Third Edition

Community Organizing in a Diverse Society

Felix G. Rivera

San Francisco State University

John L. Erlich

California State University, Sacramento

1

A Time of Fear;
A Time of Hope

FELIX G. RIVERA AND JOHN L. ERLICH

*What is to be done, and what remedy is to be applied? I will tell you, my
friends. Hear what the Great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! You are to
make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall direct; to put off entirely from
yourselves the customs which you have adopted since the white people
came among us; you are to return to that former happy state, in which we
live in peace and plenty, before these strangers came to disturb us, and
above all, you must abstain from drinking their deadline besonm (liquor)
which they have forced upon us for the sake of increasing their gains and
diminishing our numbers.... Wherefore do you suffer the whites to dwell
upon your lands? Drive them away; wage war against them.[1]*

Little did the Delaware leader know that his warning of the destruction of his people
would reflect many of the concerns of people of color approaching the turn of the
twenty-first century. Indeed, the media attention devoted to violence, gangs, and drug
traffic has heightened the popular view of ethnic minority communities (especially
poor ethnic communities) as devastated disaster areas that might best be dealt with
by eradication. The people who reside in the communities often feel surrounded and
under siege.

In this time of declining real wages (for the working poor) and rising rents, more
than five million households are paying more than 50 percent of their pretax income
for shelter.[2] (The federal standard for "affordable" is no more than 30 percent of a
family's income.) Worse, less than one-third of the fifteen million qualified for housing

assistance can get it. Indeed, in many cities, waiting lists have long been closed. The necessary funding just is not there. The U.S. Conference of Mayors has noted that, in 1996, 24 percent of requests for shelter from families with children were denied because of capacity limits. These inadequacies fall most heavily on communities of color and further contribute to their sense of isolation and oppression.

Despite these multiple (and increasing) constraints facing communities of color, however, an important undercurrent of organizing activities continues in many of them. Unheralded and largely unappreciated, these efforts are going forward in urban, rural, and changing suburban areas.

Moreover, very little written material is available to guide such efforts among people of color. Until the first edition of this text was published in 1992, a book on community organizing with people of color did not exist. The reasons for this deficiency are multiple, complex, and interwoven. Racism—economic, political, and social—is at the core. Most recent changes in social provisions have brought with them further damage to the reputation of poor communities of color. Never popular, the problems of the poor have suffered from a further reduction in declining societal interest. A brief review of recent diminished attention to the homeless, to cite but one example, makes this trend painfully clear.

Despite the great bulk of research evidence that indicates the sources of oppression and poverty as outside communities of color, the disenfranchised are again being told to shoulder the responsibility for their inability to leap into the middle class. The declining resource base has had its most powerful impact on poor communities of color in relation to such issues as substance abuse, crime, AIDS, substandard housing, teen pregnancy, failing schools, developmental disability, unemployment, and underemployment. As things now stand, it is as if society has chosen poor communities of color to be the scapegoat for much of what is wrong in the United States today.

The proportion of the population represented by people of color needs to be taken into consideration much more openly and honestly. U.S. Bureau of the Census projections for 1996 (middle series) suggest a total population of 265,253,000, of whom 33,611,000 are African American; 2,273,000 are American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut; 9,728,000 are Asian and Pacific Islander; and 27,804,000 are Hispanic. Thus African Americans represent 12.7 percent of the population, an increase of 10.9 percent since 1990; American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts 0.9 percent, an increase of 11 percent; Asian and Pacific Islanders 3.7 percent, an increase of 29.2; and Hispanics 10.5 percent, an increase of 24.7 percent. These numbers and the problems and potentials they represent can only be ignored at the nation's peril. Note that the Census Oversight Committee (and others) have suggested a continuing problem with undercounting the poor and disenfranchised, especially people of color.

The U.S. government's so-called peacekeeping and stabilization efforts in Central America, the Persian Gulf, Africa, and Bosnia have contributed, perhaps unintentionally, to a lowered commitment to racial equality at home. In part, we can attribute this to a sense that people of color (and others "not like us") have absorbed too many of

our societal resources and thus our domestic "others" must settle for less. Anecdotes about the undeserved promotion (and hiring) of people of color are legion.

U.S. priorities in foreign affairs, along with the most recent realignment of domestic preferences, have sharply reduced already depleted resources needed to train people to work in community organization and development. Often the rhetoric of diversity has been a smoke screen to dodge funding desperately needed programs in ethnic enclaves. All too many joint police and community antidrug efforts, for example, make a good photo opportunity for those in power, but do little to address fundamental issues of poverty and racism.

Of all social work methods, community organization has been the most resistant to consistent definition, which has further exacerbated the situation. As we have noted elsewhere, community organization has evolved from being the general rubric under which all social work practice beyond the level of individual, family, and small group was subsumed—including grassroots organizing, community development, planning, administration, and policy making—to being the smallest subsegment of macro-level practice (where it exists at all). Perhaps this definitional difficulty is well illustrated by what we believe is one of the better contemporary definitions of community organization:

> *Community Development refers to efforts to mobilize people who are directly affected by a community condition (that is, the "victims," the unaffiliated, the unorganized, and the nonparticipating) into groups and organizations to enable them to take action on the social problems and issues that concern them. A typical feature of these efforts is the concern with building new organizations among people who have not been previously organized to take social action on a problem.[3]*

However, by any definition, it was not until the 1960s that large numbers of schools of social work were willing to regard community organization as a legitimate concentration. Majors in community organization in graduate schools increased from 85 in 1960 to 1,124 in 1969, or from 1.5 percent to over 9 percent of full-time enrollments.[4]

By 1990 the number of students nationwide training to work as organizers had declined significantly. The Council on Social Work Education's most recent statistics show 154 master's degree students (1.8 percent) in community organization (CO) and planning, 417 (4.9 percent) in administration and management, and 101 (1.2 percent) in a combination of CO and planning with administration or management. Despite growing acceptance as a legitimate area of study in social work, urban planning, and labor studies, community organization and planning has been held hostage by the political and social vagaries of a society that has never accepted its strategies and tactics, especially if methods such as public demonstrations and boycotts caused disruption or embarrassment to those in positions of political authority and power.

With the sharp decline in financial support of community-based work (at the community rather than at the individual or small-group level), and the concomitant reduction in academia's willingness to support communities of color in conflicts with established centers of political power, the educational commitment to organizing has been severely undermined. There are currently few field placement opportunities, few courses, and a sparse recent literature. This is particularly surprising in light of documented successes of community organization and development during the 1960s and early 1970s.[5]

Community organizing and community development by people of color have been virtually ignored. Isolated electives and rare articles in the professional journals have done little to fill this void. Work of a multicultural nature has received only slightly more attention. No book is available that addresses a broad range of the organizing efforts currently proceeding in diverse minority communities. This book is an effort to remedy that situation.

What is the current status of community organization practice? The civil rights gains of the 1960s in voting entitlements, public accommodations, and job opportunities, for example, were tempered by the belief that the African American community had gone too far, that its gains were based on unacceptable levels of violence. Quickly forgotten by the white community was the continuing history of violence experienced by African Americans and other communities of color. "What more do they want?" was more than mere inflammatory rhetoric. These gains seemed to threaten white job security, community housing patterns, and long cherished social interaction networks. The bitter residue of racism remains, and the resentment experienced throughout much of the United States has been part of the conservative backlash we are witnessing (as everything from skinheads and antiminority high school violence to English-only public school curricula poignantly illustrates).

Similarly, efforts toward enfranchisement of new voters, changes in immigration laws, and women's and gay rights have also suffered from the limits imposed by methods deemed acceptable and resulting in supposedly reasonable benefits. As long as someone else did the social protesting—and as long as it was far enough away from their homes and places of work—most white people did not complain actively or resist publicly slow, nondisruptive changes. A concomitant shift has marked the reluctant acceptance of the "worthy" among each ethic minority (largely dependent on whose economic interests are being threatened) while at the same time rejecting those without education or job skills or at high risk for drug problems and sexually transmitted diseases.

Not surprisingly, with the emergence of reverse discrimination as a legitimate response to the enfranchisement of people of color, a new consciousness has permeated schools of social work whose espoused philosophy is commitment to aiding poor and oppressed populations. It is no longer fashionable to invite an ex-Black Panther as a speaker for a seminar on social action, or a Young Lord from New York's Puerto Rican community to discuss how they initiated the movement against lead poisoning in New York's slum tenements, or to have Angela Davis address the

systematic exclusion of women of color by the women's movement in key policy and strategy sessions. "Bloods" and "Crips" have disappeared from the main menu of educational guest speakers, and even Jesse Jackson no longer is much in demand. Instead, the invited ethnic so-called leaders focus on issues such as creatively funded drug education programs, multicultural day-care and preschool efforts, and the demographics of rapidly expanding minority youth populations around the country.

As funding has evaporated, and the financial success of relatively few people of color—athletes, entertainers, entrepreneurs, selected professionals—is touted in the media, most people of color again find themselves in the not-so-symbolic back of the bus. Ferocious attacks on affirmative action have become not only trendy but expected. Anticipatory retreats from affirmative action, even before political and legal challenges have run their course, are at hand everywhere. Ethnic studies courses, as well as programs, continue to be eliminated and drastically cut back, and inner-city services are also on the chopping block. It would appear that state courts and the U.S. Supreme Court will continue to be called on to roll back many of the civil rights gains of the last forty years.

People of Color and Organizing: A Troubled Alliance

Why has community organization not been more successful in working with people of color? What happened to some of the cross-cultural efforts that appeared to be so productive in the 1960s and early 1970s? Traditionally, much of the writing on community organization attempts to be color blind. It has been our experience and that of many of the contributing authors here that organizers work with specific strategies and tactics applied to different situations, but the methods that combine them rarely— if ever—change.[6]

Alinsky's mobilization model is a good case in point.[7] Too often the level of analysis of a community's problems has been determined by an organizing strategy that identifies a particular strata of people or social problem for intervention, and, by doing so, ignores the racial and cultural uniqueness of the community. We are not writing about conservative or even liberal community organizers but well-intentioned, progressive-thinking organizers who have been victimized by what may be termed "organizers' myopia" because of their single-minded organizing ideology or preordained methodology.[8]

Readily apparent in the readings here is the absence of an easily identified "radical" or "progressive" ideology along class lines. That does not mean the authors are apolitical, far from it. What it does indicate, however, is that issues surrounding race and culture are often more urgent concerns than social class, which historically has often been conceptualized by white theoreticians apart from the dynamics deemed more critical to the self-determination of communities of color by communities of color. Middle-class Asians, Latinos, Native Americans, or African Americans are still viewed as minorities because of a most easily identifiable characteristic: appearance.

Good clothes and an elegant briefcase are not much help when you need a cab in the middle of the night in Chicago or Washington, D.C.

People of color traditionally have been caught between the polarized struggles of conservative and liberal theoretical forces. On the one hand, too many liberal community organizers have emphasized class issues at the expense of racism and cultural chauvinism, relegating them to supposedly logical extensions of the political and economic structure. Much of the neo-Marxist literature has treated race from a reductive, negative posture: "superexploitation" and the "divide and conquer" strategies of individual capitalist employers. On the other hand, many conservative thinkers have emphasized a kind of uniqueness of each community, which divides it from other communities of color, as well as separating those who can "make it" from those who cannot.[9]

These perspectives largely disregarded many questions, including the fact that racism existed long before monopoly capitalism was institutionalized. Racial harmony does not necessarily follow the passing of capitalism, as the persistence of racial antagonism in postcapitalist societies (such as Sweden) demonstrates. The structural analysis that leads to a unified ideological interpretation of racism is thus deficient.

What too many organizers fail to consider is that little or no history or contemporary evidence substantiates that relations established and legitimated on the basis of race were or are identical to those established and legitimated on the basis of class. For example, we cannot explain the increasing violence against students of color on college campuses primarily as a class phenomenon, especially when we recognize that many of these students of color are similar economically to the white students attacking them. By continuing to look at racism mostly as a broad structural issue, organizers underestimate the roles played by schools, churches, social welfare agencies, and other institutions in negatively influencing and changing race relations.

How might we best define the equality and liberation struggles being waged by African American communities? Native American communities? Chinese American and Vietnamese American communities? The communities of women of color? The immediate reaction of most oppressors is based on skin color and other physical characteristics, language, and culture, then class. The oversimplification of the struggles of people of color has led to unwarranted generalizations about their economic, social, political, and cultural behaviors and attitudes as groups.

Writers criticize the tendency of mainstream and radical theorists to divide society into separate cultural and structural domains. They argue that this arbitrary distinction promotes essentialism (single-cause explanations) in thinking about race. Race and culture cannot be separated. They have to be linked to other social processes and dynamics operating in a society that continues oppressing communities because of skin tone. We hold that at least three dynamics—race, class, and gender—are significant in understanding oppression and the roles played by social welfare institutions in that process. None are reducible to the others, and class is not necessarily paramount.[10]

The phenomenological day-to-day realities of race, language, class, gender, sexual orientation, and age help shape ideological perspectives and enforce the hostilities with which one lives (as well as the strengths that make survival possible). The resulting process is difficult to analyze because it manifests itself differently from one community to another across the country, thereby making the task of organizing against these attacks that much more difficult a challenge. These realities do not lend themselves easily to simple categorizations by agents of social change or schools teaching community organization practice. The need for a more integrated and receptive social change paradigm in working with communities of color must be a main goal of organizers.

The conservative tradition in community organizing—especially within social work education—has also had an impact on the way organizers of color and their communities view the political implications of the social change efforts in which they have been involved. The conventional perspective that education should be ideologically value free and politically nonpartisan has been especially evident in community organizing. Typical traditional textbooks on organizing have avoided clear political and moral positions on issues.[11] These books were guided by a professional and largely mechanistic value base.

As Fisher notes,

> *The social work tradition views the community essentially as a social organism; it focuses on social issues such as building a sense of community, gathering together social service organizations, or lobbying for and delivering social resources. It assumes that basically the community's problem is social disorganization. The organizer functions either as an "enabler" to help the community gather itself together or as an advocate to secure additional services for the community. The strategy is gradualist and consensual, which means that organizers assume a unity of interest between the power structure and the neighborhood and assume a willingness of at least some in power to meet community needs.[12]*

In contrast, Friere proposes that "one cannot be a social worker and be like the educator who's a coldly neutral technician. To keep our options secret, to conceal them in the cobwebs of technique, or to disguise them by claiming neutrality does not constitute neutrality; quite the contrary, it helps maintain the status quo."[13]

Many professors of macro practice still resist including discussions of analyzing power and confrontational empowerment, the development of critical consciousness, and racism as fundamental components of community organization. The lack of attention to critical consciousness—that is, how personal and political factors interact with each other and one's work, as well as how values, ideas, and practice skills are influenced by social forces and, in turn, influence them—is both particularly noteworthy and undermining. This neoconservative stance has had the net effect of leaving

students of color (as well as white students) confused about their potential roles in their communities and how far they might go in fighting racism and social injustices.

Although the rhetoric of self-determination implies that students are intended to be agents of social change, the reality clearly calls for modest improvements that do not seriously upset the status quo. The tools that might help lead to more fundamental change through a thorough questioning of what is happening and what it means to a community and a person working there are largely absent from the curriculum. Indeed, a number of authors have suggested a general decline in the significance of ethnic communities (or communities in general).

Kreuger argues, "Neighborhoods and communities which have historically buffered the individual and provided human services support from a distance will soon be made economically superfluous. The era of postindustrial corporate dominance will assure that little remains of neighborhood or community identity."[14]

A Paradigm for Organizing with People of Color

The different racial and cultural characteristics present in oppressed and disadvantaged communities represent an unprecedented challenge to organizers as we move into the twenty-first century. We define culture as a collection of behaviors and beliefs that constitute standards for deciding what is, standards for deciding what can be, standards for deciding how one feels about it, standards for deciding what to do about it, and standards for deciding how to go about doing it. A recent history of benign or belligerent neglect has required people of color to mobilize their skills and limited resources in creative ways that challenge prevailing community programs. Although they get little attention or help from mainstream society—indeed, in some areas, overt opposition is more typical—many of those communities are trying to tackle their problems with strategies unique to their situations.

For example, the African American community of West Oakland, California, has attacked the drug problem head on, with many community leaders making themselves visible enemies of major dealers. Nearby, an African American first grade teacher has promised to pay for the college education of her entire first grade class if they maintain a C average and go on to college. The teacher saves $10,000 annually from her modest salary for this fund. In the rural mountains of eastern Puerto Rico there is an exciting revitalization of the community through an energetic community development program. Southeast Asian communities in Boston, New York, Houston, and San Francisco have organized legal immigration and refugee task forces to help fight the arbitrary deportation of undocumented workers. Derelict neighborhoods in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia are being revitalized through cooperatives and community development activities. Native American tribes are attacking problems of alcoholism through indigenous healing rituals involving the sweat lodge ceremony. Success rates are often dramatic. In the village of Akhiok, Alaska, 90 percent of its adults were chronically drunk. After native treatments, at least 80 percent were able

to sustain sobriety. The Latino community in Boston has a grassroots health program called Mujeres Latina en Action, which has successfully integrated third-world health models that include the concept of the extended family in health-care delivery systems. A culture- and gender-sensitive model of community organization is used to reach women in the barrios.

Communities of color traditionally have not been involved in issues related to ecology and the protection of the environment. For many neighborhoods, these are among the last priorities listed of the many problems people face. However, one example deserves special attention, for it may well be a model for similar actions across the country. In California's East Los Angeles, which is predominantly Mexican American/Chicano, a group of Latina mothers was organized by a parish priest in the mid-1980s into militant urban ecologists. They call themselves Mothers of East Los Angeles. They have successfully mobilized against threats to their community, such as (1) the construction of a state prison in a residential area near neighborhood schools, (2) an above ground oil pipeline that would have cut through their middle- to low-income barrio while avoiding much more affluent coastal towns, (3) the local use of dangerous and potentially polluting pesticides, and (4) local construction of a large incinerator. They believe in peaceful tactics and wear white kerchiefs as a symbol of their nonviolent philosophy. They are often seen pushing strollers during demonstrations, and they lobby at the state capitol, engage in letter writing campaigns, and serve as pacesetters for a growing environmental movement in the Los Angeles area among people of color.

From an ethnically sensitive practice perspective, organizing strategies in the Vietnamese or Laotian communities (and with different ethnic groups within these communities) cannot be the same as in Puerto Rican, African American, Native American, or Japanese American enclaves. The experience of one of the editors illustrates this point. In the early 1970s he was organizing in a Mexican American barrio. One of the outcomes of the struggle was the establishment of a storefront information and referral center. In furnishing and decorating the center, several political and cultural posters were displayed, much to the anger of some of the *viejitos* (elders) in the neighborhood. One particular poster featured Emiliano Zapata. Several fathers of the *viejitos* had fought against Zapata during the Mexican Revolution. Although the editor is a Latino, he is not of Mexican descent. However, he does know the conflicting loyalties of Mexico's revolutionary history and should have checked with the community to be sure none of the posters would be offensive. This apparently innocuous mistake set the organizing effort back many months and required the staff to work doubly hard to regain the community's confidence.

Unfortunately, the history of organizing is replete with such examples. Certainly organizers of color must accept a share of the blame. However, the overwhelming majority of organizing writers and practitioners are white males, many of whom come from liberal or radical traditions and most of whom got their theoretical and practice feet wet in the social upheavals of the 1960s. Their apparent successes seemed destined to be color blind. From a community perspective, white radical groups were

often more enamored of their political ideologies than they were committed to the needs of specific minority neighborhoods. We experienced many situations in which communities of color were waging important struggles. The Detroit-based battles of African Americans within the United Auto Workers are a prime example. Frequently hovering on the fringes were white radical groups looking to make the struggle their own. They were very critical of the efforts of people of color, accusing them of being culturally nationalistic and methodically not progressive enough. Too often we forget that experiencing racism, economic deprivation, and social injustice are the key relevant politicizing forces in most urban areas. Indeed, it was this kind of elitist attitude that caused many minority organizers to shy away from predetermined ideological postures that seemed to define peoples for them. Even many liberal white groups seemed to disdain poor whites in favor of more visible organizing efforts in communities of color.

Thus it is not sufficient to identify the three classic (and presumably "color-blind") models of community practice—locality development, social planning, and social action—as the foundation within which community organizing with people of color takes place. Factors that must be addressed are (1) the racial, ethnic, and cultural uniqueness of people of color; (2) the implications of these unique qualities in relation to such variables as the roles played by kinship patterns, social systems, power, leadership networks, religion, the role of language (especially among subgroups), and the economic and political configuration within each community; and (3) the process of empowerment and the development of critical consciousness. (This contrasts with what Freire has called "naive consciousness," or a tendency to romanticize intense, satisfying past events and force the same experiences into the future without fully taking into account such multidimensional elements as those just noted.) In addition, the physical setting within which the community finds itself is an essential component for consideration because it plays a significant part in the way people view their situation. The need for a new, revised paradigm is clear and urgent.[15]

One of the most critical factors affecting organizing outcomes hinges on determining how strategies and tactics are played out. These are based on the nature and intensity of contact and influence that help determine the constraints placed on the organizers' (whether indigenous or not) knowledge and identification with the community and when and how technical skills may be brought into play. This "meta approach" helps organizers arrange their strategies and tactics within boundaries that are goal, task, skill, and process specific. We suggest that the degree and nature of contacts is a three-tier process that—for the sake of simplicity—may be conceptualized as contact intensity and influence at the primary, secondary, and tertiary community levels (see Figure 1.1).

The primary level of involvement, which requires racial, cultural, and linguistic identity, is the most immediate and personal in the community. It is the most intimate level of community involvement in which the only way of gaining entry is to have full ethnic solidarity with the community. For example, this level would not be pos-

Community Levels
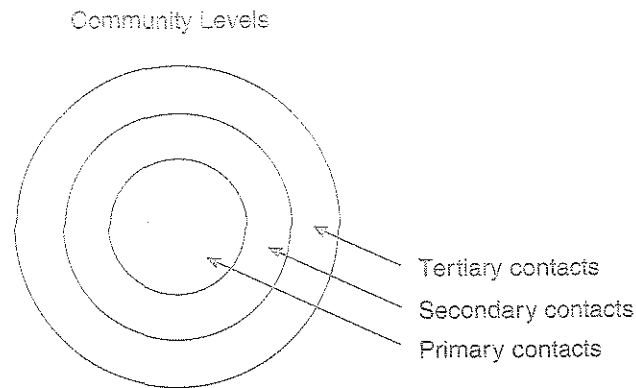
FIGURE 1.1   Organizer's Contact Intensity
and Influence

sible for a Chinese American in a Vietnamese or African American area or a Turkish Muslim in an Arab American area.

The secondary level is one step removed from personal identification with the community and its problems. Language—although a benefit and help—is not absolutely mandatory. Many of the functions are those of liaison with the outside community and institutions and service as a resource with technical expertise based on the culturally unique situations experienced by the community. Examples of persons able to work at this level include a Puerto Rican in a Mexican American neighborhood or a person who identifies herself or himself as Haitian in an African American area.

The tertiary level is that of the outsider working for the common interest and concern of the community. Cultural or racial similarity is not a requirement. These organizers are involved primarily with outside infrastructures as advocates and brokers for communities of color. However, their tasks are less that of liaisons than of helpful technicians approaching or confronting outside systems and structures. Clearly, whites and dissimilar people of color may be particularly effective at this level.

Devore, in Chapter 4, has applied our contact model in conceptualizing the strategies and tactics necessary in organizing with Communities United to Rebuild Neighborhoods (CURN). The three levels of contact intensity are applied to a contemporary settlement house community development effort.

Whether organizers should be members of the racial and cultural groups with whom they work has been a subject of major controversy since the mid-1960s, both within and outside communities of color. Sol Alinsky and his Industrial Areas Foundation organizers, for example, often found themselves in the middle of this conflict.[7] However, a careful review of the evolution of their efforts suggests that, in most cases, indigenous organizers (paid or not) played key roles in the success of the organizations they helped build. *If communities of color are to empower themselves by giving more than symbolic recognition to the ideal of self-determination and community*

control, they must search hard for the successful roles played by people within their own communities and the lessons they can teach outside organizers. Furthermore, many emerging communities are underrepresented in local and regional power systems both because they have been stigmatized as overusers of resources and because their languages and customs (the Hmong, for example) demand specialized knowledge and skills. In the broad range of emerging Southeast Asian communities, for example, there are nationalities, ethnic, and subethnic groups whose cultures are quite different from one another and who use an assortment of languages, dialects, and idioms. An outside organizer simply does not stand a chance of gaining rapid access to such unique and insular community groups. The Native American nations speak more than two hundred different languages. Clearly, special care must be taken in recruiting people to work in widely varied Indian communities—on reservations and rancherias, in both rural and urban areas.

The knowledge necessary to understand and appreciate customs and traditions in all communities presents an incredible challenge.[16] Organizing and social change strategies are complex and stressful enough without further exacerbating the community's problems by using organizers who have very limited (or no) awareness of their customs, traditions, and languages. These people have served and should continue to serve effectively in secondary and tertiary roles. But the most successful organizers are those who know their culture intimately—its subtleties of language, mores, and folkways. A white outsider, however sensitive and knowledgeable, simply cannot appreciate all that needs to be considered about a fundamentally different nonwhite culture or subculture. Wannabes, like many political hangers-on, are particularly dangerous because a single serious error can undermine an organizational effort. Some newly emerging communities are so well defended, there would be little chance for an outsider to gain meaningful admission to them, not to mention become a successful organizer. However, cultural and racial similarity by themselves are no guarantor of organizer effectiveness or community acceptance. Indeed, an arrogant, know-it-all insider may be viewed with more suspicion than a similarly styled outsider.[17]

Despite these difficulties, common practice elements may be identified as prerequisites to successful organizing. These principles are not exhaustive, but if organizers take command of these elements, they can increase the likelihood of being effective change agents in their communities. Knowing when and how to mix and phase in these strategies and skill areas is critical to a successful outcome. Organizing has to be conceptualized as a process that is educational for both the community and the organizers.

Organizer's Profile

What follows is a summary of those qualities—knowledge, skill, attributes, and values—that we believe are most important for the success of organizers. The list is an idealized one; those few who have already fully attained the lofty heights de-

scribed can probably also walk on water. Realistically, it is more a set of goals to be used by organizers and communities together to help achieve desired changes. Note that many of these qualities are addressed later by each contributor in describing a particular community. You will find illustrations and examples of parts of this model in progress throughout the chapters that follow.

1. *Similar cultural and racial identification.* The most successful organizers are those activists who can identify culturally, racially, and linguistically with their communities. There is no stronger identification with a community than truly being a part of it.

2. *Familiarity with customs and traditions, social networks, and values.* A thorough grounding in the customs and traditions of the community being organized is especially critical for those people who have cultural, racial, and linguistic identification, but who, for a variety of reasons, have been away from that community and are returning as organizers.

For example, how have the dynamics between organized religion and the community changed over the last decade? Ignored, its effect may imperil a whole organizing effort. Both defining the problems and setting goals to address them are involved. A number of Latino mental health and advocacy programs regularly consult with priests, ministers, and folk healers about the roles they all play (or might play) in advocating mental health needs. These mental health activists are very clear about the importance of these other systems—formal and informal—in the community's spiritual life. The superstitions and religious archetypes are addressed by a variety of representatives, thereby making the advocacy work that much more relevant and effective. The Native American nations defer to their medicine man and take no actions until he has given approval. Similarly, the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian communities have strong religious leaders who help define community commitments and directions. At the same time, in these communities, as well as in most other communities of color, historical traditions must be acknowledged and respected.

All too often there exists a cultural gap, as typified by younger, formally educated organizers working with community elders. The elders may be too conservative for the young organizers, or they may disagree about tactics. Knowledge of and appreciation for the culture and traditions will help close the gap among key actors or at least reduce the likelihood of unnecessary antagonisms.

3. *An intimate knowledge of language and subgroup slang.* We separate this dimension from the one just mentioned to emphasize its importance. Knowledge of a group's language style is indispensable when working with communities that are bi- or monolingual. Many embarrassing situations have arisen because of the organizer's ignorance of a community's language style. Approved idiomatic expressions in one area of the community may be totally unacceptable in another. Some expressions have sexual overtones in one community but are inoffensive in others. Certain expressions may denote a class bias that may be offensive to one group of people or

another. The pejorative way homosexuals and bisexuals are referred to in some Latino communities represents another important example.

4. *Leadership styles and development.* Organizers must be leaders, but they must also work with existing community leaders and help train emerging leaders. There are significant differences in leadership styles from one community of color to another. Indispensable to the makeup of successful leaders are their individual personalities, how they shape their roles within the organizing task, and how their personal values help shape a worldview. However achieved, leaders should have a sense of power they use respectfully within the community.

5. *A conceptual framework for political and economic analysis.* An understanding of the dynamics of oppression through class analysis is paramount as well as sophisticated knowledge of political systems with their access and leverage points. Organizers must be able to appraise who has authority within the ethnic community as well as who in it has power (often less formally acknowledged). The sources of mediating influence between the ethnic community and wider communities must also be understood. This knowledge fulfills two needs: (1) It helps give organizers the necessary analytical perspective to judge where the community fits in the hierarchy of economic status; and (2) it serves as a tool for educating the community, thereby increasing its consciousness of the roles and functions of the organizer within broader economic and social systems.[18]

6. *Knowledge of past organizing strategies, their strengths and limitations.* Organizers must learn how to structure their organizing activities within a historical framework. Because so little knowledge building is evident in the field, organizers must share their experiences—both positive and negative—to illuminate those techniques that appear to have or have not worked in the recent past.

7. *Skills in conscientization and empowerment.* A major task of organizers in disenfranchised communities is to empower people through the process of developing critical consciousness. How the personal and political influence each other, and the local environment in which they are played out, is a key to this process. It is not enough to succeed in ameliorating or even solving community problems if there is little or no empowerment of the community.

At the same time, the organizer must understand power as both a tool and as part of a process. As Rubin and Rubin write, "Community organizations need not focus exclusively on campaigns to achieve specific goals; they can make building their own power a long-term effort."[19] Power may be destructive or productive in the sense of germinating ideas and concerns and being integrative, or community building. Of course, power is typically experienced in poor communities as both a negative and a positive. The kind of power based on threats is often the most common in disenfranchised areas. When Organizer A makes Target B act in ways it does not wish to act solely because of the sanctions A can levy against B, typically this becomes an imposed "win–lose" situation.[20] A limited special hiring program usually takes this form.

Power may also be a form of exchange: Organizer A and Target B involve them-selves in a reciprocal relationship or exchange because both parties have something to win from the process. Exchange is an integrative component of power because it involves some degree of trust in which the final outcome may be "win–win." Coa-lition building often takes this form. Power may also be defined as love—love of community, lifestyle, or family—that should motivate an organizer and the commu-nity. The corruption that often flows from excessive concentrations of power must also be taken into account.

Organizer and community need to view each other as subject rather than object, as learners and as equals. No organizer should enter a community with a sense that she or he has *the* answers. The development of critical consciousness through the process of conscientization may be visualized as a double spiraling helix: Both the organizer and community learn from each other, the problems at hand, and the strat-egies and tactics they employ (Figure 1.2).[21] The phenomenology of the experience is based on praxis, the melding of theory and experience, for both parties, which in turn makes them stronger actors because their learning is mutual, supportive, and liberating of any preconceived notions one has about the other.

8. *Skills in assessing community psychology.* Organizers need to learn about the psychological makeup of their communities free of stereotypes. Scant attention has been paid to this knowledge area by most community organizers. Creating a meth-odology without understanding the motivations of the community is risky.

Organizers also need to understand what keeps a community allied and syner-gized. What is the life cycle of the community? Is it growing, mature, or declining? Are there new arrivals? Have families been in the community for generations? Does
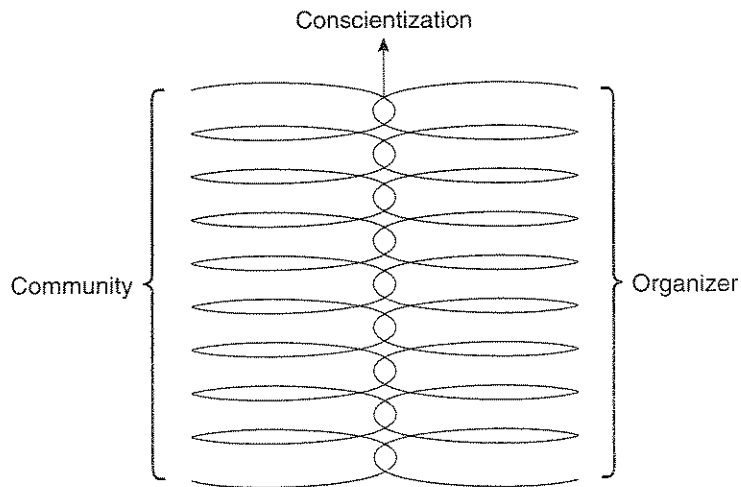

FIGURE 1.2   Development of Critical Consciousness

their language work as a cohesive force or, because of the multigenerational patterns, serve as a problem in getting people together? If the community has experienced a failure recently (such as the loss of a valued school, a religious institution, or health center), what has this done to the shared psychological identification with the community? Does the community feel frustrated and powerless? Or has the loss served to focus anger? If the latter is the case, what strategies may be employed to mobilize the community to action?

9. *Knowledge of organizational behavior and decision making.* Knowledge about organizational behavior and decision making are critical to an organizer's success. The work of Bachrach and Baratz regarding decisionless decisions and nondecisions as decisions has demonstrated its worth in the field. Decisionless decisions are those decision-making strategies that "just happen" and "take on a life of their own." Nondecisions as decisions are defined as "a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena; or, failing all these things, maimed or destroyed in decision-implementing stage of the policy process."[22]

An awareness of these dynamics is necessary both to be able to ascertain strategies being employed by the institutions targeted for change and as a tactic that may also be employed by the community in its organizing. A thoughtful understanding of organizational behavior may also help community organizations avoid creating the kind of dysfunctional arrangements (such as people who try to control initiatives by hoarding valuable information) that cause members to abandon an organization.

10. *Skills in evaluative and participatory research.* One of the reasons that communities of color have lost some of their political, economic, and legal battles is the increasing vacuum created by the lack of supportive information. Many communities are victimized by data and demographics that have redefined their situations as unmanageable, therefore making them susceptible to mean-spirited external intervention. An expanded role for organizers is needed to include developing skills in demographic and population projections and in social problem analysis. More organizers should develop concepts and theories about the declining social, economic, and political base of communities of color and how people are still managing to survive in times of open hostility and encroachment on their civil rights and liberties. Crime, including that related to drugs, is a major arena for these pressures.

Research continues to be an indispensable and powerful tool for social change. Organizers should pay special attention to the use of participatory approaches in which both researchers and community members are involved as equal participants in securing knowledge to empower the community.[23]

Skill in evaluation research is another indispensable tool for organizers. We are suggesting that evaluative research not necessarily be used to assess program outcomes but to analyze the success and value of different organizing strategies and their

relevance in disparate situations. Emerging technologies—such as the Internet and urban databases—must not be ignored.

11. *Skills in program planning and development and administration management.* One of the bitter lessons learned from the War on Poverty had to do with the set-up-for-failure nature of the administrative jobs offered to many people of color. Most had little or no administrative or managerial experience. One of the editors, then little experienced, was offered a position that required him to administer a four-county migrant education and employment training program. With crash courses on organizational behavior, information processing, and budgeting, he met the challenge, but many mistakes were made along the way. Needless to say, the mistakes were widely reported by the program's detractors and administrator's enemies.

Many administrators of color have fallen by the wayside because they were not given the opportunity to sharpen their managerial skills, and thus, a self-fulfilling prophecy of incompetence was validated in the eyes of people who wanted to see these programs fail. Organizers must be aggressive in seeking out this knowledge base and not be deterred by institutional barriers—financial, political, or otherwise—to attaining it. Performing mentoring functions may become increasingly urgent over the next few years as, in President Clinton's phrase, a "bridge to the twenty-first century."

12. *An awareness of self and of personal strengths and limitations.* Reading through our list may raise the question, "Does such a superorganizer possessing all the enumerated skills and knowledge exist?" The answer is both yes and no.

There are people throughout the country with these skills, and many who have most of them. Organizers should know when to seek help, when to share responsibilities, and when to step aside to let others take over. Conversely, skilled and knowledgeable organizers must be open to sharing their expertise with communities and community leaders.

A successful organizer is one who gains respect within the context of the actions being taken, not the individual who is (or appears to be) more knowledgeable than someone else. Honest intentions and abilities are worth more than college degrees. Organizers also need to understand how to react to stress. We all have our ways of coping with conflict. We need to know when our coping is no longer working for us, thereby jeopardizing the community. The danger of burnout is too well documented to be ignored, especially when the risks of taking out our frustrations on the community escalate.

Finally, we would like to caution against the very seductive, but equally dangerous concept of "doing it *for* the community." Not only is this likely to undermine core empowerment building, it also vastly increases the risk of the organizer feeling exploited, or "being eaten alive" by the most important people with whom she or he is working. All too often the result is an organizer who, as an act of self-preservation, abandons a community and provides naysayers with one more "proof" that even the well intentioned do not have the courage of their expressed convictions.

The Readings

The next eleven chapters represent a wide panorama of history, oppression, social problems, organizing, and community development experienced by their respective communities. For this third edition we have added more case studies and identified additional specific skill areas that must be present for organizers to work successfully with their respective communities. Although some might argue this book would have been more coherent if each contributor had rigorously followed a standardized out-line, we have taken a different view. Each contributor (or contributing team) was in-vited to direct attention to the following areas: (1) the historical context of social problems in the community about which they were writing—including their nature, magnitude, and severity; (2) the current state of affairs in their communities—from a personal rather than objective point of view; (3) which skill areas are necessary to work successfully with their communities; and (4) whatever final conclusions they might wish to offer.

Rather than creating a book weakened by a lack of parallel composition across chapters, we believe the mosaic that follows is strengthened by the rich and unique approaches taken by the contributors. Unlike Oscar Lewis, who believed that poor people are largely the same through his misguided notion of the "culture of poverty," the contributors offer a diverse canvas of problems, hopes, dreams, and actions ex-perienced by individual communities.

The contributors have placed each community's social problems within a his-torical context that is political, social, and economic. They analyze the structural, leadership, power, fiscal, and human issues that have been responsible for making their communities what they are today. They address what they see as the strategies for change in the future: the most effective ways of dealing with their communities' problems and the implications these have for community organization practice and, where relevant, social work education.

Chapter 2, "Community Development with American Indians and Alaska Na-tives" by E. Daniel Edwards and Margie Egbert-Edwards, presents a culturally sen-sitive framework for working with American Indians and Alaska Natives. They have edited the case studies and added up-to-date demographic information. Community examples from both reservations and urban areas, expanded information on areas of current concern related to family and child welfare, as well as funding issues are also included. The authors identify the many values shared by Alaska Natives and U.S. Native Americans, which helps define their extensive communities and the compat-ibility of community development with tribal work, and they identify the process goals for such work. Special attention is given to enhancing community ownership and positive regard through cultural identification. Finally, the authors identify im-portant skills for successful community organization with native people.

Edwards and Egbert-Edwards develop a cultural enhancement/community de-velopment model for community organizing with special emphasis on identification with the journey and visions of Native Americans and Alaska Natives. They discuss

the dynamics of understanding and implementing the community development process with examples of successful programs in a variety of urban and rural settings and tribes.

"Chicanos, Communities, and Change," Chapter 3, was written by Miguel Montiel and Felipe Ortega y Gasca. The authors analyze the nature of change within the context of Chicano experiences and communities. They put the Chicano experience within a historical perspective, discussing the roles played by community-based organizations in sustaining the Chicano ethos. They assess the movement away from community-based organizations to "profession-centered organizations" and the roles these emerging organizations will play in the Chicano communities as we approach the twenty-first century. Newer references are introduced as the authors analyze such issues as affirmative action and the conflicts between Chicano men and women.

The authors assess and reevaluate the continuity of change in Chicano communities. They also assess the difficulties of sustaining meaningful organizations and change and the importance of dialogue in creating organizations, jobs, and the development of a courageous vision of action.

Wynetta Devore is author of Chapter 4, "The House on Midland: From Inside Out." Devore sets the tone for the survival of the African American family and communities by describing the survival of the African American community within the context of the now popularized notion of "the village." She looks at the history of the settlement house movement using The House on Midland Avenue, which serves as a center for community organizing and development, and, by extension, the village within which it functions. Devore analyzes the community development work being done by Communities United to Rebuild Neighborhoods.

Chapter 5, "Cultural and Political Realities for Community Social Work Practice with Puerto Ricans in the United States," by Julio Morales and Migdalia Reyes, introduces the Puerto Rican community's unique political situation and its ongoing relationships with the U.S. government. Morales and Reyes discuss the roles played by ideology, values, and social change within the Puerto Rican community, along with the dynamics represented by culture and practice issues.

The authors assess the significance of such attributes as respect, honor, dignity, and hospitality in the Puerto Rican community. Similarly, they analyze the nature of the extended family, *personalismo, confianza,* and *espiritismo* and evaluate their importance to organizers. The dynamics of self-oppression are explored with a discussion of their negative outcomes and their implications for change. *Machismo, marianismo,* and other "isms" are considered, as well as the strengths inherent in the Puerto Rican community. Finally, Morales and Reyes introduce the reader to the problems, programs, strategies, and tactics that a successful agent for social change should employ, strongly supported by case studies that look at such issues as HIV and AIDS.

A critical look at the feminist movement and the reasons women of color have been systematically excluded from significant policy-making arenas is taken up in Chapter 6, "A Feminist Perspective on Organizing with Women of Color" by Lorraine M. Gutiérrez and Edith A. Lewis. They define what they mean by women of color,

looking at ethnic, racial, social, political, and economic factors that have helped shape that definition. A distinction is made between the interests of women of color and men of color. Additionally, they introduce a feminist perspective, emphasizing power and powerlessness as an integral part of their perspective and as a way for women of color to begin assessing their situation in the United States.

The authors define feminist organizing, introducing a model delineating its dynamics. Issues for feminists organizing with women of color are discussed, as is community organizing by women of color, richly illustrated by updated case examples such as Project Oasis, a project geared to end violence against women of color. Finally, the authors discuss future directions for feminist organizing with women of color, listing practice principles that should be addressed.

Chapter 7, "Organizing in the Chinese American Community: Issues, Strategies, and Alternatives" by Peter Ching-Yung Lee, portrays the complex, multigenerational world of the Chinese in the United States. Lee, in this updated chapter, profiles Chinese American sociodemographic characteristics, their changing values and behaviors, and the implication of these dynamics in the changing nature of their social, economic, and political problems.

The author develops a theoretical framework that looks at classic organizing theories and assesses their relevance or lack thereof for Chinese Americans. Emphasizing the unique cultural experiences of the community, Lee discusses and assesses community organizing strategies through case studies. In conclusion, Lee looks at the efficacy of the social development perspective, assessing its value while emphasizing an integrated sociocultural approach. In the "Analysis and Assessment" section, Lee looks at Chinese community organizations' characteristics and patterns and how they have fared within the community.

Kenji Murase introduces the reader to the sociodemographics of the Japanese in Chapter 8, "The Japanese American Community and Community Organizations." Murase has updated the demographic information since the last edition and has included some projections of demographic trends. He describes the impact of the internment experience on Japanese American community organizations. Major emerging developments discussed are interethnic coalitions, participation in the political arena, campaigning for corporate responsibility, and coalition building at the national level. The chapter ends with a projection of future problems and prospects.

Royal F. Morales is the author of Chapter 9, "The Pilipino American Community: Organizing for Change." He profiles the Pilipino American community's social, cultural, and sociopolitical history. The community is identified as one of the largest-growing Asian communities. The author identifies unique cultural dynamics and the barriers some of these pose to organizing. An organizer profile is introduced that encompasses cultural sensitivities. The author has added case examples for this third edition. Finally, Morales looks at future challenges for schools of social work, social workers, and community activists.

Chapter 10, "Living in the U.S.A.: Central American Immigrant Communities in the United States," by Carlos B. Córdova, looks at the complex history of the Sal-

vadoran, Guatemalan, Nicaraguan, and Honduran communities in the United States. Córdova analyzes those economic and political issues that have forced so many of these people to flee their homelands and the role played by U.S. politics and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He looks at the structure of Central American communities in the United States and how they function and survive. He analyzes the political power and influence in these communities and the reactions to threats by homeland opponents.

Córdova develops a model of empowerment using Paulo Friere's concept of critical consciousness. The author looks at what needs to be done in the future in the areas of research, immigration reform, counseling services, education, and medical and mental health needs, especially addressing the problems associated with post-traumatic stress disorder. Finally, Córdova addresses the limits of the literature on community organization with Central American refugees and the need to develop new models of practice in these areas as well as to change and adapt existing models of community and economic development. Many fresh examples highlight this new version of the chapter.

Vu-Duc Vuong presents a demographic profile of the Southeast Asian communities and the complexities that exist in working with them—both culturally and linguistically—in Chapter 11, "Southeast Asians in the United States: Accelerated and Balanced Integration." Migration patterns are traced and analyzed beginning with the wealthy elites that left Vietnam in the mid-1970s to the boat people of more recent times.

The author addresses critical issues for these communities, analyzing similarities and differences among Southeast Asian refugees. Critical issues for organizing are discussed, with special emphasis given to problems of English as a barrier to change, lack of political representation, and the distrust that exists because of the legacies of the Vietnam War.

The role played by Southeast Asian women is also addressed by Vuong. Finally, the author introduces strategies for accelerated and balanced integration that include aggressive economic development. A new case study for this edition helps demonstrate his theoretical framework.

Chapter 12, "Community Development and Restoration: A Perspective and Case Study," by Antonia Pantoja and Wilhelmina Perry, is a special chapter on economic and community development within a poor Puerto Rican community. The chapter demonstrates broad community development and restoration approaches that also have wide applicability and relevance to all poor and disenfranchised communities of color. The authors present an innovative model of activist community development. They begin by looking at the many issues and challenges of this kind of capacity building and the need to obtain specialized knowledge. They take the social work profession to task by pointing out its failure in not embracing economic and community development strategies to bring about significant social change.

The authors identify the prerequisites for successful community development workers and define their approach to community development/restoration. The ma-

jor processes of community development are identified, supported by case studies. Inherent throughout these processes, the authors make clear, is the development of political awareness at the same time they are working in the organizing process. One cannot exist without the other. Finally, the authors discuss future challenges for community developers. Pantoja was awarded the president's Medal of Freedom in 1996 for her many years of community work.

In Chapter 13, "Epilogue: The Twenty-First Century—Promise or Illusion?" we offer our perspectives on the patterns, trends, and possibilities that have been illuminated by all the contributors. The diverse and unique histories, racial and ethnic differences, languages, and cultural patterns are synthesized into a model that addresses the similarities and differences experienced by the communities addressed by the contributors and their implications for successful organizing outcomes. We look at the need for coalition building, with its attendant challenges and rewards, the roles European Americans can play within our communities, politics and legislative reform, and the potentials of the Internet. Finally, we explore the international implications of the struggles by communities of color in the United States.

The appendix introduces updated material from an excellent training manual used by the Center for Third World Organizing, Oakland, California, to illustrate what a community-based social action organization's training material looks like. The material offers an excellent introduction to the range and variety of issues addressed.

Summary

No one goes anywhere alone, least of all into exile—not even those who arrive physically alone, unaccompanied by family, spouse, children, parents, or siblings. No one leaves his or her world without having been transfixed by its roots, or with a vacuum for a soul. We carry with us the memory of many fabrics, a self soaked in our history, our culture; a memory, sometimes scattered, sometimes sharp and clear, of the streets of our childhood.[24]

The struggle to bring about significant social change at the community level continues to be a Herculean task. Despite political rhetoric to the contrary at all levels of government, the gates to social justice are sliding further shut, not open. In the wake of "the end of welfare as we know it," increasing numbers of people of color are being thrown into disadvantage and poverty—homeless, drug addicted, alcoholic, imprisoned, AIDS infected, unemployed, without regular health care, and pushed out of deteriorating schools with few (if any) marketable skills.

As Rice has noted, "The elimination of affirmative action is just the precursor to elimination of all civil rights laws. As announced recently on C-SPAN II, 209 proponents are planning a national strategy and are now considering dismantling Title VII, Title IX, and other federal civil rights laws."[25] Community organization and development with people of color offers a modest vehicle for combating this trend.

We agree with the contributing authors that organizers can make a difference. Although it is never lucrative and rarely romantic, the work can be critical in helping people meet their needs. It can also be a way of enabling people to connect their own histories, the structural changes that confront them, and the future. Perhaps above all it is about empowerment, an empowerment that can be shared by community and organizer.

Notes

1. Delaware leader Neolin advising Indians in the 1760s to be prepared to fight back to protect their culture. Gary Nash, *Red, White and Black: People of Early America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 302–303.

2. Editorial, "Naked Cities," *The Nation*, 264 (1) (Jan. 7, 1997), p. 3.

3. John L. Erlich and Felix G. Rivera, in N. Gilbert and H. Sprecht (eds.), "Community Organization and Community Development," *Handbook of Social Services* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981); R. Kramer and H. Specht, *Readings in Community Organization Practice*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983).

4. R. Fisher, "Community Organization in Historical Perspective: A Typology," *The Houston Review* (Summer 1984), pp. 75–87.

5. R. Fisher, *Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America* (Boston: Twayne, 1984).

6. H. Boyte, *The Backyard Revolution: Understanding the New Citizen Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980); G. Frederickson (ed.), *Neighborhood Control in the 1970s* (New York: Chandler, 1970).

7. Sanford Horwitt, *Let Them Call Me Rebel: Saul Alinsky—His Life and Legacy* (New York: Knopf, 1989).

8. Ibid.

9. R. Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); J. Roemer, "Divide and Conquer: Microfoundations of Marxian Theory of Wage Discrimination," *Bell Journal of Economics* 10 (Autumn 1979), pp. 695–705.

10. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1966); *Harvard Educational Review* (August 1988), special issue on "Race and Racism in American Education."

11. A. Dunham, *The New Community Organization* (New York: Crowell, 1970).

12. Fisher, "Community Organization."

13. Paulo Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Seabury, 1973).

14. Larry Kreuger, "The End of Social Work," *Journal of Social Work Education* 33 (1) (Winter 1997), p. 24.

15. Editor's Introduction, *Journal of Poverty* 1 (1) (1997) (Binghamton, NY: Haworth).

16. S. Burghardt, "The Other Side of Organizing (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1982); Erlich and Rivera, "Community Organizing and Community Development"; Fisher, *Let the People Decide;* Horwitt, *Let Them Call Me Rebel.*

17. J. Gibbs, L. Huang, and associates, *Children of Color* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989).

18. H. J. Rubin and I. Rubin, *Community Organizing and Development* (Columbus, OH: Merrill, 1986).

19. Ibid., p. 235.

20. Ibid.

21. Kenneth Boulding, *Three Faces of Power* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1989).

22. P. Bachrach and M. S. Baratz, *Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

23. For example, an entire issue of *Community Development Journal* was devoted to participatory research and evaluation, thus stressing its international importance in working with disenfranchised and oppressed communities (Vol. 23, no. 1, Jan. 1988).

24. Friere, *The Pedagogy of Hope* (New York: Continuum, 1994).

25. Connie Rice, "Toward Affirmative Reaction," *The Nation* 254 (2) (Jan. 13–20, 1997), p. 24.