1992

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TITLE:
Citizen Empowerment and the Democratic Theory: The Comparison of Two Community Organization Models.

DATE: January 17, 1993
CITIZEN EMPOWERMENT AND THE DEMOCRATIC THEORY:
THE COMPARISON OF TWO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION MODELS

by
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A Graduate Thesis
Presented to the Graduate Committee
of Lehigh University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in Government

Lehigh University
December 1992
This thesis has been reviewed and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts, Department of Government, Lehigh University.

12-10-92

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Abstract

With the grave state of social conditions in American cities today, the act of participation facilitates a citizen's pursuit of change in his life. Community organization is the mode through which effective participation can occur.

The purpose of this thesis is to compare two models of citizen participation that are both based on the democratic theory, yet differ in their empowerment potentials. The federal government's Citizen Action Program (CAP) serves as the first model and Saul Alinsky's approach to community organizing is the other. Prior to the exploration of the two models, the necessity of citizen participation will be explored.

Upon establishing the importance and purpose of citizen participation, the structure of the thesis is as follows. An exploration is made into CAP, the Office of Economic Opportunity's attempt at a "War on Poverty" in the 1960s, with the conclusion that the federal government, reacting to strong political pressures, created ineffective policy due to a flaw in the liberal design. The vulnerability of CAP to political pressures due to funding
controversy was this critical flaw. Then a presentation is made of
Alinsky's organizational model that serves as a guideline for
community participation, with the understanding that the whole
premise of success is based upon actual organizational structures
being created by the people for each specific community. The
organization is based on the results of natural evolution of events,
orchestrated by citizens of the community, not outside elements.

The conclusions of this thesis find that while there are no
theoretical contradictions between CAP and Alinsky's community
organizations, Alinsky's approach facilitates more lasting forms of
citizen participation based on inherent ideologies, rather than
political agendas.
Introduction

The turmoil in America's inner-city neighborhoods can not be eliminated, or even lessened with a sure solution. Instead of providing, or even seeking a solution, more attention is directed at placing the blame on some other party. Experts blame the apathy of the poor and citizens blame the stagnant bureaucracy. Democrats blame the Republicans for cutting funding to the cities and the Republicans blame the Democrats for creating ineffective policies. Little inquiry is conducted within the actual affected populations as to what they see the problems to be. Whether through mere oversight, or a disregard for their ability to judge their own situations, the poor remain without a voice.

Meanwhile, as the seemingly insurmountable problems of drugs, crime, homelessness, illiteracy and disease grow larger, the fortunate few move further into the suburbs. There they attempt to forget those who are left behind in the decaying slums. It takes a riot to briefly remind the populace that there is anything wrong. As soon as the smoke clears and the media move on, so does the
attention of the public at-large. A few politicians may make appearances during election years, but the conditions do not change, except when they get worse.

To date the inner-cities have essentially been abandoned by all except for the impoverished and powerless who cannot get out. The inner-city neighborhoods throughout America used to be the way station to the American Dream. The inner city resident did not intend to stay there forever and worked hard to effect his escape to the suburbs. In these neighborhoods now are the under-represented poor and minorities who have nowhere to turn. They are abandoned there with the broken-down cars and the burned-out buildings that line the streets. If their inner city neighborhood becomes the focus for urban redevelopment and gentrification, they do not benefit from the change; in fact, they are often displaced and become homeless.

Throughout this thesis the term "citizen" will refer specifically to the poor in a neighborhood, town, or city who lack adequate and effective representation, as well as the non-poor who may share the condition of powerlessness and isolation with the lower classes. This use of "citizen" may also be reflected in terms such as "have-nots," "poor," "powerless," and "underprivileged."
One of the goals of this thesis is to endorse an approach to encouraging actual citizen participation in active change. It is my belief that the healing in our cities must begin from within. To make an attempt at solving any of the existing problems without a fundamental base in the communities will not produce the stability and effectiveness necessary for lasting change. It is my contention that in a true democracy this fundamental base can be established through non-governmental, community organizations. The desire to form such community groups is to create a common bond, other than despair, between neighbors. Through its makeup and organization, groups could instill crucial motivation to participate and create an outlet for citizens' previously negative reactions.

The first chapter of this thesis explores the history of the various popular opinions of the poor, from Aristotle to the present and attitudes about citizen participation from which contemporary public policy has evolved. In particular, reasons for governmental response to grass roots organizing at the community level are sought. The "poverty cycle", i.e. the feelings of inadequacy and powerlessness which plunge lower classes further into the state of poverty, is examined.
To combat the "poverty cycle" and override the popular notion of the apathetic poor, the potential benefits of unified action and participation of citizens are introduced. The benefits include increased dignity and self-sufficiency. The call for action by the citizens is in direct defiance of the popular notion of the poor's apathy. The sources identified throughout this thesis disregard this notion of apathy and believe unanimously that with an effective vehicle for their participation, any lingering feelings of apathy will disappear and an atmosphere conducive to positive change is created. Activity in a common community project can also create feelings of worth and usefulness that cannot be found standing in line for welfare.

Within a geographical area, specifically inner-city neighborhoods, exists an inherent ideology that is best articulated by its residents. The needs and desires of the community, no matter how complex or diverse, are best promulgated by the citizens involved. When the bureaucracy has been unable to adequately represent the lower classes who, in a divided state, are unable to change the problems within the bureaucracy, creation of community organizations are a natural reaction. When a community bands
together for the common good, it creates a force with which to be reckoned.

In Chapter Two the first of the models is presented. The experiences of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) through Citizen Action Programs (CAP) are examined. The attempts of CAP were applications of ineffective policies upon communities often under the misleading guise that they encouraged citizen participation. While undertaking a war on poverty, the OEO failed to back the efforts of its programs when controversy arose. A standard form of bureaucracy was created rather than the desired social action needed in the cities. Negative political pressures from local governments due to federal money bypassing the establishment led to the OEO's eventual demise. CAP, as a model for citizen participation, serves as a specific example of the futility of the federal government's role in community organizing.

The concept of community organization was put to the test by the OEO, but it ultimately failed because it lacked the crucial element of ratification by the citizens effected. In theory, organizing a community is based on the residents' plans and efforts, as well as ratification. The measure of effectiveness is gaged by
the changes that may or may not occur in accordance with the
desires of the residents. In order to achieve stability and
effectiveness, there must be some form of mandate by these people.

In Chapter Three the model that incorporates this theory is
presented with the understanding that the premise for success of
these groups is based on the structure's details being formulated by
the people. Using Saul Alinsky's approach to organizing, this model
is drawn from case studies, as well as Alinsky directly. In addition,
various other forms of community organizations are introduced. The
incorporation of as many groups as possible under one umbrella
organization in a community is a fundamental element to the
potential success of the proposed model. Stability is created by
pulling all the organized resources a community has to offer into the
effort. Citizens, a sense of community, and democratic ideals used
together can create an effective climate for change in a previously
stagnant arena. With the two models examined in Chapters Two and
Three, the conclusion is drawn that the first suffers from a fatal
flaw in its liberal design, and that the second, while possibly
limited in its potential empowerment capabilities, is solidly based
on the democratic theory.
Chapter 1
Citizen Participation

THE DENIAL OF EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION - IS A DENIAL OF THE INDIVIDUAL'S OWN WORTH AND A CONFIRMATION OF HIS OWN IMPOTENCY AND SUBSERVIENCE.
Edgar S. Cahn in Citizen Participation

Introduction

The question at hand is why a representative government should accommodate citizens actively involved in public decision making. Our founding fathers advised against it. Hamilton argued that sound administration would win the people's allegiance, making their direct involvement unnecessary. Madison specifically demanded the exclusion of common people. They reasoned that whereas the government was by the people, it was also for the people and therefore it was the leaders' duty to protect the people from their own ignorance and delusions. This philosophy has been the basis of public policy through the years within American
political administration.

Subsequently throughout history, Americans have viewed the plight of the lower classes with one of two attitudes. Sociologist Kenneth Clark (1969) identifies these attitudes as the "Puritan-Horatio Alger Tradition" and the "Good Samaritan-Lady Bountiful Tradition." Drawing from Darwinism and early Puritan traditions, the "Horatio Alger" tradition is the pulling of oneself up by the boot straps. With this concept, poverty is a direct result of the moral fiber and personal characteristics of those affected. If anyone were to intervene with aid or guidance, the natural order of society would be disrupted. The moral strength and motivation of these people will deteriorate as a result. On their own, the disadvantaged are expected to get their lives in such an order as to be in accordance with the standards of surrounding society. The poor souls that remain impoverished and without a voice are meant to be that way; those citizens that manage to get ahead are worthy, and thus a benefit to society.

In a more compassionate contrast, the "Good Samaritan-Lady

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Bountiful" tradition is based on the belief that when a person is
down all that is necessary to remedy the situation is to give a little
charity. According to the critics of this theory, it keeps the poor
quiet and makes the wealthy feel good about themselves. The poor
are then expected to take handouts and reform themselves with a
better existence. In the process of creating a "representative
democracy," the elitist ruling logic of the framers and the
moralistic traditions of reform produced a quagmire of public policy
inaction and misrepresentation of the poor.

Public policy, historically, has created the environment for the
"poverty cycle." When the poor attempt to get out of the state of
poverty on their own, as Horatio Alger suggests, they become
frustrated by their inability to affect the system around them. What
little motivation they once had is lost in the struggle. This leads to
feelings of inadequacy, plunging them deeper into the "poverty
cycle." The system is not responsive to these citizens. The
exhortations: "Stand on your own two feet"; and "become self-
sufficient" ring hollow when an official, by acting unilaterally, in

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effect officially states his lack of trust in the capacity, the instinctive reactions, the intelligence, and the sensitivity of the individual."³ As a result, complete indifference to the long-term aspects of public action is found within the lower classes. The approach to remedying the situation is not the creation of Utopia. Power is still necessary within modern community relations. Some will rule, others will be ruled. The theory of pursuing citizen participation is how to determine and implement policy while taking into account the interests and concerns of the masses.⁴

It is my contention that the cure for poverty is neither individual self-help, nor sporadic acts of charity. True democracy requires unified action by the people involved for the purpose of challenging unequal opportunities and institutional barriers. The traditions stated above are only part of the reason why the poor find it so difficult to incorporate themselves within public policy. Limitations exist within current political systems despite attempts


towards reform. The closed policy-making machinery's inability to accept the potential benefits from participation is due to the fear of damaging the existing relationships of power and decision in the community. The frustrations with a system that does not respond to citizens' needs and concerns engulf the poor with feelings of alienation and despair. This chapter is devoted to the concept of citizen participation as a vehicle to bring the lower classes into the public arena as players. The focus is on the exploration of potential and real benefits to be derived from citizen participation.

"Participation is the means through which dissatisfactions find public expression."⁵ Rights of the citizens to their roles within the political arena cannot be underestimated. Effective participation is the influencing of policy with an effect on the citizens involved.

**The "Fallacy of Monolithic Man"**

The argument for elitist control of public institutions is based on the paternalistic belief that the poor are not qualified to

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make decisions regarding policies that affect them. Public leaders "stand guilty of having structured a situation where the poor may speak only in one capacity - asking for help, acknowledging need, and dependency." With this "fallacy of monolithic man," officials bear the sole responsibility for making the choices, but do not have to bear the burden of experiencing direct consequences. They do not have to live with the end results of their policies. Floyd Hunter (1953) writes of a community where the ruling council of handpicked leaders review the conditions of relief for the needy. Often the findings, such as the need for aid or larger grants, are not acted upon and filed for future reference by subsequent committees. "The community structure is not adequate to express effectively the demands that are real enough, but which reside with the silent members of the community." If the community that was affected played a more integral part in the analysis and execution stages of the process then the problems would not be shelved without resolution. The leaders do not have the necessary attachment or connection to the situation. No one feels ultimately responsible to

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6 Cahn, p. 217.

7 Hunter, p. 243.
act. The silent members must have an effective way to break their silence.

Harry C. Boyte (1990) reports that the majority of existing strategies for citizen participation (via education) are based on moralized politics; pressing citizens to "put aside" their self-interest on behalf of some hypothetical common good. While Neorepublican theorists claim that the notion of citizen is unintelligible apart from that of the commonwealth, in reality the "inflamed moral language cannot engage a citizenry with vast differences in moral traditions; and it is too one-dimensional for a world full of complexity and ambiguity." Contrary to the classic republican theory, where virtuous citizens put aside their interests for the common good, reality calls for ordinary people to reclaim authority for community concerns. The revitalization of public life through citizen politics is a positive approach to sustaining a community. Extensive diversities are found throughout urban America. According to Boyte, rather than assuming that "we are all the same," (which unfairly favors dominant cultural groups), the

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presumption of difference should be understood and accepted. This leads to a recognition of the existing moral ambiguity of politics, an awareness upon which we cannot simply impose our values. Accountability, respect, and recognition of all citizens are principles that should be made prominent. These principles allow people to lessen personal vulnerabilities and concentrate on public skills.\(^9\) With a liberal concept of citizenship the stage is set for a pursuit of effective participation.

For effective participation to be possible it is necessary for a restructuring of forums and institutions where the decisions that effect the people can be influenced by the people. When the issue is not whether the citizens can be trusted to make such decisions, the focus can be how the decision-making process can be structured so as to "increase the likelihood that the decision will be reached in an appropriately deliberative, carefully considered, and rationally chosen fashion"\(^10\) by the citizens effected. Beyond mere political rhetoric, in theory, the formation of a coalition of private and public interests for discourse, whether at school board or town meetings,

\(^9\) Boyte, p. 517.

\(^{10}\) Cahn, p. 213.
could facilitate the transition from protest to actual problem solving by citizens.

Establishing Reasons for Citizen Participation

Robert Bailey, Jr. (1974) has documented reactions of citizens who involved themselves in the political process to the benefit of their community. A sample of the comments gathered after the fact support the thesis that participation instills much needed self-worth.

Several reported that participation had given their life a sense of direction or worthwhileness. When asked what participation meant to her, one divorced woman replied, 'It has made my children proud of me.' Most - feel their participation has stimulated personal change and development.\(^{11}\)

One of the earliest theorists to preach the idea of active citizenship was Aristotle. He defined the role of the active citizen as being composed of exercising practical wisdom in the public interest and rendering decisive judgment about some aspect of

\(^{11}\) Bailey, p. 131.
governance. Benjamin Barber (1984) adds to Aristotle's argument in claiming that the practice of active citizenship is not only an instrument to the achievement of larger aims but also has value in its own right.

Edgar and Jean Cahn outline three fundamental reasons for citizen participation. These reasons are comprised of logic and common sense that can not be shelved as romantic and idealistic notions. Using terms that public policy leaders can understand, the Cahns identify the untapped "resources" within the citizenry and the solutions to many of the problems that have plagued the inner-city neighborhoods which lie within the reach of them.

The first of the reasons, cited by the Cahns, is for the purpose of promoting dignity and self-sufficiency. Effective participation constitutes affirmative activity in pursuit of this purpose. "An exercise of the very initiative, the creativity, the self-reliance, the faith that specific programs such as education, job training, housing and urban renewal, health, consumer education, and others seek to


\[ \text{\underline{\text{\textsuperscript{13}}} Benjamin Barber, Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Ac (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).} \]
instill" is facilitated through participation within the system.\textsuperscript{14} The dignity and self-worth of an individual are more important to his future security than endless handouts. "When a grown man is treated as a child, with respect to those very services being rendered him, he is unlikely to view those services as anything other rituals of humiliation designed either to prove his incapacity to function or to keep him dependent and out of trouble."\textsuperscript{15}

There is an increase in the sense of self-worth in citizens that engage in a productive effort to improve their community. "Community involvement provides most [citizens] with a sense of fulfillment and a justification for their existence which would otherwise be lacking."\textsuperscript{16} If they have the opportunity to see themselves effectively involved within the system, rather than simply voicing the desire to have needs satisfied, they may be able to develop improved practices and make wiser judgments. Positive feelings derived from involvement are very evident in the following remarks made by a community activist from Chicago:

\textsuperscript{14} Cahn, p. 213.

\textsuperscript{15} Cahn, p. 219.

\textsuperscript{16} Bailey, p. 143.
Participation has changed me. It has broadened my vision of life and what can be done when people work together. It has made me more secure personally and more trustful. In general I'd say that the community organization has done more for me than I have for it.\textsuperscript{17}

Secondly, citizen participation, if utilized properly, is a means of mobilizing the limited resources and energies of the poor - of converting the poor from passive consumers of the services of others, into producers of those services. An effective by-product is produced through incorporating the poor into the process of renewal: untapped manpower resources. Instead of bringing in workers to do services, such as cleaning the streets, restoring buildings, and monitoring crime, the citizens of the community should be able to contribute their efforts. Through such participation a transformation can be made to acting in a capacity other than as consumers in addition to taking pride in their community. Subsequent to being included in the process of determining reforms and delegations, communities will be able to facilitate any activity of reform assigned to them.

A priceless source of information also lies within the

perspectives of the people in need. The leaders concerned with fulfilling the needs of the poor historically have not turned to the poor to discover what these needs actually are, with the presumption that the government knows best. "We have paid in the past for failure to take into account this source of corrective knowledge concerning the defects, inequities, and false assumptions on which these [renewal] programs are based." The people must live with the end results of any endeavor made. Therefore it is beneficial not to further ignore the insights of the citizens' experience and knowledge.

In accord with the Cahns, Camilla Stivers (1990) composed a list of four definitive attributes of active citizenship:

1. **Authoritative action.** Citizens engage directly in some aspect of governance, involving the exercise of determinative judgment. The authority of the active citizen is both structural and interactive, both grounded in law and acted out with others. Active citizens are legally empowered to make public decisions and respected because of the wise counsel they provide. Their authority is limited, but with respect to the responsibilities they are assigned, it is decisive.

2. **Consideration of the public interest.** Citizens' authoritative action is

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18 Cahn, p. 220.
animated by concern for the public interest. The term 'the public interest'
connotes consideration of the full range of policy effects; as a
binding (because governmental) norm, it implies the existence of an
objective standard of judgement.

3. Learning. Through the exercise of decisive judgment in the
public interest, citizens learn to judge wisely, and develop aspects
of their beings that can be developed in no other way. They become
political persons.

4. Relationship. In acting together for the public interest, citizens
form a political community, a polis, which is the space or arena
within which participants achieve common aims, handle conflict,
constitute and carry forward shared values, and in doing so, lead a
virtuous life.¹⁹

The potential results cannot be ignored. In a study of
Northeastern cities that had successfully reinvigorated their
economies, researchers have found that the communities within had
developed a shared vision of their futures.²⁰ This shared vision was
the result of recognizing the numerous diversities, along racial,
class, and ethnic lines, within communities today. The realization

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¹⁹ Camilla Stivers, "The Public Agency as a Polis: Active Citizenship in the

²⁰ William Potapchuk, "Citizenry Puts New Meaning to 'Consent of the
was made that no one perspective can command an automatic majority. The basis of a successful community must be built on the collaborative processes of citizen participation. The use of collaboration is no longer just pragmatic politics; it is the result of changing electorates and the fact that the expression of consent has broadened beyond simply casting a ballot. William Potapchuk (1991) argues that the act of collaboration between citizens and their public officials can forge consensus across diverse constituencies on difficult issues. With this process, each sector of the community is able to contribute and work toward a cumulative impact on their vision of the future. The collaborative process democratizes decision making.\footnote{Potapchuk.}

As a result, the lower classes, acting in their capacity as citizens, will be able to adjust and, if necessary, sacrifice present consumption to secure their futures. This can be in the formation of capital and investment. The point is that the very individual who asks for help is quite capable, in the context of a community meeting or group discussion, of saying that resources should not be totally devoted to providing service in crisis situations. Despite any
significant immediate need, the poor will be able to identify when attention should be given to plans for the future. They are capable of insisting that substantial resources be diverted in order to create significant social change. The Cahn's reason that people do not live happily with scarcity, with deprivations, - but they reconcile themselves to those scarcities, those deprivations if they have had a voice in choosing between X and Y, if the scarcity they live with is one of their own choosing. Satisfaction with the resulting policies can be drawn from the belief that one's views were heard in public discourse and respectfully considered by the decision makers. "Involvement gives [the citizens] a greater stake in both the local community and the society at large."23

The procedures and results of union labor negotiations are examples of the theory at work. The basis of the negotiations, the principle of collective bargaining, is also the basis of citizen participation. Union members settle for the end result of contract negotiations, even if it is less than what they wanted, because "they feel they have been fairly and adequately represented in a process

22 Cahn.

23 Bailey, p. 143.
where the terms of the contract are established by bargaining in good faith."24 Good faith is the missing element within public policy as it stands. With effective citizen participation, good faith can be achieved. Greater satisfaction with outcomes is possible because the process legitimatizes diverse perspectives. Cities, like management, when reluctant to compromise because of potential loss of money or power will have to deal with the consequences. With unions this may be through strikes; within the cities the results can be civil unrest, civil disobedience, and riots.

**Overcoming Limitations to Effective Participation**

Existing within most political systems are numerous limitations to effective participation. The institutional and political factors such as embedded class bias within local government, a lack of goal consensus, and unwillingness among elected officials to trust citizen participants serve as considerable hurdles to overcome. In addition, the initial limited interest in participating within community events and ignorance about political structures

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24 Cahn, p. 221-2.
serve to inhibit the public from getting involved. Existing structures designed for participation are often technically inadequate. Socio-cultural barriers make hearings inaccessible and public forums are dominated by unrepresentative interest groups. "The forum of political discussion is characterized as a program of sound bites and bandwagoning, with 'the need for further study' as a response to public concerns being too often used."25 The Kettering Foundation identifies the inability for solutions to come from within the system: "If you legislate a solution, people will just get around it . . . it's more realistic to start with the people, and getting them more involved."26 Jon Martin and Lyn Kathlene (1991) recommend that planners and analysts take a more proactive role in the process, in order to overcome the limitations to citizen participation.

In order for the planners and analysts to assume a more proactive role, it is first necessary for them to shed any hesitancy regarding the citizens assuming more power. Hunter found leaders reluctant to reform because of the fear of damaging existing


26 Sullivan, p. 8.
relations of power and decision-making in the community. These leaders were afraid to have political questions raised without their consent. With the concern being the maintenance of established order, policy-making machinery and lines of communication will remain closed.

Martin and Kathlene present conceptual suggestions to create a more proactive role to induce change generally. They assert that information and decision makers must be made more accessible to the citizens, before the decisions are made. It is important that the citizens be able to develop a critical understanding of the political situation and issues relevant to their own lives. The breadth of issues open for consideration by citizens should be expanded. Finally, a true cross-section must be taken from the community to insure proper representation.

Potapchuk describes a concise plan to facilitate effective participation. He agrees with Martin and Kathlene's model of enhancing information sources and making public policy accessible.

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27 Hunter.

But he develops the theories into further detail, offering the following points:

- develop a common definition of the problem,
- help participants educate each other,
- identify multiple viable options,
- make decisions by consensus,
- share in implementation, and
- share in responsibilities and successes. 29

Directly related to Potapchuk's model are the values and rights of the citizens. These values and rights are essential to proper enactment of civic participation. They include: The right of effective speech, to be wrong, to be different, to influence decisions, to contribute, to consume with dignity, and to maintain a continuing share in this society's burdens and benefits.30 Officials often lose sight of these rights due to the complicated and faceless bureaucracy that entangles public process.

With changes of structural conditions, together citizens and leaders can transform the public policy setting into an authentic polis: a public place in which people with different perspectives

29 Potapchuk, p. 6.

30 Cahn.
join to decide what to do and to act together for the public good. It is not the purpose of this chapter to go further into the intricate details of executing citizen participation. In the subsequent chapters, the attempts of furthering effective participation through two different models, will be explored.
Chapter 2
An Ineffective "War On Poverty"

They want rain without the thunder and lightning, the ocean without the terrible roar.

Reaction to the OEO by James Farmer
Director, Congress of Racial Equality

Introduction

In the search for a viable model to organize a community for participation, the federal government might be considered a reasonable architect. Contrary to this assumption it is the purpose of this chapter to illustrate the ineffectiveness of a program for citizen participation that is created and organized by the federal government. The conditions leading up to a successful community organization are essentially limited by being created and regulated by an already established political institution. The "War on Poverty" created by the Lyndon B. Johnson administration in the mid-sixties is the example to be used. In the review of the planning and implementation processes of this particular program within
Johnson's social agenda, the reasons why it is not within the realm of the federal government to effectively organize will become apparent.

The underlying goal of the "War on Poverty" programs was to empower the poor. Through local agencies, the under-represented were to be given a voice and a mode for change. In the process of attempting to organize and motivate inner-city citizens, the federal government began to threaten established local authority. As a result, political pressures and strong interest groups fought to undermine the social agenda and were eventually successful. Despite its honorable intentions, the federal government, as will be described in greater detail to follow, ultimately gave in to the sentiments of the powerful establishment. A more effective mode of participation (to be discussed in Chapter 3) finds its roots in many of the policies created under the Johnson administration. Yet, it is the force that is behind the implementation that is in question. The ideas within the "War on Poverty" were promising, but the commitment to change suffered under the bureaucratic and political pressures.
The State of Affairs

As the scope of the government's power increased in the twentieth century, so did the citizens' needs for a way to protect themselves against seemingly arbitrary acts of governmental authority. This was especially true for the traditionally underrepresented, poor population. The desire for bureaucratic enfranchisement by a community's poor residents in their local governments came out of the need for influence or, at the very least, input into the public process. Lack of responsiveness by the public officials promoted the attitude that the people who were the issue could better deal with the problems. Through bureaucratic enfranchisement, citizens could influence the manner in which public agencies or program objectives were implemented.

In 1962, a book by Michael Harrington disturbed what had been perceived as a stable social order. In *The Other America* the subject of extensive poverty in America was brought out into the open. Readers were led on a journey through the most impoverished areas of the country, areas which had been historically overlooked by the general populace and neglected by the media. Harrington exposed the
enormous degrees of want and desperation that exist despite national plenty. He attacked the "general assumption that the 'poor are that way because they are afraid to work,' rather, 'the real explanation of why the poor are where they are is that they made the mistake of being born to the wrong parents, in the wrong section of the country, in the wrong industry, or in the wrong racial or ethnic group.'"\(^1\)

Harrington suggested that the dimensions of the problem were so great that the implementation of a Federal government program to combat poverty was the only solution. In addition, the American conscience had to grasp the "invisible subculture of poverty" before any real progress could be made.

In the year before President John F. Kennedy's death, the issue of poverty had earned the attention of high-level bureaucrats in the Council of Economic Advisers, the Department of Labor, as well as the Executive office. Pressures from society were demanding action by the federal government across many subject headings. Expanding class cleavages and the growing civil rights movement were igniting

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the black and white populations, especially in areas of great poverty. A new area of controversy and debate was being raised over the linking of the issue of political discrimination to economic discrimination. The stage was being set for the federal government to take action on behalf of the impoverished members of society. The political atmosphere at the time was highly conducive to such a liberal-minded program.

As a result, plans for a poverty program were in the preliminary stages of development when Lyndon B. Johnson took office. Eager to make an early impact in the area of public policy, Johnson told those involved in the program's planning: "Go ahead. Give it the highest priority. Push ahead full tilt."2

The "War On Poverty"

With this unorthodox executive stamp of approval, the anti-poverty program was begun. Early in his administration, Johnson devoted much energy to make poverty an issue of public concern.

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Within six months his efforts turned what had been largely the concern of a small number of liberal intellectuals and government bureaucrats into "the national disgrace that shattered the complacency of a people who always considered their country a land of equal opportunity for all."³

Johnson's plan for political responsibility began with a shaping of the political consensus beforehand. After elaborate courtship with leaders of relevant interest groups, he confronted Congress in his first State of the Union address to declare an "unconditional war on poverty:"

This program is much more than a beginning. It is a total commitment by this President and this Congress and this nation to pursue victory over the most ancient of mankind's enemies. . . On similar occasions in the past we have often been called upon to wage war against foreign enemies which threaten our freedom today. Now we are asked to declare war on a domestic enemy which threatens the strength of our nation and the welfare of our people. If we now move forward against this enemy - if we can bring to the challenges of peace the same determination and strength which has brought us victory in war - then this day and this Congress will have won a more secure and honorable place in the history of the nation and the enduring gratitude of generations of Americans to come.⁴

³ Kearns, p. 188.

⁴ Kearns, p. 189.
As a result of Johnson's call to arms for the War on Poverty, on August 20, 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act became law.

Johnson was eager to turn the War on Poverty into his version of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. As the new president, Johnson was looking for a program that would both establish the identity of his own administration, beyond Kennedy's legacy and fulfill his desire to leave a mark on history as a great reformer. He saw the plight of the poor as a perfect opportunity. No politician in his or her right mind would rally against such a humanitarian goal as the war against poverty. Unlike the New Deal which targeted vast unemployment and a national emergency among blue- and white-collar workers, it was the desperately poor that Johnson was seeking to aid in his plan for a "Great Society." "They had no voice and no champion," said Johnson and, "whatever the cost, I was determined to represent them. Through me they would have an advocate, and I believe, a new hope."

A prosperous economy was crucial for Johnson's plan. "If


wages and profits increased most Americans would prosper, job opportunities would expand sufficiently to make room for affirmative action for blacks without threatening the whites, and higher federal revenues would finance Great Society programs without additional taxes." The War on Poverty was meant to be for those who could not help themselves without any guidance. It was to offer a hand up through a vast range of programs covering areas like aid to education, child health and nutrition, adult literacy, and job training. Johnson carefully selected Sargent Shriver, the successful founder of the Peace Corps, to head the newly founded Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

**Community Action Programs**

The portion of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 that addressed "citizen participation" and "community action" specifically is only part of the legislation, but it is the area to be concentrated on for the purpose of this paper. At the time, the

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community action concept did not raise much concern in the 
Congressional hearings due to the fact that no one was sure what it 
entailed.\(^8\) It did not appear to be a source of any great controversy. 
The conclusion that it was mainly a device for coordinating 
government services was widely interpreted from section 202(a) of 
the legislation:

> The term "community action program" means a program. . . (1) 
> which mobilizes and utilizes resources, public and private, of 
> any urban and rural . . . geographical area. . . in an attack on 
> poverty; (2) which provides services, assistance, and other 
> activities of sufficient scope and size to give promise of 
> progress toward eliminating poverty or [the] causes of poverty 
> through developing employment opportunities, improving 
> human performance, motivation, and productivity, or bettering 
> the condition under which people live and work; (3) which is 
> developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum 
> feasible participation of residents of the areas and members 
> of the groups served; (4) which is conducted, administered, or 
> coordinated by a public or private non-profit agency. . . \(^9\)

After reading the above section significant features can be 
identified. John Donovan (1980) translates the legal language as 
follows: "Community was fervently anti-establishment; schools, 
employment services, welfare agencies, city hall were all part of an

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\(^8\) Donovan, p. 40.

'establishment' or 'system' which served the 'disadvantaged' (another key concept) by referring them from one 'helping service' to another without ever really understanding or challenging 'the culture of poverty' and with no real ability to move families and individuals out of poverty."\(^{10}\)

The OEO was filled with idealists who saw the Community Action Program (CAP) as the chance for much needed radical change. Innocently enough, CAP started as an invitation to local communities to form or revive community action agencies (CAA). "CAAs were charged with mobilizing local resources for a comprehensive attack on poverty, an attack that was to have three objectives to provide new services to the poor; to coordinate all federal, state, and local programs dealing with the poor; and to promote institutional change in the interests of the poor."\(^{11}\) The CAP gave every indication of being a very promising domestic program. Section 202(a) of the Act provided "an opportunity for the American [poor] to transform his image of himself by using federal funds and federal standards to

\(^{10}\) Donovan, p. 41.

demand that city hall and its bureaucracies provide services for him and his family equal to those normally available for white middle-class America."\textsuperscript{12}

The third condition in the 202(a) section of the legislation for CAP was specifically to combat the inevitable resistance by local governments in "promoting institutional change." The "maximum feasible participation" concept had three major strategies:

First, poor people might be directly represented on the governing boards of the local CAAs, where they could plan and oversee programs. Second, the poor might be employed as "subprofessional" to help carry out programs in schools, hospitals, and welfare agencies, acting as a bridge between institutions and clients. And third, CAAs might hire workers to organize the poor into groups capable - "of pressing their needs upon the political officials and the bureaucracies of the community."\textsuperscript{13}

These strategies went beyond the planning stages and became procedure. Local community action administrators were given guidelines to follow in order to implement this level of participation. They were told "to assist the poor in developing autonomous and self-managed organizations which are competent to

\textsuperscript{12} Donovan, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{13} Matusow, p. 245.
exert political influence on behalf of their own self-interest."

Planning, policy-making, as well as operation were all to incorporate the poor into local action. They were to be a part of the advisory organizations as elected representatives of the poor. Through such plans, the federal government was facilitating and financing the political organization of the poor into a viable pressure group.

CAAs were to serve as a liaison between the federal government and local communities. The federal funds for the program went directly to the new community groups, without involving the state or local governments. Because of their own source of funding, these groups, in theory, did not have to be held accountable to local authorities. They were not obligated to local political purse strings. "Of all the community action funds spent by the OEO by 1968, only 25 percent were given to public agencies at all, the remainder going to private organizations." How the OEO spent the money was not so much the issue as who got to spend the


money. Local authorities would have rather received the money, retained their power, and delegated business as usual. The fact that federal funds were given to "exert pressure on local bureaucracies, to encourage them to innovate and challenge them to create new institutions"\textsuperscript{16} also was not very popular.

\begin{quote}
Protests of the Establishment

While some saw the increasing participation of the poor as the beginning of much needed change, many more cried out against such organizing efforts. Those who protested reasoned that the programs would encourage attacks on established local institutions: city hall, school boards, welfare agencies, and other governing offices. The radical possibilities of community action did not become apparent to members of Congress and local government officials until after the anti-poverty legislation was passed. Contradictions rose out of the desire to have CAPs seek reform from the same political system with which it was trying to cooperate. "Naively, the planners hoped for a creative synthesis in which the institutions would respond
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{16} Donovan, p. 41.
positively to protest, and the protesting poor would accept the necessity of compromise."\(^{17}\)

With control of the purse strings and the legal requirement for maximum feasible participation the OEO had two distinct advantages in its pursuit of progress despite contrary sentiments from local officials. Still, the opposition to the OEO programs was persistent and the hostility was growing. The fact that federal monies were bypassing local institutions to fund the very organizations that were undermining the established authority was a source of much controversy. "If new representatives arise among the non-white urban poor, they will surely undermine the power of the men now entrenched in city hall, whose power, especially since the nineteen-thirties, has depended in no small measure on control of the 'welfare industry' and the millions of federal dollars that flow through city hall en route to the poor."\(^{18}\) In general, the local governments would prefer to encourage the trend of federal anti-poverty money flowing into their cities while discouraging any further federal intervention.

In June 1965, the United States Conference of Mayors reacted

\(^{17}\) Matusow, p. 245.

\(^{18}\) Donovan, p. 45.
to the obvious threat to their power. The mayors wanted a "non-political" definition of maximum feasible participation. The original OEO definition posed too great a lien on their power. "It cannot be ignored that stimulating new flow channels for the demands of the poor and minority groups is fraught with danger for any mayor."19 They issued a referendum as to what they interpreted maximum feasible participation to be: "... Now THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Administration be urged to assure that any policy... assure the continuing control of local expenditures relative to this program be fiscally responsible to local officials."20 The consensus of the mayors was dissatisfaction with CAP's intentions to change institutions as a way of improving services. They claimed that the poverty program was handing public administration powers to people who do not understand the problems and operations of local governments. The ultimate authority should remain with the local governing bodies, not with unskilled radicals. Chaos was the


predicted result if the federal government did not listen to the mayors.

In response, Sargent Shriver told a Congressional committee that the OEO's purpose was to "encourage at the local level the basic democratic processes which have made this country great. . . and that includes arguments, disputes, dissension, and what I like to call 'community action'. . . When we see disputes at the local level, then we think we are getting exactly what Congress asked us to encourage."21 It was still early in the game for Shriver and the OEO, so they maintained the party line as long as they were permitted.

The OEO produced its *Community Action Program Guide* and *Workbook* as a guideline to prevent the local political institutions from further interpreting what they thought the OEO wanted. The program was completely spelled out for the communities to follow. Instead of using the mayors' version for participation of the people, the *Guide* explicitly called for the inclusion of three groups on CAAs boards - public and private institutions dealing with the poor; community elements like churches, unions, and ethnic groups; and

poor people themselves.\footnote{OEO, \textit{Community Action Program Guide} (Feb. 1965), p. 17.} It stressed the importance of empowering the poor so that they could bring about changes in the system. Community organizing was proposed in the \textit{Workbook} to empower the poor through the use of trained workers to help the poor form autonomous and self-managed organizations which are competent to exert political influence on behalf of their own self-interest. For many of the same reasons supporting citizen participation (listed in Chapter One), these community organizations were the newest weapon in the War on Poverty.

The opposition from the coalition of mayors persisted. Even Democratic mayors were attacking the Administration. Again they demanded local CAPs be controlled by local authorities and that the federal government should not be instigating a "class struggle."\footnote{Matusow, p. 250.} The mayors bypassed Shriver and directed their grievances through Vice President Hubert Humphrey.\footnote{Donovan, p. 57.} He was told that the OEO seemed to be operating on the theory that existing institutions were not the most effective means of promoting change for the poor. They
charged the OEO with "'undermining the integrity of local government' by organizing the poor into militant, politically active groups."25 The local governments were not going to allow these circumstances to continue. They demanded that "the sovereign part of each locality... should have the power of approval over the makeup of the planning group, over the structure of the planning group, over the plan."26

Advisors to the President came to a concurring conclusion. Specifically, it was determined that "the OEO had got off on the wrong foot by 'organizing the poor politically' and arousing fears among the mayors that it was 'setting up competing political organizations in their own backyards.' The OEO should be told to 'soft pedal its conflicts with local officials over heavy representation of the poor on the poverty planning boards.' 27 As a political bureaucrat, President Johnson did not foresee the potential impact and controversy that would arise out of the legislation.

25 Donovan, p. 55.

26 Donovan, p. 55.

27 Memo to President, September 18, 1965, (OEO File) Bill Moyer's office, quoted in Matusow, p. 250.
Johnson, who had at first thrown all his political weight behind this program, but now was suffering in public opinion polls because of the "conflict" in Vietnam, agreed with his advisers. The power of the OEO never would recover from losing the favor of the President.

Conclusion

The important aspect of the OEO affair to recognize is the fact that the poor never fully played the influential role that was intended for them. This can be attributed to the eternally unequal political machines involved and the stubborn reluctance of local institutions to comply.

Having the poor represented on the CAA boards had given the appearance of an advantage for the poor populace. Gradually, the "sense that [the poor had] been victorious on the wrong battlefield, or at least on a relatively non-strategic one" was becoming apparent.28 Two factors contributed to this sentiment. One was the

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28 Donovan, p. 44.
fact that the poor were not taken very seriously on CAA boards.  
"The voice of the poor on the boards was typically drowned out by the articulate professionals and politicians while real power belonged mainly to executive committees, which contained poor people." The second factor was that the few poor that managed to be members of CAA boards were put there because they were considered to be not as threatening to the status quo.  Lillian Rubin (1969) characterizes "threatening" participants as "hard core" and who might pursue institutional changes too fervently. The representatives of the poor on the board tended to be of an "upwardly mobile" status. As a result they tended to have personal plans for advancement and little concern for the poor communities from which they originated. Their concentration on self-centered motives, rather than community-centered motives, defeated the very reason for their presence on the boards.


30 Matusow, p. 251.

In Philadelphia, Mayor James Tate was forced by the OEO to reorganize his CAA, which had become a source of political patronage, to properly incorporate representatives of the poor on the board. Instead, Tate appointed a powerful and wealthy black named Samuel L. Evans as vice-chairman to the board. Evans actions on the CAA board were dedicated to the purpose of excluding the poor and any influence they might have had.

There was no community organizing, either to bring the disaffiliated in touch with service programs or to mobilize the poor for political action. Institutional reform attributable to community action in Philadelphia was nonexistent. In the spring of 1967 an OEO investigation found that Evans had discredited community action with every responsible agency and group in the city and has hurt OEO's image nationally.32 Funds were eventually suspended to CAP in Philadelphia, as a result.

The designs of the anti-poverty programs for citizen participation, like CAPs and CAAs, were considered by critics as the most remitting forms and, as a result, not very effective ones. The programs were determined to be "the most easily controlled and symbolically satisfying methods of 'participation' available."33 Most programs did not empower the poor, instead merely provided

32 Matusow, p. 257.

33 Judd, p. 321.
traditional services through established institutions. Within only three of the twenty cities studied by the OEO did the CAAs actually mobilize the poor for political action. 34 As should have been expected, the abated forms of participation began to succumb to political pressures generated by local governments, rendering them even more ineffective.

Political pressures retarded any chances of CAP being successful. The plan, in the beginning, was to fund a select number of communities in the pursuit against poverty. It was thought that focusing funding on key areas bettered the chances of success. The desire to exert maximum impact by concentrating the available money in specific areas was overridden by the OEO's need to consolidate congressional support. The spreading of money around to additional districts was done to gain the additional needed support from the areas' representatives. The "spreading" pushed the original proposed number of community projects from 650 in the first year to 1,100 by 1967.35 Any impact, as a result, would be minimal because the concentration of funds was watered-down by the

34 Matusow, p. 267.

35 Judd, p. 319.
creation of all the new projects.

The people of power in the political system, those that represented interests in maintaining existing political structures, i.e. middle-to-upper class voters, business leaders, and career politicians, managed to exert considerable influence within the federal government. This powerful part of the population had no motivation or reason to risk everything in pursuit of equal representation for the poor. Public and private bureaucracies were primarily interested in maintaining control of funds and programs. There was a general resistance toward the concept of mobilizing the poor, to say the least. It was seen as a waste of time, effort, and money.

An example of community action falling to the mercy of local elites is the fate of CAP in Atlanta, Georgia:

The white businessmen who ruled the city were quite willing to tolerate community action, provided it did not rile the placid waters of civic life. To make sure that it did not, Boisfeuillet “Bo” Jones was made chairman of Economic Opportunity, Atlanta. - His board contained no poor people; an advisory committee recruited from the target neighborhoods had no function; and the community organizers attached to the neighborhood service centers were diverted from organizing to rendering short-term services for individual poor
When Atlanta was reviewed by the OEO it was found to “have developed into a large, cumbersome bureaucracy whose major achievement to date appears to have been the attraction of federal money into the city.” Despite such blatant misrepresentation of CAP’s purpose, funding to Atlanta was not cut off.

As the opposition grew against the OEO, the resulting alterations further limited its power. One of the more crucial blows came to the agency when Congress passed a resolution that gave the option to local governments to take over and operate CAAs whenever they saw fit. This resulted in the CAAs serving as mere dispensers of services, just like all the other social service agencies before them. No longer could they consider the element of change as a plan or possibility. Now they only served and thus did not threaten local authority. The complete change in the purpose for the OEO was made very clear when its former opposition, the coalition of mayors, issued a favorable review. It praised the OEO as

36 Matusow, p. 255.

37 Matusow, p. 255.

a "positive force in lessening social tensions." In other words, the OEO was to be congratulated for falling in with the status quo.

The OEO was eventually abolished (in 1974) after being gradually stripped of what little power it retained. What had initially been created as the President's pet project was all but ignored in the end by Johnson. His attentions were concentrated on the crisis in Vietnam. Johnson, also, was wary of any more controversy (i.e., riots) that might be created by the OEO. The purpose of the War on Poverty was to serve as a safe domestic policy in that it was to reflect well upon the President. Instead, as criticisms from local and state governments grew to frantic levels, the negative effects on the Johnson's image and standing with the public greatly outweighed any real benefits that were yet to be seen.

Kenneth Clark (1969) sums up the reasons for all the failures of the OEO in one statement. "The paradox of the community action programs is this: the programs need, and have received, support from the government, i.e. established order; yet their very effectiveness depends on challenging the same order and transforming society itself." Clark, p. 159. A national program which uses
federal funds in challenging the established order and in transforming society ranks renders itself ineffective.

Clark writes of the failures of the OEO from first hand experience. Clark designed and implemented a delinquency program in Harlem, Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU), that was dedicated to "not only - more youth services, but for neighborhood boards that would empower the poor to deal with their own problems and press for institutional change."40 Local political pressures took over the organization from Clark in order to serve their own purposes. The results were extensive mismanagement of funds and ineffective policy which eventually led to $20 Million disappearing "without a trace" and the furthering of social unrest in Harlem.41

Using the War on Poverty as the example; what started out as a concerted mechanism for change, resulted in just another social service agency, after political pressures drastically altered its course. The OEO was a "charade, an exhilarating intellectual game whose players never understood the nature of power and the

40 Matusow, p. 257.

41 Matusow, p. 258-60.
reluctance of those who have it to share it."42 Judd identifies the problem as a typical one of bureaucracy. "The [anti-poverty] legislation was drafted entirely by bureaucrats within the executive branch. Representatives of poverty communities were absent from the hearings in Congress, and during implementation of the program they were excluded from contributing an important voice in the national anti-poverty effort."43

The OEO struck upon an effective source of change through its proposition for community organizations. The creation of an "autonomous and self-managed organization which is competent to exert political influence on behalf of their own self-interest" is the mode to pursue for meaningful citizen participation. But such a mode will always be subject to lethal political pressures when it is created by the government.

As soon as citizen participation began to create a voice for the poor in Syracuse, New York, the OEO opted to pull the funding. "Organizers were forming tenant unions in public housing projects, spending public money to bail out protesting welfare mothers, and

42 Clark, preface, vi.

43 Judd, p. 319.
conducting a voters-registration drive whose purpose could only be to defeat Republican Mayor William Walsh in the city's upcoming election." Shriver retreated from the controversy raised by Walsh and other mayors by canceling the program in Syracuse. The liberal flaw of CAP makes the creation of community organization under the federal government futile.

The conclusion to not involve the federal government in the process of community organizing is not made with the purpose of excusing it from responsibility within these communities. There still remain areas of extensive neglect that are well within the federal government's capacity to act upon, such as reforms in the education system and escalation of the war on drugs. In addition, the government should be expected to work with a community organization once it has become established on its own, as described in the following chapter.

44 Matusow, p. 248.
Chapter 3
Community Organizations

There is nothing in our past or present experience which suggests that we outsiders can effectively organize . . . a community to which we do not now and have never belonged. And should a time ever come when it is possible to effect such an organization, then the character of American life will have so radically changed as to have ceased to be American. In a large measure it will have become totalitarian.

To be sure, we have established and we can continue to establish in the underprivileged community . . . We can also establish these agencies in haphazard and competitive fashion, as we have often done in the past, or we can plan for their effective utilization with as much intelligence as possible through some sort of procedure or co-ordination as we have done on occasions more recently. But, whether the agencies are established or not established, and whether they compete with each other or are co-ordinated, the fact remains that the community is not being really organized either by us or by the people living within its confines. Essentially what we are doing is to decide what is good for the underprivileged area without any real participation by, or even sustained consultation with, the people of that area; we are trying to do something to rather than with it. In the last analysis, our approach is fundamentally authoritarian, fundamentally undemocratic.

Introduction

The previous chapter gave an example of an attempt by the federal government to induce a form of citizen participation. Out of the failed attempts by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to combat poverty rose a practical mode of change. The concept of community organization, while not a new idea, was put to the test by the OEO in cities across America. For the reasons stated in the previous chapter Community Action Programs (CAP) were not very successful. The purpose of this chapter is to explore, as an alternative, the concept of citizen participation through community organizations that are generated from the non-public sector. The distinction will be made between an organization created within a community and one generated through a bureaucracy. Tom Hayden (1988) equates the difference between the two as being like "the difference between a supportive community and a bureaucracy, between participatory democracy and administrative management,
between power for poor people and services for poor clients." ¹

Upon making this distinction, various forms of community organizations will be explored briefly in order to introduce the final model as the most effective. The process of this model, Saul Alinsky's creation, will be thoroughly described.

A Need for Specialization

It has been established that when people are effectively cut off from conventional participation within a community a feeling of powerlessness is created. Participation in politics at the community level is strongly influenced by a citizen's attitudes towards the local community. The notion that local governments do not care about the inherent concerns of ghetto life creates the desire for local control. Concerns like high crime, poor schools, and unhealthy living conditions are potential reasons for taking matters into one's own hands. "Presumably the arrangement and intensity of

a person's political attitudes help structure his political behavior." ²

In pursuit of effectiveness, the desire for local control is coupled with a basic belief in the democratic system. There must be some form of confidence in the capacity of the government to bring about desirable change. If a citizen has no reason to believe that the system can positively effect his or her life, there is less reason to participate. This lack of confidence may be compounded by the fact that low-income people have little to offer in the form of material inducements and social location, thereby, in their eyes, cutting them off from existing political systems.

Disaffection with the government is a rational response to severe environmental deprivations. However, it is this disaffection that can be used to benefit the situation. Frances Piven (1966) wrote; "Strategies to obtain participation of residents must overcome the general lack of resources in low-income communities: scarce knowledge, apathetic beliefs, and few inducements by which to hold leadership or build organizations." ³ From disaffection a

² Bailey, p. 37.

citizen can draw the desire and motivation to bring about change.

Embodiment of citizen participation is found to be most successful through a movement of progressive organization. This movement's success is based on the extent to which it challenges the existing arrangement of social, political, and economic order. Challenges and solutions are drawn from the particular concerns of each community so as not to be accused of being the same old ineffective social movement. The methodology that "one size fits all" for social policies is inaccurate and ineffective. "Traditions of local autonomy that shape the consciousness of people are the sources of democratic change and need only be freed, enhanced, and supported, not transformed." 4 Community organizations are or should be based on the goals of the local citizens. It is this element of specialization that focuses a group and often brings about success.

George Rude (1980) identifies the importance of specialization for effective intervention into a community. Rude refers to the

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"inherent" ideology as being "based on direct experience, oral tradition, or folk-memory and not learned by listening to sermons or speeches" and may, in fact, be identified with "the culture of people at large." The ideology is drawn from the lower classes' sense of rights and traditions. Ideology in this case is defined as the "articulated set of ideals, ends, and purposes which help the members of [a] system interpret the past, explain the present, and offer a vision of the future." Rude reasons that when faced with challenges, exploited groups will organize and rise up in defense of what they identify as their inherited rights and ideologies. Regardless of how blighted or depressed a community may be, there still is an inherent ideology that that will eventually be awakened, usually when a crisis arises. "Unless a derived ideology is at work somewhere in the mix of beliefs that forms a consciousness of vulnerable classes, popular organizations will not move beyond existing social and political parameters." Working with community


7 Fisher, p.74.
organizations, citizens can move beyond being on the defense to progressive pursuits.

**Purposes for Community Organizations**

A progressive strategy exists within the models for community organizations. Turning existing feelings of powerlessness into citizen action is the ultimate goal for these organizations. The groups "may be viewed as a formal voluntary association established to obtain political and social goals by mobilizing a constituency from among people sharing a physical community and presumed to share common interests."[^8] It is through an organization that the pooled efforts of concerned individuals should originate. An independent effort by "suppressed" persons may not develop sufficient political response, and thus deepen the feeling of powerlessness. The influence of individuals is mediated and empowered by organizations.

Community organizations are to serve as a sounding board for residents who are unwilling or unable to go through established

[^8]: Bailey, p. 43.
political channels. This function includes the compilation of the issues at hand. Problems within a community do not have to be brought to the attention of its residents. They are all too aware of existing conditions, good and bad. Residents may differ, though on the sources of their problems, whether they be slumlords, hustlers, drug dealers, petty bureaucrats and/or politicians. However, one of the purposes of a community organization is to formulate the issues and place these problems within a larger framework of meaning. In summarizing the redefinition of concerns in Chicago's Woodlawn Organization, John Fish wrote:

Most people - have an "interest" in slum housing, poverty, unemployment, poor schools, inadequate medical facilities in the sense that they are affected by these social problems and have an attitude toward them. But these problems are not issues until the interests are lifted up by a group which interprets them, places them in a more comprehensive framework, furnishes them with tactics in order that they might be pursued to a successful outcome, and hence, presses them onto the public agenda. Community organization is in a sense, an attempt to convert interests into politically relevant issues.\(^9\)

After specification of the community's needs, the organization must articulate them. This would involve the processing of demands

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within their local political system through protest.

Drawn from the desire for local control, the primary concern for the citizens is the readjustment of power relations, at least to the extent that citizen involvement in decision making becomes more democratic and effective. A source of power and a formalized mechanism for communicating needs to decision-makers is created through community organizations. Three basic objectives were listed in Piven's study of early citizen participation models. They are as follows:

1. Fostering the participation of low-income people in a variety of local associations.
2. Enhancing the effective influence of low-income people on the policies and practices of institutions that serve the low-income community.
3. Establishing the conditions for effective individual and family life by altering the social context of individual behavior.\(^\text{10}\)

The context in which these goals take shape depends on the type of community organization involved. From the non-governmental sector, a variety of organizational forms have evolved for the purpose of citizen participation. Within this chapter, the seven basic kinds of organizations will be reviewed. "The formal structure

\(^{10}\) Piven, p. 116.
of an organization represents the considered intentions of its creators to develop a system of rules defining the tasks to be performed, the decision-making process, the lines of communication and control, and the rights and responsibilities of the participants."

11 For the purpose of effective participation that covers a community and all its diversities, one form in particular stands out above the others; the Alinsky model. This is not to detract from the importance of the other models, for each has a crucial role in its own right. Depending on the nature of the goal, one organization may be better suited than the other. The basis of the Alinsky approach is the incorporation of as many other organizations within the community as possible in order to gain a diversity of inputs and energies.

Types of Community Organizations

Long before citizen action programs made their debut on the public agenda, civic improvement associations were in existence.

This form of community organization pursues a multitude of goals. Common examples of such associations are historical preservation societies. Within these societies there is generally greater concern for rehabilitation of landmarks than there is for peoples' lives. They rarely involve protest and are privately funded. Agendas are based on long-term plans and exist for many years. In general, the associations are composed of middle-to-upper class citizens who wish to give something back to their community. While they rarely serve any great political purpose, civic improvement associations do benefit their societies through participation. It is not characteristic of these organizations to delve into the social issues, like unemployment and poverty.

The creation of ad hoc organizations is often in response to specific social problems. These groups are characterized by a "temporary convergence on a common policy of different leaders drawn from a number of different centers of influence." 12 Coalitions of this type are not long term commitments and are most effective when their goals can be reached in a short period of time. As soon

as the issue at hand is resolved, the group often disbands. One view as to the reason for their short term existence is that the coalitions "usually lack the formalization needed to sustain a group over a long time interval."\textsuperscript{13}

Ad hoc groups are similar to some grass roots movements with their informal structure and temporary status. Robert Dahl (1961) reasoned from his study of New Haven that participants in this style of organization "become active politically not from a sense of duty nor out of sustained interest in politics, but because primary goals at the focus of their lives were endangered and political action was thought to be the only way to ward off danger."\textsuperscript{14} Dahl also claims that such groups are incapable of gaining crucial access to key public officials or "providing centralized deliberate coordination over a wide range of city activities."\textsuperscript{15} Considering these shortcomings, combined with the difficulty of obtaining necessary funds and information, ad hoc groups are often limited in effectiveness.

\textsuperscript{13} Bailey, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{14} Dahl, p. 197.

\textsuperscript{15} Dahl, p. 199.
Another form of community action is through the local chapters of national organizations. These organizations are found to be effective, but limited in range due to their commitment to coordinate a community around a single issue. There is no regular staff on duty at all times for the local chapters. They are organized on a long-term basis to confront issues like welfare or housing and have private sources of funding via membership dues. In the case of the National Tenants Organization, the local chapters act on behalf of low-income tenants. Its purpose is the organizing of tenants that desire greater control over housing concerns like maintenance, operating rules, and selection of new tenants. The type of community organization has no ambition to go beyond its set limitations. Its fundamental goal is to concentrate on its defined single function.

With racially based organizations, while they effectively promote citizen participation, the purpose of the coalition is difficult to judge, especially in comparison to a group based on locality. Yet, "some racial or civil rights organizations differ from

community organizations only in so far as a residential area is not the primary basis for organizing."17 Afro-American organizations, in addition to crossing neighborhoods, cross socio-economic status. Because Afro-Americans are members of a long-suppressed minority, attitudes of dissatisfaction, distrust, and powerlessness are characteristic of them regardless of their socioeconomic status and subsequent patterns of political participation.

Despite any greater justification, critics find race to be an essentially divisive base on which to build a community organization. Robert Bailey, Jr. (1974) reports that "the identification of the movement for community control with black power delegitimizes that movement among white people, rather than providing a common bond for equally powerless black and white communities." 18 Conflict as a result of racially-based organizations can detract from any greater goals to be achieved. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is a very successful and respected example of a racially-based organization. Although technically the NAACP is based on a legal

17 Bailey, p. 47.

orientation, when held in comparison with the other organizations at the community level, it would roughly fall under the category of a national organization because it works through local chapters. The argument must be made, in response to Bailey's opinion, that when a community cannot function with the existence of any peaceful form of organization based on race, there is little hope for it to come together to heal any other social ills.

Storefront organizations are the coalition of civic-minded people that come into a community to give aid. They are "creatively organized - as an agency of defense for the impoverished individual who is daily victimized by traditional community agencies." 19 This form of organization has a paid full time staff with a private source of funding (often from churches). After the establishment of the organization, the people of the community are expected to come there for assistance. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) used the storefront model in their attempt at organizing the lower classes.

The Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) was formed

by the SDS as their interpretation of a community organization. While the project was abandoned long ago, it is a useful example of storefront organizations and their shortcomings. The national organization of SDS sponsored a number of community projects at the local level for the assistance of the poor and to further the SDS ideology. Their "goals were to develop community control and economic reforms among whites in northern cities, linking these efforts to the black southern civil rights movement." 20 An integrated grass roots movement of the poor would be the end result. A vision of economic justice was the inspiration to build a sense of trust and support so that the ERAP could help the underprivileged overcome poverty and political voicelessness.

SDS viewed their first step as establishing a presence in the community and gaining acceptance. This proved to be a very long and slow process with the methods employed by the ERAP. A storefront operation was to serve as a place where citizens of the community would feel comfortable and where they could bring their concerns and problems. Staffing these storefronts were students. This

created the first of this model's flaws. An impossible task was created; "full-time off-campus work could not be undertaken by people who were students and whose home was campus." 21 The ERAP also failed to gain any power for the communities they were trying to help. "ERAP's difficulty lay with the phenomenon of self-blame in our culture, which organizers began to understand; the resistance to thinking politically was monumental." 22 As the size and difficulty of the tasks that they had laid in front of them began to become more apparent, the SDS succumbed to their own limitations and cancelled ERAP.

The Alinsky Model

The limitations of the above-mentioned organizational structures can be minimized and their benefits can be incorporated under the umbrella organization in the Alinsky model. To properly introduce this approach, it is necessary to briefly introduce its founder and two model examples of his organization. Saul Alinsky

21 Breiner, p. 127.

22 Breiner, p. 148.
(1909 - 1972) was the father of modern community organizing. Long before "maximum feasible participation" was penned, Alinsky was attempting to organize the poor into a political force. His method, often labeled as the "backyard revolution," was based on the community as the locus of organizing. In accordance with the ideal characteristics of citizen participation, Alinsky created the process with tactical emphasis on community values and traditions. "Only community organization grounded in people's traditions," Alinsky thought, was "truly representative of the people and truly in keeping with the spirit of democracy." An actual democracy included the incorporation of all facets of a community's structure:

A People's Organization actually is built upon all of the diverse loyalties - to the church, to labor union, to the social groups, to the nationality groups, to the myriad other groups and institutions which compromise the constellation of the American way of life. These loyalties combine to effect an abiding faith in, and a profound loyalty to, the democratic way of life. 23

The supplying of power and dignity to a community encourages them to argue on their own behalf and conduct their own organizations.

Two such organizations, both based in the Chicago area, are the

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Woodlawn Organization (TWO) and the Organization for a Better Austin (OBA). Woodlawn and Austin were both depressed inner-city neighborhoods in desperate need of reform. TWO was formed in protest against the University of Chicago's expansion plans which threatened to displace citizens that had no where else to go. OBA was created out of a general desire for change in their community. TWO eventually expanded its agenda to include issues of change in other social capacities, as well. Despite the similarities between the two organizations, the reason they are both used is because of their slightly different social compositions. Woodlawn is predominantly lower-class minorities, while Austin has a population of middle class whites integrated into the typical slum community. The two make for an interesting sampling of successful community organization and will serve as model examples of the Alinsky approach. Throughout the chapter references will be made back to one or both of the organizations.

The formation of Alinsky organizations are started by paid organizers. These organizers never enter a community without being invited. In the case of Woodlawn, a coalition of church officials called for assistance from Alinsky. The extending of an invitation
guarantees the organization an instant contact within the
community, as well as a source of funding (For TWO the funding
initially came from the churches.). Once there, the organizer
pursues the organization of the community's residents against any
economic or social problems. This may be compared to the
集体 union organizing tactics used by labor forces.

Pursuit of organization may require the reordering of the
citizens' energies. To establish an Alinsky organization it is
imperative to have commitment from the citizens involved. The goal
is for a large organization to function as an "umbrella" and
encompasses other groups from within the community. The process
involves delegates from the other groups working within the
umbrella organization as representatives at the Congresses. An
example of an established organization of this type is the United
Way. The distinction must be made that the United Way is a
coalition of organizations contributing money to charities, while
Alinsky's umbrella organizations contribute ideas and action for
reform. Often citizens are members of a number of the smaller
groups involved, like their church, as well as the PTA. "Overlapping
membership almost precludes the possibility of conflict among the
formal units that compose an organization." 24 A fundamental rule to this model is the admittance of any group of community members who wish to organize and participate. The University of Chicago eventually joined ranks with TWO in a transition from initial antagonisms to cooperation. The university went beyond mere "verbal support for the organization by lobbying for TWO programs in Washington." 25

Considering the different compositions of groups involved, the overall membership of the large organization fluctuates. This is attributed to either the changing interests in the community or disbanding groups that are single-problem oriented after the problem is resolved, like the previously-mentioned ad hoc groups. The 1969 OBA Congress had a group called the Chateau Royal Committee whose goal was to force a large banquet hall, the Chateau Royal, to construct more off street parking for its patrons. The group achieved its purpose and then discontinued operation before the 1970 Congress." 26 As long as an active core was maintained, and

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24 Bailey, p. 51.

25 Lancourt, p. 60.

26 Bailey, p. 51.
the number of organizations remained reasonably constant, turnover was not perceived as a threat.

The most popular form of member organization is the block group. This grassroots coalition is based on a neighborhood or distinct area of the community. Due to its membership being within close proximity of each other, the block group lends the organization stability and an excellent communication network. The clubs are formed as a defense mechanism by residents to prevent further breakdown of their neighborhood. The clubs serve to mobilize neighborhood opinion for the purpose of social control, such as crime watches, and to apply pressure on public officials through its association within the umbrella organization. Issues of relevancy to block groups are those that have potential impact on the quality of neighborhood life, such as drugs, garbage pick-up, street cleaning, truancy enforcement, and the dog catcher.

Through studying the characteristics of participants in OBA and TWO, it was discovered that the citizen-activist who gets involved with a block club, as well as the larger organization is driven by a strong commitment to actualize the diverse set of community values. Without the effective community tie, there is
little reason for involvement. Beside being more dissatisfied than other residents, an activist wants to actively pursue the necessary social change. Whether it be the desire to rid the streets of drug dealers or to get regular trash pick up service, the actualization of some expectation for their community is the driving force. Activists are willing, and often prefer protest tactics, because they feel the system is unresponsive to conventional approaches.

"Activists have a belief in participatory democracy expressed through their desire to see the locus of authority for most decisions rest with the people instead of government officials."27 Working within the political system, their protests are peaceful efforts with strong commitment to "constitutionally defined civil liberties" in order to implement social change. Within the OBA conflict was viewed as a constructive process that enabled movement toward their goals. Participants in the OBA learned that they did not "have to accept authority unquestioningly but they [could] successfully challenge government officials."28

While the existence of activists is necessary to have a


28 Bailey, p. 143.
movement, the crucial element to the organization is native leadership. Alinsky urged that "the building of a People's organization can be done only by the people themselves." 29 Most failed community organizations are due to the lack of inclusion of indigenous leadership. Leaders within the community are the people that the citizens look to for direction. A current example of such leadership would be that of Reverend Al Sharpton. Despite his distasteful and often destructive use of anti-white expletives, Sharpton remains a strong motivating force for his community. The importance of native leadership cannot be overemphasized. In order to get to the people of the community, one must go through their own leaders.

Richard Harris moved into South Austin and immediately started organizing a network of block clubs. Residents sought Harris's counsel on problems ranging from arguments with spouses to where to find a job. The organizers heard of Harris and his Washington Boulevard Council. They sought him out and asked him to affiliate with the OBA.30

For the organizer, the identification of the community's leaders is the most difficult and crucial element to the set-up process.

29 Alinsky, p. 87.

30 Bailey, p. 73.
The Alinsky approach is dependent on a competent organizer. It is the organizer who must come into a community and motivate a populace to pull together for the purpose of change. Alinsky was very specific as to the organizer's role. "He can serve as a stimulus, a catalytic agent, and render invaluable service in the initial stages of organization. He can lead in the laying down of the foundations - but only the people and their own leaders can build a people's organization." 31 The organizer must make sense of all the existing problems that are circulating throughout the community without direction or solution without imposing outside values over the results.

In the initial stages of formation, an organizer must identify a problem that will pull the people into a meeting. This draw is sometimes called a "gimmick." Woodlawn had the threat of losing their homes to bring the people to action, while OBA appealed for peaceful integration of their community. Unless the people are concerned by the problem in question, there will be no motivation to take the first step. The organizer cannot assume any problem is generally recognized. At the meetings, the organizer does not chair

31 Alinsky, p. 97.
the progress. It is now time for the local leaders and activists to take over. The native leaders are the best sources for finding problems drawing the most concern. "A potential issue can be brought to the attention of the organizers and activists but it will not be acted on unless at least several community members, a few activists, and an organizer approve it."32 Such a procedure keeps the method in check. Within the OBA, when a majority does not see a proposed issue as a problem, then it is not a problem that will be pursued.

One of the fundamental distinctions between this form of organizing and the methods used by the OEO is the source of funding. By initially only relying on small donations, Alinsky's model alleviates the pressure of outside influences during the formation of the organization. Financial support comes from contributors and benefits. The contributors can include small businesses, individuals, local churches, other community groups (block clubs) and organizations (United Way). The nature of the organization places a great deal of stress on potential and existing sources of funding. The organization may jeopardize their funding if they aim

32 Bailey, p. 75.
protests at contributing groups, but if they fail to attack such groups, they are failing to deal with the problems which they are committed to solving.

Hector Coates, president of Coates-Miller Realty, once made a small contribution to the OBA. Shortly afterward, member organizations began to complain that Coates-Miller was operating slum buildings. In an effort to get the buildings repaired, the organization exerted intense pressure on Coates.33

Their maintenance of an autonomous financial base is of paramount importance. Without it, the community organizations would be no more effective than OEO-funded programs.

Once an organization is established and is on stable ideological footing, it is possible to "selectively partake of both the financial and programmatic resources available through government channels." This can be done without the "strings" associated with government funding, as long as the programs in question are in accordance with the organization's set agenda. The solution to balancing organizational purpose with the need for funding is the selective combination of sources, rather than accepting one method.

33 Bailey, p. 69.

34 Lancourt, p. 125.
to the exclusion of another. While any source should be considered a potential contributor, ultimately the organization's goals should not be subject to compromise. "TWO's strategy for the development of the Woodlawn Experimental School Project (WESP) demonstrated that although contest activity was held in abeyance during the developmental and negotiating stages of WESP, once the project was under way, the organization immediately resumed its use of confrontation tactics whenever it deemed it to be necessary."\(^{35}\)

**Conclusion**

The Alinsky approach exposes its weaknesses to be critiqued, but remains to be a pragmatic solution to our inner-cities in crisis today. The appeal of the model is the fact that the only way to truly test its effectiveness is through implementation, as is the case in Woodlawn and Austin. It is not a cookie cutter model that the communities must be made to fit, in order to function. Community organizations of the Alinsky style are made to the specifications of the locality and its citizenry. The fundamentals are spelled out for

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\(^{35}\) Lancourt, p. 129.
guidelines. What a community puts into the organization is exactly what they will get out of it. Alinsky-styled organizations still remain from the early 1960s and new sources can be found today.

An example of a community in the process of organizing is occurring in Dubuque, Iowa. A recent article in Newsweek wrote of a crisis in Dubuque. Three years ago, in response to this small city becoming multi-ethnic, two teenagers burned a black family's garage. Other destructive acts were performed in this time period, such as the burning of crosses and painting KKK slogans in public places. Dubuque residents reacted by demanding that their area should be rid of racism. A social experiment began along the procedural lines of a community organization. The article labels the movement as Dubuque's noble experiment."

Citizens of the city are demanding that the issue be settled among themselves, with an emphasis on "fewer words, more deeds." The Council for Diversity was created in response to the citizens demands. An executive director was brought in from California, chosen for her expertise in the field of integration. Her job was to "help a city change." Since then programs have been created that are answering "the need for minority employment, open housing, and
educational programs to inoculate the young against bigotry."³⁶ The community has been awakened and the healing process has begun.

The continuity and effectiveness of such a program is not guaranteed in Dubuque or anywhere else, but the effort has to be made. Not all battles will be successful. The important feature that will result from an approach like Alinsky's is an attempt at the community drawing together as a power with which to be reckoned. An example of a successfully established and operational community organization is a family crisis clinic in Massachusetts.

Growing out of the need to help the many families in crisis, the Family Center in Somerville, Massachusetts is a community organization that concentrates on building strengths within a family rather than on society's perceptions of its members' problems. The Family Center helps families (300 to date) and the individuals within families to manage and solve problems, while often supporting families to deal with social and economic situations, such as drugs, teen pregnancy, illness, poverty, and crime. Funding includes private sources and a few state contracts. Some families

³⁶ John McCormick and Vern E. Smith, "Can We Get Along?" Newsweek, November 9, 1992, pp. 70-72.
pay for the counseling, if they can, while most contribute a very small membership fee. The organization is composed of community members dedicated to helping their neighbors.

While the needs of the families and community are constantly changing as demography shifts, so do the programs within the Family Center. The Family Center has a history of recognizing that it is vital to create new programs that develop from a thorough understanding of what new groups and the community need. The families come to the center on their own accord. Each case receives a special approach to promote the necessary healing.

Training is a major commitment of all the teams at the Family Center. Each year, interns come from area schools to receive intensive training and supervision in family-based approaches for developing their professional models of human service. Plans are in the process for a collaborative training program with other community groups such as teachers, medical staff, and social workers who recognize a need to understand the challenges faced by families, and to be able to identify their potential strengths. The existence of such training programs provide an excellent opportunity for strong collaborations and subsequent policy impact. The
ultimate goal is to work with the community towards developing self sustaining support networks.

Endless causes calling for a community to take action and organize exist. A motivating factor is necessary to serve as the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back. It is the citizenry who must identify the factor to truly be effective; it is the citizenry who must mobilize for action. TWO, OBA, and the Family Center serve as successful examples of this process coming together. Dubuque, like many other communities, must keep these goals in sight in order to achieve success.
What community organizations are trying to accomplish, with each of their varying degrees of empowerment is to encourage their local governments to recognize the dignity and integrity of each individual within these groups that are organized in a spirit of cooperation around common interests. Flexibility is the key to dealing with the diverse elements which compromise the whole. Through linkages with responsive and accommodative local governments arrangements for change and improvement by and for citizen groups may be accomplished.

Rather than regarding a community organization as the undermining of a government's legitimacy, it should be recognized as the creation of new channels for expressing old grievances. According to Ted Gurr, "Men who have alternate ways to obtain their goals are less likely to become aggressive when one way is blocked
than those who have few alternatives.\textsuperscript{1} The whole process of solving problems in the cities is the finding of alternatives to the existing situations. The alternatives can be found within each of the citizens, without returning to the Horatio Alger theory. How each community organization enables itself is dependent upon the dedication of its members and the existence of a belief in the democratic system.

How a local government responds to a community organization is contingent on the group's success at creating an organized force with positive impact. Ideally the response would be the modification of control to enable the community group to have some form of influence with the local power structure. The governments can create a structural change so as to develop more systematic and effective channels for local influence. In the process of incorporating community organizations into the system, such structural changes might lessen residents' feelings of powerlessness. Ultimately, the reason for socially disruptive tactics, like riots, may be diminished.

There are definite limitations of empowerment for both the models presented. The difference is how the models confront their limitations. The plug was pulled on CAP and the OEO thus eliminating any potential response to their limitations. With Alinsky's particular form of citizen-action organization limitations are everywhere from lack of funding to consistently unresponsive local governments. Adaptations become necessary for the organizations to overcome the institutional and ideological barriers that confront them. In the opinion of Mike Miller (1973), a former Alinsky organizer, "the organizations must become political if they are to make the necessary changes."\(^2\) TWO chose another strategy by "recognizing the inadequacies of a primarily protest strategy, [and moving] in the direction of greater emphasis on community developmental strategies."\(^3\)

The nature of the Alinsky approach's emphasis on localism is a significant organizational barrier. The barrier is best dealt with by erecting responsive linkages to the government at the local level.


\(^3\) Lancourt, p. 172.
Enabling community organizations does not do away with the existing obligations a government has to its citizens. A new order can be established with social programs that take root in responsible communities interacting with local governments, i.e. at community-wide meetings with citizens and public officials engaging in open discourse.

Limitations to any form of community group will always exist since those in power will never voluntarily relinquish that power. Thus the fundamental question for the citizens who desire change to address is "How can we mobilize sufficient support for changes so that these changes may be implemented and sustained?" The answer to that question depends on the incorporation of pragmatic social action with the citizenry in the spirit of democratic theory. The absence of any of these elements results only in continuation of the status quo.


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