WHO'S ORGANIZING THE NEIGHBORHOOD?
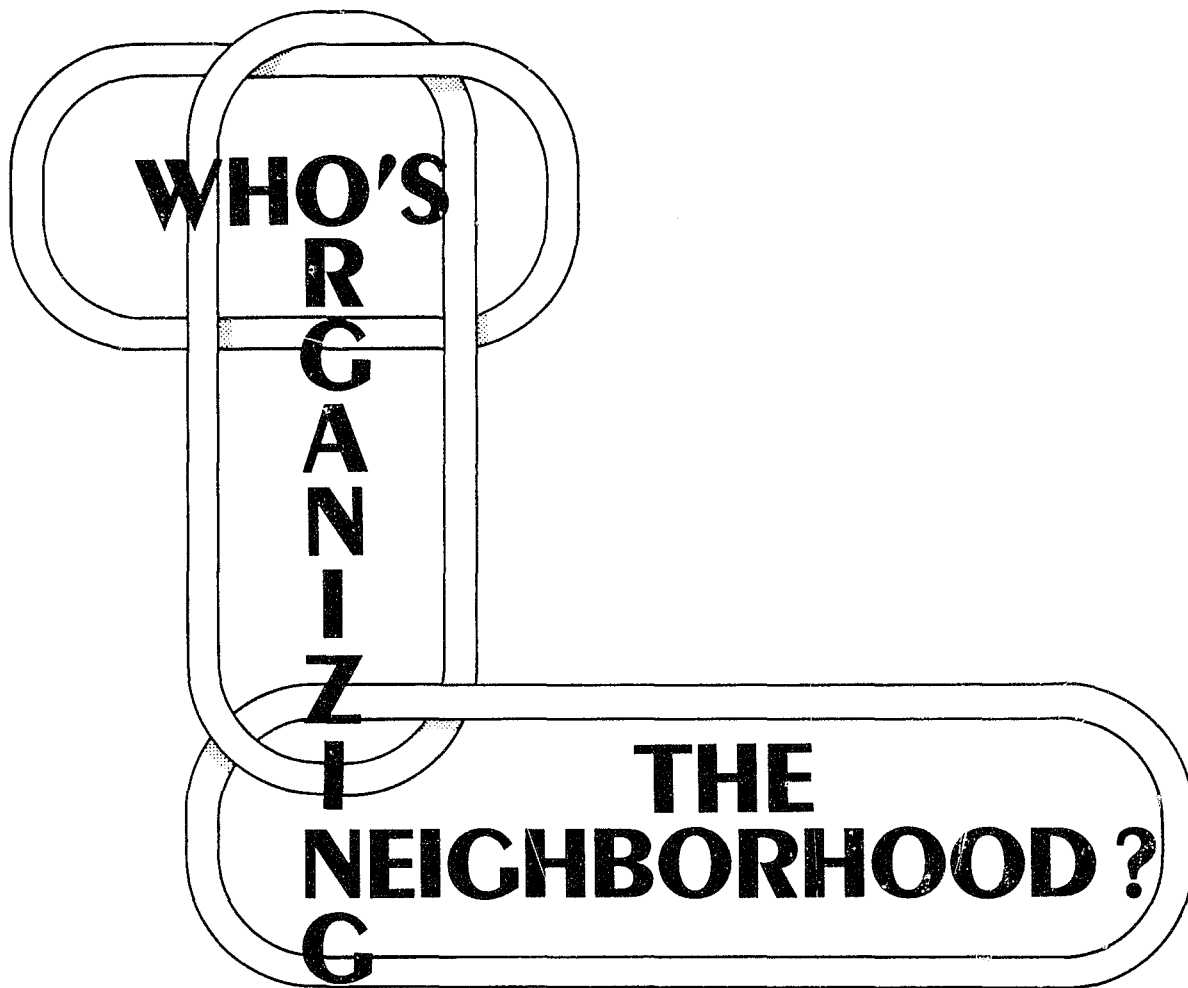
OFFICE OF COMMUNITY ANTI-CRIME PROGRAMS
LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WHO'S ORGANIZING THE NEIGHBORHOOD?

Community Organizations: A Report on Their Structure, Accountability, Finance, Personnel, Issues and Strategies

by Gerson Green
The National Center for Voluntary Action

MAY 1979

OFFICE OF COMMUNITY ANTI-CRIME PROGRAMS
LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Contents

February 1979

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

There has been a growing interest in community and neighborhood organization over the past five years due to the marked increase in their number and militancy, the growing alienation from established political, cultural and commercial institutions, and the search for a new means of coping with conditions in our center city areas. In spite of the broad interest there has been an absence of description and definition of such organizations.

This is a report on forty-five active community organizations primarily representing the interests of people of low and moderate income. It is a self-portrait based on a mail questionnarie designed by Robert Johnsen and completed by the organizations without assistance. The sample is self-selected and generated through interest in a new Federal Government program.[*] The report provides information on their structure, finances, personnel, issues and strategies. Organizations were selected from over two-hundred whose questionnaires were completed during the latter half of 1977. They were chosen for inclusion in this study because they met at least eight of ten criteria which established them as open, democratic, mass-based, multi-issue, permanent organizations, with processes of participation and accountability to all residents and institutions in their areas.

- Open and widely participatory process in the founding of the organization.

- Open process for elections and the establishing of priorities.

- Authentic board of directors and/or other governing mechanisms (authority and responsibility to hire/fire staff, implement policies, and assist in raising funds).

- A record of selecting issues of broad interest to their community.

- Deal with a wide-range of issues of importance to many elements of their resident population.

- Specific relationship to neighborhood and/or block-club associations within their boundaries.

- Have paid staff for organizing, to implement a standing policy of expanding the formal participation of residents.

---

*Questionnaires were completed as a part of the technical assistance process of The Community Anti-Crime Program, The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, The United States Department of Justice. See Appendix A for questionnaire.

- Diversified sources of funding.

- Perceive themselves as independent and self-governing,
  publicly promote this identity.

The remaining groups were excluded from the sample, most being service agencies without any structure that would allow for serious community or consumer participation in the governance of their organization.

Community organizations of the type in this study are non-partisan, but highly political. They operate independent of any political party structure. They deal with issues which are often crucial to the future of their entire population, and always of importance to significant constituencies within their boundaries. Their intent is to acquire power, which they believe is necessary to win the struggle with the formidable forces which threaten their communities. These are not service organizations whose actions are rarely decisive to the future of a community or a neighborhood, valuable as they may well be to many individuals. Residents create a political capacity through which they can defend against damaging forces, and initiate issues of legitimate self-interest. Their stated values, explicit in their constitutions, is to be directly and consistently accountable to residents. Theirs is a form of democracy of very high standards, based on the conviction that they and their neighbors have the ability to prevent or correct the problems of their communities. They are often successful.

There is general confusion as to what a community organization is and what it is not. This question is one of growing importance if we are to establish an urban policy built on the revitalization of neighborhoods. Youth, athletic and fraternal clubs, community centers, PTA's, business associations and churches are not community organizations, even if they are located and function in the small scale context of a definable neighborhood, and even if they primarily serve its residents. They are community institutions. They become community organizations if and when they help sponsor and participate in an open, multi-issue association of residents intent on dealing with serious and sophisticated urban issues through the force of the collective action of residents. Many city governments and United Ways claim to support community organizations when they are really building institutions rarely accountable to residents.

Community organization is not what the social work profession practices, for that is mainly the aggregation and coordination of the service bureaucracies. Nor is it work of the type done by Community Mental Health Centers, which are medical institutions serving what they refer to as "catchment areas" of great size, and controlled by professionals, and are not intended to help stabilize or develop the neighborhoods. Nor is it the model known as community development corporations, which are usually technocratic in nature, and dominated by staff rather than voluntary leadership.

Our country has always had a large number and variety of voluntary associations, perhaps the most of any society. However, the non-partisan but political organizations of the type in this report have never been a significant factor in urban policy until recent years. This national trend has only been of

- 2 -

importance since the Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, whose serious organizing efforts lasted less than two years, and which began a decline in 1967.

Community organizing has been on a remarkable upswing since 1975, as has its influence. The passage of state and Federal anti-redlining legislation, the policies of both presidential candidates in the campaign of 1976, the establishment of the National Commission on Neighborhoods, as well as the designation of a new Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (DHUD) to specialize on the question of neighborhoods, are indications that the trend to community organizing has gained at least a cosmetic victory in its struggle with the political systems. A growing number of state and local governments have also dealt with these issues and created similar capacities. On the more practical and useful level, the work of the Campaign for Human Development of the Catholic Bishops, the reentry of VISTA into organizing, and the advent of the LEAA's Community Anti-Crime Program, indicate the recent but modest activity in support of organizations of this type.

The absence of significant support from the nation's major funding sources such as the large foundations, community trusts and the United Way, has not prevented the great growth of such organizing over the past three years, and the growth appears to be accelerating. These organizations differ markedly from their predecessors of the Great Society in the 1960's. They are much more independent, particularly of government influence, even if they receive some government funding, and they devote most of their energies to organizing around fundamental issues, rather than the provision of services.

There is very little hard data on such organizations. I believe the 45 organizations in this sample are representative of the type that meet the criteria that I have enunciated, but are more experienced and established than most. There are few outside the older industrial regions of the nation in this sample.

Table 1. DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS BY
REGION (citations and percentage of sample)*

	Number	Percentage of Sample
Mid-Atlantic	19	42.2
Mid-West	16	35.5
Northeast	4	8.9
Southeast	3	6.7
Far-West	2	4.5
Southwest	1	2.2

Seventy-five percent are from the Mid-West and Mid-Atlantic regions, the historic areas for such community organizing. The concentrations in these two regions reflect the general reality of serious community organizations in the nation's urban areas. Although there is considerable growth in the Sun Belt

---

*See Appendix B for complete state and city listings.

states, it is not reflected in this report because it is so recent. The community organizations are mainly from the older Northern industrial cities.

Organizations included in this study represent population areas of a wide-range, from 1,100 to more than 250,000 residents. There is no trend to a uniform size.

Table 2.   POPULATION OF AREAS REPRESENTED BY
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS (citations)

under 5,000	–			4
5,000	–	10,000	–	1
10,000	–	20,000	–	2
20,000	–	30,000	–	3
30,000	–	40,000	–	2
40,000	–	80,000	–	10
80,000	–	120,000	–	5
120,000	–	170,000	–	3

The organizations reporting populations in this sample total 3,000,000 residents. The average area contains 94,000 people. Ninety-four thousand people is comparable in size to many cities of regional importance, and this finding raises a difficult problem of definition as to what is meant by "community" in community organizations. The section on Structure and Account-bility deals with this question.

Urban community identity can be defined by a number of characteristics such as race, ethnicity, religion, income and occupation, otherwise known as social class, and a sense of place or physical context. Most of the community organizations in this study are composed of populations of several cultural identities, in terms of religion, race, and ethnicity. Even though there are significant numbers of black and Hispanic organizations serving very large population areas which are primarily of one cultural identity, the analysis of predominant ethnic identities in this study documents a great and important degree of diversity. Forty-three of the 45 in the sample reported their perception of the predominant ethnic groups living within their organizational boundaries.

Table 3.   PREDOMINANT ETHNIC GROUP IDENTITIES CITED AS
BEING WITHIN GEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES OF COM-
MUNITY ORGANIZATIONS[*] (citations and percentage
of sample)

	# of Citations	Percentage of Sample
Eastern and Southern European	58	33
Black	40	23
Middle and Northern European	27	16
Hispanic	25	14
White	19	11
Asian	5	3

---

[*]See Appendix C for 42 ethnic identities cited as "predominant" by the organizations in sample.

Forty percent of the citations are the traditionally identified minorities, and 60% are the white, primarily working class ethnic groups thought by many to be incompatible with the minorities.

The profiles firmly establish the intercultural capacities of the people of these community areas. Racial and ethnic integration is an accomplished fact in their communities, as they perceive the situation.

Table 4. PREDOMINANT ETHNIC GROUP COMBINATIONS
(citations)*

Black and White	19
Black, White and Hispanic	18
White	6

Eighty-six percent of the organizations perceive themselves as being racially integrated, a promising finding for the building of coalition, and an indication that cultural pluralism is a predominant organizational value.

This self-perception of racial integration should not mislead the reader into believ ing that there is a trend to such integration throughout the areas served by the organizations in this sample. There is no doubt that the community organizations are integrated, but anyone familar with these community areas knows that the neighborhoods remain basically segregated, mostly by racial identity, and, in many cases, also by ethnic identity. In most of these cities there are still neighborhoods that are overwhelmingly of one ethnic identity and, while often presenting a strong obstacle to racial integration, are at the same time a powerful force for neighborhood stability.

This situation represents a profound problem for the cities. The national goals of racial justice on the one hand, and the stabilization and revitalization of neighborhoods on the other, appear to be incompatible. This is the negative view. The positive dimension is that the number of integrated community organizations has been increasing at a rather rapid rate, and provides the most intimate context for the development of intercultural competence between the races over time.

The cohesive that binds community organizations is essentially the mutual political interest of residents of a specifically identified physical area, and not the commonly assumed factors of race, ethnicity or religion. These issues transcend racial identity. I believe that social class is the other major bond, although class is invariably an understated community theme.

People tend to identify with at least three levels of space, those of block, neighborhood and community. Neighborhood is the first level of intimacy beyond the family and the block, and is often perceived at a scale of a few hundred to a few thousand people. The concept of neighborhoods also presents quite difficult problems of definition, but neighborhoods are far more culturally and economically homogeneous than the largescale political entities of community, as used by the type of organizations in this study. It is at

---

*Two organizations reported black, white and Asian. Three organizations reported black, white, Hispanic and Asian.

the neighborhood level that race, ethnicity, religion and social class are most often primary bonds. Community organization with a neighborhood focus therefore meet two primary needs, intimate scale within which cultural identity can be sustained, and the larger scale of community through which cultural coalitions can evolve.

The recognition of the cultural, rather than the purely political fact of neighborhood is understood and publicly recognized by all effective community organizations. Eighty-seven percent of this sample have neighborhood organizations within their boundaries which are formal members. The neighborhoods have a great deal of influence over their community organizations, of which they often were the initial sponsors. Analysis of community organizing and program strategies demonstrates that most resources are devoted to issues of neighborhood. Community organizations therefore devise strategies through which they often deal with the same issues of importance to a number of their constituent neighborhoods, and economy of scale is gained that allows for more efficient use of resources, and greater political clout on issues common to the neighborhoods, without sacrificing specific neighborhood identity and antonomy.

Community organizations are political coalitions and not necessarily expressions of a common culture, which neighborhoods very often are. Their identities are usually determined by three factors: their constituent groups, their geographic location such as the east side of the city, and, above all, by their organizing style, which reflects fundamental political and ethical values.

The community organizations included in this study are young, and are not the children of The Great Society of the 1960's. Only six of 43 reporting the date of their founding are more than ten years old.

Table 5. AGE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS (citations)

Less than 1 year	2
1-2 years	9
3-4 years	11
5-6 years	7
7-8 years	2
9-10 years	6
More than 10 years	6

The average age is four years. This is more revealing of the fate of the organizations of the 1960's than it is of the current state of the field. Few of the organizations active during that period meet the criteria for selection in this study, even though they were founded under the sponsorship of the War on Poverty and the Model Cities Program, both of which suggests the transition of the older organizations, which are not included in this study, from some serious attempts at establishing community control in the mid-1960's, to the current state of domination by technocrats and direct alliance with political party.

The younger organizations included in this study appear to represent the current trend. These, more so than the established survivors of the Great Society, appear to be the models most emulated by newly forming community

organizations in cities throughout the nation. They emphasize voluntarism rather than patronage, are independent of political parties, and are committed to avoiding domination by professional staff, although they are not always successful in achieving the latter. Their structure and processes of accountability begin to describe what appears to be the current trend in community organization.

I. STRUCTURE AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Public Credibility is the element most important to establishing and maintaining an effective community organization. An organization can gain credibility through a laying-on-of-hands by the wealthy and the powerful, or it can force credibility from the wealthy and the powerful through enunciating and leading in issues of great importance to a significant number of people. Both approaches can be effective in the achieving of some goals, but one is characterized by dependence and the other by independence. Independent organizations deal with more issues, develop more leadership, involve more people, and bring about more fundamental change than dependent organizations. Experience has demonstrated that stabilizing or revitalizing neighborhoods to serve the interests of residents requires a truly representative organization which is independent of powerful public and private decision-makers who control the planning process, as well as of public service bureaucracies. Community organizations without numbers of wealthy and powerful residents tend to attain some control over their lives through the broad mobilization of public opinion, beginning with their neighborhoods and eventually extending throughout cities. There is no other way open to most people to affect the future of their city, which is the future of their home areas as well, and this is particularly the case with those of low and moderate income.

Community and neighborhood organizations such as those in this sample are traditionally composed of low and moderate income people, although leadership tends to be drawn from the more affluent and highly educated residents. Within the past five years there has been a corresponding growth of such organizations in middle-class communities and neighborhoods, and the cultural coalitions we have domumented are beginning to be matched by similar efforts between groups of widely differing social class identities. If these trends persist over the next several years, then I think it is reasonable to expect that the growth of independent community organization could become one of the most influential of voluntary advocacy movements. Given such a current and potential role in American urban areas, the question of legitimacy, of accountability to constituencies, is crucial. It is in the structure of a community organization that people try to establish the primary means of achieving accountability. Without accountability there is no credibility, there is only political alienation, which typifies too much of our present political and community life.

The self-image of being a community organization is directly linked with the model which best meets the criteria for inclusion in this study, that is, those which have structures and processes which are designed to assure maximum accountability through voluntary participation. There are six organization types included in this study.

Table 6. TYPE OF ORGANIZATION (citations)

Community Organization	30
City Federation of Community Organizations	8
Multi-County Federation of Community Organizations	3
County Federation of Community Organizati as	2
Statewide Federation of Community Organizations	1
Community Development Corporation	1

All but one have a specific and primary community organization identity.
Only one of the several community development corporations met the criteria
of selection for the study, and none of the many social service organizations
that completed questionnaires.

The political roots of the organizations appear to be independent of govern-
ment, as only three of the 45 trace their origins to a government source.
This is logical in that independent, active community organizations must be
frequently in conflict with public officials and bureaucracies. This is
necessary if they are to effectively deal with municipal policies and plan-
ning which have a major effect on the future of their areas, which obviously
includes regulation of the private sector. There are three primary causes
that characterize the initiation of such organizing. Government and Bureau-
cracies are a poor fourth in this sample, as are private community service
institutions, such as United Ways.

Table 7. CAUSE OF FOUNDING OF ORGANIZATION (citations)*

Coalition of Neighborhoods	26
Sponsoring Committee	14
Special Neighborhood Crisis	12
Model Cities/Community Services	3

A sponsoring committee is an association of community institutions which
undertakes the development of a community organization leading to its official
founding. They are the organizing committee, the parents of an as yet un-
realized community organization. They commonly include neighborhood institu-
tions as leading members. The process usually requires one to two years of
intensive organizing around a spectrum of issues of importance to a variety
of potential constituencies. Sponsoring Committees are generally composed
of neighborhood institutions, churches, associations of parents and teachers,
block clubs, merchants, and others whose geographic identity corresponds with
that of the community organization that they intend to create. This is unlike
any other urban organizational form.

Coalition of neighborhoods is the most frequently cited cause of founding

---

*The total exceeds the number of organizations in the sample because some
identified several causes for the founding of their organization.

community organizations, cited by 58% of the sample. Actually, all of the first three categories had important neighborhood involvement in the forming of the community organization, fully 97% of the total. Such coalition has become a necessity for many neighborhood, church and other small scale associations such as block clubs. The inability of either government or the principal social services institutions to stem neighborhood decline or spur equitable community development, causes relatively weak and small neighborhood associations to band together to hopefully form a critical mass that will result in power, in some significant independence of government and the United Way, the two principle institutions of dependence that our society inaccurately expects will solve urban problems.

Special neighborhood crisis is an important but not dominant factor in stimulating community and neighborhood organization, and indicates the essentially reactive nature of the residents. Some typical crises are an expressway or urban renewal plan that will disrupt or destroy neighborhoods, the threatened closing of a school, a major increase in the crime rate, a plan to establish halfway houses for drug addicts in the neighborhood or a serious safety factor, perhaps the need for traffic control such as stop lights at dangerous intersections. The major goal of the organizing process is to enable residents to develop to the point where they can conduct serious analysis, establish priorities, and take the initiative, rather than reacting to those emanating from external forces. But initially reaction is often a factor which characterizes the early stages of organizing.

Many of the organizations in this study are not built on the concept of one resident-one vote, but are organizations of organizations. Their constituency may be composed of groups as diverse as neighborhood associations, churches, veteran and business groups and credit-unions. The spectrum of participating groups is dependent on the state of organization in a given community and the credibility of the sponsors. The approach of building on existing organizations in the community is based on the belief that such a base is the best means of obtaining credibility, and that one resident-one vote is effective as a concept, but not in practice. Smaller organizations tend more to one resident-one vote.

The principal mechanism of control utilized by community organizations is the board of directors. The composition of the boards reveals the basic constituencies of the community organizations. The assumed strength and importance of the various elements of the communities is suggested by the following table

Table 8.   TYPE OF GROUPS WHICH HAVE AUTOMATIC SEAT ON
           BOARD OF DIRECTORS (citations)*

Neighborhood Organizations	18
Issue Committees	8
Association of Clergy	8
Institutions	7
Development/Service Program	5
Business/Industry	3
None	20

---

*The total exceeds the number of organizations in the sample because some identified several categories which have automatic seats.

- 9 -

Fifty-five percent of the community organizations have structures which guarantee automatic membership of some groups. In almost all cases these are groups functioning within their boundaries. Several of the twenty community organizations which do not provide automatic seats on their boards are in their early stages of development, operating through a sponsoring committee leading to a community convention which will establish representative processes via a constitution. Significantly absent from the list is the American Labor movement, which, given its history of organizing, and its structure based on locals, many of which are located in neighborhoods, and given that most of the communities are working class in identity, constitutes a major omission, and may partially account for its lack of growth and influence in the shaping of public policy.

A number of organizations made comments to emphasize their commitment to constituency representation and control. Such comments were caused by the limitation of the multiple-choice type questionnaire that was used.

- All member organizations have seat on Board.
- Council of delegates (from member groups).
- Local affiliates have automatic representation.
- All are eligible for Board seats.
- At large Board elected by everyone.
- All members of Board of Directors are active in neighborhood Organizations.

This question elicited such a response from those who commented even though it followed another question on the election of boards which established their legitimacy as a respresentative organization. These organizations want to emphasize the authenticity of their representative nature. It is clearly a very high organizational value.

Several of these twenty organizations demonstrated their commitment to open, participatory processes of governance through more lengthy notes on the questionnaire, such as the following samples from two organizations.

- All actions of the Board of Directors are subject to the approval of the Senate and ultimately the Congress which selects the issues of the organization and approves the budget.

- We are expanding from a core, active primarily on city-wide issues, to a neighborhood based organization with a much broader base of support. Our increased budget for next year reflects this — we hope to hire three neighborhood organizers, and will be restructuring the whole organization.

The last comment represents something of a trend for large scale advocacy groups.

Many large scale organizations from the city wide to the statewide level appear to be redesigning to focus their efforts and build a base of power on small scale organizations. Most of these groups have always included

community and neighborhood organizations in their governing process, but did not systematically deal with their issues. The past relationships were evidently unsatisfactory and did not produce results adequate to sustain the credibility of the larger groups with the smaller ones. This trend may indicate that the small scale organizations will only enter into serious relationships with the larger ones when they are provided with what they need, such as training, research, technical assistance in program development and fundraising, as well as benefitting from having a larger mechanism which can help arrange coalitions on their issues, thus increasing their political impact. The reorientation of the larger organizations should result in increasing the influence and structural authority of the smaller. This is a significant reversal, with the larger organizations now serving the smaller as the primary justification for their existence.

Religious institutions and leaders are playing significant roles in serious community organizing. Eight were begun by churches, five carry the religious body or ecumenical group in the name of their organizations, one was sponsored by a university with a specific and strong religious identity, and a number were loaned staff by religious institutions or given financial support. From knowledge of many of these organizations, we know that religious institutions and leaders played important roles in providing educational and polical support to sponsoring committees that markedly increased their neighborhood constituencies, and that also resulted in their obtaining significant resources from institutions which have no religious identity. No other institution in the communities, such as political parties, United Ways, business or labor union locals has played an important role in the building of community and neighborhood organizations, and many have openly or tacitly opposed their creation.

The method of selecting officers is crucial to organizational accountability to constituencies. Officers are elected once each year, and, through consistent devotion of volunteer time on a weekly basis are the means of avoiding domination by staff, which is the primary problem at any level of democracy that is engaged in dealing with serious and complex issues. It is seldom recognized that organizers and other staff of community organizations are a bureaucracy, just as the governmental and private social services bureaucracies are of which they are frequently and correctly critical. The theory that elected leadership must be accountable to the broadest base of their constituencies is the primary organizational value. Leadership accountable to a broad political base is the means of avoiding the dominance of the technicians in the processes of self-governance through voluntary action.

Table 9. PROCESS OF ELECTING OFFICERS OF ORGANIZATION
(citations)

Annual meeting of delegates of member and affiliate organizations	31
Annual meeting of members	14
Direct election by residents	6
Annual meeting of Board of Directors	4

*The total exceeds the number of organizations in the sample because some identified several categories of authority and responsibility.

-11-

Of the fourteen community organizations that elected officers at an "annual meeting of members", ten also specified that this process was combined with "annual meeting of delegates of member and affiliate organizations." They perceived the two processes as being synonomous. The remaining four were organizations serving populations of 1,000 to 4,000 residents. These are of the town meeting type.

Of the four which elect officers at the annual meeting of their board of directors, which is the lowest level of accountability, one combined this process with "annual meeting of delegates of member and affiliate organizations", two with neighborhood organizations having automatic seats on boards of directors, and one was still in the sponsoring committee phase and had yet to develop established processes. These community organizations seek a structure designed to reduce the potential of oligarchy, which typifies most structures in our society, and thus provide the basis for a high degree of accountability to the popular will. It is clear that the trend is to building the organization on the institutional, organized base of the community, rather than attempting to build a one-resident/one-vote system.

Great power is vested in the boards of directors and there is a general concensus on the major functions of authority and responsibility.

Table 10. AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF BOARD OF
DIRECTORS (citations)*

Set policies for organization	38
Hire/fire staff	35
Raise funds for organization	34
Develop new issues and programs	31
Coordinate activities of organization	28
Implement policies of annual meeting	25

To properly gauge the degree of participation, and the diffusion of power, it must be remembered that with only a few exceptions these are organizations of organizations. Constituent organizations at the neighborhood and block level are also highly active, providing considerable depth to the community organizations with which they affiliate. They inevitably retain their independence, at least in constitutional terms. Issue committee and task forces typify these organizations adding another and vital level of participation in the processes of acquiring political power. These community organizations are clearly participatory and controlled by the residents, providing many levels where leadership and issues can easily surface, be debated, strategized and acted upon. They are highly visible organizations, which is both their strength and vulnerability.

Other assurances of accountability are regularly scheduled meetings of the entire organization, for which over two-thirds have a set date, which are widely advertised. These are annual community conventions where fundamental and often hard fought decisions are taken that govern the general strategies

*The total exceeds the number of organizations in the sample because some identified several categories of authority and responsibility.

and actions of the organizations that can be anticipated for the subsequent year, and where often vigorous campaigns for office are decided. This is the yearly attempt by the residents to plan the allocation of their organizational resources. It is an elaborate and difficult process, given the great variety of special interest groups in the communities.

Many organizations also elect a senate at their annual meeting, often very large in that they are drawn from affiliated groups, and meet frequently, five to twelve times a year, or more if required. Some senates number as many as 150 elected members, although most are smaller. But the most active operating unit is the executive committee which works at least on a monthly basis, but usually more frequently. These are the principal elected leaders, with those who chair the main issue committees, and are usually involved in the operations of the organization on a weekly basis, and daily during periods of intense activity on important struggles. Executive committees generally have between 10 to 30 members.

Finally the issue committees, which are mainly composed of residents not on the board or in the Senate. Large organizations may have as many as twenty, some of which are permanent and other short-term or periodic, depending on the status of the issue at any given time. As an example, more than two-thirds of the sample reported having an active crime committee. Even though this may be higher than the norm because the purpose of the survey was for the Community Anti-Crime Program, and attracted organizations interested in that problem, this indicates the reliance on issue committees as a means of voluntary self-governance.

Thirty-six organizations reported committees dealing with 124 issues and programs, in addition to those working on crime and safety. Other than the crime problem the largest number were in the field of housing, and committees involved in dealing with community corporations for rehabilitation, new construction, home mortgages, and combatting discrimination (excluding housing), the third in community organizing, and the fourth in public education.

The variety of committees is remarkable, ranging from issue committees on day care, property taxes, senior citizens, neighborhood beautification, real estate practices, "save St. Mary's", transportation, youth, the library, fire safety, to environmental education, employment, food services, dog task force, health care, to goals, social services, legislation, city services and budgeting, utilities, summer cultural arts, to well-baby clinic, newsletter, industrial retention, and erosion and flood control. Many committees are staffed and funded, but their policies and programs usually must be approved by the board of their community organization, which also retains ultimate approval for staff hiring and firing, and for allocation of staff to deal with the various issues.

Two examples from unsolicited attachments to the questionnaire best summarize this section, and indicate the depth of participation structured into serious community organizations. The first serves several contiguous neighborhoods containing a population of 29,500. This group has been in the process of creating a permanent organization over the past two years under the leadership of a sponsoring committee, and has stimulated a complex political structure that has been highly successful in stabilizing its entire area, and revitalizing sub-areas to a significant extent. It has an annual administrative and

organizing budget of $55,000. It is a community organization that is still in the formative stage and expects to soon formalize its structure and processes of accountability.

> East Toledo Community Organizing Sponsoring Committee (ETCOSC) is the initiating group for community organizing in East Toledo. It is made up of the representatives of the Catholic and Protestant churches in the area, the president of the Birmingham Neighborhood Coalition and the business development corporation (River East Economic Revitalization Corp.) are organizations. ETCOSC's goal is to have a Community Congress by late 1978, early 1979, at which time the board will be directly elected by the community.

> ## ETCOSC Board Membership

> St. Stephen's Church
> Holy Rosary Church
> Calvin United Church of Christ
> Good Shepherd Church
> St. Mark's Lutheran Church
> Sacred Heart Church
> Clark St. Methodist Church
> Bethlehem Lutheran Church
> St. John's Lutheran Church
> Euclid United Methodist Church
> Birmingham Neighborhood Coalition
> River East Economic Revitalization Corporation

> ## Birmingham Neighborhood Coalition (BNC)

> VFW Post 4906
> VFW Auxillary
> Knights of Columbus
> Hungarian Club of Toledo
> Holy Rosary Church
> St. Michael's Church
> Calvin United Church of Christ
> Friends of the Library
> Crime Committee
> Housing Committee
> Festival Organization
>   (Birmingham Ethnic Festival held yearly)

> ## River East Economic Revitalization Corporation

> 9 Businessmen
> 5 Residents
> 1 River East Area Representative
> 1 Clergy Representative
> 1 City Representative
>   Etc.

The BNC held its first bi-annual assembly in May, 1978
at which time members of the community voted for the
officers of the organizations.

The BNC from the Birmingham Neighborhood has a direct
representative on the ETCOSC Board; two other neigh-
borhoods that we are presently working in will be
forming neighborhood organizations in the next 60 days.
They will then have a direct representative on the
ETCOSC Board.

Serious organizing in the East Toledo area began about four years ago in
the Birmingham neighborhood, one of the several sub-areas of that section of
the city. The Revitalization Corporation began intensive work about two
years ago. These two successful efforts provided the climate, the example,
and the stimulus for expanding organizing in the entire eastern area of the
city.

The River East Economic Revitalization Corporation is engaged in redevelop-
ing a commercial strip in the neighborhood. It has a base budget of about
four million dollars in public investment, plus additional private investment,
indicating the level of community planned development that is beginning to
happen in some areas.

The second example is of a city-wide organization serving a coalition of
neighborhoods from seven different areas of the city of Philadelphia which
contain 393,000 residents. This organization has a "composite" budget of
$375,000.

> Community Organizations Acting Together (COACT) is
> organized in a pyramidal structure. COACT itself is
> a community organization. Kensington Action Now
> (KAN), Logan Ad Hoc, Neighbors United for Action (NUACT),
> Abandoned Properties Review Committee of Germantown
> (APAG), West Oak Lane Concerned Citizens (WOLCC), Citi-
> zens of Tioga Nicetown (COTN), and Neighborhood Action
> Group of East Poplar. In addition to the seven member
> neighborhood organizations, COACT relates to the North-
> west Community Housing Association for its research
> needs.
>
> In the same way as COACT is composed of neighborhood
> organizations, each neighborhood organization is in
> turn composed of smaller organizations intrinsic to
> each neighborhood. These organizations are block clubs,
> churches and synagogues, senior citizen groups, civic
> associations, Town Watch groups, home and school associa-
> tions, and ethnic associations. KAN is composed of 25
> such organizations, NUACT has 31 member organizations,
> Logan has 80 groups, APAG has 21 member groups, East
> Poplar has 16 organizations, COTN has 25 organizations,
> and WOLCC has 5 church groups. Therefore COACT's
> neighborhood groups are a composite of 212 member
> groups.

-15-

```
                          ┌─────────────────┐
                          │     COACT       │
                          └─────────────────┘
   NUACT    KAN    EAST           LOGAN        WOLCC    APAG    COTN
                  POPLAR

  ┌────────┐ ┌────────┐                 ┌────────┐
  │ TOWN   │ │CHURCHES│                 │ BLOCK  │
  │WATCHES │ └────────┘                 │ CLUBS  │
  └────────┘  ┌────────┐                └────────┘
              │ CIVIC  │
              │ GROUPS │
              └────────┘

  INDIV-   INDIV-   INDIV-      INDIV-    INDIV-   INDIV-   INDIV-
  IDUAL    IDUAL    IDUAL       IDUAL     IDUAL    IDUAL    IDUAL
```
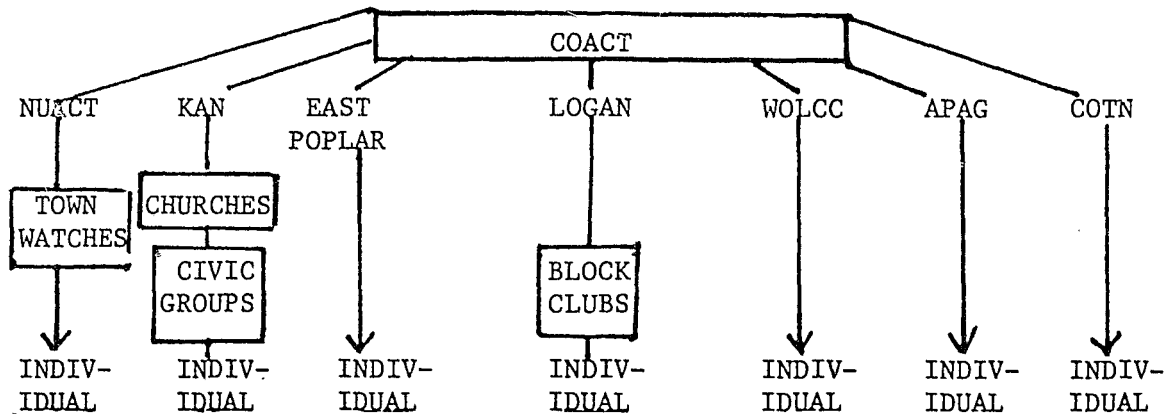
Although these two examples illustrate many of the commonalities of serious, mass-based, democratic community organizations at different levels of scale, these models can only suggest the wide variety of forms of structure and accountability that occur in this field.

II. FINANCE AND PERSONNEL

The question of funding is one of the most dominant and controversial concerns in the field of community organizing. The debate is generally about the difficulty of obtaining funds for organizing, the relative ease of fundraising for social services, the continuity of funding required to build an organization, the effects of large amounts for program services on organizational integrity at various stages of development, and the need for a diversity in funding sources as a condition for maintaining independence. Almost 90% of the organizations in this study are legally incorporated entities.* This legal status is useful in fundraising, and in some cases required, and supposedly increases organizational accountability to donors.

Before dealing with the question of the source of income, which is a necessary preoccupation to the field of community and neighborhood organizing, we shall examine the spectrum of income for administration and organizing of the groups in this study.

Table 11. CATEGORIZATION OF ANNUAL BUDGETS
           (citations)*

$ 500- 20,000	10
$ 21,000- 40,000	4
$ 40,000- 70,000	4
$ 70,000-100,000	5
$101,000-150,000	5
$151,000-200,000	4
NONE	2

*Forty percent are Private, Tax Exempt 501(c) (3); 35% are Private, Not-for-Profit; 15% are Private, Tax Exempt 501(c) (4). Only four organizations are not incorporated.

The average annual budget is $63,000. This is 67 cents per resident, and, given the effectiveness of such community organizations, particularly on community survival issues that governments and United Ways do not deal with, it appears to be a very good bargain.

Funding sources for community organization is somewhat diversified, a healthy situation which limits the influence of those with the monies to give. A single source of funding, or sometimes even two can diminish the control of an organization over its staff, issues, strategies and tactics.

Table 12. SOURCES OF INCOME (percentages)

Raised Locally	32.6
Foundations and religious bodies	30.2
Federal government	14.1
City government	12.6
Sub-contracts	8.8
State government	1.7

Almost 72% of funding sources are non-governmental, and one-third is raised from the local areas of the organization, markedly differentiating these groups from those of the Great Society period.

The common wisdom that local and state governments have begun to increase funding of urban community organization is not supported by this data. There was expectation that the Community Development Block Grant program would be a major stimulus, for it is meant to meet the needs of low and moderate income neighborhoods. It is evident from the data that neither the mayors nor the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has any serious interest in utilizing voluntary community organization as a means of dealing with the problem of the residents in their neighborhoods, and this may be a positive situation, given past performance by this Department, and by government in general.

Support from foundations and community trusts appears to have grown somewhat, and there is some evidence that United Way funds have increased for this purpose. But the degree of United Way support is very limited, even though it is the largest and the most logical source for aid in the voluntary development of community, supposedly being committed to support of self-help efforts.

United Way resources are rarely provided to help start organizations, which is the most difficult part of the process, usually requiring two to three years of consistent support, but they do increasingly support established groups. This is a particularly crucial point in that it is unlikely that government will fund active and aggressive community organizing that they perceive to interfere with their authority, unless they can control those organizations through funding. Most local governments are similar, being fearful of independent organizations which regularly evaluate city services, the mayor's housing strategies and its effect on community, the role of the banks, the Savings and Loan Associations and the insurance industry in disinvesting many areas of the city with impunity, the city managers role in zoning, or the planning

departments' vision of the future of the neighborhoods. However, established voluntary sector leadership, exemplified by the United Way, appear to have the same fears of independent community organization, preferring to invest in social services to deal with the symptoms of neighborhoods threatened by powerful social and economic trends, rather than investing in organizing which attempts to get at the causes of the problems faced by residents. There is growing evidence that such reliance on essentially self-interested professions and bureaucracies is no longer as politically acceptable as it was in the past.

The diversity of funding sources that enables these organizations to maintain independence can be seen through an analysis of the following table. The number of sources appears to be directly related to the degree of independence that community organizations can maintain, for those organizations that failed to meet the criteria for inclusion in this study also had fewer sources of funding.

Table 13. DIVERSITY OF FUNDING SOURCES
            (citations)

One source	19
Two sources	11
Three sources	9
Four sources	8
Five sources	2

Only one of the twelve organizations indicating a single funding source identified government as that source. Seventy-two percent of the others obtain funding from two or more sources. Forty-five percent obtain funds from three or more sources.

Some organizations volunteered specific sources, in addition to checking general funding source categories. These unsolicited notes suggest the range and mix of funding.

- Churches, Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA)
- Catholic Diocese, individual parishes, ACTION
- Corporations
- Statewide non-profit organizations
- Religious bodies
- Comprehensive Employment and Training Act Program (CETA)
- Small individual or club donations, and fees from advertising in our quarterly newspaper
- Each member church (7) pays dues, local Campaign for Human Development (CHD) and United Methodist Church (Regional)

Most money raised by community and neighborhood organizations is spent to employ staff, and a minimal amount is devoted for rental of space, office supplies and equipment. Larger amounts are spent on communications.

Experience documents that paid organizing staff is essential for active multi-issue community organizations to be effective, with a few rare exceptions. In

the subsequent section that deals with issues and strategies, it should become evident why staff is essential, even though all of these organizations are led by volunteers, who also do the bulk of the work. Typically staff are required not only to do the normal housekeeping chores of any active voluntary association but, most important, they staff voluntary leadership on issues and strategies, which entails consistent and extensive research and communications, and continual grass roots organizing which identifies and recruits leaders, and constructs participatory entities such as issue committees, and neighborhood and block associations. Staff serve not only standing committees and sub-area associations, but most assist community organization leaders in the formation of new political mechanisms and strategies as issues become publicly important, or need to be made important. As illustrated in the examples of structure and accountability, this is a complex task in the participatory society that is community organization, particularly in the formation of coalitions of the various groups and institutions within the organization's boundaries, but also with forces outside of their area on issues of common concern.

The support of leaders is a central function, and this requires a great amount of time and research, for learning is an on-the-job action process, and is usually associated with issues of great importance to the community. This can be more readily understood when one considers that city government and established voluntary leadership require extensive staff services, and obviously still have great difficulty in understanding complex and highly politicized issues such as the allocation of housing and community development grants, health planning, educational standards and performance measures, the cause of and solutions to crime, or the effectiveness of United Way supported social services in relation to specific neighborhoods, often with differing needs. Community leaders require much the same professional staffing, but deal with more difficult issues with much less staff than the established bureaucracies.

Table 14. FUNCTIONAL AREAS OF PAID STAFF
(citations)

Administration	36
Organizing	35
Program	25
None	5

The number of organizing staff is probably much higher than indicated in this table. In almost all cases of organizations which emphasize mass participation and control by voluntary leadership, the administrative staff devote a great amount of time to organizing, usually about 50%, as do many program staff, but to a lesser degree. A high percentage of administrators have spent most of their careers as organizers, and many community organizations tend to promote organizers to administrative positions. Three of the reporting organizations which have only one paid staff person evenly divide staff assignments to the three categories, indicating the broad range of skills that staff are expected to possess.

The organizations in this study report a total of 355 staff, an average of almost eight, which indicates that although they are typical of community organizations in terms of structure and accountability, they are more advanced in their development than most.

Table 15.   NUMBER OF STAFF PER FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY, AND
            AVERAGE FOR EACH.   (citations)

	# of staff per all organizations	Average per Organization
Organizing	149.5	3.3
Program	137.0	3.0
Administration	68.5	1.5

Although the number of organizations which have some administrative staff is
about the same number as those having some organizing staff (see Table 14),
there is more than twice as many employed in organizing as there is in adminis-
tration, which is a key indication of priorities. As stated earlier, the
ratio of organizing staff to administrative is undoubtedly much higher than
indicated in this table.

Four of the largest organizations have a total of 80 program staff, twenty
each, almost 60% of the total program staff in the entire sample. The average
number of program staff is 1.26 for the remaining 41 organizations. Similarly
by removing these four organizations from the computation of organizing staff
results in an average of 2.5 for the remaining organizations. Such a recom-
putation results in organizations having more than double the number of staff
in organizing than in program. Twenty-eight of the organizations have two or
less organizing staff, thirty-three have two or less program staff, and
thirty-six have two or less administrative staff. There is little justifica-
tion for criticism that the groups are overstaffed, with a few possible
exceptions.

As we examine the work load on issues and strategies, the claim that com-
munity organizations are a good buy for residents and other investors should
become evident.

III.   ISSUES AND STRATEGIES

Community organizations succeed or fail on their ability to select issues and
effectively act on the basis of realistic strategies. This is the fundamental
process, whether it is dealing with the repair of streets with a block club,
the transformation of United Way social services to meet the needs of a
neighborhood association, or a community organization fighting the issue of
the allocation of city housing funds. A failure to select an issue of genuine
importance to a large number of residents, or to choose a strategy that can
win that issue, inevitably damages the credibility of the organization both
within and outside of the community.

The questionnaire elicited data on issues of crime in the neighborhoods,
which begins to provide information as to how community organizations assess
a specialized area of concern. There is also data on the various strategies
employed. A second body of information is provided on how such organizations
perceive general issues of urban life, and begins to answer the question of
what the urban crisis is, at least as perceived by voluntary associations of
residents who have undertaken serious and time-consuming work on the question.

First the specialized area of crime in the community.

Table 16. MAJOR CRIME PROBLEMS (percentages)*

Breaking and Entering	16.3
Burglary	14.4
Vandalism	13.3
Juvenile Crime	12.0
Assualts	10.3
Drug Abuse	7.7
Police-Community Conflicts	4.8
Crime Against Elderly	3.6
Auto Theft	3.5
Street Gangs	2.9
Rape	2.7

The first five problems comprise two-thirds of what the community organizations consider to be major crime issues.

The most surprising finding is the ranking of police-community conflicts as more important than crime against the elderly, auto theft, street gangs and rape. This supports the widely held judgment of a high degree of public alienation from the urban law enforcement systems, indicates a need for an evaluation of causes, and the need for the police and the communities to experiment with new relationships.

It is notable that the courts and the corrections system were not volunteered as major crime problems, even though there is a large body of opinion that believes them to be more deficient than the police, more damaging to neighborhoods, and these views have received broad media coverage. The high visibility of the police in the communities, and the dramatic nature of their work when they are needed, are most likely the reasons for such a disproportionate concern.

The community organizations in this study have taken action to deal with all of the major crime problems identified in their rankings. The breadth of activity is impressive, although each organization did not deal with each problem that they perceived to be major.

Eleven crime problem categories have been excluded because each has less than 2% of the total.   See Appendix D for complete table.

Table 17. CRIME PROBLEMS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE TAKEN
ACTION TO REDUCE OR ELIMINATE (percentages)

Breaking & Entering	13.5
Juvenile Crime	12.9
Burglary	12.4
Drug Abuse	11.8
Vandalism	10.6
Assaults	9.4
Police-Community Conflicts	6.4
Crime Against Elderly	5.3
Street Gangs	3.5
Auto Thefts	3.0
Rape	3.0
Larceny	2.5

There is general convergence of the ranking crime problems with those being dealt with by the organizations. There is one exception. There has been much more activity in dealing with drug abuse than its ranking in Table 16 justifies. This suggests that there are reasons other than the judgement of organizations for emphasizing action on one problem that is not considered to be as important as others. This is most likely due to the emphasis of the media and the availability of funds. To some extent the popularity of an issue with government, foundations, the professions and the media shape the activity chosen by the people affected for work at the community and neighborhood levels, and in some cases this is clearly a weakness of the organizations.

The program approaches selected by the organizations in dealing with major crime problems emphasize direct action by residents, rather than a reliance on social services and the criminal justice system.

Table 18. STRATEGIES AND PROGRAMS ADOPTED BY ORGANIZATIONS
TO DEAL WITH CRIME PROBLEMS (percentages)

Community Organization	25.0
Block/Neighborhood Crime Watch	11.0
Citizen Patrols	8.7
Recreation Programs	8.0
Whistlestop Projects	7.3
Community Education	6.5
Special Youth Services	5.8
Home/Commercial Building Security	5.1
Drug/Alcohol Abuse Projects	3.7
Employment Projects	3.7
Monitoring the Courts	2.9
Property Identification Projects	2.9
Direct Communication Systems	2.9
Personal Identification Projects	2.2
Escort Services	2.2
Bail Fund	.7
Monitoring of Police	.7
Filing of Charges	.7

At least one of every four major crime problems was addressed by the
mounting of political pressure to force those responsible to deal with
the problem. Seventy-five percent were dealt with through direct action
by residents, such as patrols and crime watches, and through some co-
operative planning and program ventures with service institutions.

Unsolicited comments from two organizations in the same city are reveal-
ing of the spectrum of approaches employed. Neither of these organiza-
tions is precisely typical of the entire sample, for both have had more
experience in dealing with crime than most, but they do indicate the
approach of authentic community and neighborhood organization in dealing
with issues in general, and are illustrative of the growing sophistication
in this field.

The first briefly describes the approach of a city-wide association of
neighborhood organizations in Philadelphia. This organization has a
staff of fourteen, and an annual composite budget of $375,000, much of
which is controlled at the neighborhood level.

> As COACT is a coalition of seven neighborhood organizations,
> all of which have different and unique crime problems, no
> one problem can be related to be of highest priority for
> the COACT organizations, but rather high priorities differ for
> each neighborhood organization. The Ad Hoc Committee for
> Logan has stated that juvenile delinquency, particularly in
> relation to crimes against senior citizens is their most pre-
> valent crime problem. In Citizens of Tioga-Nicetown the
> people have voiced their concern over the high rate of burg-
> laries committed by drug addicts in the area. Members of
> NUACT have voted to work on police community relations as
> being the issue of most urgency. Kensington Action Now has
> worked on the issue of establishing foot patrols in the area,
> and continues to believe that the problem of juvenile van-
> dalism and court action on juvenile problems is their highest
> priority. Both West Oak Lane Concerned Citizens and the
> Abandoned Properties Review Committee of Germantown select
> robbery, burglary, and larceny as their highest priority
> crime issues. Priority, then, is determined by the neigh-
> borhood organizations who are better able to characterize,
> determine, and deal with the most prevalent crime issue in
> their individual areas.
>
> Ad Hoc Committee for Logan - block organizing, recreation
> for youth and senior citizens committees.
>
> NUACT - Town Watch, block organizing, recreation for youth
> and senior citizen committees.
>
> KAN - court surveillance program, police report major
> crime to organization daily.
>
> WOLOC and APAG - block organizing and anti-crime task force.

COIN - drug program, block watch.

POPLAR - Police community relations workshop.

The seven neighborhoods have the common problem of crime in general.
They have markedly different perceptions of the type of crime of most
importance to their neighborhoods, or the kind of crime that is most
vulnerable to voluntary community effort.

The second is from a single neighborhood in the same city which once
focused on crime as its primary issue. The Block Association of West
Philadelphia serves an area of seven blocks by ten blocks, has no
staff or budget, and has been very effective on crime and other issues.

> You might be interested to know of our recent happenings.
> We don't emphasize crime to the extent that we first did.
> Crime is the single most effective issue to get a block
> organized but it is also the worst issue to keep it organized.
> We learned this long ago. Our number one program was and
> still is encouraging neighbors to get to know one another.
> That can happen at a block party, clean-up, group trip, or
> other meeting to discuss crime prevention hints. No matter
> how it happens, it reduces the crime rate. Our problem
> after the first year, was that we were successful! The
> crime rate went down on organized blocks and people stopped
> being concerned. It has taken a long time for people to see
> the other benefits to having an organized block, and there-
> fore to stay organized, but they have and they do! The
> enclosed Block Builders give you some idea of all the things
> we do.
>
> You will note on the questionnaire that we have no budget
> and no specific "programs." As you may know, we had Federal
> money for our Neighborhood Safety Training Program for two
> years. We feel that this program was very successful in
> sharing our ideas and methods with people in other neighbor-
> hoods of Philadelphia. We asked CLASP, the city-wide organi-
> zation to take it over after the two years, because they were
> the more appropriate group. We have no plans for applying
> for any more federal money for specific programs. We feel
> that our role as a coalition of organized blocks and a sup-
> port group for these blocks is the right one for us. We
> still have good communication with the police in our district,
> though we are often frustrated with them as working partners.

The judgment of the association of block clubs that general community
organization is the ultimate means of dealing with major crime issues
supports the premise of the Federal Community Anti-Crime Program, and
reflects the general experience in the field. The belief is that people
build a sense of community, a local and intimate identity, through an
aggressive multi-issue organization which allows them to assume the
initiative. They build a network of members and other contacts, often

for the first time in the area. People begin to cooperate. Single issue, specialized organizations are too limited in their appeal to residents. With the weakening of the traditional bonds of community in our time, this political model appears to be most appropriate, particularly in that there do not seem to be other choices.

In discussing the scale of their organization's area, seven blocks by ten blocks, the association commented that "this is about as big as you can get and still be something that a lot of people can relate to." At the same time the association recognized the need for work at a larger scale by asking a city-wide organization to assume responsibility for the funded anti-crime program which they had developed and which had been successful for two years. This is a good example of how neighborhood and organizational integrity is sometimes more important than money and staff.

None of the forty-five organizations in this study are highly specialized in terms of issues and programs. None, for example, deal only with issues of crime. All are comprehensive, both in constituencies and in issue selection. The interests are very broad, and the groups in this study identified 54 issues of concern to their residents with which they have dealt through organizing and program development at the three levels of block, neighborhood and community.

Table 19. ISSUES BEING DEALT WITH AT THREE LEVELS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, AND THROUGH ACTION PROGRAMS (number of citations, and percent of total)*

	No.	%		No.	%
Deteriorated Housing	59	5.0	General Disinvestment	31	2.6
Abandoned Housing	53	4.5	Muggings	31	2.6
General City Services	50	4.2	Mass Transit	30	2.5
Burglaries	49	4.1	Loitering	28	2.4
HUD Housing	47	4.0	Highway Construction	26	2.2
Street Safety	46	3.9	Drug Abuse	24	2.0
Vandalism	44	3.7	Mental Health	24	2.0
Recreation	41	3.4	Ethnic Arts	23	1.9
Juvenile Crime	41	3.4	Day Care	22	1.8
Senior Citizen Needs	39	3.0	Vocational Programs	20	1.7
Crimes Against Elderly	36	3.0	Crime Against Business	18	1.5
Education	36	3.0	Rape	18	1.5
Unemployment	36	3.0	Domestic Violence	13	1.1
Health Services	35	2.9	Unwanted Programs	11	.9
Street Traffic	35	2.9	Auto Theft	10	.8
Street Lighting	34	2.9	Child Abuse	9	.8
Commercial Revitalization	34	2.9	Planning & Development	9	.8
Jobs for Youth	33	2.8	Utility Rates	5	.4
Mortgage Disinvestment			Zoning	5	.4
("Redlining")	32	2.7	Tenant Issues	4	.3
			Pollution	4	.3

*The following were cited less than four times: tax issues (3), education of police (2), drainage (2), racial steering (2), arson (2), and one each for code enforcement, reporting crime, victimization project, overcrowding, information referral, legal aid, mass communication, community awareness, and youth crime.

There is not a single, dominant issue. No issue received more than five percent of the total citations.

Forty-five community organizations and their constituent groups have generated 1,189 actions and programs on these issues, an average of more than 26 per organization. This indicates the vigor and the intensity of effort in authentic multi-issue organizations, and suggests the considerable political and intellectual capacities required of voluntary leaders and paid staff. Such a wide spectrum of issues being dealt with through the multi-level structures of community organization is the primary safeguard against control by a few, for it assures a great degree of participation, and therefore widespread community knowledge of issues and of strategies, and ultimately of organizational integrity and effectiveness. It is through these processes that residents gain true ownership of their organizations and their communities.

There is a great deal of political interaction between the various constituencies. A crime and a housing committee often find they have much in common, as does a neighborhood organization working on street safety and the PTA of their elementary school. This often occurs with individual members of issue committees, PTA's, church or neighborhood organizations. One's primary interest may be in the housing issue, but at the same time also have a secondary, but significant interest in crime issues, particularly as one begins to grasp the impact of crime on housing values.

Assessing the issues in more detail indicates the complexity of building coalitions for strategies which assure that the power of the organization is adequate to win the issue, which is often long term. There are three levels of organization in this analysis, including "organized on a block club level", "neighborhood committee", and "community-wide committee".

These three designations do not refer to programs or services, but rather to the political actions usually based on some serious and often original research, geared to bringing about changes in the allocation and design of services. These are the primary political advocacy functions of a community organization, and usually require more volunteer effort than providing direct services.

The issues are arranged in five categories, which are crime, housing, urban planning and development, health and social services, and government services. As many residents gain broader knowledge of community issues, and understanding of realistic strategies, voluntary leaders emerge who become sophisticated urbanists. Important numbers of such people are emerging in cities throughout the nation, particularly at the levels of neighborhood and community, if the self-selected sample in this study represents a trend. We begin with the category of crime.

Table 20.   RELATION OF CRIME ISSUES TO THREE LEVELS OF
            COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION (Citations)*

	Block Club	Neighborhood	Community	Totals
Burglaries	8	19	12	39
Vandalism	6	18	11	35
Crime Against Elderly	2	17	11	30
Juvenile Crime	1	13	12	26
Rape	0	9	7	16
Crime Against Business	2	10	4	16
Auto Theft	1	4	4	9
TOTALS:	20	90	61	171

The greatest concentration of organizing on crime issues is at the neigh-
borhood level, followed by that of the community and then the block. The
three levels are usually related. Usually neighborhood or block club
delegates compose the crime committee of the larger community organization.

More effort was devoted to dealing with crime against property than to
crime against people. Burglaries, vandalism, crime against business, and
auto theft account for 58% of the activity. Crime against the elderly,
juvenile crime and rape constitute 42%. It is somewhat arbitrary to con-
sider juvenile crime as exclusively crimes against people, therefore the
differential is probably greater than the percentages indicate. The other
factor that may be at work is the priorities of the social services field,
for there are more resources available with which to deal with the anti-
social behavior of juveniles than there are for other concerns.

There is more organizing dealing with the issues of the security of the
elderly than there is in dealing with juvenile crime. This may be due to
the relative abundance of services designed to cope with the problem of
juveniles, particularly through educational and recreational institutions,
or, that these communities do not fear their young as much as the general
wisdom holds. An additional factor is that the communities are not over-
whelmingly severe poverty areas, which generally have much more to worry
about in the behavior of their younger residents. The elderly, and females
in general are perceived as the two most vulnerable population groups,
which require an emphasis in the priorities of the community. The work of
senior advocates, as well as feminists over the past ten years, has had
an affect on working class, moderate income, urban populations. In the
case of the feminists, far more so than is generally known, for women's
issues are often considered to be primarily of concern of the more affluent.
This data suggests greater general interest than expected.

---

*Not included because cited only one or two times are: fear of crime,
education of police, reporting crime, victimization project.

Table 20A. COMPARISON OF RELATIVE CONCERN FOR CRIME AGAINST
PEOPLE AND PROPERTY AT THREE LEVELS OF COMMUNITY
ORGANIZATION (percentages)

	Block Club	Neighborhood	Community
Against People	4	54	42
Against Property	17	52	31

The most intense organizational effort to deal with crime happens at the
neighborhood level, and it is the most balanced of the three levels in
dealing with crimes against both people and property. Concern at the
block level is primarily with crime against property, and at the largest
scale level of community the concern is most with crime against people.
This indicates that residents at the block level associate crime against
people as something that happens in other parts of their area. The per-
ception evidently is that it is safe to stay on the block, but it becomes
increasingly dangerous as one moves in the larger contexts of neighbor-
hood and community.

The condition of housing is of intense concern, particularly to the low
and moderate income communities and neighborhoods in this study. Housing
is of importance in that it is the most visible expression of neighborhood
decline and because adequate housing stock is often in short supply,
particularly for those of moderate income.

Table 21. RELATION OF HOUSING ISSUES TO THREE LEVELS OF
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION (Citations)*

	Block Club	Neighborhood	Community	Totals
Abandoned Housing	8	14	17	39
Deteriorated Housing	8	13	14	35
HUD Housing	6	13	10	29
Tenant Issues	–	1	2	3
TOTALS:	22	41	43	106

The organizational strategies on housing questions differ markedly from
those on crime. While the emphasis on crime issues was on organizing
committees at the neighborhood level, the emphasis on housing is equally
at the community as well as the neighborhood level.

The category of greatest concentration of organizing was that aimed at
abandoned and at deteriorated housing, which is also the fundamental
problem of housing owned by the Federal government. Clearly the organiza-
tions do not believe that the block club is the level where this issue can
best be fought-out. The complexity of issues of housing, the legal

*Not included because cited only one or two times are: public housing and
code enforcement.

-28-

labyrinths that haunt this process, requires a broad base of interest and clout, and a greater amount of technical capacity to bring the three levels of government to heel.

Tenant issues were ranked as least important. This is most likely due to the predominance of home-owners in permanent community and neighborhood organizations. Being more transient, and without dollar investment in the community, tenants are less organized, and harder to organize. Ownership generates a more intense feeling of self-interest that can be generalized in peoples' minds to the larger context of neighborhood and community. People know that the perceived desirability of location, of neighborhood, is a prime determinant of the value of their house. Therefore the social and the physical climate of their area is of economic importance to them. This is not quite the case with tenants.

A variety of issues can be grouped in the general category of urban planning and development, although not as logically as crime or housing. The issues in this category are not as commonly shared as the prior two, and the major concern is the disinvestment of the neighborhoods by lending institutions and by government (36%), followed by issues of transportation policy (33%).

More than any other issue category urban planning and development illustrates the great change from the government sponsored organizing of the 1960's which focused on social services. Few organizations dealt with this spectrum of crucial concerns of urban planning and development during that period, and this change represents a significant increase in the sophistication of independent organized citizens and their staffs in identifying the major threats to the stability and the survival of their neighborhoods.

Table 22. RELATION OF URBAN PLANNING/DEVELOPMENT ISSUES TO THREE LEVELS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION (Citations)*

	Block Club	Neighborhood	Community	Totals
Commercial Revitalization	3	12	11	25
Mortgage Disinvestment (Redlining)	1	10	13	24
Mass Transit	3	6	13	22
General Disinvestment	1	6	13	20
Highway Construction	1	7	10	18
General Planning & Development	1	2	3	6
Zoning	2	2	1	5
Pollution	1	1	1	3
TOTALS:	13	46	65	123

*Not included because cited only one or two times are: drainage, racial steering, overcrowding, utilities, and tax issues.

The issue of revitalizing neighborhood commercial areas was of greater concern than expected. But it is quite logical that organizations are beginning to deal with this question. The neighborhood commercial strip is crucial in two ways. It is the most public point of reference that identifies a neighborhood, and establishes the general image of the desirability of the location, thereby affecting housing values. It is also a major convenience of more importance to city neighborhoods than to suburbs, for many of these neighborhoods have a disproportionate number of older residents, and have half as many cars as the suburbs. With the decline of neighborhood business strips, these least mobile of urban residents have become increasingly dependent on central business districts and suburban shopping centers. Due to the cost or inconvenience of transportation, many people are deprived of normal commercial amenities.

However, the two principal concerns have been disinvestment and transportation, accounting for 68% of the total, as compared to about 15% for general planning and development, and 4% for zoning. Organizations feel that general planning and zoning are either so abstract or long term in nature as to be poor organizing issues, being that they usually present no immediate threat to the well being of their areas. This is probably changing. The advent of the Community Development Block Grant program, controlled by local governments, and requiring targeting for low and moderate income neighborhoods, the funds for which must be annually allocated, should result in increased organizing around general planning and development. It is probable that local government will be caught between organized pressure from community organizations, and an intensification of HUD's regulatory and approval processes to assure that these significant funds are utilized according to Congressional intent. Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG) grants are also vulnerable to such a coalition of community and the Federal Government, especially given the disproportionate funds being invested in downtown development to the exclusion of the neighborhoods.

These issues are evidently best handled at the larger levels of organization, particularly those of general disinvestment, and of transportation, which are mainly community wide problems. These issues are not as directly related to block clubs to the same degree as are housing and crime.

Commercial revitalization is a neighborhood as well as a community issue. The issues of commercial amenities and public transportation are most important in working class communities because auto ownership is low, 50% compared to the 90% metropolitan average, and has declined while the suburbs increased.* There is a growing conviction that the external appearance of community commercial strips have a profound effect on investors from outside of the communities. Commercial strips may be shoddy in appearance, and the community in general may be healthy, but the symbolism of local commerce is thought by some community organizations to inaccurately reflect the investment potential of the area.

---

*Geno Baroni and Gerson Green, Who's Left In The Neighborhood? A Report on Relative Conditions in the White, Black and Hispanic Working Class Neighborhoods of Our Older Industrial Cities, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, the U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C., May 1976, pages 41-42.

Apparently there is growing recognition that the condition of neighborhood commercial areas is an important factor in determining the condition of the neighborhood in general. Adequate public transportation is seen as a ne-cessary system to residents, not only in terms of physical mobility for shopping, but is also a factor in employment, access to needed services, and the ability to utilize the rich variety of social and cultural opportunities intrinsic to city life.

There is clearly a great deal of concern about the various governments handling of regulatory functions, those of lending institutions in the private sector, and of government's own planning and development arms. The traditional passivity of communities on the issues of disinvestment and reinvestment is no more. Thirty six percent of the issues being dealt with in Table 22 have to do with "Redlining", and this sample is undoubtedly representative of activity by voluntary associations over the past five years that has resulted in new legislation and policies forced from the governments and the lending institutions.

In spite of the failures of the massive and sustained efforts of the Great Society period there has been extensive effort to deal with the primarily private sector social and health service systems, particularly of the United Way type, and the neighborhood and community organizations have had to enter into a considerable number of service areas in attempts to compensate for deficiencies in the planning and delivery of services.

Table 23. RELATION OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES ISSUES TO
THREE LEVELS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION (Citations)*

	Block Club	Neighborhood	Community	Totals
Senior Citizen Needs	1	12	12	25
Health Services	2	9	10	21
Drug Abuse	2	10	9	21
Mental Health		6	10	16
Day Care	2	8	5	15
Domestic Violence	1	3	5	9
Child Abuse		5	1	6
TOTALS:	8	53	52	113

There is little activity at the block level on issues of health and social services, but there is uniformly high activity at the neighborhood and community levels, resulting in a large amount of involvement. I believe that the minimal activity at the block level is due to the sensitivity of these personal and family issues compared to that of the other categories. These are more private matters, difficult to raise at such an intimate level as that of the block, where individuals and families can easily be identified, and professional ethics of confidentiality can be breached.

The evident concern of the organizations for their older residents is most

---

*Not included because cited only one or two times were Information Referral, Overcrowding and Legal Aid.

likely a result of two factors, the concentration of the elderly in the cen-
ter city neighborhoods which this sample represents, and the judgment that
the social and economic conditions that burden these residents is unaccept-
able. People in this age group are also more free to participate in the
organizing process, often having more unscheduled time, greater familiarity
with a wide-range of issues from their long experience, established relation-
ships with many residents and institutions, and growing motivation to take
political action. The selection of issues in this category suggests the con-
cern the organizations have for what social planners refer to as "dependent
populations," namely the elderly, the young and others most vulnerable to the
abuses of our society. The range of issues and programs of this category
suggest that the groups are working to create community support systems for
families and individuals under stress, and raises serious questions as to the
utility of the traditional United Way social services which the communities
feel are too distant from their problems, and often inappropriate to meeting
their needs. With the emphasis of United Way obviously devoted to scouting
programs, YMCA's, and the Red Cross, none of which deal with the primary needs
of low and moderate income populations, and with government avoiding these
issues on the grounds that the United Way is providing these services, it is
possible that social and health services will become a more important organiz-
ing issue. If there is any consistent theme that dominates organizational
activity in this issue category it is that of emotional disturbance. Thirty
six percent of the total effort was devoted to issues of drug abuse, mental
health, domestic violence and child abuse. This interest correlated with the
increase in the release from institutions of the mentally ill and others who
are judged by our society to be deviant, and requiring incarceration or con-
siderable control and care. The dumping from the institutions often results
in concentrations of these people in low and moderate income neighborhoods,
further threatening their stability. Rarely are support services planned with
the community or adequately provided by the United Way or by government.

This is not entirely the fault of the United Way, for it also represents the
failure of the neighborhoods. It is a serious moral problem to be dealt with
by residents and by health and social services planners. On the other hand
those being dumped are often their relatives, friends and neighbors. They
have yet to develop an alternative to institutional warehousing or indiscriminate
dumping. Dumping has been caused by the tax revolt and ineffective institutions
and professions, but no alternative has emerged. Mental health is evidently a
profound concern, with few tested solutions available, in spite of the immense
funds invested in Community Mental Health Centers in virtually every area of
the nation over the past 12 years.

The final issue category is that of government services, and contains many of
the most difficult and important concerns of community organizations. This
issue category is the greatest concern of all to the organizations. Head-
ing the list is the most fundamental and visible, that of city services. Local
government is the most accessible target of voluntary organizations. Responsi-
bility is sharply defined, and the electoral process supposedly provides the
means for remedying deficiencies that are not available to communities in their
dealing with the private sectors. The career aspirations of leaders of the private
sector, such as those of foundations and United Way services, are generally not

determined by their effectiveness, except in terms of fundraising for
traditionally acceptable institutions such as Red Cross, the Boy Scouts
and the social work services, all of little use to the struggling com-
munities in dealing with their fundamental need to prevent problems.
They are much less vulnerable than is government to public opinion and
thus less accountable for the quality of their services. I believe that
more community organization effort has been devoted to this issue cate-
gory than to any other because governments are still more vulnerable to
public participation than any other sector of our society, or are per-
ceived as such by most Americans.

Table 24. RELATION OF ISSUES OF GOVERNMENT SERVICES TO
           THREE LEVELS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION (Citations)

	Block Club	Neighborhood	Community	Total
Street Safety	10	19	10	39
City Services (general)	5	12	16	33
Street Lighting	6	14	8	28
Unemployment		19	7	26
Education	3	8	12	23
Recreation	2	11	9	22
Jobs for Youth		7	13	20
Vocational Programs		7	5	12
TOTALS:	26	87	80	203

It is an arbitrary decision to place recreation and vocational programs
wholly in a government services category. United Way supported recreation
agencies are obviously potentially important in most cities. But from
the point of view of vulnerability to political pressure, the city govern-
ments rather than the private agencies are the logical choice, for there
is little that citizens can do to correct the deficiencies of the elite
private voluntary sector, and much that can be done with elected officials
whose career aspirations increase their sense of accountability, and who
can be made highly conscious of public opinion through voluntary grass
roots organizing by those most directly affected.

Government services is the largest category of issues of concern, resulting
in the fullest utilization of organizational structure. More than any other
category, excepting crime, these issues are appropriate for action at the
smaller levels of organization, those of neighborhood associations and
block clubs. The exception is the issue of employment. Unemployment, jobs
for youth, and vocational programs are not cited at all as a block club
issue, yet they constitute fully 29% of the total cited in this category.
The emphasis on government services is even greater if the arbitrary issue
categories that I have used are reaggregated. Crime, housing and urban
planning and development are all mainly governmental responsibilities.

Although local government is generally the main political unit involved in
most issues of importance to communities, the employment question has

traditionally been a state issue until recent years and the advent of the
U.S. Department of Labor's Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA)
programs. If we aggregate the figures for unemployment, jobs for youth and
vocational programs, the result is that this question is receiving more atten-
tion than any other issue in the government services category, a total of 58
citations. Federal regulations do not encourage employment and training pro-
grams at the community level in spite of the evident interest, and organiza-
tions are only recently beginning to try to affect government allocations in
such programs as Community Development Block Grants and CETA, which are admin-
istered through city halls. The indications of the data in this study are
that Federal funds which are locally managed will be the issue of greatest con-
centration in the future, with serious attempts to incorporate community groups
in the national legislation as major sponsors, or to assure a fair share at the
neighborhood/community levels. Organizations probably will not want to directly
administer these programs, but rather will either identify other community in-
stitutions as sponsors, or simply try to assure that program design and alloca-
tions are of benefit to their neighborhood and residents.

The organizational strategies and the program emphasis devoted to the five
categories of issues are summarized in the following tables. I have prepared
two tables to summarize the findings on issues of community organizations.
Table 25 describes the relative emphasis placed on the five issue categories
by the community groups, and Table 26 indicates the degree of activity at the
three levels of organizing.

Table 25. PERCENT OF TOTAL CITATIONS BY ISSUE CATEGORY

Government Services	27
Crime	24
Urban Planning and Development	18
Health and Social Services	16
Housing	15

The only finding which surprised me was the very high rating afforded by com-
munity organizations to issues of crime, particularly in comparison to those of
health and social services. At the time of our survey there were few resources
available to neighborhood and community organizations that could be obtained to
deal with problems of crime. The Community Anti-Crime Program of the LEAA was
just beginning to initiate its activities, so it is clear that the organizing
activity on problems of crime was increasing at the same time that our national
government was preparing to address these issues in partnership with communities.

The relative standing of health and social services as an organizing activity
reflects, I believe, the low payoff of the community efforts of the past fifteen
years in struggling with those systems of service. Health and social services
was the primary category of concern to communities and neighborhoods in the
recent past, and received large percentages of funds from the Great Society
programs. This data is very strong, in my judgment, as an indicator that com-
munities have decided that there is a strict limitation on the amount of change
that can be brought about. In effect, these community organizations see little
hope that the systems can be made more responsive to community needs than they
now are, unless new strategies and tactics emerge. I think a second dimension
is that the health and social services systems are thought to be rigidly committed
to treating the symptoms rather than the causes of problems in the communities.

From the view of community organizations it would be far better if, for
example, a greater amount of United Way or hospital resources were devoted
to building strong communities, rather than patching weak ones. The
building of community leadership, of programmatic and political infrastruc-
ture is thought by community organizations to be preventive and corrective,
while they tend to view the service systems as capable solely of offering
some relief, some amelioration of avoidable damaging situations.

In analyzing the three general levels of organizing around issues, it is
clear that the block level is viewed as quite limited in potential, and
that the neighborhood and community levels are about equally preferred.

Table 26. PERCENT OF TOTAL CITATIONS BY THREE LEVELS OF
           COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION*

Neighborhood Level	45
Community Level	42
Block Level	13

It is unlikely that an intensification of organizing at the block level will
occur because of inherent limitations in such a strategy. Community organi-
zations are built on the development of leadership, and leadership must be
able to represent substantial numbers of residents, not possible at the level
of block.

I believe that the emphasis on organizing around issues at the neighborhood
level has grown considerably over the past five years, and will continue to
increase. Several years ago the trend in serious organizing was in the opposite
direction, to the larger geopolitical levels of city, metro area, state, and
even region. This has been reversed, and the larger levels are increasingly
 developing capacities to serve the smaller, rather than their traditional role
of creating and controlling organizations on the basis of their own agenda.

We asked organizations completing our questionnaire to designate which issues
were receiving the attention of "active programs" which they sponsor. We
did not specify what was meant by the phrase, leaving it fully open to permit
groups to use their own criteria as to what constituted an active program.
This category thus lacks the specificity and evident meaning of the geographic
designations of block,neighborhood, and community organizing, and has a service
rather than an organizing identity. The organizations made 300 citations on
34 programs, in spite of the relative ambiguity of this question.

---

*See Appendix E and F for detailed tables

Table 27.   ACTIVE PROGRAMS IN FIVE ISSUE CATEGORIES
            (number of citations)*

CRIME -- 45

Juvenile Crime	15
Burglaries	10
Vandalism	9
Crime Against Elderly	6

HOUSING -- 57

Deteriorated Housing	24
HUD Housing	18
Abandoned Housing	14

URBAN PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT -- 52

General Disinvestment	11
Mortgage Disinvestment (Redlining)	8
Commercial Revitalization	8
Mass Transit	8
Highway Construction	8

HEALTH & SOCIAL SERVICES -- 53

Senior Citizens Needs	14
Health Services	14
Mental Health	8
Day Care	7

GOVERNMENT SERVICES -- 93

Recreation	19
General City Services	17
Education	13
Jobs for Youth	13
Vocational Programs	8
Street Safety	7
Street Lighting	6

*Eleven issues were cited less than five times. See Appendix G for the
full table.

Crime is the issue category receiving the least active programmatic attention from the organizations in this study, although it is clearly the most dominant organizing issue at the neighborhood level. This finding supports the need for community anti-crime programs, and argues for a neighborhood and community orientation. The evident concern of the neighborhoods for the issues of crime, and their inability to mount programs to deal with that concern, is an indication that residents perceive crime as a major obstacle to stabilizing or developing their neighborhoods, but do not know what "programs" will be effective, or cannot obtain effective resources for the creation of such programs. Juvenile crime might be taken as an example to illustrate this point. When resources are available the organizations do use them. Although in the lowest program category, juvenile crime out-ranked 18 of 23 in active programs. Only four rank higher.

The largest percentage of active programs devoted to any clearly defined issue was to problems of housing, and, as we determined in the section on finance, these very expensive efforts are undertaken by the community organizations without support from government. Perhaps the inability of government to assure that its housing resources get to the neighborhood and community levels is due to governments' failure to plan with the well prepared and privately financed community organizations, and is a policy problem that requires serious attention. If the various governments are interested in utilizing existing and authentic capabilities, rather than reinforcing the functions of distant bureaucracies, or duplicating at the community level, a partnership is indicated along the lines of the Community Anti-Crime Program and VISTA, or the Neighborhood Housing Services of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. A number of organizations have created, or helped to create housing development corporations, often through churches active in their area. The only effective government housing program that works in a serious way with community organizations is the Neighborhood Housing Services, a very small effort. This program was initially created by the voluntary sector, and has not been of major concern to local governments. It is an example of Federal Government partnership with community organizations and lending institutions. Local and state governments have yet to generate resources for voluntary community organizations which do not compromise their independence, as the Federal Government has in a number of programs.

It may be instructive to determine the relative emphasis the organization places on advocacy and on programs. The following table represents the difference in emphasis through the percentage of citations in each category for both advocacy and programs. The greatest differential is that of Crime, and the least that of Housing. Advocacy is clearly the primary strategy by a seven to three ratio, whether by preference or necessity.

Table 28. CITATIONS OF ADVOCACY AND PROGRAM ACTIVITY
BY ISSUE CATEGORY*   (percentage)

	Advocacy	Program
Crime	76	24
Urban Planning and Development	72	28
Government Services	69	31
Health and Social Services	66	34
Housing	65	35

The probable reason for the relatively high coherence between advocacy and
program in housing and in health and social services is the experience of the
Great Society programs. Even though most of these organizations did not exist
during that period, the bureaucracies were involved through the OEO, Model
Cities and Compensatory Education programs. They benefitted sufficiently to
be open to continued involvement, in spite of the occasional hassles of citizen
participation requirements. Government services is a long-standing issue
category for community organizations, particularly those of city services, but are not
as easy to translate to the neighborhood level. The other categories are relatively
new issue areas for community organizations, particularly those of crime and
urban planning and development.

The small advocacy planning movement of the 1960's did not take hold as an
acceptable form of advocacy. This is mainly due to the dominance of technicians
in the thirty-odd projects of that period. Current efforts are based on ap-
proaches controlled by volunteer leadership, but community organizations have
yet to evolve effective approaches to comprehensive or long-range planning.
Most organizing in this issue category is reactive to proposed city government
or profit sector plans, rather than initiatives taken by voluntary associations.

It has been the basic argument of the community development corporation field
that it is necessary to have both significant technical capacity and capital if
community organizations are to co-venture with government and the private sectors.
The argument holds that without such capacity and capital there is no way to
affect the public and private planning and development processes, except to stop
them. Many community organization leaders who have experimented with such plan-
ning and development, or have observed and analysed the field, have concluded
that organizing and development are not compatible.

There is considerable merit to their argument. Development programs by their
very nature are secretive and require massive amounts of time of leaders and
staff. Such efforts have totally absorbed some community organizations, obliterat-
ing their capacity for advocacy in the process. The analysis and discussions
are highly technical, and difficult to make understandable to the mass of resi-
dents who must be involved in making the decisions. Planning for development is
invariably a long-term process, with few, if any, of the immediate payoffs that
organizations require to build or sustain credibility. Community organizations,

---

*See Appendix H for full table of 23 issues being dealt with through active programs.

like any other entity in a competitive society, must consistently produce visible and understandable, even measurable results.

Planning and development also requires partnership with city government, and it is difficult indeed to be publicly fighting the mayor on a variety of issues, and, at the same time entering into a partnership in which your opponent holds most of the wild cards. The authority, the technical capacity and the capital needed for development are mostly in the hands of city government. The residents whose fate is to be determined by the development plan represent the potential power of the community organization. These two forces are deadlocked to a greater extent than ever before on issues of development, and it is this confrontation that has paralyzed development in many areas. Few neighborhoods have been revitalized solely by organizing around issues. On the other hand it is well known that hundreds of neighborhoods have been destroyed by development. We have yet to find a means of achieving compatibility through which to harness the two together.

Crime is the most recent issue category of importance to community organizations. It is directly linked to prospects for development in that it is unlikely that investment can be attracted to high crime areas, or to areas which, deservedly or not, have such a public identity. This is a compelling reason why organizations have been drawn to issues of crime. But, more important than its relation to development is the day-to-day effects of crime, or the fear of crime of the mass of residents. This is the main motive for entering this field.

Dealing with crime is much easier than dealing with development. A community alert patrol composed of resident volunteers can, if well designed and implemented, increase the mobility of residents, just as escort services do. The rewards are immediate and visible to the community at large, and undoubtedly some crime is prevented, or at least shifted to another neighborhood, most likely one without a community organization. It is these factors, and the availability of resources such as those of the Community Anti-Crime Program, that have brought voluntary associations into this field.

James Hagerty and Cornelius Cooper of that program have referred to the community as the fourth branch of the criminal justice system, of equal importance as the three traditional branches, the police, the courts and corrections systems. Research confirms this judgment, suggesting that community condemnation of anti-social behavior is far more effective than traditional societal means of altering such behavior. Statistical trends support this hypothesis, in that the major increases in the number of police and judges or the great growth of the corrections field over the past twenty years, have not reduced crime. It remains to be seen whether community efforts can alter the situation over the next several years, at least to the satisfaction of the residents and their voluntary associations.

The final data in this report has to do with the organizations' perception of issues considered to have little or no importance to their communities. Thirty-two issues were cited as unimportant, the range being one to twenty citations. In general there is convergence between these rankings and the ranking of issues by order of importance in Table 19. There are several exceptions. Eleven of these 32 issues were most often cited as unimportant.

-39-

Table 29. RANKING OF ISSUES JUDGED TO BE UNIMPORTANT BY AT
LEAST TEN ORGANIZATIONS*   (citations)

Ethnic Arts	20
Unwanted Programs	19
Highway Construction	16
Day Care	15
Domestic Violence	14
Vocational Programs	13
Auto Theft	13
Mass Transit	12
Mental Health	12
Child Abuse	11
Loitering	10

Ethnic arts, cited by 23 organizations as important (Table 19) was judged
as unimportant by 20 other organizations. This may be because those
neighborhoods of strong ethnic identity view the question very differently
than those without such identity. It is also probably due to the tradition
of the arts in working class areas as a non-political part of community
life. It is possible that the recent interest in neighborhoods of the
National Endowment for the Arts, and the Arts Councils of the various states
over the past few years, is stimulating activity through its grants programs,
and accounts for the participation of a significant number of groups in this
study.

This and other issues that are in the upper half or even upper third of
the rankings in Table 19, and simultaneously receive a large number of
citations as unimportant, are of great concern to many groups and of none
to the rest. They are not of universal importance to the groups in this
sample, as most of the housing and crime issues are. Highway, and mass
transit, day care, vocational programs, mental health, and loitering are
the other issues of this type.

FINAL NOTE

There is a great need for research on the nature and practice of community
organization, however, those interested in this field face a problem. Most
organizations feel that they are oversurveyed, excessively researched,
particularly by people who do not understand their field. Organizations also
tend to feel that most research on urban issues is either useless or damaging.
Therefore it is a delicate political matter to approach the field from either
a traditional research perspective, or a traditional research institution,
Many organizations will not cooperate with research unless they are paid to do
so, and this appears to me to be a reasonable position in that most researchers
are paid, and paid well from public funds.

My recommendation to future researchers is to co-venture with community
organizations in research, or with networks of organizations which have
obtained a degree of trust at the grassroots level. This is particularly
necessary in dealing with experienced organizations.

_____ _____
*See Appendix I for full table

The Author

Gerson Green has worked for the past twenty-two years in the field
of neighborhood and community organization. He is currently em-
ployed by the National Center for Voluntary Action (NCVA) to assist
such organizations through work in research and communications pro-
jects dealing with crime prevention and reduction. He is also
President of the Center for Community Organizations (CCO), estab-
lished as a national structure under the control of elected leaders
of voluntary associations to provide training, program development
and research to self-help groups in cities throughout the nation.
CCO is associated with the NCVA.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION INFORMATION

Organization Name _____

Your Name _____

Organization Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone Number Area Code (   ) _____

A. Please answer the following questions about your organization, where they apply:

1. How many people live in the geographic area you represent? _____
2. How many organizations belong to your organization? _____
3. How many individuals belong to your organization?
4. Are there <u>neighborhood</u> organizations within your organization's boundries that belong to your organization? No ( )   Yes ( )   If Yes, how many? _____
   What is their relationship to your organization?
   Member ( )   Have Seat on Board ( )   Other ( ) _____
5. What type of organization are you?
   ( ) Community Development Corporation   ( ) Community Action Agency
   ( ) Local affiliate of national org.   ( ) Community Organization
   ( ) Other _____
6. What is your organization's legal status?
   ( ) Private, not-for-profit   ( ) Private, Tax Exempt (510 (c)(3))
   ( ) Private, Tax Exempt (501 (c) (4))   ( ) Other _____
7. What is your annual budget? $_____
8. What percent of your budget is provided by the following?:
   Raised locally _____ %
   Foundations _____ %
   City Agencies _____ %
   State Agencies _____ %
   Federal Agencies _____ %
   Sub-Contracts _____ %
        Total _____ 100 _____ %
9. How many paid staff do you have for:
   Organizing _____   Program _____   Administration _____
10. What year was your organization founded? _____
11. Organization founding was the result of?:
    ( ) Sponsoring Committee   ( ) Special neighborhood crisis
    ( ) Coalition of neighborhood groups   ( ) Model Cities/Comm. Serv. Agency
    ( ) Other _____
12. How does your organization elect its officers and Board of Directors?
    ( ) Annual meeting of members   ( ) Annual meeting of Board of Directors
    ( ) Annual meeting of member org.   ( ) Annual meeting of representatives
         delegates   from affiliate organizations
    ( ) Direct election by residents   ( ) Other _____
13. In addition to the annual election, do certain groups have an automatic seat on the Board of Directors?
    ( ) No   ( ) Neighborhood organizations
    ( ) Clergy association   ( ) Issue committee(s)
    ( ) Development/Service Programs   ( ) Business and/or Industry
    ( ) Institutions   ( ) Other _____
14. What is the authority and responsibility of the Board of Directors?
    ( ) Hire/fire staff   ( ) Set policies for organization
    ( ) Implement policies established   ( ) Raise funds for organization
         at annual meeting   ( ) Coordinate activities of organization
    ( ) Develop new issues/programs   ( ) Other _____

B 1. What, in your view and in your organization's experience, are the major crime problems and concerns in your area (e.g. rape, breaking and entering, burgulary, vandalism, police community conflicts, auto thefts, juvenile crime, drug abuse, child abuse, prostitution, street gangs, assualts, etc.)? Please try to list crime problems in order of importance.

1. _____ 4. _____
2. _____ 5. _____
3. _____ 6. _____

2. For each of the crime problems you have listed above, please indicate which your organization is currently dealing with, or has dealt with in the past and what program approach you used e.g. whistle stop, block watch, court monitoring, etc.

No. from
Above   Program(s)
  1.   _____
  2.   _____
  3.   _____
  4.   _____
  5.   _____
  6.   _____

C. Please answer these questions about any program/issue committees, crime or non-crime related your organization is implementing directly, or are related to your organization e.g. Daycare centers, housing committee, etc.

1.   Program/Committee _____ Year Started _____
     Number of Paid Staff _____ Number of Participants _____
     Funding Source _____ Annual Budget $ _____
     Is Program operated in conjunction with any other organization:
     ( ) No ( ) Technical Assistance Only ( ) Technical Assistance and Funding
     Name of Organization _____

2.   Program/Committee _____ Year Started _____
     Number of Paid Staff _____ Number of Participants _____
     Funding Source _____ Annual Budget $ _____
     Is Program operated in conjunction with any other organization:
     ( ) No ( ) Technical Assistance Only ( ) Technical Assistance and Funding
     Name of Organization _____

3.   Program/Committee _____ Year Started _____
     Number of Paid Staff _____ Number of Participants _____
     Funding Source _____ Annual Budget $ _____
     Is Program operated in conjunction with any other organization:
     ( ) No ( ) Technical Assistance Only ( ) Technical Assistance and Funding
     Name of Organization _____

4.   Program/ Committee _____ Year Started _____
     Number of Paid Staff _____ Number of Participants _____
     Funding Source _____ Annual $ _____
     Is Program operated in conjunction with any other organization:
     ( ) No ( ) Technical Assistance Only ( ) Technical Assistance and Funding
     Name of Organization _____

D. Look at the list of issues below. For each of the issues please
   check the appropriate space to indicate, for your organization,
   whether it is:

   1. Not an important issue   4. Neighborhood Committee Active
   2. Discussed occasionally   5. Community Wide Committee Active
   3. Organized on a block club level 6. Active Program

Issues	1 Not Imp.	2 Dis. Occ.	3 Org. Blk.	4 Neigh. Comm.	5 Comm. Wide	6 Act. Pro.
Abandoned Housing	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Auto Theft	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Burglaries	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Busin Revital.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Child Abuse	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
City Services	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Crimes Agst. Busin.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Crimes Agst. Elderly	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Day Care	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Deteriorated Housing	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Disinvestment	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Domestic Violence	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Drug Abuse	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Education	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Ethnic Arts	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Health Services	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Highway const.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
HUD Housing	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Jobs for Youth	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Juvenile Crime	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Loitering	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Mass Transit	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Mental Health	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Muggings	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Rape	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Recreation Prgms.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Redlining	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Senior Citizen Needs	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Street Lighting	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Street safety	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Street Traffic	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Unemployment	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Unwanted Prgms.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Vandalism	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Vocational Prgms.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Other _____	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Other _____	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Other _____	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Other _____	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

E. 1. How many people are on your Board of Directors? _____
    2. How often does your Board meet?
        ( )   Weekly   ( ) Bi-monthly   ( ) No set meeting
        ( )   Bi-weekly   ( ) Quarterly
        ( )   Monthly   ( ) Annually
    3. What is your organization's annual meeting date? _____
        ( ) Do not have a set annual meeting
    4. Do you have a crime committee as part of your organization?
        ( ) No   ( ) Yes
        If yes, how many active members are on that Committee? _____
    5. What is the authority and responsibility of the Crime Committee
        ( ) Hire/fire staff   ( ) Set policies for organization
        ( ) Implement policies set   ( ) Raise funds for crime programs
            at annual meeting   ( ) Other _____
        ( ) Development issues/programs

F. What are the predominant ethnic groups in the geographic area your
    organization serves?

    _____   4. _____
    _____   5. _____
    _____   6. _____

    Completed _____   Signature _____

Please fold in thirds, staple closed, stamp, and return to the address
below. If you have any additional information please send it under a
separate cover.

_____

APPENDIX B: States and Cities In The Sample

                Mobile, Alabama
                Pasadena, California
                San Francisco, California
                Denver, Colorado
                East Haven, Connecticut
                District of Columbia (3)
                Miami, Florida
                Aurora, Illinois
                Chicago, Illinois (4)
                Indianapolis, Indiana
                Fort Dodge, Iowa
                Portland, Maine
                Baltimore, Maryland (2)
                Landham, Maryland
                Olney, Maryland
                Prince Georges County, Maryland
                Somerville, Massachusetts
                Detroit, Michigan (3)
                Greenville, Mississippi
                Saint Louis, Missouri
                Dover, New Jersey
                Bronx, New York (2)
                Brooklyn, New York (2)
                Ogensburg, New York
                Rochester, New York
                Cleveland, Ohio (2)
                Toledo, Ohio
                Easton, Pennsylvania
                Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (2)
                Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
                Providence, Rhode Island
                Milwaukee, Wisconsin
                Racine, Wisconsin

APPENDIX C: Predominant Ethnic Identities (number of citations)
(The ethnic designations were volunteered by respondents and appear exactly as they were entered on the questionnaires, with one exception)

Black	32	Bulgarian	1
Italian	17	Caucasian	1
Spanish*	16	Croatian	1
White	15	Czech-Slavic	1
Irish	13	Danish	1
Polish	13	Dominican	1
German	7	Ecuadorian	1
Jewish	7	Franco-American	1
Latino	6	French-Canadian	1
Slavic	6	Haitian	1
Afro-American	4	Hasidic	1
Hungarian	3	Indian	1
Appalachian	2	Lebanese	1
Asian-American	2	Lithuanian	1
European-American	2	Mexican	1
French	2	Middle-European	1
Koreans	2	Oriental	1
Portuguese	2	Scandanavians	1
African	1	Slovenian	1
Anglo	1	Ukrainian	1
Bohemian	1	West Indian	1

*Includes "Hispanic", "Hispanic-American", and "Spanish-Speaking".

APPENDIX D: Crime Problems (number of citations)

Breaking and Entering   155
Burglary   137
Vandalism   127
Juvenile Crime   114
Assaults   98
Drug Abuse   73
Police-Community Conflicts   46
Crimes Against Elderly   34
Auto Theft   33
Steet Gangs   28
Rape   26
Larceny   13
Domestic Violence   11
Harassment   11
Prostitution   9
Child Abuse   7
Arson   7
Traffic Enforcement   7
Street Crimes   4
Fear of Crime   4
Problem Bars   4
Porno Movie House   1

APPENDIX E: Percent of Total Citations By Issue Category And
              By Level Of Community Organization

Crime-Neighborhood Level	12.73
Government Services-Neighborhood Level	12.31
Government Services-Community Level	11.32
Urban Planning & Dev.-Community Level	9.19
Crime-Community Level	8.63
Health & Social Services-Neighborhood Level	7.50
Health & Social Services-Community Level	7.36
Urban Planning & Dev.-Neighborhood Level	6.51
Housing-Community Level	6.08
Housing-Neighborhood Level	5.80
Government Services-Block Level	3.68
Housing-Block Level	3.11
Crime-Block Level	2.83
Urban Planning & Dev. - Block Level	1.84
Health & Social Services - Block Level	1.13

APPENDIX F: Percent Of Citations Within Issue Categories
              By Level Of Community Organization

	Block	Neigh.	Comnty.
Government Services	13.47	45.08	41.45
Crime	11.70	52.63	35.67
Urban Planning & Dev.	10.48	37.10	52.42
Health & Social Services	7.08	46.90	46.02
Housing	20.75	38.68	40.57

APPENDIX G: Active Programs, Full Table

CRIME (45)

Juvenile Crime	15
Burglaries	10
Vandalism	9
Crime Against Elderly	6
Rape	2
Crime Against Business	2
Auto Theft	1

HOUSING (57)

Deteriorated Housing	24
HUD Housing	18
Abandoned Housing	14
Tenant Issues	1

URBAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

General Disinvestment	11
Mortgage Disinvestment (Redlining)	8
Commercial Revitalization	8
Mass Transit	8
Highway Construction	8
General Planning and Development	3
Utilities	3
Tax Issues	2
Pollution	1

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

Senior Citizen Needs	14
Health Services	14
Mental Health	8
Day Care	7
Domestic Violence	4
Child Abuse	3
Drug Abuse	3

GOVERNMENT SERVICES

Recreation	19
General City Services	17
Education	13
Jobs for Youth	13
Vocational Programs	8
Street Safety	7
Street Lighting	6

APPENDIX H :   Citations of Advocacy and Program Activity by Issue
(percentages)

	Advocacy	Program
Street Safety	85%	15%
Street Lighting	82%	18%
Burglaries	80%	20%
Vandalism	80%	20%
Crime Against Elderly	80%	20%
Abandoned Housing	74%	26%
Commercial Revitalization	75%	25%
Mortgage Disinvestment ("Redlining")	75%	25%
Mass Transit	73%	27%
Highway Construction	69%	31%
Day Care	68%	32%
Mental Health	66%	34%
General City Services	66%	34%
General Disinvestment	65%	35%
Senior Citizen Needs	64%	36%
Education	64%	36%
Juvenile Crime	63%	37%
HUD Housing	62%	38%
Jobs for Youth	61%	39%
Health Services	60%	40%
Vocational Programs	60%	40%
Deteriorated Housing	59%	41%
Recreation	54%	46%

APPENDIX I: Unimportant Issues, Full Table

Ethnic Arts	20
Unwanted Programs	19
Highway Construction	16
Day Care	15
Domestic Violence	14
Vocational Programs	13
Auto Theft	13
Mass Transit	12
Mental Health	12
Child Abuse	11
Loitering	10
Rape	9
Crimes Against Business	8
Unemployment	8
General Health Services	7
Commercial Revitalization	6
Redlining	6
Abandoned Housing	4
HUD Housing	4
Jobs for Youth	4
Education	4
Recreation	3
Street Lighting	3
Crimes Against Elderly	2
Muggings	2
General City Services	2
Street Traffic	2
Deteriorated Housing	1
Burglaries	1
Vandalism	1
Drug Abuse	1
Street Safety	1