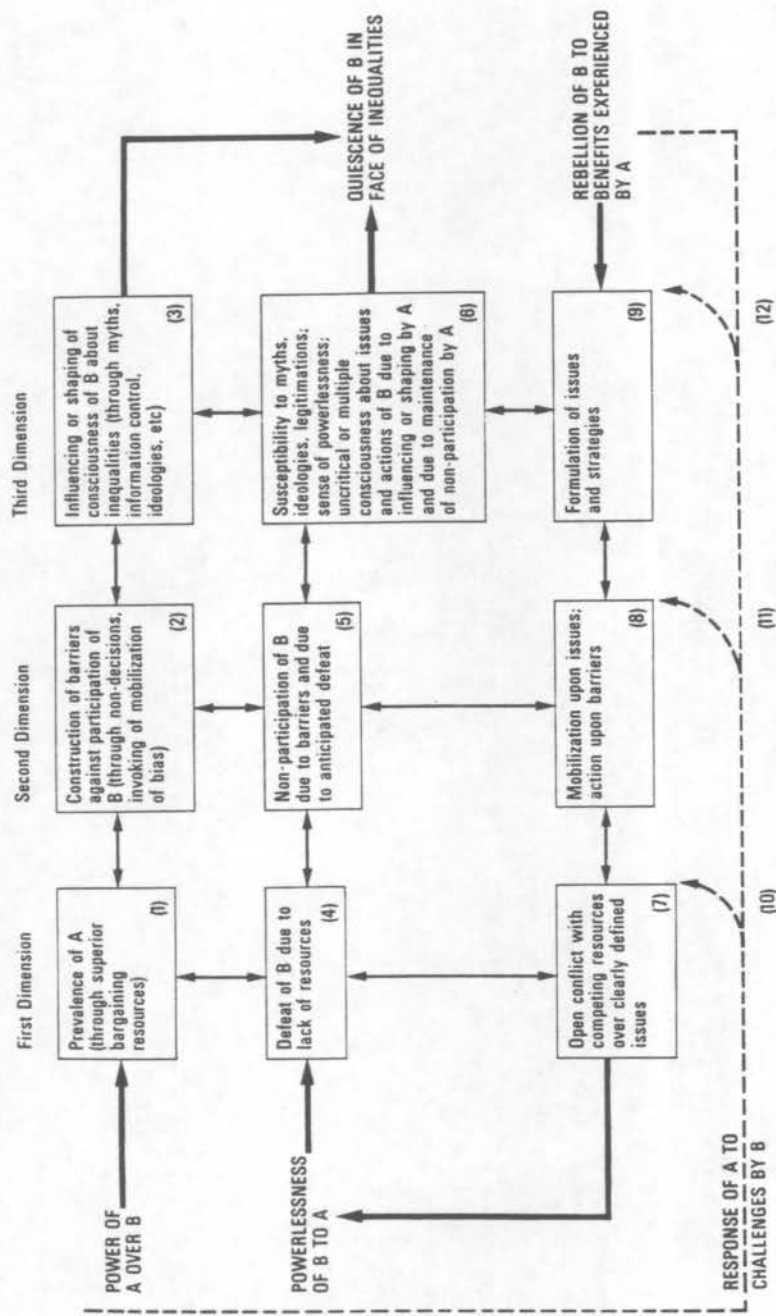
* Response

4:15--Evaluation

ation
 strategies of conflict. Not
 roach, might grievances
 itical process, but they
 tion altogether. Or, B,
 ize grievances against A,
 from challenge because
 lass may be such as to
 appropriate. Or, B may
 ct upon them, but not
 towards which action
 the mystifications or
 B may recognize griev-
 t, but may not through
 hrough lacking concep-
 may act, but do so on
 es, against the wrong
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1.1 Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion - A Tentative Scheme

John Gruenta

Community Organizer Training Institute

Pilot Initiative – Fall 2001

Session 3

The Role of Community Organizing in the CDC Context

Tuesday, December 11, 2001 – 9:00 a.m. – 4:00 p.m. BNC – 2 East Read Street

Instructors: Michael Mazepink, Executive Director – People's Homesteading Group

SUMMARY

Community Development Corporations are nonprofit organizations, contained to a specific geographic area, that create development opportunities for communities that have experienced disinvestments in residential areas within neighborhoods. Are there ways that CDC's can develop a holistic approach to disinvestments that include community organizing as a strategy? This session will introduce the role of CDC's in communities and offer suggestions for CDC models that include community participation and community organizing as a core strategy in community development. Various neighborhood types will be introduced with suggested community building strategies that can be used as tools by community organizers.

Goal:

To comprehensively review the role of CDC's and the link to community organizing as a neighborhood revitalization tool.

Objective:

1. Explore the multiple paradigms of community development and the synthesis of two paradigms: community organizing and physical development.
 2. Increase participant's understanding of how community organizing fits within the whole community development corporation structure.
 3. Understand and identify opportunities for expanded role of organizing and enhanced community involvement with participant's own organization.
 4. Participants will learn about different neighborhoods and strategies used to support community organizing and community development.
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A LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Sherry R. Arnstein

The heated controversy over "citizen participation," "citizen control," and "maximum feasible involvement of the poor," has been waged largely in terms of exacerbated rhetoric and misleading euphemisms. To encourage a more enlightened dialogue, a typology of citizen participation is offered using examples from three federal social programs: urban renewal, anti-poverty, and Model Cities. The typology, which is designed to be provocative, is arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the plan and/or program.

The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you. Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy—a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone. The applause is reduced to polite handclaps, however, when this principle is advocated by the have-not blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Eskimos, and whites. And when the have-nots define participation as redistribution of power, the American consensus on the fundamental principle explodes into many shades of outright racial, ethnic, ideological, and political opposition.

There have been many recent speeches, articles, and books¹ which explore in detail *who* are the have-nots of our time. There has been much recent documentation of *why* the have-nots have become so offended and embittered by their powerlessness to deal with the profound inequities and injustices pervading their daily lives. But there has been very little analysis of the content of the current controversial slogan: "citizen participation" or "maximum feasible participation." In short: *What* is citizen participation and what is its relationship to the social imperatives of our time?

Citizen Participation is Citizen Power

Because the question has been a bone of political contention, most of the answers have been purposely buried in innocuous euphemisms like "self-help" or "citizen involvement." Still others have been embellished with misleading rhetoric like "absolute control" which is something no one—including the President of the

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United States—has or can have. Between understated euphemisms and exacerbated rhetoric, even scholars have found it difficult to follow the controversy. To the headline reading public, it is simply bewildering.

My answer to the critical *what* question is simply that citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parceled out. In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society.

EMPTY RITUAL VERSUS BENEFIT

There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process. This difference is brilliantly capsulized in a poster painted last spring by the French students to explain the student-worker rebellion.² (See Figure 1.) The poster highlights the fundamental point that participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the power holders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo. Essentially, it is what has

je participe
tu participes
il participe
nous participons
vous participez
ils profitent



FIGURE 1 French Student Poster. In English, I participate; you participate; he participates; we participate; you participate . . . They profit.

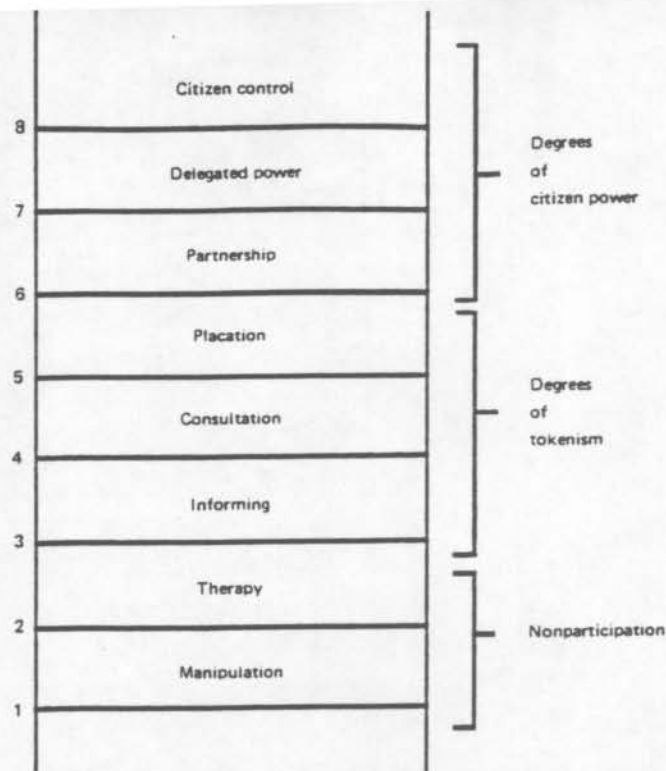


FIGURE 2 *Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation*

been happening in most of the 1,000 Community Action Programs, and what promises to be repeated in the vast majority of the 150 Model Cities programs.

Types of Participation and "NonParticipation"

A typology of eight *levels* of participation may help in analysis of this confused issue. For illustrative purposes the eight types are arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the end product.³ (See Figure 2.)

The bottom rungs of the ladder are (1) *Manipulation* and (2) *Therapy*. These two rungs describe levels of "non-participation" that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable powerholders to "educate" or "cure" the participants. Rungs 3 and 4 progress to levels of "tokenism" that allow the have-nots to hear and to have a voice: (3) *Informing* and (4) *Consultation*. When they are proffered by powerholders as the total extent of participation, citizens may indeed hear and be heard. But under these conditions they lack the power to insure that their views will be *heeded* by the powerful. When participation is restricted to these levels, there is no followthrough, no "muscle," hence no assurance of changing the status quo. Rung (5) *Placation*, is simply a higher level tokenism because the groundrules allow have-nots to advise, but retain for the powerholders the continued right to decide.

Further up the ladder are levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout. Citizens

can enter into a (6) *Partnership* that enables them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional powerholders. At the topmost rungs, (7) *Delegated Power* and (8) *Citizen Control*, have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power.

Obviously, the eight-rung ladder is a simplification, but it helps to illustrate the point that so many have missed—that there are significant gradations of citizen participation. Knowing these gradations makes it possible to cut through the hyperbole to understand the increasingly strident demands for participation from the have-nots as well as the gamut of confusing responses from the powerholders.

Though the typology uses examples from federal programs such as urban renewal, anti-poverty, and Model Cities; it could just as easily be illustrated in the church, currently facing demands for power from priests and laymen who seek to change its mission; colleges and universities which in some cases have become literal battlegrounds over the issue of student power; or public schools, city halls, and police departments (or big business which is likely to be next on the expanding list of targets). The underlying issues are essentially the same—"nobodies" in several arenas are trying to become "somebodies" with enough power to make the target institutions responsive to their views, aspirations, and needs.

LIMITATIONS OF THE TYPOLOGY

The ladder juxtaposes powerless citizens with the powerful in order to highlight the fundamental divisions between them. In actuality, neither the have-nots nor the powerholders are homogeneous blocs. Each group encompasses a host of divergent points of view, significant cleavages, competing vested interests, and splintered subgroups. The justification for using such simplistic abstractions is that in most cases the have-nots really do perceive the powerful as a monolithic "system," and powerholders actually do view the have-nots as a sea of "those people," with little comprehension of the class and caste differences among them.

It should be noted that the typology does not include an analysis of the most significant roadblocks to achieving genuine levels of participation. These roadblocks lie on both sides of the simplistic fence. On the powerholders' side, they include racism, paternalism, and resistance to power redistribution. On the have-nots' side, they include inadequacies of the poor community's political socioeconomic infrastructure and knowledge-base, plus difficulties of organizing a representative and accountable citizens' group in the face of futility, alienation, and distrust.

Another caution about the eight separate rungs on the ladder: In the real world of people and programs, there might be 150 rungs with less sharp and "pure" distinctions among them. Furthermore, some of the characteristics used to illustrate each of the eight types might be

applicable to other rungs. For example, employment of the have-nots in a program or on a planning staff could occur at any of the eight rungs and could represent either a legitimate or illegitimate characteristic of citizen participation. Depending on their motives, powerholders can hire poor people to coopt them, to placate them, or to utilize the have-nots' special skills and insights.⁴ Some mayors, in private, actually boast of their strategy in hiring militant black leaders to muzzle them while destroying their credibility in the black community.

Characteristics and Illustrations

It is in this context of power and powerlessness that the characteristics of the eight rungs are illustrated by examples from current federal social programs.

1. MANIPULATION

In the name of citizen participation, people are placed on rubberstamp advisory committees or advisory boards for the express purpose of "educating" them or engineering their support. Instead of genuine citizen participation, the bottom rung of the ladder signifies the distortion of participation into a public relations vehicle by powerholders.

This illusory form of "participation" initially came into vogue with urban renewal when the socially elite were invited by city housing officials to serve on Citizen Advisory Committees (CACs). Another target of manipulation were the CAC subcommittees on minority groups, which in theory were to protect the rights of Negroes in the renewal program. In practice, these subcommittees, like their parent CACs, functioned mostly as letterheads, trotted forward at appropriate times to promote urban renewal plans (in recent years known as Negro removal plans).

At meetings of the Citizen Advisory Committees, it was the officials who educated, persuaded, and advised the citizens, not the reverse. Federal guidelines for the renewal programs legitimized the manipulative agenda by emphasizing the terms "information-gathering," "public relations," and "support" as the explicit functions of the committees.⁵

This style of nonparticipation has since been applied to other programs encompassing the poor. Examples of this are seen in Community Action Agencies (CAAs) which have created structures called "neighborhood councils" or "neighborhood advisory groups." These bodies frequently have no legitimate function or power.⁶ The CAAs use them to "prove" that "grassroots people" are involved in the program. But the program may not have been discussed with "the people." Or it may have been described at a meeting in the most general terms; "We need your signatures on this proposal for a multiservice center which will house, under one roof, doctors from the health department, workers from the welfare department, and specialists from the employment service."

The signators are not informed that the \$2 million per-year center will only refer residents to the same waiting lines at the same old agencies across town. No one is asked if such a referral center is really needed in his neighborhood. No one realizes that the contractor for the building is the mayor's brother-in-law, or that the new director of the center will be the same old community organization specialist from the urban renewal agency.

After signing their names, the proud grassroots dutifully spread the word that they have "participated" in bringing a new and wonderful center to the neighborhood to provide people with drastically needed jobs and health and welfare services. Only after the ribbon-cutting ceremony do the members of the neighborhood council realize that they didn't ask the important questions, and that they had no technical advisors of their own to help them grasp the fine legal print. The new center, which is open 9 to 5 on weekdays only, actually adds to their problems. Now the old agencies across town won't talk with them unless they have a pink paper slip to prove that they have been referred by "their shiny new neighborhood center."

Unfortunately, this chicanery is not a unique example. Instead it is almost typical of what has been perpetrated in the name of high-sounding rhetoric like "grassroots participation." This sham lies at the heart of the deep-seated exasperation and hostility of the have-nots toward the powerholders.

One hopeful note is that, having been so grossly affronted, some citizens have learned the Mickey Mouse game, and now they too know how to play. As a result of this knowledge, they are demanding genuine levels of participation to assure them that public programs are relevant to their needs and responsive to their priorities.

2. THERAPY

In some respects group therapy, masked as citizen participation, should be on the lowest rung of the ladder because it is both dishonest and arrogant. Its administrators—mental health experts from social workers to psychiatrists—assume that powerlessness is synonymous with mental illness. On this assumption, under a masquerade of involving citizens in planning, the experts subject the citizens to clinical group therapy. What makes this form of "participation" so invidious is that citizens are engaged in extensive activity, but the focus of it is on curing them of their "pathology" rather than changing the racism and victimization that create their "pathologies."

Consider an incident that occurred in Pennsylvania less than one year ago. When a father took his seriously ill baby to the emergency clinic of a local hospital, a young resident physician on duty instructed him to take the baby home and feed it sugar water. The baby died that afternoon of pneumonia and dehydration. The overwrought father complained to the board of the local

Community Action Agency. Instead of launching an investigation of the hospital to determine what changes would prevent similar deaths or other forms of malpractice, the board invited the father to attend the CAA's (therapy) child-care sessions for parents, and promised him that someone would "telephone the hospital director to see that it never happens again."

Less dramatic, but more common examples of therapy, masquerading as citizen participation, may be seen in public housing programs where tenant groups are used as vehicles for promoting control-your-child or cleanup campaigns. The tenants are brought together to help them "adjust their values and attitudes to those of the larger society." Under these groundrules, they are diverted from dealing with such important matters as: arbitrary evictions; segregation of the housing project; or why is there a three-month time lapse to get a broken window replaced in winter.

The complexity of the concept of mental illness in our time can be seen in the experiences of student/civil rights workers facing guns, whips, and other forms of terror in the South. They needed the help of socially attuned psychiatrists to deal with their fears and to avoid paranoia.⁷

3. INFORMING

Informing citizens of their rights, responsibilities, and options can be the most important first step toward legitimate citizen participation. However, too frequently the emphasis is placed on a one-way flow of information—from officials to citizens—with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation. Under these conditions, particularly when information is provided at a late stage in planning, people have little opportunity to influence the program designed "for their benefit." The most frequent tools used for such one-way communication are the news media, pamphlets, posters, and responses to inquiries.

Meetings can also be turned into vehicles for one-way communication by the simple device of providing superficial information, discouraging questions, or giving irrelevant answers. At a recent Model Cities citizen planning meeting in Providence, Rhode Island, the topic was "tot-lots." A group of elected citizen representatives, almost all of whom were attending three to five meetings a week, devoted an hour to a discussion of the placement of six tot-lots. The neighborhood is half black, half white. Several of the black representatives noted that four tot-lots were proposed for the white district and only two for the black. The city official responded with a lengthy, highly technical explanation about costs per square foot and available property. It was clear that most of the residents did not understand his explanation. And it was clear to observers from the Office of Economic Opportunity that other options did exist which, considering available funds, would have brought about a more equitable distribution of facilities. Intimidated by futility, legalistic jargon, and prestige of

the official, the citizens accepted the "information" and endorsed the agency's proposal to place four lots in the white neighborhood.⁸

4. CONSULTATION

Inviting citizens' opinions, like informing them, can be a legitimate step toward their full participation. But if consulting them is not combined with other modes of participation, this rung of the ladder is still a sham since it offers no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account. The most frequent methods used for consulting people are attitude surveys, neighborhood meetings, and public hearings.

When powerholders restrict the input of citizens' ideas solely to this level, participation remains just a window-dressing ritual. People are primarily perceived as statistical abstractions, and participation is measured by how many come to meetings, take brochures home, or answer a questionnaire. What citizens achieve in all this activity is that they have "participated in participation." And what powerholders achieve is the evidence that they have gone through the required motions of involving "those people."

Attitude surveys have become a particular bone of contention in ghetto neighborhoods. Residents are increasingly unhappy about the number of times per week they are surveyed about their problems and hopes. As one woman put it: "Nothing ever happens with those damned questions, except the surveyer gets \$3 an hour, and my washing doesn't get done that day." In some communities, residents are so annoyed that they are demanding a fee for research interviews.

Attitude surveys are not very valid indicators of community opinion when used without other input from citizens. Survey after survey (paid for out of anti-poverty funds) has "documented" that poor housewives most want tot-lots in their neighborhood where young children can play safely. But most of the women answered these questionnaires without knowing what their options were. They assumed that if they asked for something small, they might just get something useful in the neighborhood. Had the mothers known that a free prepaid health insurance plan was a possible option, they might not have put tot-lots so high on their wish lists.

A classic misuse of the consultation rung occurred at a New Haven, Connecticut, community meeting held to consult citizens on a proposed Model Cities grant. James V. Cunningham, in an unpublished report to the Ford Foundation, described the crowd as large and "mostly hostile:"⁹

Members of The Hill Parents Association demanded to know why residents had not participated in drawing up the proposal. CAA director Spitz explained that it was merely a proposal for seeking Federal planning funds—that once funds were obtained, residents would be deeply involved in the planning. An outside observer who sat in

attests to the already cited criticisms of non-policy-making policy boards and ambiguous complicated structures, in addition to the following findings:

1. Most CDAs did not negotiate citizen participation requirements with residents.

2. Citizens, drawing on past negative experiences with local powerholders, were extremely suspicious of this new panacea program. They were legitimately distrustful of city hall's motives.

3. Most CDAs were not working with citizens' groups that were genuinely representative of model neighborhoods and accountable to neighborhood constituencies. As in so many of the poverty programs, those who were involved were more representative of the upwardly mobile working-class. Thus their acquiescence to plans prepared by city agencies was not likely to reflect the views of the unemployed, the young, the more militant residents, and the hard-core poor.

4. Residents who were participating in as many as three to five meetings per week were unaware of their minimum rights, responsibilities, and the options available to them under the program. For example, they did not realize that they were not required to accept technical help from city technicians they distrusted.

5. Most of the technical assistance provided by CDAs and city agencies was of third-rate quality, paternalistic, and condescending. Agency technicians did not suggest innovative options. They reacted bureaucratically when the residents pressed for innovative approaches. The vested interests of the old-line city agencies were a major—albeit hidden—agenda.

6. Most CDAs were not engaged in planning that was comprehensive enough to expose and deal with the roots of urban decay. They engaged in "meetingitis" and were supporting strategies that resulted in "projectitis," the outcome of which was a "laundry list" of traditional programs to be conducted by traditional agencies in the traditional manner under which slums emerged in the first place.

7. Residents were not getting enough information from CDAs to enable them to review CDA developed plans or to initiate plans of their own as required by HUD. At best, they were getting superficial information. At worst, they were not even getting copies of official HUD materials.

8. Most residents were unaware of their rights to be reimbursed for expenses incurred because of participation—babysitting, transportation costs, and so on.

9. The training of residents, which would enable them to understand the labyrinth of the federal-state-city systems and networks of subsystems, was an item that most CDAs did not even consider.

These findings led to a new public interpretation of HUD's approach to citizen participation. Though the requirements for the seventy-five "second-round" Model City grantees were not changed, HUD's twenty-seven page technical bulletin on citizen participation repeatedly advocated that cities share power with residents.

It also urged CDAs to experiment with subcontracts under which the residents' groups could hire their trusted technicians.

A more recent evaluation was circulated in February 1969 by OSTI, a private firm that entered into a contract with OEO to provide technical assistance and training to citizens involved in Model Cities programs in the northeast region of the country. OSTI's report to OEO corroborates the earlier study. In addition it states:

In practically no Model Cities structure does citizen participation mean truly shared decision making, such that citizens might view themselves as "the partners in this program. . . ."

In general, citizens are finding it impossible to have a significant impact on the comprehensive planning which is going on. In most cases the staff planners of the CDA and the planners of existing agencies are carrying out the actual planning with citizens having a peripheral role of watchdog and ultimately, the "rubber stamp" of the plan generated. In cases where citizens have the direct responsibility for generating program plans, the time period allowed and the independent technical resources being made available to them are not adequate to allow them to do anything more than generate very traditional approaches to the problems they are attempting to solve.

In general, little or no thought has been given to the means of insuring continued citizen participation during the stage of implementation. In most cases, traditional agencies are envisaged as the implementors of Model Cities programs and few mechanisms have been developed for encouraging organizational change or change in the method of program delivery within these agencies or for insuring that citizens will have some influence over these agencies as they implement Model Cities programs. . . .

By and large, people are once again being planned for. In most situations the major planning decisions are being made by CDA staff and approved in a formalistic way by policy boards.

6. PARTNERSHIP

At this rung of the ladder, power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and powerholders. They agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses. After the groundrules have been established through some form of give-and-take, they are not subject to unilateral change.

Partnership can work most effectively when there is an organized power-base in the community to which the citizen leaders are accountable; when the citizens group has the financial resources to pay its leaders reasonable honoraria for their time-consuming efforts; and when the group has the resources to hire (and fire) its own technicians, lawyers, and community organizers. With these ingredients, citizens have some genuine bargaining

ing influence over the outcome of the plan (as long as both parties find it useful to maintain the partnership). One community leader described it "like coming to city hall with hat on head instead of in hand."

In the Model Cities program only about fifteen of the so-called first generation of seventy-five cities have reached some significant degree of power-sharing with residents. In all but one of those cities, it was angry citizen demands, rather than city initiative, that led to the negotiated sharing of power.¹³ The negotiations were triggered by citizens who had been enraged by previous forms of alleged participation. They were both angry and sophisticated enough to refuse to be "conned" again. They threatened to oppose the awarding of a planning grant to the city. They sent delegations to HUD in Washington. They used abrasive language. Negotiation took place under a cloud of suspicion and rancor.

In most cases where power has come to be shared it was *taken by the citizens*, not given by the city. There is nothing new about that process. Since those who have power normally want to hang onto it, historically it has had to be wrested by the powerless rather than proffered by the powerful.

Such a working partnership was negotiated by the residents in the Philadelphia model neighborhood. Like most applicants for a Model Cities grant, Philadelphia wrote its more than 400 page application and waved it at a hastily called meeting of community leaders. When those present were asked for an endorsement, they angrily protested the city's failure to consult them on preparation of the extensive application. A community spokesman threatened to mobilize a neighborhood protest *against* the application unless the city agreed to give the citizens a couple of weeks to review the application and recommend changes. The officials agreed.

At their next meeting, citizens handed the city officials a substitute citizen participation section that changed the groundrules from a weak citizens' advisory role to a strong shared power agreement. Philadelphia's application to HUD included the citizens' substitution word for word. (It also included a new citizen prepared introductory chapter that changed the city's description of the model neighborhood from a paternalistic description of problems to a realistic analysis of its strengths, weaknesses, and potentials.)

Consequently, the proposed policy-making committee of the Philadelphia CDA was revamped to give five out of eleven seats to the residents' organization, which is called the Area Wide Council (AWC). The AWC obtained a subcontract from the CDA for more than \$20,000 per month, which it used to maintain the neighborhood organization, to pay citizen leaders \$7 per meeting for their planning services, and to pay the salaries of a staff of community organizers, planners, and other technicians. AWC has the power to initiate plans of its own, to engage in joint planning with CDA committees, and to review plans initiated by city agen-

cies. It has a veto power in that no plans may be submitted by the CDA to the city council until they have been reviewed, and any differences of opinion have been successfully negotiated with the AWC. Representatives of the AWC (which is a federation of neighborhood organizations grouped into sixteen neighborhood "hubs") may attend all meetings of CDA task force planning committees, or subcommittees.

Though the city council has final veto power over the plan (by federal law), the AWC believes it has a neighborhood constituency that is strong enough to negotiate any eleventh-hour objections the city council might raise when it considers such AWC proposed innovations as an AWC Land Bank, an AWC Economic Development Corporation, and an experimental income maintenance program for 900 poor families.

7. DELEGATED POWER

Negotiations between citizens and public officials can also result in citizens achieving dominant decision-making authority over a particular plan or program. Model City policy boards or CAA delegate agencies of which citizens have a clear majority of seats and genuine specified powers are typical examples. At this level, the ladder has been scaled to the point where citizens hold the significant cards to assure accountability of the program to them. To resolve differences, powerholders need to start the bargaining process rather than respond to pressure from the other end.

Such a dominant decision-making role has been attained by residents in a handful of Model Cities including Cambridge, Massachusetts; Dayton, and Columbus, Ohio; Minneapolis, Minnesota; St. Louis, Missouri; Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut; and Oakland, California.

In New Haven, residents of the Hill neighborhood have created a corporation that has been delegated the power to prepare the entire Model Cities plan. The city, which received a \$117,000 planning grant from HUD, has subcontracted \$110,000 of it to the neighborhood corporation to hire its own planning staff and consultants. The Hill Neighborhood Corporation has eleven representatives on the twenty-one-member CDA board which assures it a majority voice when its proposed plan is reviewed by the CDA.

Another model of delegated power is separate and parallel groups of citizens and powerholders, with provision for citizen veto if differences of opinion cannot be resolved through negotiation. This is a particularly interesting coexistence model for hostile citizen groups too embittered toward city hall—as a result of past "collaborative efforts"—to engage in joint planning.

Since all Model Cities programs require approval by the city council before HUD will fund them, city councils have final veto powers even when citizens have the majority of seats on the CDA Board. In Richmond, California, the city council agreed to a citizens' counter-

veto, but the details of that agreement are ambiguous and have not been tested.

Various delegated power arrangements are also emerging in the Community Action Program as a result of demands from the neighborhoods and OEO's most recent instruction guidelines which urged CAAs "to exceed (the) basic requirements" for resident participation.¹⁴ In some cities, CAAs have issued subcontracts to resident dominated groups to plan and/or operate one or more decentralized neighborhood program components like a multipurpose service center or a Headstart program. These contracts usually include an agreed upon line-by-line budget and program specifications. They also usually include a specific statement of the significant powers that have been delegated, for example: policy-making; hiring and firing; issuing subcontracts for building, buying, or leasing. (Some of the subcontracts are so broad that they verge on models for citizen control.)

8. CITIZEN CONTROL

Demands for community controlled schools, black control, and neighborhood control are on the increase. Though no one in the nation has absolute control, it is very important that the rhetoric not be confused with intent. People are simply demanding that degree of power (or control) which guarantees that participants or residents can govern a program or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which "outsiders" may change them.

A neighborhood corporation with no intermediaries between it and the source of funds is the model most frequently advocated. A small number of such experimental corporations are already producing goods and/or social services. Several others are reportedly in the development stage, and new models for control will undoubtedly emerge as the have-nots continue to press for greater degrees of power over their lives.

Though the bitter struggle for community control of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools in New York City has aroused great fears in the headline reading public, less publicized experiments are demonstrating that the have-nots can indeed improve their lot by handling the entire job of planning, policy-making, and managing a program. Some are even demonstrating that they can do all this with just one arm because they are forced to use their other one to deal with a continuing barrage of local opposition triggered by the announcement that a federal grant has been given to a community group or an all black group.

Most of these experimental programs have been capitalized with research and demonstration funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity in cooperation with other federal agencies. Examples include:

1. A \$1.8 million grant was awarded to the Hough Area Development Corporation in Cleveland to plan economic development programs in the ghetto and

to develop a series of economic enterprises ranging from a novel combination shopping-center-public-housing project to a loan guarantee program for local building contractors. The membership and board of the non-profit corporation is composed of leaders of major community organizations in the black neighborhood.

2. Approximately \$1 million (\$595,751 for the second year) was awarded to the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association (SWAFCA) in Selma, Alabama, for a ten-county marketing cooperative for food and livestock. Despite local attempts to intimidate the coop (which included the use of force to stop trucks on the way to market), first year membership grew to 1,150 farmers who earned \$52,000 on the sale of their new crops. The elected coop board is composed of two poor black farmers from each of the ten economically depressed counties.

3. Approximately \$600,000 (\$300,000 in a supplemental grant) was granted to the Albina Corporation and the Albina Investment Trust to create a black-operated, black-owned manufacturing concern using inexperienced management and unskilled minority group personnel from the Albina district. The profit-making wool and metal fabrication plant will be owned by its employees through a deferred compensation trust plan.

4. Approximately \$800,000 (\$400,000 for the second year) was awarded to the Harlem Commonwealth Council to demonstrate that a community-based development corporation can catalyze and implement an economic development program with broad community support and participation. After only eighteen months of program development and negotiation, the council will soon launch several large-scale ventures including operation of two supermarkets, an auto service and repair center (with built-in manpower training program), a finance company for families earning less than \$4,000 per year, and a data processing company. The all black Harlem-based board is already managing a metal castings foundry.

Though several citizen groups (and their mayors use the rhetoric of citizen control, no Model City can meet the criteria of citizen control since final approval power and accountability rest with the city council.

Daniel P. Moynihan argues that city councils are representative of the community, but Adam Walinski illustrates the nonrepresentativeness of this kind of representation:¹⁵

Who . . . exercises "control" through the representative process? In the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto of New York there are 450,000 people—as many as in the entire city of Cincinnati, more than in the entire state of Vermont. Yet the area has only one high school, and 80 per cent of its teen-agers are dropouts; the infant mortality rate is twice the national average; there are over 8000 buildings abandoned by everyone but the rats, yet the area received not one dollar of urban renewal funds

during the entire first 15 years of that program's operation; the unemployment rate is known only to God.

Clearly, Bedford-Stuyvesant has some special needs; yet it has always been lost in the midst of the city's eight million. In fact, it took a lawsuit to win for this vast area, in the year 1968, its first Congressman. In what sense can the representative system be said to have "spoken for" this community, during the long years of neglect and decay?

Walinsky's point on Bedford-Stuyvesant has general applicability to the ghettos from coast to coast. It is therefore likely that in those ghettos where residents have achieved a significant degree of power in the Model Cities planning process, the first-year action plans will call for the creation of some new community institutions entirely governed by residents with a specified sum of money contracted to them. If the ground-rules for these programs are clear and if citizens understand that achieving a genuine place in the pluralistic scene subjects them to its legitimate forms of give-and-take, then these kinds of programs might begin to demonstrate how to counteract the various corrosive political and socioeconomic forces that plague the poor.

In cities likely to become predominantly black through population growth, it is unlikely that strident citizens' groups like AWC of Philadelphia will eventually demand legal power for neighborhood self-government. Their grand design is more likely to call for a black city hall, achieved by the elective process. In cities destined to remain predominantly white for the foreseeable future, it is quite likely that counterpart groups to AWC will press for separatist forms of neighborhood government that can create and control decentralized public services such as police protection, education systems, and health facilities. Much may depend on the willingness of city governments to entertain demands for resource allocation weighted in favor of the poor, reversing gross imbalances of the past.

Among the arguments against community control are: it supports separatism; it creates balkanization of public services; it is more costly and less efficient; it enables minority group "hustlers" to be just as opportunistic and disdainful of the have-nots as their white predecessors; it is incompatible with merit systems and professionalism; and ironically enough, it can turn out to be a new Mickey Mouse game for the have-nots by allowing them to gain control but not allowing them sufficient dollar resources to succeed.¹⁶ These arguments are not to be taken lightly. But neither can we take lightly the arguments of embittered advocates of community control—that every other means of trying to end their victimization has failed!

NOTES

¹ The literature on poverty and discrimination and their effects on people is extensive. As an introduction, the following will be

helpful: B. H. Bagdikian, *In the Midst of Plenty: The Poor in America* (New York: Beacon, 1964); Paul Jacobs, "The Brutalizing of America," *Dissent*, XI (Autumn 1964), p. 4; Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Random House, 1967); Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968); L. J. Duhal, *The Urban Condition: People and Policy in Metropolitan Areas* (New York: Basic Books, 1963); William H. Miller and P. M. Cobbs, *Black Rage* (New York: Basic Books, 1968); Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1962); Peter Marris and Martin Rein, *Dilemmas of Social Reform: Poverty and Community Action in the United States* (New York: Atherton Press, 1967); Morris Orshansky, "Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View of Poverty," *Social Security Bulletin*, XXVII (July 1965), 3-12; and Richard T. Titmuss, *Essays on the Welfare State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

² The poster is one of about 350 produced in May or June 1968 at Atelier Populaire, a graphics center launched by students from the Sorbonne's Ecole des Beaux Art and Ecole des Arts Decoratifs.

³ This typology is an outgrowth of a more crude typology I circulated in March 1967 in a HUD staff discussion paper titled "Rhetoric and Reality." The earlier typology consisted of eight levels that were less discrete types and did not necessarily suggest a chronological progression: Inform, Consult, Joint Planning, Negotiate, Decide, Delegate, Advocate Planning, and Neighborhood Control.

⁴ For an article of some possible employment strategies, see Edmund M. Burke, "Citizen Participation Strategies," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, XXXIV, No. 5 (September 1968), 290-1.

⁵ U.S., Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Workable Program for Community Improvement, Answers on Citizen Participation*, Program Guide 7, February, 1966, pp. 1 and 6.

⁶ David Austin, "Study of Resident Participants in Twenty Community Action Agencies," CAP Grant 9499.

⁷ Robert Coles, "Social Struggle and Weariness," *Psychiatry*, XXVII (November 1964), 305-15. I am also indebted to Daniel M. Fox of Harvard University for some of his general insights into therapy being used as a diversion from genuine citizen participation.

⁸ See Gordon Fellman, "Neighborhood Protest of an Urban Highway," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, XXXV, No. 2 (March 1969), 118-22.

⁹ James V. Cunningham, "Resident Participation, Unpublished Report prepared for the Ford Foundation, August 1967, p. 54.

¹⁰ Interview with Maxine Kurtz, Technical Director, Denver CDA.

¹¹ U.S., Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Citizen Participation in Model Cities," *Technical Assistance Bulletin*, No. 3 (December 1968).

¹² Organization for Social and Technical Innovation, *Six-Month Progress Report to Office of Economic Opportunity, Region 1*, February 1, 1969, pp. 27, 28, and 35.

¹³ In Cambridge, Massachusetts, city hall offered to share power with residents and anticipated the need for a period in which a representative citizens group could be engaged, and the ambiguities of authority, structure, and process would be resolved. At the request of the mayor, HUD allowed the city to spend several months of Model Cities planning funds for community organization activities. During these months, staff from the city manager's office also helped the residents draft a city ordinance that created a CDA composed of sixteen elected residents and eight appointed public and private agency representatives. This resident-dominated body has the power to hire and fire CDA staff, approve all plans, review all model city budgets and contracts, set policy, and so forth. The ordinance, which was unanimously passed by the city council also includes a requirement that all Model City plans must be approved by a majority of residents in the neighborhood through a referendum. Final approval power rests with the city council by federal statute.

¹⁴ U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, *OEO Instruction, Participation of the Poor in the Planning, Conduct and Evaluation of Community Action Programs* (Washington, D.C.: December 1, 1968), pp. 1-2.

¹⁵ Adam Walinsky, "Review of *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*" by Daniel P. Moynihan, *New York Times Book Review*, February 2, 1969.

¹⁶ For thoughtful academic analyses of some of the potentials and pitfalls of emerging neighborhood control models, see Alan Altshuler, "The Demand For Participation in Large American Cities," An Unpublished Paper prepared for the Urban Institute, December 1968; and Hans B. C. Spiegel and Stephen D. Mitterthal, "Neighborhood Power and Control, Implications for Urban Planning," A Report prepared for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, November 1968.

KRUCLIK

Community Development: Salvation or Suicide?

by Mel Ravitz



Department of Public Information, City of Detroit

Just as urban renewal was the code-word instrument of urban displacement in the 50s and 60s, community development, sometimes called economic development, has, lately, in some places, become the catchword instrument with an even sharper cutting edge.

Although urban renewal was heralded and sold as a means of ridding cities of their slums, it obviously never achieved that objective. While it did clear slums from some parts of the inner city, it also uprooted hundreds of thousands of people, if not millions, and forced them to move to other parts of the city or into the suburbs. Despite the extravagant expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars and endless agony to many of those who were its victims, urban renewal merely relocated the slums from the inner-core area of the city to the next and succeeding rings of neighborhoods.

Similarly, although community development has the potential to create and maintain jobs and to upgrade neighborhoods, its record in that regard, at least in Detroit, is not only dismal, but actually counterproductive. Not only have Detroit's community development projects failed to increase the number of jobs available, they have produced other negative consequences that, taken collectively, are destroying the social fabric of the city. In Detroit's efforts to implement community development, it has granted extensive tax abatements and other financial incentives primarily to big business; it has uprooted thousands of families and small businesses, usually against their will; it has ruined cohesive, multi-ethnic neighborhoods, however poor; it has weakened the city's general fund and thereby imperiled the city's financial future. And, it has done all this at the direct expense of the other residents of the city whose neighborhoods and adjacent commercial strips have been severely neglected in order to help pay for the community development elsewhere in the city.

Perhaps community development has worked well or been applied con-

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structively in some other cities; it has not in Detroit. There, community development has been a bane rather than a blessing. It has done inestimable basic damage to the ordinary people of the city—physically, financially, psychologically, and socially.

Major reasons for the failure of community development in Detroit have been twofold: 1) the utter lack of any comprehensive plan to guide the city's growth in an orderly, rational way, and 2) the preoccupation of the city administration, with a public policy that emphasizes a filter-down, subsidized approach to selected companies and parts of the city to the neglect of its neighborhoods and without regard for their social cohesion.

Although the 1973 City Charter unrealistically required the City Planning Department to produce a master plan

Not only have Detroit's community development projects failed to increase the number of jobs available, they are destroying the social fabric of the city.

within a year of the effective date of the new charter, not only was that not done but, to date, Detroit struggles along under a master plan that was originally devised decades ago and is currently irrelevant. The truth is that the present city administration, with 50,000 or more vacant, city-owned lots at its disposal, prefers to operate on an ad hoc basis and does not appear to want to be confined or limited to the rationality of a current, forward-looking master plan.

Some observers suggest that the present mayor perceives planning to consist of a developer deciding to build something, and then the mayor assigning his community and economic development staff to work out the steps necessary to make the developer's desires happen, even if this means disrupting or even destroying whole neighborhoods and displacing people from their

homes, or even their graves, in order to make way for the new project. All the developer has to do to command the mayor's attention is to promise jobs, even if he cannot or does not create them. Twice now that process has happened: once with the Central Industrial Project (Poletown) and more recently with the Chrysler-Jefferson Project. It is also rumored likely to occur again in southwest Detroit as the mayor seeks to clear the way for a new entrance to and from the Ambassador Bridge to Canada.

The point to be emphasized is that ever since the new charter went into effect in 1974, there has been virtually no planning in Detroit that did not emanate from the personal intervention of the mayor and whichever persuasive developer caught his attention and claimed to have or be able to secure financing to implement the proposed project.

The other major reason for the failure of community development in Detroit has been the particular public policy toward development adopted by this administration. To identify that policy more clearly, it is helpful to quote from an article by Carl Shier that distinguishes two alternative roles for city governments in America today:

One is to make city government the handmaiden of private enterprise—to wait for private capital to initiate, to lead, to develop, with city hall responding as wetnurse to banks, investors, builders, and various entrepreneurs seeing them as benefactors who must be subsidized, serviced, placated, and stroked. All in the name of the sacred words—"they will create jobs." This is the familiar role played by every big city administration. . . .

The alternative role for city government is to invest in its people by improving public services and the infrastructure that supports them. Such people-oriented investment improves education, job training, health, transportation, housing, recreation, welfare, sanitation, environment, arts and culture and all else that makes for a more enlightened, healthy and progressive

accumulation

1971, Shier & Shier

population. Such a policy gives a city a reputation for quality that attracts private investment. . . . Such a city does not have to hustle two-bit builders and fast-buck developers to come and do it a favor. The city's social atmosphere and quality business climate speak for themselves. In such a city, business is prepared to pay for what it gets, including paying taxes commensurate to services received.

There can be no doubt which role the mayor of Detroit has been playing for too many years.

As a result of the public policy practiced, community development in Detroit has been a failure. Major efforts and enormous resources have been used to attract and aid big business and to use tax abatements, tax increment districts, and other economic incentives as a lure to build up the downtown and river-front areas, as well as the General Motors and Chrysler development projects. All this ultimately has been at the expense of the city's neighborhoods and their social solidarity.

The subsidy approach has been tried but it has not worked. Instead of producing more jobs that would have been a significant justification, the large corporations have directly benefited from these economic subsidies and political strokings and have eliminated over 50,000 jobs since 1975. With vastly reduced city revenues and with immense debts incurred in order to provide the subsidies, the city's neighborhoods have suffered. They have been neglected, even exploited, some to the point of total devastation, all to the point where more and more disillusioned residents and small businesses are steadily moving away.

CODE WORD: "COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT"

A review of some of the particular community development projects of the past ten years and of some of those currently underway demonstrates what has happened both to jobs and neighborhoods, indeed to the city.

Perhaps the best known Detroit development of the past decade, the Central Industrial Project, known more familiarly as the Poletown Project,

began in the late seventies. A large, 465 acre, multi-ethnic neighborhood adjacent to the enclave of Hamtramck was ultimately cleared to make way for a modern General Motors assembly plant. While it is true that the neighborhood was neither affluent nor new, it was home to several thousand people and small businesses. Its population consisted of both Black and white residents with a fair measure of older Polish and some Yemeni and Albanian people among other nationalities. Two Catholic and several Protestant churches and many neighborhood taverns were the focal points of community relationships.

In its eagerness to attract this GM plant and to acquire the 6,000 jobs promised, the city borrowed money from the federal government, dug into its own general fund, mortgaged its block grant funds, and to date has spent well over \$200,000,000 to acquire the property and prepare it and the auxiliary road system to enable a modern assembly plant to locate there.

Excitement ran high at the prospect of 6,000 jobs and the spin-off revenues from them to the city in the form of income and property taxes. Unfortunately, the jobs materialized only for a few months in 1986-87, and the plant now employs about 3,700 workers. Meanwhile, the company has closed its Fleetwood and Clark Street plants, idling thousands of other workers. The total cost of the project is not yet known.

Another huge cost—some say between fifty and a hundred million—will be added when a settlement is finally reached with the Sisters of Mercy Corporation for the acquisition of St. Joseph's hospital. The aggregate cost of the project will reach between \$250 million to \$300 million in outright expenses, to say nothing of the foregone revenues of both property and income taxes lost through abatements.

In addition, GM recently asked the city to grant another \$20.9 million tax abatement on new equipment, which would lengthen by four years the time period that the city will not receive full property taxes from the project. An important trend to note here is that GM now appears to be asking for tax abatements to help it retool for new models.

Historically, major retooling occurs every three or four years in the automobile industry. Now, this retooling has been framed in the context of "changes necessary to remain competitive in the market." Were this trend to take root, municipalities with GM plants would almost never receive any significant return for their investment in either increased tax revenues or additional jobs. Unfortunately, a majority of City Council members decided on a second split vote to continue to give away city tax money without any written guarantee from General Motors. The Council minority wanted the company at least to pledge to keep the plant open until 1997, the year the 12-year abatements run out, to tie its latest abatement request to that date, and, if it left earlier, to pay the city's encumbered obligations for the project.

It says much about the economic incentive process and about subsidization of big corporations that GM was unwilling to give a commitment on any of the three points. GM argued that it could make no such commitment because it did not know what the market would be for the cars to be built at the plant. The unstated but relevant point was that the people of Detroit should take the risk of the marketplace; if GM cars do not sell well, then Detroiters, not GM stockholders, should be out the cost.

To calculate the cost effectiveness of this Poletown project, one would have to assign an economic value to a relatively stable, multi-ethnic neighborhood in addition to assessing the financial price that Detroiters will be paying for the next ten years or more. A cruder cost measure, which does not take into account the human dimensions of this massive project and the anguish of displacement and relocation, is simply to note the dollars spent and divide the average number of jobs into it to get a cost per job. Even assuming the full 6,000 promised jobs—which materialized only briefly—with a total cost of \$250-300 million, the high cost becomes a figure of between \$40,000 to 50,000 per job.

Another economic development project that is supposed to benefit the people of the city is that encompassing the various buildings and sites along

the Detroit riverfront and in the downtown area. There now exist some new apartment buildings, a new arena, an expanded convention hall, some plush new parks on the river, and plans for the development of a major marina. The entrance to Belle Isle has been improved and the old Uniroyal building leveled. No one knows what will be built on that latter choice site, but speculation abounds that it might be related to casino gambling, if that is ever allowed in the city.

More fundamentally, what has been happening along the riverfront, downtown, and in industrial project areas is that new growth has been encouraged and subsidized on the theory that it will strengthen the city's tax base and ultimately redound to the benefit of the resident population. The fact of the matter is, however, that property taxes in these developments will never return to the city's general fund because of an entity known as Tax Increment Districts (TIDs). TIDs are controlled by a city-wide authority known as a Tax Increment Financing Authority that is appointed by the city administration. TIDs are legal entities that capture property taxes beyond the frozen base, which is the State Equalized Value of the property within the district in the first year of the TID.

Any increase in property value above that frozen value is captured by the Authority and is reinvested in the TID for further economic development. For example, in the Poletown project, the frozen value is the value of the land after the buildings that were on it were demolished. Thus, the tax on all the new structures built by GM and others is captured by the TID for further development of that district; none of it goes into the city's general fund.

The present developments are certainly desirable, but it will be a long while, if ever, before they benefit the rest of the city. Their immediate beneficiaries are tourists, conventioners, and the visitors from the suburbs who come into the city on occasion to have an evening out, either at one of the sports events or some special event like the Grand Prix, the Hoedown, the Montreaux Jazz Festival, or ethnic festivals. Meanwhile, selected middle-

upper-income Detroit residents, attracted by the new residential living downtown, have moved there and thus have further weakened the neighborhoods where they used to live. Of course, from the Detroit perspective, it's better that they have moved inward rather than outward. But the net result is that these various downtown and river-front projects have not helped shore up the city's sagging residential neighborhoods and their adjacent business streets.

Another community development project that has incurred unanticipated high costs is the Chrysler-Jefferson Avenue Plant project. Spurred by the desire to save the jobs at the old Chrysler plant, the city agreed to condemn the surrounding land in order to permit Chrysler to build a new plant

“Community development” has been used to subsidize big business and to build a so-called “new city” that has little benefit for most Detroiters.

before demolishing the old one. Although there are 4,600 jobs at the present plant, Chrysler has only promised that between 2,500 and 3,000 jobs will be retained and that no one will be laid off; the difference will be made up by attrition. Recently, too, it was learned that Chrysler's investment in the new plant may be as much as a third less than originally proposed.

Soon after the decision to remain at the Jefferson Avenue location was made, Chrysler intensified its demand for early acquisition. The city moved quickly to appraise the properties, both residential and business. It agreed to buy some properties with their inventories, something that is unusual in condemnation cases. As it has turned out, the cost of that deal was about \$40 million more than the city expected to pay. The city's total obligation for this plant was anticipated to be about \$73 million with the rest of the

\$195 million coming from the state and federal governments.

Now, after borrowing \$100 million for the project, there is already an expensive overrun. The Chrysler Company, recognizing that its own haste caused the overrun, has agreed to pick up some excess costs, if they materialize. That is a helpful gesture, but may not be sufficient to make this project cost effective. Actually, it is difficult to say what is cost effective about such projects. In this instance, another low-income neighborhood has been uprooted and the residents and businesses scattered. Some will benefit from the displacement; others will have their lives and perhaps their fortunes marred forever.

The bottom line is that another piece of the social fabric that makes a city a desirable place to live has been shredded. Business, social, religious, and political relationships that existed in the area have overnight been dismantled, and the city awaits the construction of the new plant, already a year behind schedule. Nor is there any firm contract to assure that even the 2,500 to 3,000 jobs will actually be available. At any point, as it did in Kenosha, Wisconsin, Chrysler could decide that it is more profitable to close the plant or to reduce its work force in order to maximize its profit margin. Then, of course, Detroit and Detroiters would be left holding the proverbial “bag.”

The usual governmental rationalization for such wholesale neighborhood destruction is that the city is promoting jobs and is actually doing the people trapped there a favor by enabling them to get out with a good price for their homes. That rationalization is deceptive and self-serving. One must ask why the neighborhood was so long denied adequate public services and maintenance and was allowed to deteriorate to the point where some people preferred to leave.

Two other projects dear to the heart of Detroit's mayor are the establishment of casino gambling and the expansion of the city municipal airport. Some see a connection between the two projects because the airport expansion is viewed as a means of enabling potential casino customers easy access

GM Poletown Car Assembly Off Until '85

DETROIT FREE PRESS

MAY '82

BY STUART ELLIOTT
Free Press Automotive Writer

General Motors Corp. said Friday it will delay, from fall 1984 until sometime in 1985, the start of production at its Poletown plant under construction in Detroit and Hamtramck.

The delay is necessary because "the new models to be assembled there are under review," said Donald Postma, GM's public relations spokesman on plant construction and renovation. Production will begin in 1985, he said, "but when is not firm. The starting point is the model review. How it will all come out, we don't know."

GM'S ANNOUNCEMENT of the plant in 1980 provoked bitter reaction from some of Poletown's 400 residents, who fought plans to demolish them and remove 1,176 buildings from the area.

Some who lived in the sprawling east side neighborhood, and some national critics including consumer activist Ralph Nader, said the project showed arrogance on the part of GM. They also charged Poletown demonstrated the willingness of officials of Detroit and Hamtramck to sacrifice their citizens to private corporate interests.

Some put their words into action. Evictions, lawsuits, demonstrations and arrests punctuated a process of demolishing the Poletown area and moving its residents.

The plant, on a 465-acre site, is estimated to cost GM \$500 million to \$600 million. GM has said it will employ up to 6,000 persons on two shifts when it reaches full production.

DESPITE THE DELAY, GM "still has every intention of finishing that plant and getting it to production," Postma said. "We still expect to have the plant under a roof and enclosed by

See POLETOWN, Page 11A

GM delays Poletown assembly

POLETOWN, from Page 1A

the end of this year. We don't think anything shows our intention more than that."

When the plant was announced, GM indicated it could be in operation by mid-1983, to produce cars for the 1984 model year. Last year, completion was postponed to spring 1984, and production to fall 1984.

Postma said the decision to delay production was made "sometime fairly recently," but could not provide a date. In its 1982 Public Interest Report dated April 15, distributed to business and community leaders, GM repeated that completion of the plant was scheduled for spring 1984.

Emmett Moten, Detroit's director of community and economic development, said the delay "is not disturbing or a major concern, because we anticipated that kind of thing (and) pushed back our schedule six months."

GM DISCLOSED in September that it intends to build two lines of front-wheel drive luxury cars at the plant: the E-bodies, sold under the Oldsmobile Toronado, Buick Riviera and Cadillac Eldorado nameplates; and the K-body, sold as Cadillac Seville.

These models, currently built at a GM plant in Linden, N.J., are not among GM's biggest sellers. But they are believed to be highly profitable because of their high price tags, starting from \$14,462 for Toronado to \$23,433 for Seville. Their sales since Jan. 1 fell 5.5 percent from the first four months of 1981, while sales of all GM cars dropped 15.7 percent in that time.

Postma declined comment on what the model review entails, citing GM's policy of not discussing future product plans. But trade publications

recently reported GM is considering various alterations in these models, which could result in their debut in redesigned form in the 1986 model year.

If this is the case, it could mean Poletown would begin production of the four models in mid- or late 1985.

IN PAST MONTHS, GM has delayed, postponed or canceled several new plant and product programs. The U.S. industry's three-year sales slump has affected GM's ability to raise the \$4 billion it intends to spend on these programs. GM lost \$763 million in 1980 and made \$335 million in 1981, far less than it usually earns in a good year.

The recent decline in gasoline prices and the deepening recession have caused changes in car buying patterns. Trade publications say customers' moving back toward larger, somewhat less expensive rear-wheel drive models has led GM to delay plans to drop these cars and replace them with smaller, more expensive front-wheel drive versions.

While GM has delayed production at Poletown, two other new plants designed to build front-wheel drive cars are proceeding on schedule, Postma said. Plants in Orion Township, north of Pontiac, and Wentzville, Mo., near St. Louis, are to build 1984-model cars.

At a January ceremony marking the placement of the first column of steel at the Poletown plant, GM Chairman Roger Smith called it "an enormous investment. It shows our willingness to go in and work with the cities to provide jobs in the U.S. for our employees."

Free Press City-County Bureau Chief A. Fireman contributed to this story.

\$46 million city overrun on GM Poletown project

By DAVID KUSHMA
City-County Bureau Chief

Mayor Young's administration says it has paid 75 percent more than it anticipated — \$46 million more — to acquire land for the new General Motors Corp. assembly plant on the Detroit-Hamtramck border.

Officials said court rulings in condemnation cases in the plant area, commonly known as Poletown, have pushed the city's property acquisition costs higher. They warned that the overrun will go higher.

In one extreme case, the city was ordered

to pay Great Lakes Steel nearly \$6.8 million more than was originally offered, City Councilman Mel Ravitz said. Some 18 cases remain unsettled.

As a result of the costs of the land parcels, it will be at least 1996 before the city can begin funneling into its general fund most of the taxes it hopes to raise at the plant. City officials had hoped to begin using that money next year, when the plant is scheduled to open.

The Young administration said the land

costs have been offset partially by savings on plant site preparation and relocation of displaced property owners. Young has defended the property condemnations, contending that the plant will become a major new source of city jobs and taxes as other business and industries leave Detroit.

"WE SHOULD not have had this amount of overages," Emmett Moten Jr., city director of community and economic development, said of the land cost overruns. "But for a little investment, we are talking about rebuilding the industrial center of this nation, right here in Detroit."



Emmett Moten Jr.: "We should not have had this amount of overages."

the City of Detroit in the long run as

was anticipated, and we may not even come out whole," Ravitz said. "It will be a very advantageous thing for GM, but I am doubtful whether the city will find it equally bright and smiley down the road."

In 1980, when the City Council approved the plant project — officially known as the Central Industrial Park — the Young administration estimated that assembling the land would cost \$62 million.

A city bond sale statement issued last month placed the city's cost of assembling nearly 1,700 land parcels for the plant at \$108 million as of June. The estimate does not include potential future land acquisition costs, the statement said.

The total cost to the city of the Poletown project is now set at \$178.9 million. That figure includes the cost of relocating Poletown residents and business, site preparation, demolition and construction, and other expenses.

THE CITY last month sold \$54.2 million in bonds to help pay for court judgments related to condemnations and to make the first \$4.4 million installment payment on a \$100 million federal loan for the project. The bonds are scheduled to be repaid by 1996 out of increased property taxes the city expects to generate from the 465-acre plant site.

If that revenue is not realized, the city will have to repay the bonds from its general fund — even if a tax increase is needed — the bond statement said.

The \$700 million GM plant, about three miles from downtown Detroit, is scheduled to begin full production next August and is designed to make more than 200,000 front-wheel-drive, luxury cars a year.

It is expected to employ about 2,700 workers initially, and more than 5,000 when a second shift is added — 1,000 workers fewer than projected in 1980.

To encourage GM to build the plant in Detroit, the city agreed to cut property taxes on it by 50 percent through 1996. Detroit officials estimate the city eventually will raise \$1.4 million a year from the plant in increased income taxes alone.

plant under the first provision of the Michigan's "quick-take" law, which permits accelerated condemnation proceedings when property is sought for public use. City officials were required to pay Poletown business and home owners "just compensation" for their property.

State law also allowed property owners dissatisfied with their offers to sue the city for higher awards and attorney fees. Such claims for higher payments alone totaled \$107 million as of June 1983, the city bond statement said.

"No revenue source has yet been identified to pay awards or settlements of such claims," the city's bond statement said. "As of May 31, 1984, judgments aggregating approximately \$4.7 million remain unpaid. . . . Actual awards and settlements are expected to be significantly less than petitioned amounts."

Young has argued that Poletown property owners generally got settlements three to four times the value through the condemnation process. Moten has contended that publicity

over the land prices has caused juries to make higher awards.

"We had the most competent people throughout the State of Michigan make our property appraisals," Moten said. "They were checked and double-checked by the best private experts and by (federal officials). The estimate of value we came up with was the best one available at the time."

BUT RAVITZ says court penalties of more than \$13 million could be assessed against the city because of what he said were officials' failures in some cases to make "good faith" offers for Poletown property.

The chief source of money to the city for its Poletown costs is the \$100 million federal loan from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

The loan was structured so that nearly \$80 million of its principal would have been due in two payments in 1988 and 1989, but Moten said HUD officials have agreed to an extended repayment schedule.

The city has used \$18.8 million in federal community development grants for the Poletown project — money that critics contend should have been spent for neighborhood improvements in other parts of the city.

It has borrowed another \$54.7 million in grants, which is scheduled to be repaid out of the HUD loan. City officials are using future grants to secure the loan, along with the bond sale proceeds. Other federal and state grants and loans for the project total \$41.6 million.

TABLE 6.3
SOURCES OF REVENUE FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND PROJECT COSTS
OF THE DETROIT GENERAL MOTORS ASSEMBLY PLANT, APRIL 1982 (IN \$ MILLION)

SOURCE	TOTAL	ACQUISITION	RELOCATION	DEMOLITION	ROADS	OTHER SITE PREPARATION	PROFESSIONAL SERVICES
HUD letter of credit	65.000	60.1124				4.8876	
HUD Urban Development Action Grant	30.000		16.009	10.000		3.991	
HUD Section 108 loan	35.000	33.567		1.433			
Community Development Block Grant (HUD)	8.522	0.400	2.450	3.000			2.672
Economic Development Administration	15.000			9.300		5.700	
Urban Mass Transportation Administration	1.364	0.901	0.363	0.100			
State road funds	32.660	4.530	1.570	0.700	25.3356	0.5244	
State Land Bank	1.425						1.425
Interest on income from program ^a	2.400	2.400					
Income from the program ^b	11.470	11.470					
Income from sale of fixtures ^c	1.000	1.000					
Totals	203.841	114.3804	20.392	24.533	25.3356	15.103	4.097

SOURCE: City of Detroit, Community and Economic Development Department, 9 Apr. 1982.

^a From funds put in an escrow account during property-condemnation proceedings.

^b From the sale of property to General Motors, Conrail, etc.

^c From the sale of fixtures from businesses that were relocated from the project area.

SOURCE: JONES & BACHELOR, THE SUSTAINING HAND, P. 92

TABLE 9.1
ESTIMATE OF RETAINED AND CAPTURED TAXES, CENTRAL
INDUSTRIAL PARK PROJECT, FOR SELECTED YEARS

	BASE YEAR		
	1981	1985	1997
Captured Taxes	\$ none	\$6,849,800	\$7,988,900
Taxes to be retained by:			
City of Detroit	71,400	71,400	71,400
Detroit School District	77,850	77,850	77,850
Wayne County	15,300	15,300	15,300
Wayne County ISD	2,350	2,350	2,350
Wayne County Community College	1,700	1,700	1,700
Huron-Clinton Metro Park Authority	550	550	550
Total retained	\$169,150	\$169,150	\$169,150

SOURCE: Central Industrial Park Project Tax Increment Financing Plan, 18 Mar. 1982, exhibit A.

TABLE 10.1
THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY RACE (FAMILIES AND
INDIVIDUALS), CENTRAL INDUSTRIAL PARK PROJECT AREA

INCOME	RACE					
	Black		White		Oriental and Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
\$ 0-4,999	349	50.9	193	29.4	1	5.3
5,000-9,999	206	30.0	221	33.6	4	21.1
10,000-14,999	62	9.0	105	16.0	5	26.3
15,000-24,999	55	8.0	99	15.1	7	36.8
25,000 and over	14	2.0	39	5.9	2	10.5
Total	686	99.9	657	100.0	19	100.0

SOURCE: Relocation Survey, reported in *Project Plan: Central Industrial Park* (Detroit: Economic Development Corporation of the City of Detroit, 30 Sept. 1980), p. 16.

JONES \bar{r} BACHELOR, THE SUSTAINING HAND, pp. 134, 139

c. 1983

WHO WE ARE AND WHY WE BOTHERED

George Corsetti - producer, director. Corsetti, 41 is a life-long Detroit resident, attorney and father.

Corsetti has pretty much abandoned a career in consumer and Constitutional law in favor of media projects. As an attorney, he was primarily responsible for the lawsuit brought by a suburban consumer group against the Detroit and State of Michigan "red squads." He has also been published in legal and progressive periodicals, writing mostly about political surveillance.

Corsetti collaborated in the production of "Intelligence Network" and worked on a video project about the Teamsters for a Democratic Union.

Jeanie Wylie - assistant director/editor/writer. Wylie, 27 is a freelance writer based in Detroit.

Wylie moved to Detroit after completing an MS in Journalism at Columbia University. After a six-month internship with Associated Press, Wylie began freelancing for the Village Voice, the Progressive, the Detroit News and local alternative papers. She has also taught journalism to CETA-eligible high school and college students in Detroit.

Richard Wieske - camera operator/technical consultant. Wieske, 32, grew up in the Detroit area, is a father and former auto worker who has been working in video production since 1975. He has also been an iron worker, welder and riveter, reads blueprints and no longer fears heights.

Wieske has his own video camera and equipment and has worked on a number of projects, including: "Rosie the Riveter;" teaching video production to high school students for the Detroit Council of the Arts and the Michigan Council for the Arts; and BBC, Newsweek and other video projects.

WHY WE BOTHERED

In our view, the established media never adequately dealt with the issue of Poletown.

Local news organizations most often presented the city's land grab as an opportunity for the city of Detroit to save jobs. The issue was framed as a choice between homes and jobs. Residents were usually depicted as heart-broken people who couldn't bear to leave their homes and who probably didn't understand the good that General Motors' Cadillac would deliver to the city.

We feel that this depiction of the Poletown story played a key role in accelerating the city and General Motors project. Corporate and political leaders were presented as the men who have to make the tough decisions, while the neighborhood's residents were made to look impotent and pitiful, short-sighted in their desire to save their homes at the expense of the city's workers.

Our documentary tells the story of Poletown from the perspective of the residents who fought the project. Our production is a major departure from similar programs turned out by local and national media on this subject. We use very little narration in an attempt to let the residents speak for themselves. You will find they are neither pitiful nor short-sighted. Several of the issues they raised, which got little or no play in the established media are:

- Why was the project portrayed as producing jobs when it would result in the closing of existing Cadillac plants and the lay-off of thousands of workers?
- Could GM have settled for less space, allowing the neighborhood to remain?
- Why should the government contribute \$300 million of taxpayers money to a profit-making venture of one of the world's wealthiest corporations?
- Could the same amount of money been invested in small businesses that use less automation and produce more jobs, particularly for the vast pool of unskilled labor in Detroit?
- Will GM actually hire the originally touted 6,000 workers? Will the jobs be skilled or unskilled?
- Why weren't controls placed on the project? Why wasn't GM forced to contract a certain number of workers for a minimum period of time?
- Do politicians have the stamina to do any more than rubber stamp corporate decisions?

Economists are increasingly pointing to corporatism (the coalition of business, government and labor) as the salvation of stagnating economies. If Poletown is an example of the outcome of a corporatist project, we consider it dangerous and fascistic.

(more)

Our film looks at the role of the politicians, the UAW, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese and the media in facilitating General Motors' will. We see the role played by the Detroit Police Department as an extension of that alliance.

Walter Jakubowski, a life-long Poletown resident, who was in his 70s when he was evicted, summed it up by saying: "there is no democracy. You have democracy just as long as you don't tangle with the power structure."

Our involvement in Poletown eventually resulted in our being arrested the morning the police barricaded the neighborhood with iron fences, tore the doors off the church with a tow truck and took 12 people to jail. We only regret that we didn't have a camera in the church to document the overkill of the police operation. All media was prevented from entering the perimeter of the neighborhood while the police, who arrived at 5:00am, used a special weapons attack team and dogs to arrest 12 unarmed people, including four 70-year-old women.

We intend to distribute this film nationally and internationally. The documentary is targetted for middle aged and elderly Americans anywhere who may find themselves in confrontation with authority. It is also designed to be used in schools and universities as a dramatic illustration of a civics lesson you will never find in a textbook. If Missouri residents fighting a toxic waste dump or South Carolina citizens challenging the burial of radioactive waste in their state find this documentary useful, we will be content.

In our view, the people in our film learned the lessons of the 1960s in one short year. They responded to their community's crisis initially by thinking that the institutions they trusted would stop the project. They wrote to the government, the courts, the newspapers, the area churches. It took months for them to understand that they weren't being considered seriously, that the plans were in place and would proceed despite their dissent. Their final analysis was very shrewd.

If corporatism becomes the way of the future, we will as a nation, eventually look to people like the people of Poletown for leadership. It will be people, like the American Indians, who have been disenfranchised by major financial interests who will eventually teach the rest of us to free ourselves and restore democracy.

Regenerating Community

by John L. McKnight

Each of us has a map of the social world in our mind, and the way we act, our plans and opinions are the result of that map.

The people who make social policy also have social maps in their minds. They make plans and design programs based upon their map. Indeed, if you carefully examine their programs, you can detect the nature of their mental map.

Using this method, we have found that the most common social policy map has two locations: institutions and individual people. By institutions we mean large structures such as corporations, universities, and government mental health systems. These structures organize a large group of people so that a few of them will be able to control the rest of them. In this structure, there is ultimately room for one leader. It is a structure initially created to produce goods such as steel and automobiles.

In the last few decades, the structure has also been used to design human service systems. While these newly designed hierarchical, managed service systems do not produce goods such as steel, they do produce needs assess-

ments, service plans, protocols, and procedures. They are also thought, by some policymakers, to produce health, education, security, or justice.

If it is correct that these systems can produce these service commodities, then it is possible to imagine that there are consumers of their products. For example, we have all heard that there are now people called "health consumers." They are the *individuals* who are the other part of the social map created by most social policymakers. They make a complete economic world by acting as the users (consumers) of the products of managed institutional producers of such commodities as mental health, health, education, and justice. Thus, we can see that it was necessary to create health consumers once we had systems that could produce health.

We can create crime-making corrections systems, sickness-making health systems, and stupid-making schools based upon a social model that conceives of society as a place bounded by institutions and individuals.

Otherwise, there would be no purpose for these large hierarchical, managed systems.

Once we understand this social map of institutions and individuals we can see why we have mental health providers and mental health consumers. We can also see how our developing service economy works.

Because the gross national product is the sum of the goods and services produced each year, many policy experts have come to believe that the well-being of our society significantly depends upon the amount of the commodities called services that are produced by institutions and used by consumers. For example, a person with a perilous and extended illness (a health consumer) contributes significantly to our economic growth by using large amounts of the commodities produced by the health system. Indeed, a very ill person disabled for a considerable amount of time could cause production of much more medical dollar value through their illness than the value of their own production were they healthy.

This amazing development is possible, in part, because of the unusual two-place map used by many social policymakers in designing social service programs. Unfortunately, this map and the program designs that flow from it have recently encountered three major problems.

The first problem is that in spite of ever-growing inputs into institutionalized service systems, many individuals continue to reject their roles as

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consumers. This is the problem of intractability that has resulted in an increasing focus upon the "compliance" issue. Especially in our big cities, many intractable young individuals continue to refuse to learn in spite of heightened resources and managerial inputs to school systems. This is commonly known as the educational problem.

Similarly, there are many other intractable individuals who refuse to behave in spite of our correctional institutions. This is the crime problem.

There is also the nutrition problem created by intractable people who refuse to eat the right food. And the chemical dependency problem created by intractable people who insist on smoking and drinking incorrectly. There is also the ever-growing number of intractable people who refuse to flourish in institutions created for labelled people, in spite of all the professional and managerial improvements designed by the systems.

Indeed, there are so many intractable people refusing to consume institutional services that we are now designing new systems that surround these individuals with professionally administered services. Thus, one can now see individuals whose lives are bounded by institutions "targeting" their services at an intractable individual through teachers, doctors, trainers, social workers, family planners, psychologists, vocational counselors, security officers, and so forth. This is usually called a "comprehensive, multidisciplinary, coordinated, inter-agency service system." It is the equivalent of institutionalization without walls or the design of an environment to create a totally dependent service system consumer.

The second problem with programs based upon the typical social policy map is that the sum of their costs can be greater than the wealth of the nation. In a recent white paper entitled "A Time

to Serve," a group of Swedish government planners described the escalating costs of their much-acclaimed social service system. They point out that at present rates of growth, the system could consume the entire nation's wealth within a few decades. Therefore, they propose that the government begin to "tax" people's time by requiring the Swedish people to contribute unpaid work to the maintenance and growth of their social service system.

While it is clearly the case that the United States is not in immediate danger of the Swedish economic dilemma, we are contributing substantial amounts to social service systems. A recent study by the Community Services Society of New York found that approximately \$7,000 per capita of public and private money is specifically allocated to the low-income population of that city. Thus, a family of four would be eligible on a per capita basis for \$28,000 that would place them in



the moderate-income category. However, only 37 percent of this money actually reaches low-income people in income. Nearly two-thirds is consumed by those who service the poor.

The third problem with the typical social policy map is that programs based upon its suppositions are increasingly ineffective and even counter-productive. For example, we now understand that our "correctional systems" consistently train people in crime. Studies demonstrate that a substantial number of people, while in hospitals, become sick or injured with maladies worse than those for which they were admitted. In many of our big city schools we see children whose relative achievement levels fall further behind each year. Thus, we have come to recognize the possibility that we can create crime-making corrections systems, sickness-making health systems, and stupid-making schools based upon a social model that conceives of society as a place bounded by institutions and individuals.

It is obvious, upon the briefest reflection, that the typical social policy map is inaccurate because it excludes a major social domain—the community. By community, we mean the social place used by family, friends, neighbors, neighborhood associations, clubs, civic groups, local enterprises, churches, ethnic associations, temples, local unions, local government, and local media. In addition to being called the community, this social environment is also described as the informal sector, the unmanaged environment, and the associational sector.

The proliferation and development of community associations allow for the flowering of creative solutions
Institutions tend to require creative ideas to follow channels.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN COMMUNITY AND INSTITUTION

These associations of community represent unique social tools that are unlike the social tool represented by a managed institution. For example, the structure of institutions is a design established to create *control* of people. On the other hand, the structure of associations is the result of people acting through *consent*. It is critical that we distinguish between these two motive forces because there are many goals that can only be fulfilled through consent, and these are often goals that will be impossible to achieve through a production system designed to control.

There are many other unique characteristics of the community of associations:

- The associations in community are interdependent. To weaken one is to weaken all. If the local newspaper closes, the garden club and the township meeting will each diminish as they lose a voice. If the American Legion disbands, several community fundraising events and the maintenance of the ballpark will stop. If the Baptist Church closes, several self-help groups that meet in the basement will be without a home and folks in the old people's home will lose their weekly visitors. The interdependence of associations and the dependence of community upon their work is the vital center of an effective society.

- The community environment is constructed around the recognition of fallibility rather than the ideal. Most institutions, on the other hand, are designed with a vision imagining a structure where things can be done right, a kind of orderly perfection achieved, and the ablest dominate.

In contrast, community structures tend to proliferate until they create a place for everyone, no matter how fallible. They provide vehicles that give voice to diversity and assume that consensual contribution is the primary value.

In the proliferation of community associations, there is room for many leaders and the development of leadership capacity among many. This democratic opportunity structure assumes that the best idea is the sum of the knowings

of the collected fallible people who are citizens. Indeed, it is the marvel of the democratic ideal that people of every fallibility are citizens. Effective associational life incorporates all of those fallibilities and reveals the unique intelligence of community.

- Associations have the capacity to respond quickly. They do not need to involve all of the institutional interests incorporated in a planning committee, budget office, administrative staff, and so forth.

A primary characteristic of people who need help is that their problem is created by the unexpected tragedy, the surprise development, the sudden change. While they will be able to stabilize over the long run, what they often need is immediate help. The rapid response capacity of associations, and their interconnectedness, allows for the possibility of immediate and comprehensive assistance without first initiating a person into a system from which they may never leave.

- The proliferation and development of community associations allow for the flowering of creative solutions. Institutions tend to require creative ideas to follow channels. However, the non-hierarchical nature of the field of associations allows us to see all of the budding ideas and greatly increases our opportunities for social innovation.

- Because community associations are small, face-to-face groups, the relationship among members is very individualized. They also have the tradition of dealing with non-members as individuals. Institutions, on the other hand, have great difficulty developing programs or activities that recognize the unique characteristics of each individual. Therefore, associations represent unusual tools for creating "hand-tailored" responses to those who may be in special need or have unique fallibilities.

- Our institutions are constantly reforming and reorganizing themselves in an effort to create or allow relationships that can be characterized as "care." Nonetheless, their ministrations consistently commodify themselves and become a service. For many people with uncommon fallibilities, their need is for care rather than service. While a managed system

organized as a structure of control can deliver a service, it cannot deliver care. Care is a special relationship characterized by consent rather than control. Therefore, its auspices are individual and associational. For those who need care, we must recognize the community as the appropriate social tool.

● Finally, associations and the community they create are the forum within which citizenship can be expressed. Institutions by their managed structure are definitionally unable to act as forums for citizenship. Therefore, the vital center of democracy is the community of associations. Any person without access to that forum is effectively denied citizenship. For those people with unique fallibilities who have been institutionalized, it isn't enough that they be deinstitutionalized. In order to be a citizen, they must also have the opportunity for recomunalization.

In summary, the community of associations provides a social tool where consent is the primary motivation, interdependence creates holistic environments, people of all capacities and fallibilities are incorporated, quick responses are possible, creativity is multiplied rather than channeled, individualized responses are characteristic, care is able to replace service, and citizenship is possible. When all of these unique capacities of community are recognized, it is obvious why the social policy map that excludes community life has resulted in increasing failures. To exclude from our problem-solving capacities the social tool of community is to have taken the heart out of America.

Why is it, then, that social policy maps so often ignore community? One reason is that there are many institutional leaders who simply do not believe in the capacities of communities. They often see communities as collections of parochial, inexperienced, and biased people. Indeed, there are many leaders of service systems who believe that they are in direct competition with communities for the power to correctly define problems, provide scientific solutions and professional services.

In this competitive understanding, the institutional leaders are correct.

Whenever hierarchical systems become more powerful than the community, we see the flow of authority, resources, skills, dollars, legitimacy, and capacities away from communities to service systems. In fact, institutionalized systems grow at the expense of communities. As institutions gain power, communities lose their potency and the consent of community is replaced by the control of systems; the care of community is replaced by the service of systems; the citizens of community are replaced by the clients and consumers of institutional products.

VISIONS OF SOCIETY

Today, our society is the site of the struggle between community and institution for the capacities and loyalties of our people. This struggle is never carried out in the abstract. Instead, it occurs each day in the relations of people, the budget decisions of systems, and the public portraits of the media. As one observes this struggle, there appear to be three visions of society that dominate the discourse.

The first is the *therapeutic vision*. This prospect sees the well-being of individuals as growing from an environment composed of professionals and their services. It envisions a world where there is a professional to meet every need, and the fee to secure each professional service is a right. This vision is epigrammatically expressed by those who see the ultimate liberty as "the right to treatment."

The second prospect is the *advocacy vision*. This approach foresees a world in which labelled people will be in an environment protected by advocates and advocacy groups. It conceives an individual whose world is guarded by legal advocates, support people, self-help groups, job developers, and housing locaters. Unlike the therapeutic vision, the advocacy approach conceives a defensive wall of helpers to protect an individual against an alien community. It seeks to insure a person's right to be a functioning individual.

The third approach is the *community vision*. It sees the goal as "recomunalization" of exiled and labelled individuals. It understands the community as the basic context for enabling people to contribute their gifts. It sees commu-

A person who has been labelled deficient can find a "hammock" of support in the collective capacities of a community that can shape itself to the unique character of each person.

nity associations as contexts to create and locate jobs, provide opportunities for recreation and multiple friendships, and to become the political defender of the right of labelled people to be free from exile.

Those who seek to institute the community vision believe that beyond therapy and advocacy is the constellation of community associations. They see a society where those who were once labelled, exiled, treated, counseled, advised, and protected are, instead, incorporated in community where their contributions, capacities, gifts, and fallibilities will allow a network of relationships involving work, recreation, friendship, support, and the political power of being a citizen.

Because so many labelled people have been exiled to a world expressing the professional and advocacy vision of an appropriate life, the community vision has frequently been forgotten. How will people know when they are in community? Our studies suggest that this universe is distinctive and distinguished from the environment of systems and institutions. The community experience incorporates a number of strands.

Capacity. We all remember the childhood question regarding how to describe a glass with water to its midpoint. Is it half full or half empty? Community associations are built upon the recognition of the fullness of each member because it is the sum of their capacities that represents the power of the group. The social policy map makers, on the other hand, build a world

based upon the emptiness of each of us—a model based upon deficiency. Communities depend upon capacities. Systems commodify deficiencies.

Collective Effort. It is obvious that the essence of community is people working together. One of the characteristics of this community work is shared responsibility that requires many talents. Thus, a person who has been labelled deficient can find a "hammock" of support in the collective capacities of a community that can shape itself to the unique character of each person. This collective process contrasts with the individualistic approach of the therapeutic professional and the rigidity of institutions that demand that people shape themselves to the needs of the system.

Informality. Associational life in the community is a critical element of the informal economy. Here transactions of value take place without money, advertising, or hype. Authentic relationships are possible and care emerges in place of its packaged imitation: service.

The informality of community is also expressed through relationships that are not managed. Communities viewed by those who only understand managed experiences and relationships appear to be disordered, messy, and inefficient. What these people fail to understand is that there is a hidden order to community groups that is determined by the need to incorporate capacity and fallibility.

While institutions and professionals war against human fallibility by trying to replace it, cure it, or disregard it, communities are proliferations of associations that multiply until they incorporate both the capacities and the fallibilities of citizens. It is for this reason that labelled people are not out of place in community because they all have capacities and only their fallibilities are unusual. However, because there are so many community associations, there are always some sets of associational relationships that can incorporate their fallibilities and use their unique gifts.

Stories. In universities, people know through studies. In businesses and bureaucracies, people know by reports. In communities, people know by stories. These community stories allow people to reach back into their common

history and their individual experience for knowledge about truth and direction for the future.

Professionals and institutions often threaten the stories of community by urging community people to count up things rather than communicate. Successful community associations resist efforts to impose the foreign language of studies and reports because it is a tongue that ignores their own capacities and insights. Whenever communities come to believe that their common knowledge is illegitimate, they lose their power and professionals and systems rapidly invade their social place.

Celebration. Community groups constantly incorporate celebrations, parties, and social events in their activities. The line between work and play is blurred and the human nature of every-day life becomes part of the way of work. You will know that you are in community if you often hear laughter and singing. You will know you are in an institution, corporation, or bureaucracy if you hear the silence of long halls and reasoned meetings. Associations in community celebrate because they work by consent and have the luxury of allowing joyfulness to join them in their endeavors.

Tragedy. The surest indication of the experience of community is the explicit common knowledge of tragedy, death, and suffering. The managed, ordered, technical-vision-embodied in professional and institutional systems leaves no space for tragedy; they are basically methods for production. Indeed, they are designed to deny the central dilemmas of life. Therefore, our managed systems gladly give communities the real dilemmas of the human condition. There is no competition here. To be in community is to be an active part of associations and self-help groups. To be in community is to be a part of ritual, lamentation, and celebration of our fallibility.

Knowing community is not an abstract understanding. Rather, it is what we each know about all of us.

As we think about ourselves, our community and institutions many of us recognize that we have been degraded because our roles as citizens and our communities have been traded in for the right to clienthood and consumer

status. Many of us have come to recognize that as we exiled our fallible neighbors to the control of managers, therapists, and technicians, we lost much of our power to be the vital center of society. We forgot about the capacity of every single one of us to do good work and, instead, made some of us into the objects of good works—servants of those who serve.

As we think about our community life, we recognize that something has happened to many of us as institutions have grown in power: we have become too impotent to be called real citizens and too disconnected to be effective members of community.

There is a mistaken notion that our society has a problem in terms of effective human services. Our essential problem is weak communities. While we have reached the limits of institutional problem solving, we are only at the beginning of exploring the possibility of a new vision for community. It is a vision of regeneration. It is a vision of reassociating the exiled. It is a vision of freeing ourselves from service and advocacy. It is a vision of centering our lives in community.

We all know that community must be the center of our life because it is only in community that we can be citizens. It is only in community that we can find care. It is only in community that we can hear people singing. And if you listen carefully, you can hear the words: "I care for you, because you are mine, and I am yours." ■

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Community Organizing/ Leadership Development – Reading and Video List

- Beyond Bureaucracy** – Warren Bennis, published by Jossey Bass, 1993
- Bread and Roses** – video about low-wage workers
- Chicken Run** – funny and unique example of organizing in action
- Fast Forward** – video workshop covering identifying issues and developing strategies
- Freedom on My Mind** – 90-minute video about the development of the Freedom Democratic Party
- Getting It Done: How to Lead When You're Not in Charge** – Roger Fisher and Alan Sharp, Harper Collins, 1998
- Grassroots and Nonprofit Leadership** – published by New Society Published, 1995
- Grassroots Organizations** – published by Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, IL 1993
- Holding Ground** – video about the Dudley Street initiative in Boston, MA
- Leaders** – Warren Bennis, published by Harper and Row, 1985
- Leadership Who Make a Difference** – Burt Nanus and Stephen Dobbs, Jossey Bass, 1999
- Leadership and the One Minute Manager** – Kenneth Blanchard, Patricia Zigarmi, and Drea Zigarmi, published by William Morrow, 1985
- Leading Change** – James O'Toole, Ballentine Books, 1996
- Leading Without Power** – Max De Pree, Jossey Bass, 1997
- Leadership is an Art** – Max De Pree, Dell Publishing, 1989
- Leadership Jazz** – Max De Pree, Dell Publishing, 1992
- Leadership Skills for the New Age of Nonprofits** – published by Heritage Arts Publishing, VMS Systems, Downers Grove, 1990
- Making Policy, Making Change** – Makani N. Themba, Chardon Press, Berkeley, 1999
- Milagro Beanfield War** – video about a battle between a Mexican-American community and a large corporation
- On Becoming a Leader** – Warren Bennis, Addison Wesley, 1989
- Organizing Genius** – Warren Bennis, published by Addison Wesley, 1997
- Promoting Community Change** – published by Brooks/ Cole, 1988
- Successful Community Leadership** – published by NASW Press, 1997
- The Leadership Challenge** – James Kouzes and Barry Posner, Jossey Bass, 1987

Timeline: A History of Community Development Policy In America – 90-minute video published by the Development Training Institute (DTI)

Reinventing Leadership – Warren Bennie, published by William Morrow, 1995

Reflections on Community Organization Practice – published FE Peacock in 1999

Rules of the Game – published by Brooks/ Cole, 1988

Unearthing Seeds of Fire – Frank Adams, Highlander, 1975



STANDARDS FOR EVALUATING COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

1. A community organization must be legitimate to the community it intends to serve.
 - a. Are there real members, as opposed to numbers and names on paper? People who attend organization functions and take an active part?
Comments: _____

 - b. Are there real leaders, people who lead and make decisions, not just names on a letterhead to lend prestige?
Comments: _____

 - c. Do people contribute seriously of their time and money to help the organization achieve its objectives?
Comments: _____

 - d. Does the structure define who can be in and who can't?
Comments: _____

 - e. Is there evidence that new issues and ideas can get in and work their way onto the organization's agenda?
Comments: _____

 - f. Is there evidence that new people can work their way into leadership?
Comments: _____

— g. Is the organization representative of the community it claims to represent?

Comments: _____

— h. Is the organization recognized by other organizations or institutions in the community?

Comments: _____

2. A community organization must survive long enough to carry the community agenda to fruition. This requires community financial investment as well as time. It also requires avoidance of dependency on one or a few financial sources. Such dependency leaves the organization vulnerable to a funding cutoff whenever its issues become too controversial.

— a. Is the organization making progress toward self generated funding or funding which is renewable over the long term?

Comments: _____

i. Is the core operating income raised from constituents?

Comment: _____

ii. Is the leadership as involved in fundraising as it is in the issues?

Comment: _____

iii. Is the staff as supportive of the leadership in its fundraising efforts as it is in their issue efforts?

Comment: _____

iv. Are there structures and activities which develop volunteer leadership, beyond the board, in fundraising?

Comment: _____

v. Is there growth in income from fees or charges?

Comment: _____

vi. Is the membership increasing?

Comment: _____

vii. Are the fundraising activities demonstrating increasing competence and skill?

Comment: _____

___ b. Is the financial support for the organization becoming more diverse?

Comments: _____

i. Are there more fundraising activities than last year?

Comment: _____

ii. Is the total amount of dollars raised greater than last year?

Comment: _____

iii. Are there more donors than last year?

Comment: _____

3. One major function of community organizing is to increase peoples capacity to become full participants in the society around them. This means that they acquire power, understand it, and use it to change those conditions and circumstances which negatively affect them.

___ a. Are more people participating?

Comments: _____

___ b. Are they raising questions and proposing new strategies?

Comments: _____

___ c. Are the participants more involved?

Comments: _____

___ d. Are they building relationships within and outside the community?

Comments: _____

e. Are the activities generating new activists, and new leadership?

Comments: _____

___ f. Are the participants demonstrating a greater understanding of power in the society, decision making, and how to bring about changes as well as an ability to use that new understanding?

Comments: _____

4. Another major function of community organizing is to increase the use of democratic decision making throughout the society.

___ a. Does the organization reflect democratic decision making, giving all members a chance to have a say, to raise issues and opposing points of view?

Comments: _____

___ b. Is the organization making use of outside information and support without having the decisions determined by outside groups?

Comments: _____

- c. Is the organization effective in democratizing the decision making of other organizations or institutions?

Comments: _____

- 5. A third major function of community organizing is to identify some of the society's fundamental problems and to change the institutions which perpetuate those problems.

- a. Has the organization clearly identified and articulated its issues?

Comments: _____

- b. Do those issues stem from fundamental problems in the society?

Comments: _____

- c. Are people committed to working on those issues?

Comments: _____

- d. Is the power to resolve those issues being developed?

Comments: _____

- e. Is the organization sufficiently strong that is likely to endure long enough to see through the resolution of the issue?

Comments: _____

- f. Have the targets of change been identified?

Comments: _____

- g. Is progress being made on the resolution of those issues?

Comments: _____

BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOOD COLLABORATIVE TRAINING OUTLINE

SESSION #2: BUILDING LEADERSHIP AND BUILDING COMMUNITY

GOAL:

To introduce participants to the ideas and of and approaches to leadership development and community building.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To assist participants to develop a working definition of community leadership.
2. To assist participants to understand the personal characteristics and the environmental factors that affect the leadership development process.
3. To assist participants to understand their own leadership style and how it connects with others.
4. To assist participants to understand some of the dynamics between leaders and followers.
5. To assist participants to use what they have learned to work effectively with different types of leaders and to understand the organizer role in relation to leaders.
6. To introduce participants to several local examples of community building.
7. To assist participants to develop their own working definition of community building.
8. To assist participants to identify the chief factors supporting community building and the chief factors impeding it.
9. To assist participants to acquire attitudes, knowledge and skills which contribute to community building.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES/COMPETENCIES:

1. Participants will be able to identify their own leadership attributes and the leadership attributes of others.
2. Participants will be able to describe the dynamics between leaders and followers in terms that they might use in their communities.
3. Participants will be able to point to several local examples of community building and explain how they came about.
4. Participants will be able to identify several community building activities that they can put into action in their neighborhoods.
5. Participants will be able to identify several obstacles to community building in their neighborhoods and will have several ideas of ways to deal with them.

CURRICULUM OUTLINE

9:00 Registration, pick up materials, meet others

9:30 Welcome and Introductions [Mel and Dick]

Circle name game

Ground rules/Agenda Review/Consensus

10:00 What is leadership? [Dick]

Refer to Milagro Beanfield War.

Who was the leader/were the leaders?

Who was the organizer/were the organizers?

What was the task of the leaders? Of the
organizer(s)?

Who was the target of the organizing?

Brainstorm all the characteristics you want in the ideal community leader. Continue for 3-4 pages of flip chart paper. Put them up.

Ask how many in the room are willing to say they meet all the characteristics listed? Danger of idealizing leaders.

Present THEORIES OF WHERE LEADERS COME FROM [Use OH]

1. Leaders are people who have power. World Politics
Bush, Putin
2. Leaders are people who are the smartest. Plato
3. Leaders are the people who are the most virtuous or selfless.
Gandhi, Religions

4. Leaders are the people who are craftiest. Machiavelli
5. Leaders are the people with charisma. Washington, Martin Luther King, Mao Tse Tung, Nelson Mandela
6. Leaders are the people who rise to the challenges of the times. Revolutionary War Heroes- Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, John Adams, Abigail Adams; WWII Churchill, FDR
7. Leaders are the people who help followers get what they want. Lyndon B. Johnson
8. Leaders are people who have the best ideas. John Kennedy, Karl Marx
9. Leaders are the people who help followers agree on a common vision/program. Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Bishop Desmond Tutu
10. Leaders are people who demonstrate courage. Native Americans

Begin discussing change of focus from the **leader** to the focus on **leadership**.

DEFINITIONS OF LEADERSHIP

1. Process of getting people to do what leader wants
2. Process of getting people to do what group agrees on
3. Having followers/constituents
4. Developing constituents to achieve their aims/aspirations

WORKING DEFINITION

“Any act which helps the group achieve its goals or to build or maintain itself.” Discuss the various ways people demonstrate acts of leadership.

Discuss different theories related to leadership:

- leaders born vs leaders made,
- definitions of leadership,
- the dynamics between leaders and followers,
- the relationship of leaders to the different needs and stages of development of the organization,
- the relationship of leadership to the environment,

Discuss paradigm shifts for leaders.

- shift from industrial society to information society
- changes in information/technology - who controls information
- increase in diversity
- changes in organizational forms- centralization to decentralization, hierarchies to networks
- changes in which organizations are dominant
- crisis in credibility
- decline in voting and other forms of democratic participation
- mistakes seen as failure vs mistakes seen as learning opportunities

Q&A. Discuss examples of leaders that participants have worked with. Best and worst. List.

10:40 break

10:50 What is my leadership style? [Dick]

Go through personal profile system.

Describe/explain- motivation, task/process, risk/caution

Discuss applicability to work with others. How you will identify other styles.

12:15 lunch

1:00 Lunch Panel: Examples of Community Building

Village Learning Place [?]

Operation Reach Out South West [?]

Bel Air Edison [Mel]

1:40 What is community? [Mel]

2:10 Exercise :Win As Much As You Can [Dick/Mel]

Discuss- examples of leadership, impediments to community building, actions to overcome impediments

2:50 break

3:00 Things you can do in your neighborhood to build community.

[Mel]

Ask participants to each identify 3 concrete things they can do in their neighborhoods to build community. List/discuss/encourage
Ask them to identify what obstacles they anticipate and what they will do to deal with those obstacles. List/discuss/encourage.

3:45 Wrap up and evaluation [Mel and Dick]

4:00 Good Luck!!!

DICK -- I Hope my COMMENTS makes sense. Peter

Community Organizer Training Institute

Purpose → I think your "overall purpose is excellent"...

The overall purpose of the Community Organizer Training Institute is to provide skills training and peer-to-peer support for staff of community-based organizations to strengthen their community outreach, community organizing and neighborhood planning work. This program is being developed in two phases: with a pilot initiative targeted at BNC grantee organizations and developed by a work group of local professionals organizers and by staff and faculty of educational institutions that have community organizing tracks in their academic programs. The second phase of the program will be a feasibility study to see if a longer-term effort can be sustained. A local consultant group is conducting this study. By implementing a pilot initiative it is expected that this program will move the concept of building the capacity of community organizers to an on-going training program. In addition to increasing skills, another focus of the training is to provide an opportunity for community organizers to learn broadly about the field of community development and the role of the community organizer in community development while fostering and creating a "community of organizers" who share a common vision, values and principles in community organizing.

Goal

The goals of the Pilot Community Organizer Training Institute are to:

- Enhance the capacity of BNC grantees (and potentially other neighborhood development organizations) by providing formal skills training and peer networking opportunities;
- To educate and teach a broad understanding of community development and the role of the community organizer in that process;
- To partner with neighborhood organizations and local intermediary organizations to strengthen the local community development support infrastructure; -
- To increase understanding among local and national funders about the effectiveness of providing formal training and peer networking support to community organizers.
- To "test" the pilot initiative as a medium to introduce a longer-term training and development program for community organizers.

IN WHAT WAY?

Anticipated Outcomes

Short-range outcomes:

Long-range outcomes: To enhance the organizational and programmatic capacity of BNC grantee organization; strengthen the current training capacity of local intermediaries that provide training and support to community organizers; increase the retention rate of community organizers at organizations and in the profession; to establish an effective professional development tool for community organizers and

HOW DOES BNC'S INSTITUTE STRENGTHEN A LOCAL INTERMEDIARY'S TRAINING CAPACITY?

Audience

The primary audience for the pilot initiative of the training institute will be staff ^{from} BNC funded organizations. Other community organizers may also be selected to help test the pilot initiative.

Time

11 sessions have been planned for the pilot program. Each session is expected to be 7.5 hours in length including an hour for lunch and two half-hour breaks.

Of Participants

18 - 20 participants

Schedule and location:

Attached

Electives:

Developed by participants and workgroup committee

Instructors:

Local community development professionals; faculty and staff from academic institutions; seasoned community organizing professionals.

READS LIKE GOALS: NOTHING IS MEASURED

BY "COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT" DO YOU MEAN COMMUNITY BUILDING, OR DO YOU MEAN BRICKS-AND-MORTAR URBAN REVIVAL/REHABILITATION PROJECTS?

only 1/2 the way

1. Organizing 101- Program Overview and Introduction to Community Organizing

Tuesday, November 20, 2001 - 9:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m. 2 East Read St.

Instructors: Members of the workgroup should participate in the first session

Community organizing is a tool used to help communities increase the quality of life of residents by identifying common issues and mobilizing residents around those issues. Change is the most significant outcome in any type of organizing philosophy with processes that involve a variety of approaches and methods. This class will introduce participants to community organizing; its usefulness as a tool to support the revitalization of urban neighborhoods; and its contributions to the social fabric, physical development and political environment in communities by providing a historical perspective and a foundation for community organizing and the elements that are in place to support it.

Goal: To provide participants with a historical overview of community organizing within the context neighborhood revitalization and community development.

Objectives:

1. Provide an orientation to the training; review trainers' goals and expectations
2. Define community organizing using historical context
3. Distinguish community organizing from social delivery, activism and advocacy, and physical development projects
4. Recognize community organizing as a tool, not a goal (ACTUALLY, I THINK IT'S BOTH)
5. Legitimize community organizing as an integral component of community development

NOT SURE IF THESE COMPARISONS ARE NECESSARY

SEE:

I HOLD THAT COMMUNITY ORGANIZING IS A SUB-SET OF ADVOCACY/ACTIVISM

PERHAPS YOU MAY WANT TO CONSIDER COMM. ORG. FROM THAT CONTEXT

Outcomes:

1. Participants understand the history and foundation of community organizing
2. Organizing is viewed as a tool with multiple approaches.
3. Participants have a strategy for effectively integrating various organizing approaches into their community organizing efforts.

Competency:

2. Building Community and Building Leadership: The Role of the Community Organizer

Tuesday, December 4, 2001 - 9:30 a.m. - 4:00 p.m. Location to be announced

Instructors: to be announced (Mel Freeman, Megan Myers - SSW)

The National Community Builders Network defines community building as "an approach to improving conditions, expanding opportunities and sustaining positive change within communities by developing, enhancing and sustaining the relationships and social networks of those who make up the community." Community organizers are catalysts for such a process and can help initiate the community building process by working with a core group of residents who are ready to take the lead. This session will educate participants on core principles of community building and will help them identify and build off the leadership potential of others.

Goal: To educate participants of their role in building community and their role in the leadership development process.

Objective:

1. To define community building and examine community building success stories in Baltimore.
2. To have participants share their experience with building community and the pro's and con's of the process.
3. Examine principles of community building and propose methods for their applicability.
4. Develop a process for community building starting with leadership development.
5. Differentiate between the role of the organizer and the role of the leader in community building. [VERY IMPORTANT!]

Hmm... THIS SHOULD BE INTERESTING

NEED TO START W/ INDIVIDUAL/ COLLECTIVE VISIONING OF WHAT SHOULD A "COMMUNITY" BE, HOW DO MEMBERS INTERACT W/ EACH OTHER

Defends what you mean by comm. development; otherwise, C/O HAS NEVER, IN MY CHINA, BEEN A MAJOR PLAYER IN NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION, SINCE MOST OF THESE DECISIONS COME FROM "TOP-DOWN" [POLITICIANS, ADMINISTRATORS, AND THEN PROFIT-MAKING SUFFRAGERS]; CLASS HAS GENERALLY BEEN REACTIVE AND "NOISY", GAINING SMALL & INFREQUENT CONCESSIONS

NOT SURE WHAT THIS MEANS

Outcomes:

- 1. Participants use community-building principles into their everyday work.
- 2. Strengthened social fabric in neighborhoods that continuously contributes to community building efforts.
- 3. Identified, formal/informal leaders, sustained civic leadership structure in their neighborhood

BLEND?

Competency:

3. Role of Community Organizing in the CDC Context

Tuesday, December 11, 2001 - 9:30 a.m. - 4:00 p.m. Location to be announced

Instructor: Michael Mazepink - Peoples Homesteading Group

Community Development Corporations are nonprofit organizations, contained to a specific geographic area, that create development opportunities for communities that have experienced disinvestments in residential areas within neighborhoods. Are there ways in which CDC's can develop a holistic approach to disinvestments that include community organizing as a strategy? This session will introduce the role of CDC's in communities and offer suggestions for CDC models that include community participation and community organizing as a core strategy in community development.

LIMITED TO?

Goal: To comprehensively review the role of CDC's and the link to community organizing as a neighborhood revitalization tool.

Objective:

- 1. Explore the multiple paradigms of community development and the synthesis of two paradigms: community organizing and physical development.
- 2. Increase participant's understanding of how community organizing fits within the whole community development corporation structure.
- 3. Understand and identify opportunities for expanded role of organizing and enhanced community involvement with participant's own organization.

Outcome

- 1. Knowledge and historical context of community development.
- 2. Established strategy and role for community organizer within the community development corporation.

Competency:

4. What Is Power and How Do We Use It OR Building Power and Working in Power Relationships

Date: To be announced. **Location:** To be announced

Instructors: Dick Cook - University of Maryland School of Social Work; Jean Hyche-Jackson- Coppin State College Social Work Department

Types of power vary and take different forms in community development. There are power dynamics that occur internally at the neighborhood level and the external influences that impact neighborhood change and transformation particularly in low-income communities, and external influences that perpetuate the "powerlessness" of these communities. This session will explore power dynamics in community development and its in community building, organizing, and the role an organizer can have in fostering self-help approaches to give communities and people a sense of their own power.

11/11/01

Goal:

To define and understand power and it's affect in community development and community building.

Objectives:

1. To increase participants understanding of power, including the various ways to define power.
2. To study power as a concept and it's form in community development and community building.
3. Analyze different types of personal power and how people get it.
4. Expand participants' abilities to assess power dynamics in a community and to develop strategies for empowering residents to have a greater voice in decisions that affect them.

Outcomes:

Competency:

NOTES: WHILE I AGREE DIVERSIFICATION MAY ADD TO ONE'S COMMUNITY, I ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT IT BRINGS STRESSORS, STEREOTYPES AND FEARS. I NOTE THE INSTRUCTOR(S) ACTIVELY EXPLORES DIVERSITY'S "FLIP SIDE".

5. Addressing Issues of Diversity in Urban Communities

Date: To be announced. Location: To be announced

Instructors: To be announced (Fusion; Core Concepts - associates; Avis Ransom)

Addressing issues of diversity in neighborhoods where covert or overt tensions related to difference exist is a necessary measure to truly build a community that acknowledges, supports, and encourages participation of all community members. Is there a role for the organizer in dismantling norms and attitudes that impact the appreciation of difference? What is the process and what is the risk? This session will work with participants to reflect and self assess their own diversity lens and their role as organizers in breaking down marginal practices related to race, age, gender, and class difference.

Goal:

Understanding the gap and challenges in building a community that celebrates and acknowledges diversity as an asset and tool in community building.

(RELIGIOUS ; AFFECTIONAL PREFERENCE)

Objectives:

1. Explore the meaning of diversity and come to a common understanding of its meaning. Create a common usage of the word with participants.
2. Self-assessment of the participants diversity lens, awareness of issues and 'isms' and their perspective on overcoming challenges relate to difference neighbors
3. Discuss approaches to breaking down divisive factors and neighborhoods that hinder full participation.
4. Inventory and assess diversity related issues in neighborhoods; the impact of those issues and tensions that perpetuate those issues

Outcomes:

1. Raised consciousness of participants on issues related to diversity and the impact in communities

Competency:

6. The Organizing Process - Part 1: Engaging Residents

Date: To be announced. Location: To be announced

Instructor: Mel Freeman - Belair-Edison Neighborhoods Inc.; Barry Kamentz - CHAI; Betty Robinson - Citizens Planning and Housing Association

Engaging residents in community building initiatives starts with the recognition from community members that there is an issue that needs to be addressed that affects the whole community. How does an organizer learn about the issues of residents? What strategies are employed to get feedback from residents? What methods would an organizer use to motivate members of the community to participate and be involved in activities? Learn from three seasoned organizers the practical, meaningful, creative, and necessary ways to engage residents in community planning efforts.

Goal:

Engaging community residents to participate in community initiatives and have a core role in the community change process.

Objectives:

1. Understanding and using resident's self-interest as a method to pull them into processes.
2. Working with residents to develop a vision as a strategy for change and as a tool to recruit others.
3. Identifying skills needed to build relationships with residents
4. Have a process for developing leadership in a community
5. Learning tips on how to have effective meetings

Outcomes:

1. Energetic and motivated community participation in community planning processes
2. Well informed community members and residents
3. Community planning processes that are influenced by wide community participation and involvement of residents

Competency:

7. The Organizing Process - Part 2: Identifying Issues

Date: To be announced. Location: To be announced

Instructor: To be announced

Identifying and prioritizing issues is a common conflict ^{FR?} that many communities. This conflict can include lack of consensus, the emphasis on broader problems, and the strategy that is used to address those issues. This session will help organizers find the most effective means helping community members identify and address neighborhood issues. _{To help?}

Goal:

To identify community issues using a consensus building approach with residents.

Objectives:

1. To distinguish between needs, problems, and issues
2. Recognize the 3 main criteria of issue identification
3. Identify the barriers to full participation of residents in meetings.
4. Understanding tension between meeting immediate needs and organizing for sustainable community change.

Outcomes:

1. Clear and identifiable community issues
2. A strategy to achieve or win community issues

Competency:

8. The Organizing Process - Part 3: Developing A Strategy and Resolving the Issue

Date: To be announced. Location: To be announced

Instructor: Dick Cook - University of Maryland School of Social Work; Betty Robinson - Citizens Planning and Housing Association

Every issue requires a well-planned, strategic response to bring about resolution. Strategies are components of a larger goal and act as 'steps' in a neighborhood's plan to create change or resolve issues. This session will help organizers focus on their role in developing the strategies to address community issues and the necessary support that they should provide to residents in the planning process.

Goal:

To give community organizers information and approaches to designing a strategy to address community issues.

Objectives:

- 1. To create an action plan to address community issues.
- 2. Explore criteria for selecting strategies and tactics
- 3. Understanding of the role of the organizer in preparing and supporting residents

Outcomes:

- 1. To have an established community change plan and process

Competency:

9. E-Advocacy and E-Democracy: Technology and a Community Organizing and Community Change Tool

Date: To be announced. Location: To be announced

Instructor: Mel Freeman - Belair Edison Neighborhoods Incorporated; (Odette Ramos - Baltimore Neighborhoods Indicators Alliance (?))

Goal:

Objectives:

Outcomes:

Competency:

10. Resource Development for Community Organizing

Date: To be announced. Location: To be announced

Instructors: Dick Cook - University of Maryland School of Social Work; Regina Alston - Citizens Planning and Housing Association

Resource development in grassroots community organizing has various strategies that extend beyond proposal and grant writing. While all methods are useful, there are some strategies that are more practical and less restrictive when it comes to volunteer based organizations that are developing fund-raising plans. This session will give an overview of resource development for community organizations, types of resources and methods for collecting resources that may be useful, and provide strategies for sustaining projects and programs over the long terms.

Handwritten notes:
is to be announced
value of
to be announced
methods of
for organizing
Resource
Citizens

Goal:

To provide information, resources and strategies for grassroots fundraising.

Objectives:

Outcomes:

Competency:

11. Managing Organizing / Managing Change

Date: To be announced. Location: To be announced

Instructor: Kevin Jordan - Bon Secour of MD Foundation; Pamela King - Open Society Institute-Baltimore

Organizations that have a community organizing function fused in its mission and work often neglect to develop strategies and outcomes for their organizing efforts causing some tension in how it is performed and evaluated. Defining an organizing strategy is critical for a board of directors, executive director and organizing staff in order to effectively manage it. What is the vision for community organizing in the organization and what is the best way a board can support the work of the community organizer. This session will highlight effective models of organizing programs in organizations and help board members, directors and organizer learn all they need to know about managing and supervising community organizing programs.

Goal:

To learn best practices and models of organizing programs in an organizations mission

Objectives:

Outcomes:

1. Enhanced inter-organizational relationship impacted by strong community organizing strategy

Comments: Overall, an interesting approach. Holding training sessions on a workday, I think, is asking much from participants, especially if they are employed. I think that their book-learning needs to be peppered w/ real-world assignments. As someone who has direct experience as a community organizer, I believe it is insufficient to make a demand (for instance, w/ a politician) without also providing viable alternatives. This requires becoming familiar w/ the political process, research, policy formulation/analysis, building relationships w/ "players" and their supporters, recognizing "turns", etc. Bonds will consider incorporating the aforementioned

5. Schedule for Fall 2001/ Spring 2001

1. Organizing 101	November 20, 2001
2. Building Community and Leadership	December 4, 2001
3. Role of CO in the CDC Context	December 11, 2001
4. What is Power ...	January __, 2002
5. Addressing Issues of Diversity	January __, 2002
6. The Organizing Process – part 1	February __, 2002
7. The Organizing Process – part 2	February __, 2002
8. The Organizing Process – part 3	March __, 2002
9. E-Advocacy / Technology...	March __, 2002
10. Resource Development for CO	April __, 2002
11. Managing Organizing	April __, 2002
12. Evaluation (participants and presenters)	May __, 2002
13. Work group evaluation	May __, 2002

All sessions are 9:30 a.m. – 4:00 p.m.

BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOOD COLLABORATIVE C. O. TRAINING OUTLINE
SESSION #4: BUILDING POWER AND WORKING IN POWER RELATIONSHIPS

GOAL:

To introduce participants to the idea of power and its use as a tool to accomplish the aims of community organizations.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To assist participants to understand the nature of power.
2. To assist participants to identify the different sources and forms of power.
3. To assist participants to become comfortable with the dynamics of power.
4. To assist participants to work effectively with those who have power.
5. To assist participants to work effectively with those who have little power.
6. To introduce participants to power structure research.
7. To assist participants to figure out the power structure and dynamics in their own neighborhoods.
8. To assist participants to gain skills in building the power of their organizations

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES/COMPETENCIES:

1. Participants will be able to identify some of the characteristics of those who have power and those who do not.
2. Participants will be able to identify several sources of power.
3. Participants will be able to describe ways to work effectively with those who have power and those who do not.
4. Participants will be able to describe the power structure and dynamics in their neighborhood.
5. Participants will be able to develop strategies to build the power of their organizations.

CURRICULUM OUTLINE

9:00 Arrival. Look over the materials. Refreshments.

9:30 Ice Breaker: "I have power because....."

9:50 What is power and where does it come from?

Discussion of the nature of power and the sources of power

10:50 break

11:00 Power structures and power structure analysis

Descriptions of different power structures, and of techniques of power structure research

Case studies of different community power structures

12:00 lunch

12:20 Arrange chairs in 3 equal circles. Arrange chips in 3 equal bags. Set up posters.

12:45 Starpower

2:45 Discussion

The characteristics of power

The role an organizer needs to play in order to bring about change

What concrete things I can do to build power in the neighborhood organization

3:45 Wrap up and evaluation

4:00 Good Power Building!!