Handbook of
Community Movements
and Local Organizations

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Creating a Frame for Understanding Local Organizations

RAM CNAAN, CARL MILOFSKY, AND ALBERT HUNTER

In this book, scholars from a number of disciplines present work focused on communities, with particular attention to community organizations. A few scholars have emphasized the importance of the need to map this intellectual territory (Calhoun, 1992). In some ways community study seems to be well-trodden ground; there has been influential work on social capital, for example (Coleman, 1987,1988; Putnam, 1995; Foley and Edwards, 1997; Edwards and Foley, 1998). Yet the rich diversity of communities and community organizations has rarely been studied from a perspective that is both conceptual and descriptive. The growing sense that unstudied local organizations constitute a massive yet little-understood portion of the nonprofit cosmos has led Smith (1997a,b) to call them the "dark matter of the nonprofit universe." An interdisciplinary attempt to make community a unit of study has not been previously undertaken, and thus we feel that this *Handbook* makes a unique contribution to scholarly understanding of both communities and nonprofit organizations that operate at the community level.

A community is a group of people connected by the physical or virtual location (to some extent we can speak of "places" on the World Wide Web, e.g.) in which they dwell or congregate, organizations they form, and cultural values and symbols they share. Communities are affected, and in a sense defined by, forces that affect community members and their space. The forces can range from outside organizations such as the government and large corporations to individuals who visit the community and make a difference in it. Forces also include natural forces, as in the impact of Hurricane Katrina on New Orleans in 2005. These components of community vary infinitely, and thus no two communities are the same; even a given community is not the same over time.

Sometimes by intention, and sometimes not, communities tend to be segregated by income, race, worldview, and interests. As McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook (2001) remind

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us, the sociological literature demonstrates that the search for similarity is a primary force in the formation, development, and stability of interpersonal relationships, associations, and neighborhoods. As Brass and Labianca (1999, p. 328) noted: "Similarity is thought to ease communication, increase predictability of behavior, and foster trust and reciprocity." Consequently, people with the means to congregate in segregated communities tend to do so. On the other hand, there are communities of poverty, low-quality housing, and concentration of ethnic minorities in which some people must live, even against their preferences.

Despite these recurring patterns in community formation, the broad divisions cannot account for the myriad differences between communities. Each community also differs from others based on the geography of its location, built environment, local and state government, local history, and types of relationships among residence, local leadership, service organizations, and businesses. Indeed, each community has its own story. Accordingly, the study of community needs not just social theorists observing from high places, but urban anthropologists who focus on particular communities and learn their unique features and processes.

This book is also about organizations embedded in community, particularly those that are small and not for profit. People in communities form many such small and even mid-size organizations to facilitate transactions and to improve local quality of life. Some of these organizations are extremely informal [Kretzmann and McKnight (1993); Smith (1997a,b); alsosee Salamon, Chapter 9 in this volume]. In every community one can find subgroups that emerge into voluntary associations or cliques. Warner and Lunt (1942) called them "secondary organizations" and Berger and Neuhaus (1977) called them "mediating structures." They are referenced in discussions of pluralist democracy as the building blocks of representation (Dahl, 1961; Skocpol, 1997, 2003).

These small organizations are essential components of other social arrangements such as civil society, community, democratic representation, community organization [cf. Alinsky (1969)], and grassroots economic development. Yet there is virtually no discussion of what they are, how they work, or what theoretical and empirical research traditions apply to them. Organizational theory struggles with these entities because it is not clear that they are "organizations" as understood by contemporary students of nonprofit organizations and management. Organizations are defined as "corporate actors" (Coleman, 1990), which is to say that they have an existence autonomous from the surrounding environment, and they are owned or directed by a specific, usually small, cadre. They have functions, boundaries, hierarchies, and resources, and we often anthropomorphize them as having a will to survive.

Community organizations present problems to that definition, because they tend to be embedded within communities. Their boundaries are permeable. They often are more about the process than the products of their work or the tasks people seek to accomplish. They may disappear when their signature problem is not present as a community concern only to reappear when a new crisis arises. They may change character when new members join. Their expressive value is often equal to or even greater than their instrumental value. They may not own resources, but rather depend on relationships and history and the willingness of people to contribute what is needed when the time comes for work to be done. Their leaders may not be self-conscious entrepreneurs but rather may be citizens who are raised up by acclamation or by the needs of the moment (see Chapter 25 by Shmid). They are settings or venues where community happens and as such are inseparable from the larger system that is this amorphous thing we call community (Milofsky, 1988).

Part of the challenge is that our ideas about organizations are so strongly informed by Weberian thinking that it is hard to think about how nonbureaucratic organizations might work

(Cnaan, 1991; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Religious organizations are interesting to study in this context because some traditions have evolved around a specific desire to prevent central authority and hierarchical administrative structures [Heilman (1976); also see Chapter 17 by Charleton].

Although community organizations resist identification as discrete "things" we increasingly recognize their presence and their importance. David Horton Smith coined an apt metaphor when he said they are the "dark matter" of the nonprofit organizational universe (Smith, 1997a,b, 2000). Small associations are hard to see because they often are not incorporated. They have small budgets. They are based on voluntary involvements and in kind contributions. They grow out of particular dimensions of social involvement when individuals' lives are "multiplex," made up of many of these dimensions (Mitchell, 1969). They are "secondary," in the sense that they exist in the interstices between major institutions and consequently are not a primary interest or focus for most people. After all, how many scholars and practitioners are interested in a group of a dozen local gardeners or the local hair salon softball team? They are the origin of the social capital that makes civic life and civility possible, but they are quite mundane.

Although they are hard to identify, much less quantify, Smith argued that they in fact represent one of the largest parts of the nonprofit sector. One manifestation of this is Cnaan's research on the social benefits provided to the larger community by congregations. In his study of Philadelphia congregations, Cnaan found that when one adds up volunteer hours and in kind contributions in addition to cash gifts, the average congregation's replacement value is over $100,000 per year to the broader community good. All congregations together contributed more than a quarter billion dollars to the quality of life of people in the city of Philadelphia (Cnaan and Boddie, 2001). Kirsten Grønbjerg similarly found a huge presence of small, informal associations in her meticulous study of voluntary action in Indiana (Grønbjerg and Clerkin, 2005). The dark matter is a reality.

This is truly a rich and complex area of study that moves across several conceptual frontiers. It moves seamlessly from the practical to the abstract. It incorporates a wide array of topics that interfaces with nearly any aspect of social life one can imagine. It includes fertile ways of understanding the structures and processes that lie in this intermediate realm of social and community structure. Second, these topics hang together despite drawing on strikingly diverse intellectual traditions and different styles of research and social action. This book will succeed if it serves as a teaching tool for those who want to learn about community organizing and community life. It also will succeed if it lays the foundation for intellectual dialogue of a new kind of research on topics not previously imagined or considered important.

To say that this book identifies unknown territory is not to say that the work we present is new. Indeed, in many of the chapters the task has been to recapture empirical studies and conceptual treatments that have been known for a long time. In some cases this work had simply receded from interest and attention so that little new scholarship exists. We are bringing old research back into view and asking how it would be expanded or reinterpreted in light of twenty-first century realities. In other cases the task has been to redirect the focus of research. Among community studies, for example, there often is important and detailed discussion of secondary organizations. The findings just have not been pulled together because these have never been a focus of analysis and research.

The exploration of a complex, extensive, and poorly understood landscape requires a theoretically eclectic book. One might imagine this project would offer a methodical presentation of topics that marches us through things such as organizational evolution, mobilization of community action, and managerial strategies for helping local associations and community

movements to grow and increase in effectiveness. There are materials of that nature in the book as we explore issues such as leadership (Schmid, Chapter 25), the mobilization of volunteers (Netting, Chapter 26), community organization and social policy (Taylor, Chapter 21), the methodology of action research (Cairns, Carroll, and Harris, Chapter 24), and the creation of successful intentional communities (Cnaan and Breyman, Chapter 15).

Most of the book, however, is aimed at creating a framework for the field by zeroing in on topics that we might call theoretical. We are tentative in calling this material "theory" because our hope is that readers will find most of the chapters concrete, practical, and related to real-world issues and problems. The theory is driven by up-close empirical observations. For example, when Borkman (Chapter 13) tells us about self-help groups, we receive not only a theoretical orientation to an important field but one which draws from her fund of experiential knowledge of stutterers groups, 12-step groups, and health self-help groups. When Milofsky (Chapter 3) tells us about linkages between local communities and mass society, we not only learn about one of the important challenges to sociological research, but we also learn of specific instances where different local to mass connections have shaped community movements.

When Nyden (Chapter 19) tells us about interethnic cooperation or Gilligan (Chapter 20) tells us about community responses to crises, we hope readers will see their immediate relevance to familiar problems while they also frame important conceptual areas. When Charlton (Chapter 17) discusses congregations as communities, we not only learn about nuanced differences between formal organizations and community groups, but we also learn about ideas that have emerged in the last ten years about how congregations can be built and developed. Salamon (Chapter 9) gives sound practical advice about how to approach, enter, and study a community.

The parts of the book that look more like formal theory are mostly aimed at providing a historical interpretation of how key ideas developed and how they have been incorporated in research. Thus, Hunter (Chapter 1) and Hall (Chapter 2) tell us about the history of key concepts in community theory as they relate to associations and local movements, and Abzug (Chapter 5) tells us about the treatment of elites in community theory. Schneider (Chapter 4) gives a summary of social capital theory. Fairbanks (Chapter 6) relates urban ecology theory to theories of economic development. Culhane and Breuer (Chapter 8) and Birch (Chapter 7) explore the interplay between physical space, definitions of public, semi-public, and private, and civil society. Stanfield (Chapter 18) helps us to understand how race and ethnicity shape community structure. Chavis and Hyde (Chapter 11) and Reisch and Guyet (Chapter 10) orient us to social psychological and small group notions of community. Rothschild and Leach (Chapter 22) use case examples to review theories about the organizational limits of democratic movements as they critique Michels (1949).

Some of the chapters are theoretical in the sense of being frankly speculative. When Mesch (Chapter 14), for example, talks about virtual communities, he is stretching our topic because most of our chapters implicitly refer to physical geographic communities. Adams and Ueno (Chapter 12) do this in a different way as they discuss how friendship supports and undermines community and the integration of small organizations. Van Til, Hegyesi, and Eschweiler (Chapter 23) take us away from the organizational approach to social movements by talking about movements that created basic social change.

The topics we cover are not exhaustive in the sense that our original list of topics included things not found between these covers. Our objective, however, is to convey certain impressions. First, this is truly a rich and complex area of study that moves across several conceptual frontiers. It moves seamlessly from the practical to the abstract. It incorporates a wide array of topics that interfaces with nearly any aspect of social life one can imagine. It includes fertile ways

of understanding the structures and processes that lie in this intermediate realm of social and community structure. Second, these topics hang together despite drawing on strikingly diverse intellectual traditions and different styles of research and social action. This book will succeed if it serves as a teaching tool for those who want to learn about community organizing and community life. It also will succeed if it lays the foundation for intellectual dialogue of a new kind of research on topics not previously imagined or considered important.

ON THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY[1]

Community means different things to different people in different times and locations. It is a fluid concept that captures numerous manifestations. For example, Hillery (1995) has offered a review that includes ninety-four different conceptions of community. We do not intend to try anything like that here. Instead of treating community as a "thing" that might be defined we talk about it as a variable quality that helps us to characterize and understand particular concrete cases. Communities may differ in numerous ways; hence, we do not focus on community's definition but on its multifacetedness. Even within this book, it will be evident that different authors conceive of community in different ways. However, in order to reduce repetition, it seems useful to briefly sketch here in the introduction both an overview of the defining attributes of community, and of the essential literature informing community research.

Because this book is about communities, the organization of communities, and how local organizations are shaped by communities, it draws on a tradition of community study that began with the Chicago School studies instigated by Park and Burgess (1925) in the 1920s as well as comprehensive community studies in the anthropological tradition such as Warner's *Yankee City* series (Warner and Lunt, 1941).

In these studies, distinct components or functions of community were examined in relationship to social networks, expressions of social class, manifestations of mass society and culture in local life. Communities were viewed as a type of organization, and the legacy of the research is a large number of provocative but often unrecognized understandings. They concern the ways people join together into groups, how they identify and solve problems, how they become committed to traditions, and how they enact rituals. This tradition of community study was rich throughout the 1960s and 1970s, but it seems to have died down, and many of its basic ideas and insights have been nearly lost to contemporary scholars.

Community is a complex construct composed of many important dimensions. It subsumes people, locality, place, organizations, and in some ways the forces that affect them all. Instead of offering a definition of community, we here attempt to frame the concept in a manner roughly parallel to Weber's (1983) work developing the concept of bureaucracy. We describe community in terms of three distinct dimensions, along which any group of people can vary from weakly to strongly communal. We imagine these variables as three axes, say x, y, and z defining an attribute space in which specific cases can be located and described in terms of their "communityness." We present a brief outline of this three-dimensional concept of community developed by Albert Hunter in numerous writings (Hunter, 1974,1975,1978). The three dimensions of community are:

1. *Shared ecology*: This involves the centrality of a specific spatial location for characterizing the social dynamics and identity of a case. Some communal experience is not space-bound, such as online communities, whereas for others, such as the local neighborhood, being part of a delineated area is fundamental. This variable includes the way attributes of space—like boundaries, collective gathering areas, and the public,

semi-public, or private character of an area—define, bound, and shape social life as well as the localized, sustenance resources that come from those who identify with a place.

2. *Social organization*: This involves the character of networks, the social processes of community life that make it a space for simply living, and organizational systems that allow a community to define problems, get work done, and achieve coordination. These organizations then, in turn, produce new and denser networks of community members who in turn form other informal and at times formal groups and organizations. The presence or absence of social capital is an aspect of this variable as is the capacity of a community to mobilize for action and self-representation.

3. *Shared cultural and symbolic meanings*: This involves meanings and sentiments members share that lead them to value the community and identify with it. It includes the psychological sense of community, the ways community and identity are intertwined, and the way small group dynamics evolve from acquaintanceship to strong bonds and cultural communalities. One needs to distinguish between symbolic "identification of community" and "identification *with* community," interdependent collective and individual identity formation, respectively. It also includes institutions that are specifically religious and cultural in character and the extent to which they enhance the community life or perhaps draw members away and involve them in other systems.

For different empirical cases, one or another of these dimensions may be strong and powerful or weak, limited, or nonexistent. Cases where all three dimensions are strong fit our idealized notions of what makes something a strong community. This probably would be a local neighborhood where the residents have been stable for some time and interact around many functional issues such as work, school, family, and friendship life and where they also actively participate together in cultural and symbolic institutions that might be churches but might also be local producers markets or artistic events. When a case is weak on one or more dimensions this does not disqualify it as an example of community but rather may define it as a distinct or special case. Internet communities have little geographic focus but may still have a strong sense of community. Some urban communities share distinct geographical boundaries, yet residents do not know each other and although they may have a lot in common and some organizations are active in the community, members do not share or perceive themselves as belonging. Community action groups may be effective at functioning organizationally and getting work done but their members may be so diverse that they share little in terms of a common cultural or symbolic identity. Indeed, what distinguishes many chapters of this book is that they explore idiosyncratic expressions of communities such as these.

Many scholars noted that in the "true" or "ideal" community people have many similarities and shared experiences. Their face-to-face interactions are numerous, their social bonding is very strong, and often members are at the same location where they know each other and have many similarities. In this volume the works on intentional communities (by Cnaan and Breyman), self-help groups (by Borkman), and to some extent gated communities (by Blakley) exemplify these types of community and people's search for these types of relationship. At the extreme end is the community of "anomie." In this community people share very little with each other and a given neighbor may not even know the names and faces of other neighbors. In this case people may be around but they do not share at all.

Again, we stress that even a description along these dimensions is merely a starting point for describing a community. Even two communities at the same point in our conceptual space

may be of different shapes and colors. However, we do distinguish between community and "not community." We want to recognize that a social arrangement scoring low on all three dimensions is, by definition, not a community, and these examples are as important—though not for the purposes of this book—as the types of strong community we recognize.

Where networks are weak, trust is absent, organization is ineffectual, and shared identity is absent we have weak social capital and the fragmented life observers have called "mass society" (Ortega y Gasset, 1985). This need not be a negative quality, because it can lead to greater personal autonomy and expression, independence for participating in the market, and the freedom to develop personal talents and tastes without the restrictions communities may impose: Wirth (1938) called this "urbanism." Communities can be coercive, and social and political revolutions for change grow precisely out of the decay and erosion of these strong controls (Tilly, 2004).

The fact that community is a multidimensional concept is one reason this book is needed. Although there are rich traditions of scholarship that focus on particular themes such as friendship, self-help, congregational life, intentional communities, or community organizing, such work has not been integrated into a theory of community. Indeed, most of the authors of this book are leaders in one of the subareas, and almost without exception it was a new challenge for them to think about how their subarea could be conceptualized with respect to a more general theory of community.

We know a lot about how specific dynamics work within the specialty areas but very little about how established knowledge in one area maps onto experience in another. For example, does friendship lead to a sort of dyadic withdrawal that undermines organization (Simmel, 1950b/1903) in intentional communities or congregations? As far as we can tell, this is an original question but one that has come up as important point of discussion here.[2]

Although focusing on little-recognized community types is a fresh and intriguing project we must not lose sight of another reality. Many of the themes we develop here have appeared in community studies in the past and may have been a significant focus of theory and research. The decline of community hypothesis, for example, has been around for a long time, lying as it does behind Ortega y Gasset's (1985) writing about mass society as well as behind Putnam's (1997) writing about the decline of social capital. Those writings are closely tied to discussions of multiplexity that we see in the anthropology literature (Mitchell, 1969); we might recall that Warner was an anthropologist and that *Yankee City* manifests an anthropologist's interest in the ways that dimensions of community life play into each other (Warner, 1959; Warner and Lunt, 1942; Warner and Srole, 1945; Warner and Low, 1947; Warner et al., 1963). We referenced Simmel's (1950b/1903) comments about dyadic withdrawal; his writing on dyads and triads is one of the classics that underlies small groups theory (Mills, 1984), a theory that in turn is integral to the study of community dynamics (see Chapter 10 by Reisch and Guyet). A brief review of the history of community theory will help us to situate this project.

COMMUNITY, THE GREAT
TRANSFORMATION, AND SOCIAL THEORY

We begin by borrowing the phrase of the historian Karl Polanyi, whose book *The Great Transformation* (1944) documents the transition of Western civilization over the past three centuries from a dispersed, small-scale, primitive agricultural civilization to a highly concentrated, large-scale, modern industrial one. This massive social change produced a culture shock and various

social theorists attempted to describe the nature of this change and to offer various explanations for its occurrence. The very title of Maurice Stein's (1960) classic work *The Eclipse of Community* alludes to the key proposition advanced in this transformation, the eclipse, decline, or loss of community—and he identifies three key processes that are seen to have contributed to it—industrialization, bureaucratization, and urbanization. To these we would add secularization (Cox 1965) and, in the American case, immigration (Handlin, 1951; Wade, 1959).

Numerous social theorists have described this transition in the nature of human communities from rural agricultural settlements to urban commercial and industrial cities, the three-century-long process that began in the West in the seventeenth century that Polyanyi (1944) refers to as The Great Transformation.

It is difficult to summarize these various social theorists in a brief discussion. What follows should be seen as a mere cartoon outline that identifies each theorist's focus on this particular set of key characteristics or concepts, or that author's preferred causal mechanisms. We have somewhat arbitrarily arranged them in a sequence that moves from a macroeconomic and structural emphasis through cultural to more microsocial and interpersonal consequences of the transformation.

We begin with the German scholar Ferdinand Tönnies (1887), who contributed the enduring conceptual contrast of *Gemeinschaft* (community) versus *Gesellschaft* (society). *Gemeinschaft* was seen to be natural, enduring, "God-given," uncritically evaluated positively as something "good," to which people belonged and which expressed the positive sentiments of identity and solidarity. The primary purpose of community was to maintain and sustain its members' collective existence. The community was an end in and of itself. By contrast, modern societies are seen to be artificial, socially constructed by people, flawed and sometimes even evil, and therefore often altered, short-lived, and fluid in their organization. They exist as a limited contract and a means for people to pursue rationally their own individual ends. Relationships were often described as the individual versus society. If community exists, it is as a means to the fulfillment of individual interests. In short, community is seen to be rooted in the traditional solidarities of blood and land whereas modern societies were constructed to further diversity and varying individual self-interests. The cause of all this was the rise of market societies and the changes in the economic order brought about by capitalism.

In fact, although Tönnies is most often quoted as originally distinguishing between the idealized and artificial community, variations of this line of thinking predated him. Rousseau (1792), in his book *The Social Contract* (1947), distinguished between "town" and "city." In his view houses make only a town whereas people (citizens) make a city. City denoted the association of citizens and their bonding and norms of behavior where the places and sites themselves were socially empty. In a "city" people associate with each other and are not merely aggregated. As such, the town is the forced, mechanical, undesired mode of communal living and the city is the desired type.

The French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1893) characterized the transition as that from a primitive, simple division of labor (what he called mechanical solidarity) to a more complex division of labor (or organic solidarity). Where the former small-scale autonomous self-sufficient settlements, endlessly repeated, remained relatively isolated from one another in a segmented social order, the larger-scale more complex urban settlements became interconnected and interdependent in a hierarchical organic social order. In the former (mechanical) solidarity was based on similarity and empathy with only a primitive division of labor based on gender and age, in the latter (organic) solidarity existed based on difference and interdependence brought about by an increasing division of labor into highly specialized occupations. The driving force

for this was "man's natural propensity to congregate" into ever larger settlements (urbaniza-tion) that produced an ecological density and competition for scarce resources (such as land). This problem of social competition and conflict was, in turn, resolved into an ecological sym-biosis brought about by a parallel increasing "moral density" of diverse interests and groups reflecting normative differences and variation—a degree of social tolerance. For Durkheim, then, the transition was one of shift from mechanical to organic solidarity brought about by urbanization and an increasing division of labor. It was less specifically focused on market economy in general or capitalism in particular.

Like Durkheim, Adam Smith had earlier focused on the increasing division of labor as a key element of the transition in the economic order that had a profound impact on increasing the wealth of industrial nations and the transition in social relations brought about by the rise of modern capitalistic market societies. Smith was clearly an apologist for the increase of material wealth that was brought about by commercial and industrial capitalism. He is rightly cited as such by classical and neoclassical economists. He nonetheless foreshadowed issues of alien-ation and decline in solidarity brought about by the division of labor's narrowing of individual self-interest rooted in market exchanges. Although this might produce the greatest collective good in material well-being through the "invisible hand" of unanticipated consequences, he also saw it eroding social ties and the solidarity of community. In his neglected work, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Smith, 1976/1759), he argued for the clear need for both macro overarching moral sentiments of community and the micro interpersonal empathetic concern for the welfare of others as being required to hold society together in the face of this heightened division of labor and valorization of individual self-interest narrowly construed in economic terms.

One of the most significant economic-based theories is that of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and their analysis of the rise of modern capitalism. They highlighted the destruction of the older agrarian feudal order, and the increasing concentration of commercial capitalism, and later distributive factors of production. These included not only the concentration of ownership in an economic elite, but also the physical concentration of factors of production and fixed capital in machinery and factories. Significantly this led to the concentration of the poor and working class in the slum neighborhoods of the exploding industrial cities. The paradox of community for Marx and Engels was that the alienation of workers from their own labor and from each other would be overcome by the concentrated dense networks of the urban working class as they engaged in class conflict through union and solidarity movements and strikes as well as through social and political conflict. Class interests would supercede territorial communal interests and lead to new forms of solidarity: the unity, solidarity, or community of class positions.

Following on Marx, Weber (1905) advanced a number of social and cultural changes that addressed the question of a loss of community. Weber's most famous cultural analysis was of course his argument about the cultural shift in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Preeminently, he emphasized the increasing rationality of modern life and saw the transition from traditional sacred organization that was rooted in community giving way to rational secular market-dominated relationships in the pursuit of individual self-interest. Rational organization in the form of a highly bureaucratic division of labor and the rational calculation of market relationships of capitalism came to dominate social life in the modern secular Western city. Weber was profoundly ambivalent about the rationality of modern capitalism, awed by the virtues of its power and efficiency and yet saddened by the dehumanizing loss of community, tradition, and mystery it produced. Capitalism was seen as efficient but eroding of collective sentiments of community. For example, he said of capitalism, "the routinized economic cosmos,

and thus the rationally highest form of the provision of material goods—has been a structure to which the absence of love has been attached from the very root." (1983, p. 355).

The rise of the modern Western city, although it was instrumental in forging new forms of democratic administration, nonetheless was defined in Weber's view quintessentially by institutions of the market. This has been interpreted by some to mean that market forces must transform organizations in the direction of being more secular at the same time that they are made more bureaucratically rational. The contemporary resurgence of religiosity suggests that this idea is wrong. Becker (1949) anticipated the problem and proposed that the sacred/secular distinction need not necessarily imply a linear evolutionary change from the former to the latter. Rather a sacred resurgence can occur within societies often under the direction of charismatic leaders. Contemporary religion scholar Steven Warner (1993) takes this further, proposing an interesting and somewhat ironic fusion of Weber's ideas by suggesting that sacred religious institutions in contemporary society operate in a "religious market" competing among themselves for resources and religious adherents (see also Stark and Iannaccone, 1994).

Where Weber concentrated on organization as the defining feature of the great transformation, Sir Henry Sumner Maine (1889) focused on the evolution of law. The changing nature of law provided for him an empirical indicator of this cultural shift. The old legal order of feudalism was dominated by social relationships governed by status relationships defined by the tradition of common law and embedded in the communal ties of reciprocal rights, duties, and obligations: lord to peasant, yeoman to yeoman, freeman to freeman, cleric to lord, and so on in all their possible combinations. The result was a rich tapestry of habit and tradition. By contrast the new market order was governed by contract law. Legally equal and rationally competent individuals entered into pure exchange relationships that were highly specified, limited, and circumscribed in time and substance. Individual interests rose paramount over communal responsibility. Even marriage, once a most sacred communal relationship, has been transformed into a contractual tie with prenuptial agreements and easily terminated by mutual consent (Jacobs, 1961).

This implies a change in the microsocial psychology in social relationships. These transformations were most clearly described by Simmel (1950d/1903) in his classic essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life." Again looking at the money economy of modern market capitalism as the institutional frame, Simmel describes the modern city as a space of heightened activity with marketers [broadly defined to include what Goffman (1956) would later characterize as the "presentation of self in everyday life"] hawking their wares, services, and selves through ever more intrusive media in an attempt to break through the "blasé" urban attitude required to survive in this over-stimulating world. There is a communication arms-race of symbols and signs, a ratcheting-up of ever-more outrageous stimuli in an attempt to penetrate the ever-more isolating social and emotional defensive withdrawal of individuals into their ever-shrinking protective cocoons of privacy. A blasé cosmopolitan attitude results that permits the urbanite to move through the city landscape unrooted and disconnected as a perpetual stranger "in" but not "of" the community. Accordingly, one of Simmel's most powerful essays was on the role of "the stranger" (Simmel, 1985) picked up by Lyn Lofland (1973) in her sweeping study of urban social life *A World of Strangers*. In his seminal essay, the *Philosophy of Money*, Simmel (1995/1907) highlights not just the economic role of money in the marketplace, but how the rational mentality of money and markets penetrates and diffuses through all facets of everyday life. As he says, in the modern metropolis "...all things float with equal specific gravity in the constantly moving stream of money" (1950c, p. 414).

Echoing Simmel, the interpersonal component of the transition from the traditional to the modern community is captured by Louis Wirth (1938) in his classic essay *Urbanism as*

a Way of Life. For Wirth the key polarity is the shift from primary to secondary relationships [a concept originally developed by Charles Horton Cooley (1918)]. Again, like Smith, Durkheim, Weber, and the other theorists, he sees this shift in social relationships arising from the demographic and ecological increases in size, density, and heterogeneity that characterize modern cities that produces an increasingly complex division of labor, seen in the institutional differentiation and complexity of modern life. Wirth, however, also added the notion of the built environment and size and density of dwellings. Wirth claims that the urban environment, with its sinister and unfriendly atmosphere, causes all kinds of deviant behavior, isolation, fragmentation, and anonymity. These lead to social disorganization and eventually a collapse of the norms and regulations that otherwise would maintain social cohesion. The result is anomie and hence crime.

Institutional differentiation is important because it produces segmented as opposed to holistic sets of social relationships. These are typified by fleeting anonymous instrumental or rational market transactions that occur among strangers and they contrast with the relationships of the idealized, small town where institutional differentiation is minimal and people know and interact with one another in multiple roles. The anthropologist Robert Redfield, located down the hall from Wirth in the Social Science Building at the University of Chicago, developed his research on small villages in the Yucatan in his classic *The Little Community* (1955) where he developed the idea of "the folk society". This may be seen as the antithesis of Wirth's "urbanism." Redfield offered a distinction between the world view of a community and its ethos. World view indicates the universe that the group constructs; ethos, by contrast, reflects the values and dispositions that the group maintains. World view encompasses a community's perceptions and suspicions about what is happening in life and is more prominent in urban settings. Ethos instead comprises its preferences and valuations of that life and is more prominent in small rural settings. Together Wirth and Redfield led to the development of the widely used idea of a "rural folk/urban society continuum" (Lyons, 1999, p. 22).

Later writers were to take this distinction in controversial directions such as Oscar Lewis's (1966) "culture of poverty" and Edward Banfield's (1958) *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. They focused on the impact on one's community on the development of attitudes, world view, behaviors, norms, and the ability to master resources. In today's parlance of social networks, the urban encounters reflect sparse or low density networks; the village dense multiplex interactions. Many of the case studies that poured forth from the Chicago School, such as Thomas's (1923) *The Wayward Girl, with Cases and Standpoint for Behavior Analysis*, Anderson's (1923) *The Hobo; The Sociology of Homeless Men*, Cressey's (1932) *The Taxi-Dance Hall: A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life*, and Shaw's (1930) *The Jackroller: A Delinquent Boy's Own Story* pointed to the personal and social pathologies that resulted from loss of primary ties of the local community. As a result the Chicago School, somewhat inaccurately, became labeled as over-emphasizing the "social disorganization" of urban life (Hunter, 1980).

In his synthetic "theory of social action" Talcott Parsons (1937) elaborated this interpersonal shift from traditional to modern relationships in the form of the "pattern variables." One way of viewing Parson's pattern variables is that they are answers to a set of questions that we must answer as we are about to engage in social interaction with another person. Specifically, how should we behave/how should we treat them? Notice that these are normative questions, and what Parsons says is that our Western culture has shifted over the centuries as to the nature of the answer of the preferred normative basis of social action. Focusing on several key questions, the shift from traditional to modern was as follows.

1. *Who should be the dominant beneficiary of the action?*
   Should it focus primarily on the public welfare of the community or the individual's self-interest (community vs. self)?
2. *How many different roles with this person should I take into account?*
   Should it involve many roles, be multiplex, a diffuse relationship or should it be narrowly restricted to this one specific segmented role? (diffuse versus specific)
3. *How unique and special is this relationship? Should it differ from all others?*
   Should it involve special treatment and be unique to a particular other, say a spouse, or should we view it universally treating all people alike, as in an ideal court of law (particular vs. universal)?
4. *What personal characteristics of the other should I take into account?*
   Should I emphasize ascribed characteristics such as age, gender, family of origin, versus achieved attributes like skills, intelligence, and education (ascribed vs. achieved)?
5. *How cognitive or emotive should I be in this relationship?*
   Should I express sentiments, show affect, and passions versus remaining cognitively and rationally in control of my behaviors (affective vs. affective neutrality)?.

In summary what Parsons tells us is that in modern culture social relationships have shifted from formerly privileging communal, diffuse, particular, ascribed, and affective ties rooted in community to self-interested, specific, universal, achieved, and cognitive affectively neutral social relationships in modern societies.

As such, the change from "ideal" type to "lamented" type was observed by many scholars. Each suggested a reason for why it happened and a different typology to account for the shift. Table 0.1 illustrates sociologists' fascination with this topic and a sample of typologies proposed to describe as well as explain its existence. In all instances, modernity, size, technology, transportation, mobility, and social changes conspired to betray the "ideal" community and assist in transforming it into the lamented anomistic community.

For Parsons this transformation is less a matter of concern than it was for Marx, Durkheim, Weber, or the other "loss of community" theorists. For Parsons this is simply the present reality and the world we have. Anchored in a complacent American world of the 1940s to the 1960s,

TABLE 0.1. From Ideal to Lamented Communities

		Process	
Tonnies...............	Gemeinschaft (community)	*Modern market*	Gesellschaft
Rousseau	City	*Industrialization & size*	Town
Maine.................	Status	*Legal change*	Contract
Smith.................	Feudalism	*Division of labor*	Capitalism
Marx..................	Feudalism	*Class dialectics*	Capitalism
Durkheim............	Mechanical	*Division of labor*	Organic
Weber................	Traditional Sacred	*Demystification*	Rational Secular
Wirth.................	Primary	*Size, density, and heterogeneity*	Secondary
Parsons..............	Diffuse	*Pattern variables, normative change*	Specific
	Ascribed		Achieved
	Affective		Neutral
	Particular		Universal
	Collective		Self

Parsons was more interested in scientifically characterizing the world he experienced and building the method of modern sociology than he was in being an instigator of social change.

Indeed, in many respects Parsons and his colleagues began the program of social science in the last half of the twentieth century by focusing on describing society as it is rather than analyzing it in moral and political terms. Even though it is radically different in its methods, quantitative survey research in many respects is an implementation of Parsons descriptive/analytic project. Both take objective description and analysis of society as the main project, done in a way that sets morality and passion to the side.

The left-political reaction that began against Parsons in the 1970s was most pointedly directed at his social and political conservatism rather than at his complacency about the impersonality of contemporary life. Even though idealistic wishes for an earlier communal society lie at the heart of Marxist theory, the left critique of Parsons happened more at the level of macro-theory and grand models of society. The sharp end of the critique was that Parsons did not make economics the central institution of society. The main thrust of critical research and theory was to remake old ideas of society so that they could be seen as products of capitalist class dynamics and societal economic processes.

THE DECLINE OF COMMUNITY RESEARCH

It is important in this book to recapitulate these developments, because a consequence was a drift away from studies of bounded communities as core aspects of sociological research. In the first half of the Twentieth Century major theoretical debates in sociology and anthropology were played out through ethnographic research reports. There was a tremendous drive for scholars to do these, and we built up an important stock of research carried out by peripheral members of the Chicago School and other research groups.

Looking back from our vantage point at the beginning of the twenty-first century part of the gain from this huge stock of research are insights that are off the main track. We are less concerned with the "big" issues of the 1930s or the 1950s, the debates between elitists or pluralists or between nativists and progressives. The gold in the old studies comes from little observations and insights that continue to have relevance today and that might serve as a focus for revisiting a research problem or research site with a contemporary gaze: this accounts for Albert Hunter's (1980) fascination with the Chicago's Near North Side Neighborhood, the site of Zorbaugh's *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (1983), a contrast that has continued relevance today. One also finds real gold in Barton's (1969) reanalysis of disaster studies as we confront twenty-first century disasters. The field of community organizations (Tropman, Erlich, and Rothman, 2001) now called community practice (Weil, 2005) tackled the issue of community from the vantage point of organizing residents or people with common cause to represent themselves and be active rather than be oppressed bystanders if not victims.

From a theoretical perspective, today there is a renewed preoccupation with the loss of community theme. We are more pragmatic, grounded, and operational than were theorists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Where they were trying to build and justify sociology as a discipline for which the Great Transformation was the generative event for all great theory, our objectives are different. Rather than trying to lay out and defend a global intellectual agenda, we live in a world where the decline of community and its effects are recognized and pretty much accepted. The challenge for us is how community can be preserved and how it can be expanded at the margins. This trains our attention on the details of how communities work and how they achieve their effects. Returning to the variables that define

the multidimensional community, the variety of types that in the past have been ignored now become important. Thus our focus is to provide a road map that elucidates the most relevant aspect of studying community from a variety of disciplines and to enable to reader to use any combination of these concepts to unravel his or community of choice.

THE ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNITY

The main idea of this book is that we wish to treat communities as social organizations. The old method was to approach them as whole, functional organisms. We hope to concentrate instead on particular elements and processes. A weakness of the old approach in terms of our contemporary needs is that organizational principles that shape and guide associations were always presented as secondary interests. As such they were not fully described, developed, or conceptualized as an organizing framework. Focusing on them as processes that are discrete and important for building associations, we ask what makes a process work well here but not there. We ask why one community has a rich presence of one form while another is impoverished in terms of its networks or social capital or action-oriented associations (Milofsky, 1987).

Despite having this interest in particular organizational processes larger social dynamics play an important role in shaping local life. We made this clear earlier when we defined the concept of community in terms of a three-dimensional space comprised of an ecological dimension, a social organizational dimension, and a symbolic dimension.

Communities are not isolated spaces where only relationships among insiders are relevant. The built environment strongly influences people's interaction with each other and their organizations as Birch shows in Chapter 7 and it is shaped by larger economic and political dynamics. The social life in spread-out suburbs is different from that of people in center cities where apartments and condominiums are the most prevalent housing form. These different patterns are shaped by land use economics that are not controlled internally by either type of neighborhood: these patterns may be shaped by the elites Abzug describes in Chapter 5. Furthermore, governments at all levels shape local communities. Through policies and resource allocation schemes governments affect communities. Sometimes they dislocate them such as when highways are built through an area. Other times governments build them up by mandating involvement of community residents in programs or underwriting economic development plans. We may directly sense the government as a player in a local area, as Taylor tells us in Chapter 21, or it can be almost invisible playing a role behind the scenes, as Schneider explains in Chapter 4. Visible or not, government permeates all communities and its impact is real even if we focus on aspects of a neighborhood's life where this is not apparent.

This also is true for economic influences. We mentioned the way the economic ecology of space plays a role in the physical character of suburbs and inner city areas. Economics may also play a strong role in shaping the symbolic life of communities. As Hunter tells us in Chapter 1, Morris Janowitz (1952) wrote a classic book, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting*, in which he laid out a theory of how small businesses depend on residents of local neighborhoods identifying with the geographic area, accepting the symbolism of their local community and developing loyalty to its local businesses and institutions. Fairbanks, in chapter 6, shows how government policies and business opportunities change the nature of a community and how residents react to these developments.

Janowitz argued that these small business and nonprofit leaders support and often create local civic events and association activities that encourage residents to define a bounded geographical area as their home. Psychologists have described this process and it clearly parallels

Janowitz's idea. As Chavis and Hyde tell us in Chapter 11, psychologists (McMillan and Chavis 1986; McMillan 1996) have identified five attributes of psychological sense of community. (1) Boundaries are marked by such things as language, dress, and ritual, indicating who belongs and who does not; (2) emotional safety (or, more broadly, security: willingness to reveal how one really feels); (3) a sense of belonging and identification (expectation or faith that I will belong, and acceptance by the community); (4) personal investment (cf., cognitive dissonance theorists); and (5) a common symbol system. Morris and Hess (1975) observed that the first stage of community identity often begins with residents organizing to maintain the integrity of their area against intrusive outside interests and to preserve its resources for themselves and their neighbors. Some local communities seek to maintain their heritage through historical societies, museums, monuments, and celebrations. Local parks, coffee houses, bars, and barber shops become part of the community's collective identity and sense of distinctiveness. People identify themselves (proudly or otherwise) by the community to which they belong, usually the one in which they live. One's identity, especially during childhood, is established by the community of residence. However, people today often were not born into the community in which they live as adults, but rather they settle there by choice. This choice is not always purely a matter of personal preference, but rather a compromise between aspirations and financial ability. Thus, people end up in localities (an affluent suburb, the countryside, downtown) that serve to define their social and economic status and to reflect their self-image.

This illustrates Janowitz's idea that local community is symbolically created by the self-interested efforts of businesses and local organizations that depend on residents accepting this mythology of local identification. This notion of "sense of community" is also related to another stream of studies focusing on "neighborhood satisfaction" Lu (1999) noted that theories of neighborhood satisfaction suggest the individual's satisfaction with the neighborhood is largely a product of the congruence, or lack thereof, between one's actual and desired situation. For example, if one perceives his or her current housing situation close to the standard defined by cultural norms and /or family needs and aspirations, then satisfaction is higher even if overall objective conditions in the neighborhood are not the best (Galster and Hesser, 1981).

Although Janowitz's book has been important in urban sociology stimulating research on the symbolic construction of community (Hunter, 1974; Suttles, 1972), the organizational theory of local organizations that it articulates has mostly been ignored. To understand the success of local businesses and local institutions, we have to understand how they depend upon and how they build local civic identification. We cannot think of these little organizations as autonomous firms or corporate actors, because they are inextricably tied to the phenomenon of local community (Milofsky, 1997). The Janowitz example suggests that there exist theories of organization in the managerial sense that we may identify, update, and use in helping to build small, informal associations (see Fairbanks, Chapter 6).

However, we also mean to build up the theory of communities in this book. Recent sociological research in the urban and community area has tended to emphasize ecology, economics, networks, and public policy to the exclusion of organization. Certainly there are important recent books that do take an organizational focus, like Sonya Salamon's award winning *Newcomers to Old Towns* (2003) but the agenda has been lost. If we want to understand communities from the perspective of social organization, what are the key and cutting edge issues? In earlier decades probably the two central themes were how social class was expressed in terms of the dynamics of community life and how cultural symbols were given expression in day-to-day life. The 1980s and 1990s mostly ignored those themes.

A recent active area of organizational discussion has concerned social capital, its character, its origins, and its impacts reviewed by Schneider in Chapter 4. Social capital is yet

another concept that received numerous definitions including the following: "Social capital is an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals. The norms that constitute social capital can range from a norm of reciprocity between two friends, all the way up to complex and elaborately articulated doctrines like Christianity or Confucianism" (Fukuyama, 1999). An important dichotomy has been between suggested between quantitative measures of social capital—expressed in Putnam's arguments (1995, 2000) about the decline of social capital [although we acknowledge the organizational character of his historical work on Italy (1993)]—and sociological critiques arguing that social capital is fundamentally a process variable that resides in the informal social lives of community members (Foley and Edwards, 1996; Portes, 1998; Schneider, 2004).

The process aspect allows us to explore how organizations that appear similar actually function differently. A good example is provided in Barton's (1969) literature review on communities in disaster. He reports dramatically different response effectiveness among three common community emergency organizations: volunteer fire companies, The Salvation Army, and the Red Cross. This approach allows the user to choose from a collection of lenses. Indeed the community cannot be viewed from only one perspective, and one who is seriously interested in the community ought to study it from a variety of perspectives. In addition to the perspectives used in this handbook, one might also focus on the food distribution in a neighborhood that includes all eateries from small diners to fancy restaurants, the evolution of planned communities when they are put on the ground and evolve, the impact of rapid immigration on certain communities, and the impact on education on quality of life in the community, to name a few. Indeed, it is our hope that we have opened a dam, and the stream of community conceptualization and empirical research is to follow.

NOTES

1. This section is based on work was mostly contributed by Albert Hunter, the author of Chapter One in this book. His first draft of that chapter included much of this material but it distracted from the more energetic and pointed discussion contained in that chapter of the community of limited liability and the symbolic definition of community. Because this introduction needed a discussion of community, Hunter graciously allowed us to adapt material from his first chapter draft and embed it in our offering here.
2. There is not a focused discussion of dyadic withdrawal in these chapters but as we talked with authors about developing their contributions this analytic question did come up several times.

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Contemporary Conceptions
of Community

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The quest for community is a continuing concern in social life and the question of community an enduring enigma in social theory. In both social life and social theory the idea of community has changed and varied over time and space as much as the reality of communities themselves. In this chapter I discuss varying contemporary ideas of community by focusing on the local community as a unit of analysis. [In short, I am following the model of the anthropologist Robert Redfield (1955) in *The Little Community* in contrast to other uses of the concept such as the idea of a "national community" as developed by Anderson (1991) in his influential book *Imagined Communities* that traces the rise of modern nationalism.]

Community is considered here to be one form or type of social organization and as such can be compared to other types of social organization, such as primary and kinship groups, formal bureaucratic organizations, and social movements among others. Such comparisons are fruitful for highlighting both points of contrast as well as theoretical and empirical points of merger and overlap. The overlap is particularly relevant in the context of this book which is concerned with community, local community organizations, and communally oriented social movements.

I begin with the simple but powerful idea advanced in the previous chapter that community is a variable, that it is a multidimensional variable, and that it varies by degree. It is an empirical question of the degree to which any given social entity may exhibit this or that dimension of community. In short, it is overly simplistic to attempt to reach some summary "zero/one" judgment or determination as to whether something is or is not a community: better to ask about its degree of "communityness." As an empirical generalization the "ideal type" community [see Hillery (1968)] consists of three distinct dimensions defined in the introductory chapter as ecological, social structural, and symbolic cultural. Not only are these three dimensions theoretically informed and elaborated in much empirical research, they are also a heuristic device, a useful tool for guiding both policy agendas and research questions focused on local communities.

Each of these three dimensions may be subdivided into two parts and collectively these ideas inform the following discussion of this chapter and indeed to some degree serve as a backdrop throughout the book as a whole.

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For the ecological dimension I stress the two "physical" realities of *space* and *time*. The spatial aspect emphasizes geographical location, resources, and shared physical fate. Certain communities are inextricably linked to and defined by a given locale such as Niagara Falls, New York whereas others may exist in an undifferentiated and undistinguished setting, perhaps Las Vegas comes to mind, or they may be totally removed from a physical landscape such as virtual communities on the Internet. The degree of spatiality and specialness of location makes a difference for community. Second within this ecological dimension is the question of time. This is significant for the duration of copresence of community members and can be enduring over a lifetime and even generations as in the classic distinction of "natives" versus "newcomers." At the other pole there are communities of brief assemblages such as Woodstock, weekend campsite communities, or the annually repetitive communal almost "tribal" gatherings of free spirits at Burning Man, motorcyclists at Sturgis, or sociologists at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting. Again, the reality of time is a variable and significant component of the physical ecology of community.

For the social structural dimension two distinct but interrelated components are *interpersonal networks* and *institutional density*. Interpersonal networks and social ties of community are highly variable in their number, their structural nature as open or closed, sparse or dense, or multiplex. These may vary for different individuals within a community and perhaps more significantly communities vary in the density and sparseness of such ties and this has enormous implications for the social life of the community. Closely connected to this are the enduring institutions of the local community, stores, churches, schools, voluntary associations, and the like that operate as nodes of interaction and both form and are formed by these interpersonal networks. At the collective level of community itself these institutions may vary in their number, their density, and in the degree to which they exist as a second-order network among themselves, a communal social infrastructure, a framework that varies from high density to an institutional vacuum. This varying institutional density contributes to the enduring or ephemeral existence of the community itself (Breton, 1964; Wilson, 1996).

The two aspects of the cultural symbolic dimension of community are the interrelated components of *identity* and *culture*. Identity refers first to the individual level of personal identity reflected in varying degrees of merged identity of the self with the community or alienation from it, and varying degrees of commitment to the community (Kanter, 1972). At the collective level one again has the question of identity through names, symbols, connotations, and rituals and these reflect the cultural symbolic aspect of community including its meaning to members, its history, however coercive or created, and the defining norms and values associated with the community. Again these elements are highly variable in their consciousness, clarity, and consensus and produce profound differences from community to community (Becker and Horowitz, 1971; Zukin, 1995).

As indicated in the introductory chapter for different empirical cases one or another of these dimensions may be strong and powerful or weak, limited, or nonexistent. For example, with respect to social structure one community may have dense social networks among residents in a thick kinship system within a large number of interlocking local institutions, and another have sparse networks and a relative institutional vacuum. This is precisely the central comparative point that Eric Klinenberg (2002) makes, for example, in his comparative analysis of why two different adjacent local communities in Chicago had such divergent consequences for death rates of elderly residents due to a summer heat wave. The dense networks and kinship structure of the Latino community of Pilsen resulted in many fewer deaths than the sparse networks of the institutionally impoverished African American community of Lawndale. As a

result of these varying strengths and weaknesses on the three dimensions a given case will be positioned differently within the three-dimensional attribute space of community compared to other communities that may be weaker or stronger on that dimension.

To take another significant case, much current research is focused on the rise of "virtual communities" via the Internet. Clearly whole organizations have emerged and formed social structures of effective political action (e.g., MoveOn .org) and developed cultures of shared beliefs and identities among their members. Yet, only when they come together in the same physical space at mass demonstrations, however brief, do they mimic fleetingly the spatial dimension of community with its myriad webs of intertwined personal and institutional networks and temporal endurance.

We now turn to see how these varying dimensions and elements of community play out in a review of some contemporary conceptions of community that have emerged in the social science literature.

CONTEMPORARY CONCEPTIONS
OF COMMUNITY

Following on Barry Wellman's (1979) significant article on "The Community Question" and Albert Hunter's (1978) "The Persistence of Local Sentiments in Mass Society" I explore a number of different arguments about the fate of community in modern urban life and suggest how, depending on the definitional elements one focuses on and the variables one explores in research, the varying conclusions reached may have partial and selective validity. In sequence I suggest that community has been variously lost, found, liberated, mislaid, silenced, and limited; and then, like a phoenix, been seen to be constructed, organized, and ideologically crafted.

Community Lost

The loss of community thesis associated with the Chicago School of "social disorganization" is summarized in Louis Wirth's (1938) classic article "Urbanism as a Way of Life". Beginning with an ecological complex of variables he theorizes that the size, density, and heterogeneity of cities leads to increasing complexity, institutional differentiation, increasing specialization, and divisions of labor which in turn result in the substitution of secondary relationships for primary relationships [a polarity originally developed by Charles Horton Cooley (1918)]. All of the above lead in turn to a loss of social control and increasing forms of deviance and disorganization. From the early case studies (Shaw, 1930; Cressey, 1932) through Faris and Dunham's (1939) *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas*, the disorganization thesis focused attention on the urban social problems of the day that were centered in cities. Given the social reform orientation of many of the early Chicago sociologists, reflected in their close connections to Jane Addam's Hull House, it was natural that they would focus their studies on social problems with an eye to reform (Hunter, 1980). This is the "bias" that formed the selective empirical basis of Wirth's article. Whether cities were the cause of the disorganization or merely the vessels of selective movement of particular types of people was widely debated, but the correlation of cities with disorganization and disorder was widely accepted and is still advanced today in popular discourse and scholarly debate.

Community Found

In the Fifties and Sixties a new round of case studies began to document the persistence of primary social ties in the urban environment. It seems that every ten years or so sociologists have to be reminded once again that primary ties persist in inner-city local communities and so it comes as some kind of popular as well as empirical celebration to once again rediscover them: William Foote Whyte in *Street Corner Society* (1955), Herbert Gans in *The Urban Villagers* (1962), Elliot Liebow in *Tally's Corner* (1964), Elijah Anderson's *A Place on the Corner* (1978), and Mitchell Duneier's *Slim's Table* (1992). Perhaps the work of Herbert Gans most clearly demonstrates the selective persistence of local networks of community first in his study of the ethnic neighborhood of Boston's Italian West End reported in his *Urban Villagers*, to the new form of community found on the suburban rim of cities and reported on his case study of the Levittowners. Finding community in suburbia was echoed by numerous studies such as Whyte's (1956) *Organization Man* on up through Keller's (2003) recent study of a planned new suburban town aptly titled simply *Community*. Numerous other studies corroborated Gans's findings of persisting social ties in both inner-city often ethnic communities and middle-class social participation in the exploding suburbs of the nation's cities all forcing a reconsideration of the over-generalized social disorganization of the Chicago School.

Perhaps no article summarized this new perspective more clearly than Claude Fischer's landmark (1975) "Toward a Subcultural Theory of Urbanism." As a response to Wirth's (1938) "Urbanism as a Way of Life," Fischer retains an element of the ecology of the Chicago School by seeing size, density, and heterogeneity as producing a "critical density" of diverse like-minded peoples in sufficient numbers to create diverse subcultures within cities. Within these diverse subcultures people find primary relationships and create normative social worlds and social order that is directly counter to the social disorganization proposed by Wirth. These subcultures may also create local institutions ranging from local media of newspapers, radio, and TV to specialty retail stores, to religious institutions, and to numerous voluntary associations, all of which serve to reinforce their feelings of solidarity. A discussion of the variety of these "urban enclaves" is to be found in the summary work of Mark Abrahamson (1996) detailing enclaves and subcultures ranging from Boston's Beacon Hill, to Chicago's working class "Back of the Yards," to San Francisco's gay Castro community. Community has not been lost, but cities and the tide of modernity they embody are even seen to promote the formation of new forms of subcultural communities.

Community Liberated

According to Barry Wellman (1999) and others such as Manuel Castells (1996) with the new twenty-first-century technology of communication—specifically cell phones and most significantly the Internet—community has been liberated from the historical constraints of space. Human ecologists such as Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, (1925), Hawley (1944), and Quinn (1950) among others (Theodorson, 1982) traditionally maintained that the frequent social interaction of community depended upon physical proximity and shared fates as a function of shared space, what they called "the friction of space." This has been overcome by the ubiquity and immediacy of electronic exchanges. Many people now associate with one another in "virtual communities" through chatrooms and Web sites devoted to facilitating the exchange of ideas among people with shared interests. I refer to this as "electronic exchanges" to distinguish

it from "social interaction" in that the absence of physical copresence renders the reality of action, and hence social interaction, moot. Social action still requires the movement of bodies in space, and social interaction the joint or coordinated movement of two or more bodies in space.

Correlated with the communication revolution are changes in transportation such as expressway, high-speed rail, and air travel that facilitate more frequent interpersonal contact among selected portions of the population. Advances in the technology of both transportation and communication are unevenly distributed throughout society as is the economic and human capital necessary to take advantage of them. A new very real "virtual inequality" or "electronic digital divide" has profound consequences for segregation, segmentation, and homogenization of these emerging communities of interest.

A further significant question to pose of this technology and these virtual communities is the degree to which they either supplant or supplement and facilitate traditional spatially based social interaction of community. In a seemingly tangential but most profound study about the introduction of an earlier revolution in electronic communication—the telephone—Fischer (1992) found that it did not supplant traditional face-to-face interaction but supplemented it. It produced more frequent contact and provided a means to schedule face-to-face meetings. In short, it was an add-on, not a substitute. There is some suggestion in early research (Wellman, 1999) that this is true of the Internet as well. There is also the hint, as we show below, that the Internet is a mechanism or tool that facilitates social movement, mobilization, and the physical gathering of these "virtual communities of interest" at given times and places for rallies, demonstrations, and other forms of collective political action.

Community Mislaid

Within the various findings about community being lost, found, and liberated there is to be found a subtle shift in the meaning and use of the concept of community itself. This shift in meaning reflects both theoretical shifts in thinking about community and methodological changes in the way that social science disciplines conduct their research on community. I would suggest that the most current use of the concept has come to focus on networks of interpersonal interaction and the attachments, feelings, or the attitudinal "sense of community" existing among individuals. Documenting the persistence of these individual ties and sentiments leads researchers to conclude that community is present and persists. I would suggest, however, that this narrowing of the variables or dimensions by which community is defined reflects a methodological dominance of survey research in the social sciences in comparison to the older case studies of communities. Zorbaugh (1929) in his classic Chicago School case study of one community area in Chicago, the Near North Side, documents repeatedly in different subcultures the persistence of interpersonal networks of primary ties, for example, among the poor immigrant Sicilians in the slum, among the avant-garde "bohemians" of Towertown, and among the elites of the Gold Coast. And yet, he repeatedly concludes that community is absent from this area.

A close reading by today's community commentators with their focus on interpersonal primary ties would result in an opposite conclusion. Why the difference? I would suggest it is because Zorbaugh was emphasizing an institutional conception of community that equated community not simply with networks of interpersonal ties, but with the diurnal, day-to-day sustenance institutions that provided for the needs of all people in the community. Community is not simply a network of like-minded people but a network of institutions that also serve as nodes around which these interpersonal networks can cohere: the local stores, schools,

churches, and voluntary organizations of all kinds rooted in a given physical space that draw together the diverse social circles, networks, and subcultures into a single holistic community. This was the meaning of community put forth by the older human ecology: not simply shared sentiments of interpersonal ties, but shared fates of sustenance rooted in spatial communities. I would suggest that this dimension is still very relevant and variable from community to community, and its absence speaks to the fate of many inner-city neighborhoods studied by William Julius Wilson (1996), and its presence serves its original function although often as an unnoticed, taken-for-granted, and unarticulated aspect of community.

As noted, the fact that community was mislaid was not due simply to a theoretical shift from an institutional level of analysis to an individual level; it was also the result of shifting methodological emphasis within the social sciences as well. The rise of survey research in the post WWII years focused on attitudes and behaviors of individuals as the primary variables of social life. This focus of interests is still with us in community studies that focus on individual level networks, or single institutions even when these are studied by field research [e.g., Stack's (1974) *All Our Kin*, Anderson's (1978) *A Place on the Corner*, and Duneier's (1992) *Slim's Table*]. The methodological shift has produced an analytical shift in the debates in the literature producing a shift in the focus on the nature of questions posed and levels of analysis attempted. When the focus of analysis is the community as a whole, as in community case studies, the units shift from individual to collective actors, organizations, and institutions. I would also suggest that this shift has important implications for policy considerations. When policy is directed at ameliorating the lives of individuals different polices are pursued than are pursued when the focus is on building the institutions and infrastructure of community itself as a means to helping the collective life of its members.

The Silence of Community

(A Significant Aside on Community Versus Communalism or Schmallenbach Versus Etzioni)

Community is a little-used concept in the lay world in which it may flourish. It is primarily a word that one hears in the discourse of academics and scholars but seldom on the street. It is primarily invoked as a concept when that which has been lost is missed and longed for and attempts are made to consciously reconstruct it. When it is present in its full glory diffusing throughout the quotidian interstices of everyday life it is taken for granted, as natural as the air we breathe, and the ground upon which we walk, necessary but unnoticed. This is what I call "the silence of community" (Hunter, 2001). Furthermore, it suggests that community is invoked when it is most missed. A call for community is a call for that which is not. Schmallenbach (1961) refers to the consciousness of community as "communalism" to distinguish it from the unconscious "community." He suggests that in being consciously constructed, it is artificial and organized; and that communalism—manifest in his particular case study of the German *Bund*— should not be confused with the natural "taken for grantedness" of the unconscious community.

This unnoticed and unspoken community becomes conscious when threatened with obliteration and is thereby turned into communalism. It becomes a labeled and reified entity, objectified, a "thing." It is probably for this reason that "community" is often invoked as a nostalgic remembrance of things past, something lost. A telling example of this silence is found in Herbert Gans's (1962, p. 11) study where he says of the Italian residents of Boston's West End: "Until the coming of redevelopment, only outsiders were likely to think of the West End

as a single neighborhood. After the redevelopment was announced, the residents were drawn together by the common danger."

Schmallenbach's concept of "communalism" is related to the "communalism movement" advanced most centrally by Amitai Etzioni (1993), but differs profoundly in its reference to the concept of "community" itself. They both agree that communalism is an attempt to capture selected aspects of community, but they would differ in the ability to do this through conscious social organization. One might create something, but for Schmallenbach it would not necessarily be something that he would recognize as community.

Community Limited

The variable conception of community being advanced in this chapter has found theoretical development in a chain of articles focusing on the idea of a "community of limited liability" (Greer, 1962; Janowitz, 1952; Hunter and Suttles, 1972; Milofsky, 1988). Janowitz first developed the idea to reflect the varying and partial commitment to local communities by residents in their current social life space, above all noting that the local community is but one component of collective life alongside more intimate associations of family and friends and more distant linkages to occupations, formal organizations, and locally transcendent institutions of numerous kinds (Warren, 1956; Skocpol, 2003; Hunter, 1992).

Furthermore, the idea of a community of limited liability stresses a rational component of exchange alongside more affect-based sentiments of community with the idea that individuals will rationally invest in their local communities (socially with time, money, and effort, and psychologically in identity and identification) only to the limited degree that they perceive they are receiving valued benefits from their engagement in the local community. As in most exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Cook, 2001) the calculation of this cost/benefit ratio may lead dynamically to increasing engagement and heightened collective benefits (a positive spiral that underlies most community organizing and community development), or on the contrary to declining benefits or heightened costs leading to disengagement and ultimately leaving the community altogether (Erickson, 1976; Kanter, 1972; Wilson, 1996).

The community of limited liability also contains within it the basic ambivalence expressed between viewing community as a means for the satisfaction of individual needs and interests versus viewing community as an end in and of itself. The reciprocity between individual costs and benefits and collective costs and benefits permits one to explore the "logic of collective actors and collective action" (Olson, 1971; Coleman, 1973) that encompasses as the unit of analysis the relationship between the individual and the community.

Not only may an individual's limited commitments to community vary over his or her life course, but within a given community at any given time there is a "division of labor" such that one person's commitment may be manifest in one way (say by donating money to a local organization), whereas another person's is shown in yet another way (say by volunteering several nights a week to serve on a local board (Hunter, 2005). And although each person's commitment may be limited and different from another, collectively summing across the community these varying investments may complement one another and so satisfy the collective needs and functions of the local community. The idea of mobilizing these varying skills of "human capital" within a community is the underlying logic of community development proposed by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) in their model of Asset Based Community Development (ABCD). In short they attempt to marry human capital (hidden skills) with social capital (community organization) to heighten community development.

The Social Construction of Community

The community of limited liability led directly to an additional theory, the idea of "the social construction of community" (Cohen, 1985; Gusfield, 1975; Hunter, 1974; Suttles, 1972). The idea grew out of "symbolic interactionism" and W.I. Thomas's (1937) early idea of "the definition of the situation" more fully elaborated in Berger and Luckman's (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality*. At base it is the simple but powerful idea that "community" is not a preformed "God-given" natural phenomenon, but rather a socially constructed entity: at times unconsciously given form and meaning through the everyday social interactions of residents among themselves, and also with those outside their communities.

The conscious social construction of community is a not an uncommon process. Gerald Suttles (1972) has explored the way in which developers have attempted to consciously build in aspects of community in their planning and designs with such attributes as common spaces for parks and recreation. Much of the "new urbanism" may also be seen to be an attempt to create physical characteristics that promote communal interaction such as building sidewalks for pedestrians and front porches to promote the "parochial order" of the local community (Hunter, 1985; Lofland, 1998). More recently, Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen (2000) have demonstrated the way in which the construction of communities, both physically and symbolically, is a long continuing process of historically contingent decisions made by numerous actors in a given locality.

Hunter (1974) in *Symbolic Communities* saw the social construction of community as a fairly ubiquitous process of cognitively defining names and boundaries of local areas through symbolic interaction of residents within and especially outside the local community. Connotations and meanings of local communities would similarly be affixed to local areas, evaluations expressing the degree to which a local community realized desired values such as safety, cleanliness, order or fashionable action, activity, or status and prestige. Evaluative connotations of communities were found to vary as a function of societywide distribution of social class characteristics: the higher the social class the more positive the evaluations of local areas.

However, community sentiments of emotive attachment were found not to vary so much by social class, but rather to be the product of the degree and strength of local social ties. Sentiments engendered in primary ties were generalized to the setting in which they occurred. Fewer ties meant fewer strong sentiments, more local ties, and more local attachment. Length of residence as a variable clearly demonstrates this distinction between evaluation and attachment. The longer one has lived in a community the stronger the attachment: a process of establishing social ties over time but fairly quickly in the first few years or so. Evaluation of one's local community does not vary systematically with length of residence presumably because even when first moving into an area one is able to make a fairly quick assessment of its social class characteristics. The merging of two theoretical products of the Chicago School, symbolic interactionism with human ecology, meaning and space, resulted in what has come to be called the "symbolic ecology of community" (Lyon, 1987; Micklin and Choldin, 1984).

(A Note on the Vertical Dimension of Constructed Communities)

Communities are often conceptualized as a two-dimensional flat Euclidean surface, and theorists often appear to be operating from what I would call a "flat earth assumption." Robert Park (1952) referred to the local communities of a city as a quiltlike "mosaic of little worlds."

A number of theorists and researchers have, however, pointed to what is called the "vertical dimension of community" (Hunter, 1992; Walton, 1967; Warren, 1956).

Although their emphases differ slightly, the argument is that local communities are embedded in, penetrated by, or linked to larger units of social structure that both affect the local community profoundly and that the local community also affects. Hunter even suggests that we live not in a singular community but in a set of nested multiple communities, what he has called a "hierarchy of symbolic communities." He has documented both the social organization and the symbolic identification of these multiple communities from the level of the local social block on up through neighborhoods and local communities to the level of metropolitan areas and urban regions (Hunter and Suttles, 1972). Community is still spatially and locally rooted but federated and fused through the social and political construction of ever-larger communities of interest and identification.

From Community Organization to Community Organizing

The community of limited liability and the social construction of community both acknowledge the role played by local institutions in promoting the sustenance needs of exchange for the local community's residents and as serving as nodes of local interaction which in turn foster the sentiments and attachments of community. From the Schmallenbach (1961) perspective of "community" versus "communalism" these institutions of the local community are a taken-for-granted natural product of myriad individuals going about their daily routines, not consciously thought about but simply accepted and expected as "the way things are, and the way things are done." Habit and tradition have a central place in community (Camic, 1986).

Change threatens communities, old habits must be rethought, and traditions give way to innovation. Change may be so drastic it destroys a community (Cottrell, 1951; Erikson, 1976). Community becomes conscious when it is threatened by change, when the threatened loss of a way of life mobilizes residents to resist or to alter the dynamics of change, whether it be a new ethnic group moving into a community, a new Wal-Mart, or the closing of a factory. At such points community is transformed into conscious communalism. Although community organization, meaning the networks of local informal and formal institutions in a community, has long been recognized to have a central place in community life and a central role in community theory, the conscious creation of community organizations to create the elements of community as an end in and of itself has a distinct history. Even from the earliest perceptions of de Tocqueville the American genius for creating local voluntary associations was seen to be an instrumental means, not an end. They were the answer or solution to specific problems of social life: how to educate one's children, how to put out fires, how to cross a stream (Hunter, 2004).

It was in this spirit that Saul Alinsksy (1946) formulated the idea of local community organizing as a political strategy to satisfy particular needs defined by local residents. Borrowing consciously from the labor movement, his genius was in shifting the focus of organizing from the job site to the home, from the place of production to the place of consumption, from where one worked to where one lived. The focus was on organizing the collective power of relatively poor local communities that lacked resources to use the market to obtain private goods and services or lacked power to influence the delivery of public goods and services. The varying success of these earliest attempts at community organizing has spawned an entire industry that proposes differences in strategies, tactics, and goals among competing community organizing ideologies (Rothman, Erlich, and Tropman, 1995; Smock, 2004). There are institutions that variously focus on training organizers and practitioners, developing funding sources, research

enterprises, and policy initiatives at local, state, and national levels. Through national federa-
tions they have contributed to bringing the parochial issues and concerns of local communities
to national levels (Hunter, 1992; Skocpol, 2003). The consciousness of community organizing
as a means, a tool to solve specific social problems has produced strategies that vary in their
degree of conflict versus cooperation, their degree of autonomy versus dependency on outside
resources, their parochial versus national focus, and their endurance and longevity, among
others (Hunter and Staggenborg, 1986).

The Crafting of Community

The variability of communities and the varying commitments of local residents to their local
communities suggest that organizing strategies should be tailored to the specific needs of any
given locale and tailored to the resources available for their realization. In short, community at
the local level cannot be mass produced. There is no MacDonaldization that can be uniformly
reproduced across the urban landscape as much as attempts at "the new urbanism" seem
to reflect a relatively homogeneous Disneyesque landscape of front porches, sidewalks, and
picket fences. To borrow the distinction from Stinchcombe (1959), community cannot be
constructed in a mass production process; rather it must be crafted to the specifics of the case.
Certain properties of the product lend themselves to craft over mass production and these
include issues of unpredictability. To be sure, broader, wider national cultural and structural
trends may frame the nature of the community debate, discussion, and desires at any given
historical moment, but when brought down to earth at the local community level, the skills of
the craftsman must be used that marry broader trends and issues to the immediate needs and
exigencies of the given site.

   It is in this sense that one is crafting community, not simply constructing it. Furthermore the
connotation of craft implies craftsmanship: a personal concern and care of skilled investment in
and identification with the product. What are some of the skills that the craftsman of community
must cultivate? One is a full appreciation of John Dewey's (1935) classical pragmatism of
"learning by doing" [see also Schon (1996)]. This is a development of human capital that
follows an apprentice hands-on approach, not a classroom and textbook model that suggests
there is one algorithm that fits diverse situations. In this light it is interesting to see the growth of
increasing collaboration between university research centers and local community residents as
a mutually beneficial development of these two forms of human capital. An example is the Great
Cities Program at the University of Illinois at Chicago that is an urban equivalent to the older
land grant colleges' mission to provide expertise in the form of agricultural extension agents
to farmers, with the urban equivalent of providing advice and consulting to local community
organizations and their residents. Also in Chicago at Loyola University one has the Policy
Research Action Group (PRAG) that marries academics and local community organizational
leaders in mutually beneficial research projects (Nyden and Wiewel, 1991).

   I would suggest that the crafting of community entails a related skill of utilizing local
resources and fashioning them into a unique product that fits the needs of the users, the local
community. Both end product and the process of production are intimately fused in the crafting
of community, and it is in this sense that community is both a means and an end.

   On a concluding note, craft implies style, an aesthetic that is above all authentic, emanating
from the folk, the people. It is not superficial; it is made for and by the users. One is doing
something that is both utilitarian and beautiful, with a beauty that reflects the value and tastes
of the local culture and in which collective and personal identities are fused.

Ideological Communities: Merging Utopian Communities
and Ideological Social Movements

As we have noted the concern with community has been an enduring question and quest in American social life and continues as such today (Bellah et al., 1985). Throughout American history people have attempted at various times to create the ideal community as a present reality. The history of "utopian communities" is one manifestation of this desire (see Cnaan and Breyman, Chapter 15 in this *Handbook*). Their varying successes and failures have been studied (Kanter, 1972) as well as the varying episodic waves of waxing and waning of utopian community foundings (Berry, 1992). The coincidental founding of a wave of utopian communities sometimes reflects a social movement like development. However, social movements are generally focused on more specific goals and objectives, often expressed in their very naming: "The Woman's Movement," "The Civil Rights Movement," "The Anti-War Movement (insert various wars)," and so on. The analysis of social movements as a form of social organization itself has a long history of theoretical development from theories of collective action through social movement organization to resource dependency to frame analysis (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1996). Throughout, the emphasis has historically been on the organization and mobilization of movements, not their local community context. [For a major exception that does focus on the local spatial community see Manuel Castells (1983).]

Karl Mannheim (1966) has made an important distinction that is of use in thinking about this hybridized thing we call "community social movement" and that is the distinction between ideological and utopian thought. Utopias, according to Mannheim, are concerned with a total transformation of existing society, a rejection of current reality and the substitution of a whole new way of life. As a consequence Mannheim continues, utopias may succeed spectacularly, but more often than not they are doomed to fail miserably. Being revolutionary in nature they tend to be restricted to local experiments far removed from the carrying society to which they are most often in opposition. They are often restricted in scale to that of a local community, "a shining city on a hill," a retreat far removed in a forest clearing, or a settlement on a vacant plain beside a great salt lake. These are the restricted realities if not the visions of utopian communities. The idea of community as a basis of radical restructuring of society through a community social movement is best exemplified in the work of Amitai Etzioni (1993) and his championing of "communalism."

Ideologies, according to Mannheim, are by contrast partial in their scope and restricted in their goals to specific issues. Civil rights, women's rights, environmental issues, health and illness, may all be the specific focus of ideologically based social movements. As advocates for "partial" change as opposed to "holistic" change, ideologies are subject to compromise, adjustment, and evolution not revolution. It is in this sense that we speak of "ideological social movements" and contrast them with "utopian communities." The idea of utopian social movements certainly exists, and yet the idea of "ideological communities" remains relatively undeveloped [for an early formulation of the concept see Hunter (1975) and for a more recent application see Brown-Sarincino (2004)]. People settle in communities for ideological reasons, not simply "market" considerations as the economists might tell us, and these reasons may have to do with promoting racial integration, championing a sexual lifestyle, preserving the ecology of a prairie, or social preservation of local "natives" as opposed to the displacement of gentrification. Although utopian communities are noteworthy in their uniqueness, grounded local ideological communities are, I suggest, much more ubiquitous and cut a wide analytical path ranging from social movements through local political mobilization over many issues to urban planning and community development. When thinking of the local communities we

are consciously crafting we must ask ourselves if we are engaged in a utopian pursuit or an ideological pursuit, is community an end or a means, and when can we, if ever in the modern world, take community for granted?

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have traced some of the more contemporary conceptions of community from lost, found, liberated, mislaid, silenced, and limited, through constructed, organized, and ideologically crafted. In this discussion we have seen how the dimensions of (1) ecology in space and time, (2) social structure as seen in individual and institutional networks, and (3) cultural and symbolic identities have interrelated to varying degrees in producing these various conceptions of community. I note that throughout this development there seems to have been a linear trend of increasing emphasis on cultural identity with a correlated declining emphasis on the significance of the ecology of space and time in forming the basis of community. I suspect that this reflects an increasing sense of human agency and conscious action of mobilizing individual and institutional networks through the use of modern technologies with respect to community over and against a more natural view of community as a given physical and spatial reality of everyday life. However, it is my suggestion that for a thorough understanding and a realistic policy perspective with respect to local communities all three dimensions must be considered in a balanced view of their intertwined complexities. Nature persists as a force to be reckoned with, and the social ties and cultural identities of our communities are inextricably bound up with the natural physical and temporal reality of shared human fates.

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Symbolism, Tradition, Ritual, and the Deep Structure of Communities

PETER DOBKIN HALL

INTRODUCTION

Community life rests on underlying shared values and agreements that are often unstated and barely recognized. They are shaped by religious and cultural traditions or by the exigencies of a group's living situation that have created ways of doing things that powerfully shape organizational patterns, willingness to volunteer and participate, feelings of legitimacy in government, and safety in the face of authority. Social activities that Talcott Parsons (1965, p. 963) called "latent pattern maintenance" are the topic here: religious practices, civic rituals, and the development of the symbolism of community. The goal of this chapter is to bring to the surface data, arguments, and concepts about how these factors shape community structure.

Although social scientists often refer to "traditional communities" in the United States, the reality is that most American communities were intentional ones. Unlike other countries, where collectivities were deeply rooted in ethnic identity and place, from colonial times onward, immigration—whether transatlantic or internal—offered Americans opportunities to make choices about the kinds of communities in which they wanted to live.

This capacity of choice was not only a product of place, but of historical moment. From the seventeenth century on, as philosophers, jurists, and theologians challenged (or defended) the feudal order, concerns about the nature of political, social, and religious communities moved to the forefront of interest. The opportunity for colonization of new lands shifted this interest from the domain of theory to the domain of practical experiments in creating new kinds of communities.

The extent to which religious belief moved people to migrate and to form new collectivities gave the question of community a particular urgency. As John Winthrop's remarkable homily to the Massachusetts Bay colonists, while still on board the ship that had carried through the perils of the Atlantic, suggests, the nature of the new community the little band intended to create, the extent to which it would embody their beliefs, and its place in God's ultimate plan for mankind, was at the forefront of their concerns.

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For groups moved by religious belief, scripture and theology were the source not only for defining man's place in the cosmos, but for spelling out the nature of community, the kinds of obligations believers had to one another and to unbelievers, the character of family life, as well as aspects of everyday life, including food ways, parenting, and sexual practices.

The intentionality of early American communities is evident from the beginning. Most settlements were based on charter documents. Some were corporate charters, such as those of the Massachusetts Bay Company or Virginia Company. Others, such as the Connecticut Charter, created colony leaders as a body politic and empowered them to delegate property and political authority in specified ways. Still others, such as the charter awarding Pennsylvania to William Penn, set forth the nature and extent of the proprietor's powers. In virtually every case, colonials settled the character of local communities.

Although nearly all the settlers of the east coast of North America were English Protestants and the charters on which their settlements were based were products of English law, there was remarkable variation in the kinds of communities the colonists created. Some of this variation was due to preferences stemming from the settlers' origins: because most of Massachusetts's leaders came from manorial villages, the township was adopted as the basic unit of political organization. Because Virginia's leaders came from England's land-owning gentry, the plantation and the county became the basic units of organization.

Other variations stemmed from economic differences. Parts of the South that favored the growth of commodity agriculture also favored the plantation agriculture. The climate, soil, and topography of New England, on the other hand, favored subsistence agriculture, small-scale farming, and, on the coast, such sea-faring occupations as fishing and trade.

Religious differences introduced additional variations. In colonies with established churches (Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Virginia), church, clergy, and worship were central to social and political life of communities. In colonies like Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, which tolerated religious diversity, the social and political centrality and influence of the church depended on the preferences of local communities.

How long did it take for the relatively free intentionality of colonial settlements to become institutionalized and embedded in established and authoritative practices? Certainly the colonies' isolation from England during and after the Puritan Revolution (1640–1660), as well as the isolation of internal settlements due to inferior infrastructure, helped to give originally chosen practices the aura of authority. The consolidation of political, economic, and religious leadership in the hands of leading families also played a role. By the end of the seventeenth century, the same names begin to appear year after year, decade after decade, as members of legislatures, courts, and town councils. The standing of families was enshrined in how worshippers were seated in church and listed on college catalogues.

At the same time, these communities remained far from traditional in the European sense. Founded in law rather than in kinship and loyalty, fundamental social arrangements were vulnerable to challenge. The colonial economy also threatened permanence and stability. British efforts to reintegrate the colonies into the mother country's trading system disrupted legal and political arrangements (the suspension of colonial charters and the appointment of new cadres of royal officials with authority over local leaders). Mercantilism created new economic opportunities. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, the hegemony of landed wealth was threatened by challenges from new men whose wealth was derived from trade and royal favor.

Religion contained disruptive potential. Indigenous and imported evangelicalism threatened religious establishments and clerical authority beginning in the 1730s. And in settings where religion was established by law, religious conflicts were inevitably political in character.

Despite the increasingly unstable nature of the late colonial social order, Connecticut clergyman-poet Timothy Dwight's epic poem, *Greenfield Hill* (1793) celebrated the traditional New England community, with its overall equality and harmony (in Parrington, 1969, pp. 187–88):

> Our Sires established, in thy cheerful bounds,
> The noblest institutions, man has seen,
> Since time he reign began. In little farms
> They measur'd all thy realms, to every child
> In equal shares descending; no entail
> The first-born lifting into bloated pomp,
> Tainting with lust, and sloth, and pride, and rage,
> The world around him: all the race beside,
> Like brood of ostrich, left for chance to rear,
> And every foot to trample. Reason's sway
> Elective, founded on the rock of truth,
> Wisdom their guide, and equal good their end,
> They built with strength, that mocks the battering storm,
> And spurns the mining flood; and every right
> Dispensed alike to all. Beneath their eye,
> And forming hand, in every hamlet rose
> The nurturing school; in every village, smil'd
> The heav'n inviting church, and every town
> A world within itself, with order, peace,
> And harmony, adjusted all its weal

Dwight (1821) elaborated on the unique character of American communities in his *Travels in New England and New York*. Outside New England, colonists settled on scattered plantations, "each placing his house where his own convenience dictated" (Dwight, 1821, I, p. 335). Although this was convenient for the planter, the system was, according to Dwight, "subject to serious disadvantages" (I, p. 336):

> Neither schools, nor churches, can without difficulty be either built by the planters or supported. The children must be too remote from the school and the families from the Church, not to discourage all strenuous efforts to provide these interesting accommodations. Whenever it is proposed to erect either of them, the though that one's self, and one's own family, are too distant from the spot to derive any material benefit, will check the feeble relenting of avarice, the more liberal dispositions of frugality, and even the noble designs of a generous disposition. . . .

Without public institutions or opportunities for social intercourse, community would fail to develop. "The state of manner, and that of the mind," Dwight (I, p. 336) continued,

> are mutually causes and effects. The mind, like the manners, will be distant, rough, forbidding, gross, solitary, and universally disagreeable. A nation planted in this manner can scarcely be more than half civilized; and refinement of character and life must necessarily be a stranger.

"New England," wrote Dwight (I, p. 338),

> presents a direct contrast to this picture. Almost the whole country is covered with villages; and every village has its church, and its suit of schools. Nearly every child, even those of beggars and blacks, in considerable numbers, can read, write, and keep accounts. Every child is carried to the church from the cradle; nor leaves the church but for the grave. All the people are neighbors: social beings; converse; feel; sympathize; mingle minds; cherish sentiments; and are subjects of at least some degree of refinement.

In reality, the settled, prosperous, harmonious, stable communities that Dwight celebrated did not exist in 1793, and may never have existed. Rather than describing a reality, Dwight

was projecting an ideal of community that he and his associates held forth as a model for the future development of American society.

An influential religious and political conservative—he was both president of Yale College, the Vatican of New England Congregationalism, and head of Connecticut's Federalist Party—Dwight and his associate, Yale treasurer and U.S. Senator James Hillhouse, viewed with alarm the consequences of the American Revolution, particularly the breakdown of older forms of community and the legal and political legitimization of unrestrained individualism [on Hillhouse, see Bacon (1860)].

The conservatives' fears were not unfounded. By the end of the eighteenth century, barely one in ten Americans belonged to any church, and the law in most states permitted them to join any church they wished or none at all (Finke and Stark, 1992). Only Connecticut and Massachusetts maintained tax-supported common school systems. As Americans moved out onto the western frontier, they seemed to be entering a moral wilderness, without the restraining force of communities, with their established elites and institutions.

Dwight and other Federalist leaders had a sophisticated understanding of the symbolic power of architecture, the organization of public space, ritual, and ceremony as means of shaping public values. Faced with the challenge of reinventing community, they put their knowledge to work.

INVENTING COMMUNITY IN NEW HAVEN, 1780–1830

The American Revolution did more than establish political sovereignty for some of England's North American colonies. Unlike historical struggles by national groups to free themselves from oppression by foreign powers (as, for example, the Spanish freed themselves from the Moors in the fifteenth century), it was a uniquely values-driven struggle, grounded in a broad consensus around ideals of human rights and the nature of society and government.

Securing independence only began the more protracted struggle to shape institutions that embodied these ideals. The glow of optimism shared by most American leaders in the wake of England's surrender soon gave way to bitter factionalism as they came to recognize that they differed among themselves as to how to do this. Basically, Americans allied themselves with two broad visions of democratic government and society. One, championed by Virginian Thomas Jefferson, emphasized the importance of individual liberty. The other, championed by New England politicians and clergymen, stressed the importance of community.

This chapter focuses on a particularly influential group of New Englanders, the development of their conception of community, and their use of public space, architecture, and other symbolic forms to express and propagate their vision

In "Yankee City," social anthropologist W. Lloyd Warner (1959, p. 280) laid particular emphasis on the centrality of the cemetery in the public and private life of New England towns. "Cemeteries," Warner wrote "are collective representations which reflect and express many of the community's basic beliefs and values about what kind of society is . . . and where each fits into the secular world of the living and the spiritual society of the dead." Cemeteries were more than spatial and architectural embodiments of values and beliefs. They were also the locus for rituals and ceremonies that iterated and affirmed those beliefs: funerals, processions, and patriotic rites.

The cemetery is a relatively modern institution [on this, see Colvin (1991)]. Before the seventeenth century, the vast majority of people were buried anonymously in common graves.

The Protestant Reformation, with its emphasis on the individual's personal relationship to God, and the growth of modern legal ideas, democratic forms of government, and capitalisic economies, transformed not only the role of the individual in this life, but his treatment in death. Cemeteries accorded the deceased citizens the same respect and dignity that modern polities accorded them in life.

In colonial New England, cemeteries were municipal enterprises: the dead were buried on or near town greens or "great highways," usually in proximity to the church. Although individuals were memorialized with simple inscribed stones, they were not—except for the wealthy—buried in family tombs or plots, but wherever there happened to be available space. After a century and a half of random interments, the older burial places, such as the one on New Haven's Green, presented a distressing spectacle. "Burials were continued in the old ground," writes the Green's chronicler (Blake, 1898. p. 250),

> And this was becoming not only more and more crowded with permanent occupants, but, as we learn from repeated town votes on record, it was also a common thoroughfare for bipeds, feathered and unfeathered, and for quadrupeds of grazing and rooting and burrowing propensities, and a nursery for unsightly and malodorous weeds and barberry bushes, so that its condition and appearance were, to say the least, discreditable.

Although the disreputable condition of the burial place had been long recognized, changing the town's burial practices came about because of Dwight's and Hillhouse's determination to use the cemetery as a way of transforming their fellow citizens' understanding of community and their place in it. "It is always desirable," Dwight wrote, that a burial ground should be a solemn object to man; "because in this manner it becomes a source of useful instruction and desirable impressions. But," he continued (Dwight 1821, I, p. 191), criticizing traditional burial customs,

> when placed in the center of a town, and in the current of daily intercourse, it is rendered too familiar to the eye to have any beneficial effect on the heart. From its proper, venerable character, it is degraded into a mere common object; and speedily loses all its connection with the invisible world, in a gross and vulgar union with the ordinary business of life.

In 1796, Hillhouse obtained a charter of incorporation for the New Haven Burial Ground, the first private nonprofit cemetery in the world.

Unlike New Haven's old burial ground on the Green, where people worshipped (it was the location of the town's most important church), politicked and governed (it was the location of the State House), traded (it was the location of the town's open-air market), and conducted public ceremonies (the militia drilled there), the new cemetery was a place set apart from the bustle of everyday life.

The new burial ground was a planned space. It was, Dwight (1821, 192) wrote, "leveled, and enclosed,"

> Then divided into parallelograms, handsomely railed, and separated by alleys of sufficient breadth to permit carriages to pass each other. The whole field, except for four lots given to the several congregations, and the college, and a lot destined for the reception of the poor, was distributed into family burying places; purchased at the expense actually incurred; and secured by law from every civil process. Each parallelogram is sixty-four feet in length. Each family burying-ground is thirty-two feet in length and eighteen in breadth; and against each an opening is made to admit a funeral procession. At the divisions between the lots trees are set out in the alleys; and the name of each proprietor is marked on the railing.

The cemetery's physical arrangement was intended to communicate the core values of the conservatives' ideal society, in which all citizens understood themselves to be members

of larger corporate groups. The cemetery itself represented society as a whole, encompassing within it all elements of the community; within the cemetery, the deceased were arranged as members of congregations and families. Set apart from the "ordinary business of life," as a place for contemplation and edification, it was a place not only where families could mourn the departed, but ponder their place in the secular and sacred order.

The didactic intentions of the cemetery's organizers extended to arrangements within particular lots. Ostentatious monuments and mausoleums were discouraged, reflecting the city leaders' egalitarian convictions (Dwight, p. 192):

> The monuments in his ground are almost universally of marble.... A considerable number are obelisks; others are tables; and others slabs, placed at the head and foot of the grave. The obelisks are placed, universally, on the middle line of the lots; and thus stand in a line, successively, throughout the parallelograms. The top of each post and the railing, are painted white; the remainder of the post, black.

The projectors had other purposes as well. The cemetery was to serve as a civic pantheon, celebrating New Haven's leaders and heroes, and as a touchstone for the community's history. The history of Yale could be read in the stones of its deceased presidents, faculty, and students (whose monuments were moved from the Green into the college's lots). The history of important families such as the Trowbridges were displayed on monuments that recounted their lineage back to earliest settlement. Family founders lay in the centers of lots, with spouses, children, and other descendants arrayed around them, visually affirming the patriarchal order of society.

"It is believed," Dwight wrote a quarter century after the cemetery's founding, "that this cemetery is altogether a singularity in the world, ... happily fitted to influence the views, and feelings of succeeding generations" (p. 192). In fact, the cemetery became a model for burial places throughout the United States and Western Europe. Paris's famous Père Lachaise cemetery, established in 1804, was modeled on it, as were the famous urban necropolises of England and Scotland. The private corporate secular burial place idea came back to the United States when Bostonians, emulating European models, organized Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1831. During the first half of the nineteenth century, older towns and cities reformed their burial practices along New Haven lines and newer settlements in the West and South followed suit.

The creation of the cemetery was the first step in a larger process of reordering civic space and public values, including rehabilitation of the Green itself. As noted, the Green served a wide variety of public purposes: "The Green," according to Center Church pastor and New Haven historian Leonard Bacon, "was designated not as a park or a mere pleasure ground, but as a place for public buildings, for military parades, for the meeting of buyers and sellers, for the concourse of the people, for all such public uses as were reserved of old by the Forum at Rome and the 'Agora' at Athens" [quoted in Blake (1898, p. 10)]. "It has, in fact," a nineteenth century chronicler noted (Blake, 1898, p. 10),

> been put to more uses than Doctor Bacon enumerates, for within its limits six generations educated their children and buried their dead, purposes to which the Forum, the Agora, and the market place were not devoted, and which practically complete the range of possible uses of a public nature. Hence New Haven Green has been identified, to a degree that the Boston Common has not, with all the important transactions and events connected with the religious, political and civil life of the surrounding community, and so is richer in associations of a local character.

Once the new cemetery was established, Dwight and Hillhouse persuaded New Haven's government to enact an ordinance forbidding further burials on the Green and authorizing the removal of the hundreds of monuments that had been placed there since the 1630s. These

measures were not greeted with universal enthusiasm. In December of 1812, when it became known that Center Church intended to build a new edifice over a portion of the old burial ground, strenuous opposition developed. At a public meeting in March of 1813, a petition signed by 178 angry citizens denounced the proposed location of the building. Some time later (Blake, 1898, p. 253), when

> workmen began to excavate the trenches, a number of persons assembled with shovels and began to throw back the earth as fast as it was thrown out. The opposition was, however, without leadership or general support, and as the remains which were found were carefully preserved, and removed to the new cemetery, it was soon withdrawn.

Essential to implementing their plans for the Green was a change in its legal status. Hillhouse realized that the Green was legally the property of an ancient and almost forgotten body, The Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands. Groups of this kind had been set up throughout New England in the 1670s, when an English royal governor had threatened to take possession of all lands held by municipalities. To prevent this, towns had transferred ownership of municipal lands to their citizens as a body. They had been active as long as the towns had substantial undistributed common lands.

Because New Haven's Proprietors had not met in nearly a century and had, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist as a legal entity, Hillhouse was able to boldly move to create a corporation that assumed their rights. This five-member self-perpetuating group was empowered to make decisions about the activities and structures permitted on the Green. In a stroke, Hillhouse had privatized governance of New Haven's most important public space. This gave him the power to restrict its use to purely civic purposes and to transform it into a space that embodied his vision of a new civic order. Although nominally democratic, this civic regime assured that real power would, in fact, be in the hands of the wealthy, learned, and respectable merchants and professionals who presided over the city's businesses and eleemosynary institutions. This differentiation of the public domain of democratic government from the private civic domain would become a hallmark of community life in many American communities.

In 1800, when Hillhouse was just beginning his civic project, the Green appeared "dismal and neglected," with its grazing cattle, rooting hogs, hucksters' booths, frolicking students, weedy and overgrown burial ground, used as a "common thoroughfare for all sorts of travel," and the location of two dilapidated churches, the courthouse, and the jail. Hillhouse began his efforts to transform the Green in 1798, when he received permission to "rail both sections of the Green without expense to the city," that is, at his own expense. The following year, Hillhouse was given permission to drain, regrade, and fence the Green, a task for which he raised $2000 from a variety of donors. Hillhouse also began planting the elm trees that would, by the end of the nineteenth century, become the city's hallmark.

Hillhouse also undertook the longer-term process of persuading the two congregations then located on the Green to raze their old buildings and replace them with new ones. He engineered the town's grant of permission to the Episcopalians—who were attracting growing numbers of the city's prosperous merchants, professionals, and artisans—on the Green. By 1812, the old churches had been razed and construction of the three new edifices was well underway, the two Congregationalist churches designed in high Classical Revival style by Asher Benjamin and Ithiel Towne (perhaps the two most notable American architects of the period) and the Episcopal Church in Gothic Revival style by Towne. (It was, in Dwight's view, "perhaps the only *correct* specimen" of Gothic architecture in the United States at the time.)

The Green landscaped, fenced, and cleared of obstacles, presented an impressive spectacle. "The churches," Dwight wrote (1821, p. 185),

are all placed on the Western side of Temple Street, in a situation singularly beautiful, having an elegant square in front, and stand on a street one hundred feet wide....Few structures, devoted to the same purpose on this side of the Atlantic, are equally handsome; and in no place can the same number of churches be found, within the same distance, so beautiful and standing in so advantageous a position.

The churches offered not only an impressive visual experience, but an auditory one as well, for each had its own bell by which citizens regulated their lives. The bells, wrote the Green's chronicler (Blake, 1898, p. 35), summoned citizens

To religious, civil, and political gatherings, in voicing public sentiment whether of joy or grief, as heralds of alarm when danger was pending, and in maintaining a uniform time for the community when clocks and watches were few.

The impressive statement of civic order offered by the rehabilitated Green was enhanced in 1828 with the construction of a new State House in the Greek Revival Style, designed by Ithiel Towne. In the early nineteenth century, the Greek Revival Style—identified with the ideals of ancient democracy—became de facto the official style for such public buildings as churches and courthouses throughout the nation.

If the Green offered a model of civic order for the present and future, it also represented a significant reinvention of the community's past. The Green before 1800, with its multitude of uses, offered a representation of the past that was diverse, complex, and ambiguous. The rehabilitated Green, in contrast, offered a representation of the past in which church and state, under the control of enlightened and public-spirited leaders, defined the common good. Reinventing the past in this way was a powerful way of legitimating the new civic regime. In later years, this power would be extended, as the elite created and controlled libraries and historical societies that made themselves the guardians of the community's history.

New Haven's civic leaders were hardly alone in their desire to reshape the community's past to serve the purposes of the present and future. As historian Gary Nash (2002, p. 14) remarks in recounting the "forging of historical memory" in Philadelphia,

every society must fabricate and sustain creation stories, and nearly everyone craves knowledge about his or her beginnings—those who came first, those who blazed the trails, those who did great deeds. No sooner was the colony well established than it began, like most successful enterprises, to remember itself in selective ways

This drive to selectively remember took institutional form in the early nineteenth century, when the city's historical society and library began systematically collecting manuscripts and artifacts. These institutions' founders, Nash writes, hoped "a historical society might spread the values of genteel culture and impart a shared sense of identity among Philadelphians" who, in the boisterous 1820s, seemed to be pulling in every direction while forgetting their precious heritage.

"By selecting and collecting the right historical materials," the founders hoped "they could restore a collective memory that might nurture unity and order as people reflected on a less trammeled, more virtuous, and less materialistic past" (Nash, 2002, p. 17). This desire extended to the preservation of historic buildings, such as Independence Hall, and to the establishment of Laurel Hill Cemetery.

The physical transformation of the Green was mirrored by the reconstruction of the adjacent Yale College campus. In this period, Yale was regarded as a public institution. Throughout most of its history, it had received generous support from the state. Its governing board included the governor, lieutenant governor, and six senior members of the state senate, as well as ten self-perpetuating Congregationalist clergymen, representing the denomination that was, until

1817, Connecticut's established church. Again, Dwight and Hillhouse were the leading actors in the process of transformation.

When Dwight was tapped by the Yale Corporation to head the college in 1795, he already had a clear vision of the challenges facing American society, and the best way to address them. Like the cemetery and the Green, the renovation of the campus became a way of embodying his ideal of community. "Dwight extolled the virtues of New England's unique township system," notes architectural historian Erik Vogt, "which not only 'converted the wilderness into fruitful fields' but also imparted to its inhabitants a strong social cohesion" (Vogt, 2004, p. 75). "In equating physical propinquity with active civic life," Vogt (2004, p. 76) continues,

> Dwight was tapping into long-held Puritan beliefs and traditions. The township was a corollary to the congregation, a self-centered body circumscribed in size and arrangement by its central meet-inghouse and church. Repeated as a type over time, it propagated a connected web of communities and improved the land toward human and, ultimately, divine ends.

"New Haven's clarity of form and grace of setting constituted, for Dwight," Vogt (2004, p. 76) writes,

> a model of the type. The straight broad streets, shaded by Hillhouse's elms... organized in rows of "neat and tidy" houses, ornamented by tree-filled "courtyards in front and gardens in the rear." At its center was the Green, "the handsomest ground of this nature which I have seen." Here Dwight's ideal of natural, social and spiritual harmony was distilled in its most resonant image, readily visible from his house in the college yard: "Rarely is a more beautiful object presented to the eye—I have never met with one—than the multitudes crossing the Green in different directions to the house of God.... Few places in the world present a fairer example of peace and good order"

The campus Dwight planned and built was a microcosm of the many villages he had admired and described in his *Travels*, forming with its "neat and tidy" houses, spired chapels, and common yard a fundamental pattern of communal order.

Dwight's reordering of the campus was an expression not only of local community values, but of a more ambitious effort to transform Yale into an institution for training the nation's leaders. "By 1820, 40 percent of Yale's matriculates were born outside of Connecticut and 75 percent settled outside the state after graduation" (Hall, 1982, p. 310). Within the decade, the faculty would set forth a bold plan of undergraduate education in the *Yale Report of 1828*, which would declare its intention to supply its graduates with "the *discipline* and the *furniture* of the mind;" to provide the values, the "balance of character," that would enable them not only to successfully pursue their occupations, but to fulfill a broad range of duties "to his family, to his fellow citizens, to his country" in ways enabling "to diffuse the light of science among all classes of the community."

"Our republican form of government," the *Report* continued, "renders it highly important that great numbers should enjoy the advantage of a thorough education. In this country, where offices are accessible to all who are qualified for them, superior intellectual attainments out not to be confined to any description of persons. The active, enterprising character of our population," the *Report* concluded,

> renders it highly important, that this bustle and energy should be directed by sound intelligence, the result of deep thought and early discipline. The greater the impulse to action, the greater is the need of wise and skillful guidance. When nearly all the ship's crew are aloft, setting the topsails, and catching the breezes, it is necessary there should be a steady hand at the helm. Light and moderate learning is but poorly fitted to direct the energies of a nation, so widely extended, so intelligent, so powerful in resources, so rapidly advancing in population, strength, and opulence. Where a free government gives full liberty to the human intellect to expand and operate, education should be proportionally liberal and ample.

NEW HAVEN, NEW ENGLAND, AND THE
MODEL OF AMERICAN COMMUNITY

How is it that a small town such as New Haven should have exercised such an extraordinary influence on shaping American communities? Part of the reason is the clarity and intensity of its leaders' vision of community and their desire to propagate it far and wide. Part of the reason has to do with Yale's self-consciously embracing and effectively pursuing a role as an educator of leaders. Part of the reason has to do with demographic trends in New England generally, and Connecticut in particular.

In the course of the nineteenth century, Yale would become the "Mother of Colleges," its graduates fanning out across the country to establish some 50 institutions—most of them modeled on their alma mater—including Williams, Middlebury, Trinity, New York University, Hamilton, Rutgers, Lafayette, Kenyon, Western Reserve, Transylvania, Oberlin, and the Universities of Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi (Hall, 1982, p. 162). Yale graduates would also become political and social leaders, As de Tocqueville (1944, I, p. 294) noted,

> A single fact will suffice to show the prodigious number of individuals who thus leave New England to settle in the wilds. We were assured in 1830 that thirty-six of the members of Congress were born in the little state of Connecticut. The population of Connecticut, which constitutes only one forty-third part of that of the United States, thus furnished one eighth of the whole body of representatives. The state of Connecticut itself, however, sends only five delegates to Congress; and the thirty-one others sit for the new western states

The Yale graduates, who spread through the nation did not, as a rule, seek national office. Rather, they were more frequently found as community leaders: teaching, preaching, practicing law and medicine, and running business enterprises on the local level.

When New Englanders went west, they did not cut their ties with their places of origin. Not only did they maintain ongoing connections with relatives and friends, they often sent their sons back to New England for schooling and apprenticeships and their daughters for husbands, whereas their New England relatives often sent their sons west to seek their fortunes. Moreover, all participated in a dense network of associations that spanned the country. Some were religious, the so-called "evangelical machinery" created by Dwight protégé Lyman Beecher and other Yale graduates. Others were secular, like the lyceums, the national network of public lectures that brought notable speakers to the hinterlands. New England-trained teachers organized schools and academies that taught their lessons from schoolbooks written by Yale graduates such as Noah Webster (whose *Blue Backed Speller* had sold 41 million copies by 1860).

New Englanders thus constituted a larger kind of community that transcended locality. The leaders of institutions such as Yale recognized this as early as the 1830s, when the college initiated its first general endowment fund drive. Historically, Yale had depended on the generosity of the legislature and the citizens of New Haven for funding. But as its graduates migrated to the West and South in ever-greater numbers, it recognized that its alumni and Christians who subscribed to the tenets of the "New Haven Theology" were potential supporters. To stimulate interest in the college, Yale created an alumni association and encouraged graduating classes to convene regularly and published reports of their postgraduate careers.

New Englanders constructed national associational networks, however, their most visible impact was on the localities in which they settled. As the New England diaspora pushed westward through New York state and into the Midwest, the township model of settlement became the standard. Throughout Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin,

villages and towns replicated the New Haven model of a nucleus of churches and public buildings, usually designed in the Greek Revival Style. Like New Haven, the social and cultural life of these towns was defined by the activities of religious and secular associations.

New England's impact on communities throughout the country was recognized as early as the 1830s, when Alexis de Tocqueville (1945, p. 31) wrote

> The principles of New England spread at first to the neighboring states; then they passed successively to the more distant one; and at last, if I may so speak, they *interpenetrated* the whole confederation. They now extend their influence beyond its limits, over the whole American world. The civilization of New England has been like a beacon lit upon a hill, which, after it has diffused its warmth immediately around it, also tinges the distant horizon with its glow.

This influence persisted. Writing of the Midwest's rural towns in the mid-twentieth century, an English journalist (Hutton, 1946, pp. 78–79) wrote,

> ...they follow a distinctive over-all pattern from Ohio to Minnesota or Missouri with but slight, though important, local differences. Along the sides of the square, if the town is a county seat, are the county buildings and courthouse, the bank or banks, a battery of lawyer's offices. . . . two or three drug stores, some taverns, barber shops and at least one beauty parlor, doctors', dentists' and veterinaries' offices, the newspaper, and the usual array of hardware, clothing, and other stores. . . . The first church—Methodist or Presbyterian or Lutheran or Baptist or (more rarely) Episcopalian—is "on the square." The other churches, like the movie and the grade and high schools, are usually a block or two from it, as the town grew.

The square and the buildings on it are both symbols of community and the backdrop for rituals and ceremonies of community solidarity. "There is always one leading hotel in or near the central crossroads," Hutton (1946, p. 80) continues.

> Here meet for lunch, on their respective days, if the town is large enough, the Rotarians, Lions, Elks, Kiwanis, Buffaloes, or other service clubs; banquets are given; and local functions take place. . . . On the mezzanine of the second floor is usually the local Chamber of Commerce, if the town boasts one. . . . The Farm Bureau, Grange, or Union has an office or chapter in the town. There are often in the larger towns a Y.M.C.A. and, less generally, a Y.W.C.A. If the rural town is the county seat, there will probably be a public library.

INVENTING NEIGHBORHOOD: REDEFINING COMMUNITY IN THE EXPANDING CITY

"The beauty of the tree-lined street and the common sentiment of its residents for the venerable elms," wrote W. Lloyd Warner (1959, p. 44) of Yankee City's most elite neighborhood,

> unify the homes of Hill Street in the minds of its people, the fine old trees providing an outward symbol of that superior region's self-regard. The trees themselves are part of a planting that physically and symbolically interrelates the contemporary families and their homes with the larger cultured world of their dwelling area, and this whole world with the values and beliefs of an upper class style of life of past generations. In the living presence of the elms, the past lives too. Hill Street is the most important public symbol of the upper classes of Yankee City.

"Although rows of fine trees are the hallmark of old New England towns and villages," Warner (1959, pp. 44–45) continued,

> it cannot be denied that in a fair-sized city, in the residential section, they constitute a public expression of the presence of upper-class manners and gentle refinement. Here on Hill Street, their age and the agreeable and historic style of most of the houses give eloquent testimony that good form, good breeding, and a proper ritualistic consumption of wealth have been and are being maintained by the families that have lived there for generations.

Warner stresses the symbolic function of setting, architecture, landscaping, and décor as it relates to upper-class identity and self-representation; he overlooked the value of such enclaves and representations to the community as a whole. Moreover, he treats them as natural outgrowths of the process of social and economic differentiation, rather than intentional efforts to create symbols of community.

As with other kinds of community, neighborhoods are not accidental. They are products of decisions by developers, corporate executives, bankers, elected officials, and property-owners.

The history of New Haven's first distinctive neighborhood, the Hillhouse Quarter, suggests that the creation of distinctive residential enclaves was part of the same process of community building that produced the Green, the Grove Street Cemetery, and the Yale campus as planned spaces charged with moral and didactic symbolism.

Until the 1820s, New Haven's wealthy merchants, manufacturers, and professionals lived on or around the Green, their homes cheek-by-jowl with stores, workshops, offices, taverns, and the houses of more humble folk. Early in the century, ownership of large tracts to the north of the Green was divided between two families, the Hillhouses and the Bishops. The Hillhouses closely identified themselves with the Federalist communitarian ideal and, as noted, led the translation of that ideal into planning, landscaping, and architecture. The Bishops, in contrast, identified with the Jeffersonian ideal of unfettered individualism. Their contrasting values would be embodied in the ways in which they developed their properties.

Abraham Bishop (1763–1844) divided his New Haven holdings, lying to the east of the Hartford Turnpike (now Whitney Avenue) among his three daughters and their husbands. They proceeded to lay out streets and to subdivide it into modest residential lots, a process that would take decades to complete. This neighborhood would become the home of New Haven's working class, its rows of modest owner-occupied houses punctuated by grocery stores, taverns, and churches (Hall, 2002).

James Hillhouse (1752–1832) gave his properties on the west side of the Turnpike to his son, James Abraham Hillhouse in 1823, on the occasion of his marriage to the New York heiress, Cornelia Lawrence. Before his marriage, the younger Hillhouse, who had literary ambitions, had spent years in Boston, London, and New York, where he became familiar with the latest literary and architectural fashions (Hazelrigg, 1953).

James Abraham Hillhouse was preoccupied with the problem of community leadership. His father was a self-made man; he was an inheritor not only of wealth, but the mantle of his father's civic preeminence. In his father's time, the wealthy, learned, and respectable could expect the unquestioning deference of their communities. By the younger Hillhouse's time, economic and political revolution had empowered the "common man" who, en masse, followed leaders like Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson in their opposition to inherited privilege.

The challenge facing James Abraham Hillhouse was how to define the role of leadership in a democratic community. Like his father, he chose to respond to this challenge symbolically, through planning, landscaping, and architecture. Much as his father's model of the town center and college campus would become national paradigms, James Abraham's model of the elite urban neighborhood would be widely emulated as a way of symbolically expressing the relation of elites to the industrializing and urbanizing communities they aspired to lead.

In the 1790s, the elder Hillhouse had sold a large part of his holdings to pioneer industrialist Eli Whitney (1765–1825). Whitney, who built his arms factory on New Haven's northern border, proceeded to create a kind of industrial community that would not generally serve as a national model: a self-sufficient industrial community, with workers' houses grouped around manufacturing and agricultural operations. Although Whitney planned to build his own mansion as part of this complex, ill health prevented him from doing so. He lived with his workers for many years, but on his marriage, he moved to a house near the Green in downtown New Haven.

This quasi-feudal model of urban industrial community—based on Whitney's experience of southern plantations—was at odds with the dominant egalitarian ethos. Although embraced with mixed success by some industrialists, it was generally not followed in the United States, where public values and preferences favored mixed neighborhoods characterized by shared economic and social characteristics. (Even Whitney ultimately abandoned the plan, shifting to a practice of selling land to his workers on which to build their own homes.) American communities, in a word, would generally be stratified by class, rather than clustered around dominant economic interests.

The vision of laying out family land holdings as large estates rather than modest residential subdivisions, was passed on from father to son. As early as 1790, the senior Hillhouse seems to have decided that his properties to the west of the Hartford Turnpike "should be developed as a place of beauty and architectural distinction" (Brown, 1976, p. 134). To this end, he laid out Temple Avenue (later renamed Hillhouse Avenue). It was (Brown, 1976, p. 134)

> an avenue of majestic width, with houses set back 50 feet from the right of way, the intervening strip planted with trees and called "the Grove." The overall effect, despite the strict initial Federal layout, was parklike, recalling with its white temples and villas glimpsed through the trees such prototypes as Regent's Park in London.

Thinking ahead, James Hillhouse began planting trees along the street, long in advance of the construction of any houses. He planted elms, the tree distinctively associated with public and civic spaces and, as such, an explicit symbolic connection between the Green and the new elite residential neighborhood.

"Hillhouse's 1792 approach to the Avenue's elm planting was interestingly different from the one he had used in 1787 for the trees of Temple Street, then newly cut through the Green," according to architectural historian Patrick Pinnell (2004, p. 131),

> The town streets grew to become the city's most beautiful, indeed they largely made New Haven's reputation as a beautiful city. They had very different characters, not only because one was religious and civic (its three churches and the Green) and the other residential, but because, thanks to Hillhouse, their trees created distinct moods. Temple Street, with its elms placed symmetrically just outside both sides of the roadbed (perhaps 45 feet separating their lines across the street) became a green cathedral, dark and vertical, because the tree crowns met overhead; Hillhouse Avenue, its trees outside the street and sidewalk lines (hence their lines perhaps 90 feet apart, too far for treetops to meet) grew into a horizontally proportioned grand corridor lit by a central channel of sky. Temple's elms helped produce an environment of civic-minded spirituality, the Avenue's trees pulled individual houses into civic unity. Both places resulted from the underlying notion that trees and buildings, together, define the city's essential nature.

The younger Hillhouse sold large properties along Whitney Avenue to a number of wealthy families. But he directed most of his attention to developing his own estate, Highwood, and the area between it and downtown—Hillhouse Avenue—as a model urban neighborhood. The active development of the street began in 1828, when James Abraham Hillhouse commissioned architect Alexander Jackson Davis to design his own mansion, which would stand on Prospect Hill at the northern end of the avenue. Inspired by a British publication, Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (1762), the house, with its two-story Ionic portico, became an iconic structure in the burgeoning Greek Revival style. Davis would design five of the dozen houses built on Hillhouse Avenue during its initial development in the 1830s before going on to become "most successful and influential American architect of his generation" (Wikipedia, N.D.).

Davis himself favored less pretentious styles than the Greek Revival houses he designed for Hillhouse Avenue. His best-selling 1837 pattern book, *Rural Architecture*, criticized "The bald and uninteresting aspect of our houses" and "the wasteful and tasteless expenditure of money in building" that they represented (Davis, 1837, p. 22). The Greek Temple form, "perfect

in itself, and well adapted as it is to public edifices, and even to town mansions, is inappropriate for country residences, and yet it is the only style ever attempted in our more costly habitations," he continued.

Eventually his arguments proved persuasive and Hillhouse, who tightly controlled the design and ownership of houses on the avenue, relented and permitted the construction of two houses in the Italianate villa style in the late 1830s. Like the avenue's elms, the Greek Revival residences were an important symbolic link to the civic structures on the Green and, as such, a visual assertion of the elite's claims as a leadership class.

The shift to more purely residential architectural styles—Italianate and Gothic—in the late 1830s appears to embody a shift in the elite's understanding of its relationship to the rest of society. In 1829, frontiersman Andrew Jackson ousted patrician John Quincy Adams from the White House and initiated the second phase of America's democratic revolution. By the end of his tenure, he had definitively displaced old elites from political leadership nationally and locally.

James Abraham Hillhouse seems to have sensed this shift. In 1838, he changed the name of his estate from the aristocratic "Highwood" to the more domesticated "Sachem's Wood." He explained his reasons for doing so in a poem, *Sachem's Wood: A Short Poem, with Notes* (1838, p. 6). The poem begins with an evocation of the view from his porch on Prospect Hill over the city that his family had done so much to shape:

> Now, from this bench, the gazer sees
> Towers and white steeples o'er the trees,
> Mansions that peep from leafy bowers,
> And villas blooming close by ours;
> Hears grave clocks, and classic bell,
> Hours for the mind and body tell;
> Or starts, and questions, as the gong
> Bids urchins not disport too long
> A blended murmur minds the ear
> That an embosom'd City's near.
> See! How its guardian Giants tower,
> Changing their aspects with the hour!

In this stanza, Hillhouse views the city's towers and steeples, its mansions and villas, framed by the "guardian Giants"—the great elm trees—planned by his father, who was popularly known as "The Sachem" (the Indian term for Big Chief). He refers to the "grave clocks, and classic bell" that regulated the lives of New Haven's citizens.

In the new urban democracy, the aristocratic airs that he and people like him had so casually assumed would not do. "So farewell Highwood!" he wrote. "Highwood-*Park*'/ O'ersteps the democratic mark" (p. 14).

> Ancestral woods! Must we forego
> An epithet we love and know,
> For some new title, and proclaim
> That *steady folk* have changed their *name*.

Emulating the styles and fashions would not do for American leaders (p. 14):

> A Yankee—Whig—and gentleman,
> Should be a plain republican—
> Proud he may be (some *honest* pride
> Would do no harm on t'other side,)
> Proud *for* his country, but not full
> Of puffy names, like Mr. Bull . . .

After a long recital of the history of the community and his father's (the Sachem's) services to it, he proclaimed (pp. 15–16)

> The *Sachem's* day is o'er, is oe'r!
> His hatchet (buried oft before,)
> In earnest rusts; while he has found,
> Far off, a choicer hunting ground.
> Here, were in life's aspiring stage,
> He planned a wigwam for his age,
> Vowing the woodman's murderous steel,
> These noble trunks should never feel;
> Here, where the objects of his care,
> Waved grateful o'er his silver hair;
> Here. Where as silent moons roll by,
> We think of him beyond the sky,
> Resting among the Wise and Good,
> Our hearts decide for SACHEM'S WOOD.

In naming the estate in honor of his father, he asserted his claim to the community's past, and, in decades before the community had produced a written account of its own history, took charge of recasting the elite's place in the community's shared past. The unquestioned class authority associated with "The *Sachem's* day" were a thing of the past. Authority in a democracy would have to be based on "*proven* worth" and on a willingness to set an example for one's fellow citizens.

Another theme evident in Hillhouse's poem—and his willingness to embrace departures from Classical architectural models—is his embrace of nature. Throughout the poem, whether in the recurrent trope of trees framing the manmade landscape or references to his father, "The Sachem," as embodying the virtues of New Haven's aboriginal inhabitants, nature, rather than reason, is cited as a source of authority. This embrace of the Romantic sensibility in no way constituted an abandonment of a commitment to civic order. Rather, it shifted the source of that commitment to a more sturdy foundation. "Central to the environmental awakening of the Jacksonian period," writes environmental historian Thomas Campanella (2003, pp. 74–75),

> was a belief that the contemplation of wild nature produced positive moral and spiritual effects upon the observer. Moreover, it was believed that a person could derive similar value by reproducing the essence of such scenes closer to home. In other words, by "improving" his grounds according to certain aesthetic principles, he could realize bountiful dividends both moral and spiritual. "Taste, the perception of the beautiful, and the knowledge of the principles on which nature works," wrote painter Thomas Cole, "can be applied, and our dwelling-places made fitting for refined and intellectual beings."

The private contemplation of the sublime in nature had powerful public consequences, he continues (Campanella, 2003, p. 75):

> This application of "taste" could be just as effective in the civic realm as it was in the domestic; improvement could transform village space just as it transformed home grounds. As an advocate of village improvement put it decades later, by affording to nature "the assistance of Art, its appropriate handmaid," improvement could bring about "a most gratifying development of two kinds of beauty": one, "in the most outward aspect of the village itself," and the other, "in the interior life of the people."

Within this framework, both public and private spaces could have powerful effects on engendering a sense of community by creating settings in which citizens could contemplate and come to understand their place in the larger scheme of things, sacred and secular.

If civic elites could no longer demand deference, they could claim leadership in realms other than the political: in refinement, elevated sentiments, and an appreciation for beauty. Withdrawing from the kind of substantive political engagement that his father relished, people like James Abraham Hillhouse instead committed themselves to creating and maintaining settings that influenced the moral agendas and identities that underlay politics.

The example set by Hillhouse and Davis was hugely enlarged through their aggressive promotion of their ideas. Davis's 1837 *Rural Architecture* was only the first of a series of influential pattern books in which he had a hand. Teaming up with talented landscape designer Andrew Jackson Downing, the pair produced a series of volumes, including *Cottage Residences* (1844) and *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1851), that sold by the thousands and influenced homeowners, architects, and builders throughout the country. "Downing's impact on his age—and on the village improvement movement in general—was profound," writes environmental historian Thomas Campanella (2003, p. 89).

> Few men in the first half of the nineteenth century had a better grasp of the emergent interest in spatial beauty, or were better equipped to give it direction. Downing was the first advocate of environmental design to reach a wide audience, and he did so at precisely a moment when members of the growing middle class in American began seeking guidance on the tasteful appointment of their grounds.

"In the 1830s," thanks to the work of Downing and Davis, a "new craving for spatial beauty" swept across the United States (Campanella, 2003, p. 6).

> Village improvement societies were organized, beginning in western Massachusetts, to beautify the civic spaces of town and village. These groups engaged in a wide range of activities to enhance the attractiveness of their public lands, but first and foremost they planted trees—*elm* trees. In doing so, they changed the face of New England, and forged one of the most powerful images of place in America—the elm-tufted Yankee town. . . . Like the whitewashed steeple or the village green, the American elm became the symbol of New England throughout the United States.

By the 1920s, Campanella (2003, p. 1) continues, the elm trees that Hillhouse had so energetically promoted as a civic totem,

> had become an almost universal element of the American urban landscape. A survey in 1937 revealed that more than 25 million American elms embowered the cities, towns, and suburbs of the nation. Sacramento has as many elms as did New Haven, Connecticut; Dallas has six times as many elms as Boston, and Dubuque, Iowa had more trees than elm-rich Springfield, Massachusetts.

The elm became a powerful symbol of civic community, identified in particular with the commitment of private citizens to give and serve.

As Warner (1959, p. 45) suggests, the impact of elite neighborhoods such as the Hillhouse Quarter on the communities in which they were situated, and virtually every American community had such neighborhoods, was considerable.

> A house with its landscaping and architecture is usually the very heart of the technical and symbolic apparatus necessary for the maintenance of self-regard in upper-class personality, and for the persistence of the culture of the group which occupies this social level. The décor, furnishing, paintings, and their arrangements in the various rooms where the family life is differentiated and defined are all symbolic objects belonging to a subculture which expresses to those who occupy the house, and to those who frequent or know about it, the nature of the inner world of each person living there. The symbols not only refer to the manners and morals of the subculture and express the significance of the people and their way of life, but also evoke and maintain in people sentiments about who they are and what they must do to retain their superior images of themselves and keep before them the interesting and gratifying vision of the superiority of their world.

The setting, landscaping, architecture, décor, and lifestyles associated with these neighborhoods symbolically defined for generations of Americans the criteria of civic-minded success.

THE MODERN CITY, CIVIC LIFE, AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF COMMUNITY, 1890–1960

As American cities grew in geographical extent, population, and diversity, symbols of civic community not only had to be continually reinvented, but also had to coexist with the proliferation of subcommunities. Some of these, like neighborhoods, were defined by location, each of which tended to take on its own physical character and ethnic or class composition. Others, like occupational, professional, and associational communities, tended to become decoupled from specific places, instead defining themselves through social networks and sets of symbols that permitted members to recognize one another.

Despite dramatic economic and political changes in the decades following the Civil War, throughout most of the country citizens continued to live in villages and small towns, where older forms of community and the symbolic spaces and structures that embodied them remained meaningful. In the larger cities, however, unrestrained capitalist enterprise, immigration (both from abroad and from our own countryside), and the geographic expansion of municipalities generated powerful forces inimical to civic community. Rising crime and public disorder, official and corporate corruption, and deepening poverty were all symptoms of the decline of any shared sense of mutual identity or obligation.

The initial responses to the decline of civic community in the cities were political movements to restore the integrity of the government. Citizens willing to challenge political machines, to demand accountability from big business, and to assume responsibility for the problem of poverty were, almost without exception, educated businessmen and professionals who identified themselves with older traditions of civic leadership.

Ultimately, the civic reformers discovered that they could not best political machines at their own game: the bosses' control of patronage, vast financial resources, and the unswerving loyalty of ethnic and working-class voters, made them unbeatable. By the beginning of the twentieth century, municipal reform had shifted its strategy: it became nonpartisan, basing its programs in arguments about the application of science and professional expertise to the administration, infrastructure, and physical appearance of cities.

Like the creators of the new civic order of the early nineteenth century, the municipal reformers of the Progressive Era used private rather than public instrumentalities to achieve their ends. Higher education, which was overwhelmingly private before the Second World War, supplied the knowledge and training needed by the reformers. "Blue ribbon commissions" and civic improvement organizations gave them the visibility and the resources they needed to advance their agendas.

One of the most influential efforts to reform the life of urban communities advanced under the banner of the City Beautiful Movement, an effort by middle- and upper-middle-class Americans to "refashion their cities into beautiful, functional entities" (Wilson, 1989, p. 1).

> Their effort involved a cultural agenda, a middle class environmentalism, and aesthetics expressed as beauty, order, system, and harmony. The ideal found physical realization in urban design, public and semi-public buildings, civic centers, park and boulevard systems, or extensions and embellishment of them, were the tokens of the improved environment. So were ordinary street improvements, including good paving, attractive furniture such as lampposts, and carefully selected and maintained trees. The goal beyond the tangibles was to influence the heart, mind, and purse of the citizen.

> Physical change and institutional reformation would persuade urban dwellers to become more imbued with civic patriotism and better disposed toward community needs. Beautiful surrounding would enhance worker productivity and urban economics.

The City Beautiful Movement came directly out of the New England-dominated culture of antebellum reform. Its founder, reform journalist and landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903), had spent the years before the Civil War writing anti-slavery propaganda. During the war, he worked with the United States Sanitary Commission, the private organization that assumed responsibility for deploying professional expertise to deal with problems of health and relief in the Union army. After the war, he became involved in planning New York's Central Park. He eventually founded a firm that pioneered modern landscape architecture.

Olmsted was profoundly influenced by Andrew Jackson Downing's ideas about the moral and civic influence of physical settings. These were affirmed by Olmsted's observations of the impact of parks in cities such as London. "The London parks," writes historian William H. Wilson (1989, p. 16),

> realized Olmsted's social idea, the democratic intermingling of all classes. The display of riding horses and luxurious carriages moving among throngs of ordinary citizens was a visual affirmation of an interdependent organic society. Promenades in parks also encouraged the members of "the largest classes of people" to make "their best presentation of themselves."

Parks, and in a larger sense, the overall design of cities was a powerful mechanism for recreating community and responsible citizenship. In the 1890s, Olmsted's work and ideas had attracted the attention not only of academics, such as Charles Sprague Sargent of Harvard's Arnold Arboretum, but also political reformers and public officials committed to municipal improvement. Through a variety of national associations—the National Municipal League, the Outdoor Art Association, and the municipal arts associations—they debated, framed, and promoted their ideas.

Just as Olmsted's ideas had emerged from earlier thinking about the design of urban communities, so the elaboration, institutionalization, and dissemination of those ideas drew on the older village improvement societies of the antebellum years. Two factors made this new iteration of programs for the reshaping of community particularly powerful: one was the vigor of the national periodical press, which aggressively promoted reform ideas; the other was the propagation of these ideas through national federated membership associations, which depended on local chapters to carry out their work. Ideas about city planning also received wide exposure through such extravaganzas as the 1893 Columbian Exposition, the World's Fair that drew millions to a setting which used the best in contemporary architecture, landscaping, and technology to promote a unique kind of civic nationalism, along with an awareness of the power of environment to shape collective identity. In its beauty, order, and efficiency, the fair showed the possibilities of the "'fuller,' cooperative, more leisurely urban life of the twentieth century" that could be realized through comprehensive planning and communitywide cooperation (Wilson. 1989, p. 71).

The hallmark of the City Beautiful Movement was the civic center, the grouping of public and private buildings—the courthouse, the city hall, the municipal auditorium, the public library, the major financial institutions, usually in the imposing Beaux Arts Style—in the heart of downtown. "The civic center," writes movement historian William H. Wilson (1989, p. 92),

> was intended to be a beautiful ensemble, an architectonic triumph far more breathtaking than a single building. Grouping public buildings around a park, square, or intersection of radial streets allowed the visual delights of perspectives, open spaces, and the contrasts between buildings and their umbrageous settings. . . .

> The civic center's beauty would reflect the souls of the city's inhabitants, inducing order, calm, and propriety therein. The citizen's presence in the center, together with other citizens, would strengthen pride in the city and awaken a sense of community with fellow urban dwellers.

The civic center would serve as a powerful symbol of a community and its shared values and purposes. Its architectural motifs would be echoed in school buildings, police stations, fire houses, park structures, and other municipal outposts throughout the cities that possessed them.

The energies of the City Beautiful Movement were not restricted to reforming the physical environment. Thanks to the work of pioneers such as settlement house founder Jane Addams, Progressive era reformers were keenly aware of the human dimensions of community and the need to create settings that would restore for city dwellers, who were increasingly drawn apart by differences of wealth, a sense of community.

Rather than viewing government as inimical to their purposes, the Progressive civic reformers saw it as an indispensable partner. An efficient effective approach to community problems would require not only the combined efforts of private social agencies, but coordination with government, and the use, when necessary, of its coercive powers.

One of the reformers' major objectives was the restoration of civic community. They believed that the educational system was an indispensable tool for bringing this about. In pushing to enact compulsory school attendance laws and pressing to prohibit child labor, they hoped to bring all the young people of their communities into a unified educational system that could not only impart essential knowledge and skills, but would give students civic values and competencies.

The urban school systems that began to emerge on the eve of the First World War accommodated themselves to the diversity of the urban communities they served [for an overview, see Judd (1930, pp. 325–381); see also Cremin (1988)]. Students in the primary grades were served by neighborhood schools; students in the intermediate/ junior-high schools attended institutions that served wider areas of the city and brought together students of different backgrounds. In most mid-size cities, a single comprehensive high school served the entire population, sorting students into occupational tracks (general, commercial, industrial, college prep) and, at the same time, sought to build a sense of community through a rich extra curricula of clubs, teams, publications, and activities (Lynd and Lynd, 1929, pp. 211–222).

"During the last thirty years," sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd (1929, p. 182) wrote of "Middletown's" (Muncie, Indiana) schools,

> the tendency has been not only to require more constant attendance during each year, but to extend the years that must be devoted to this formal group-directed training both upward and downward. Today [1929], no person may stop attending school until he is fourteen while by taking over and expanding in 1924 the kindergartens, hitherto private semi-charitable organizations, the community is now allowing children of five and even of four, if room permits, to receive training at public expense.

Traditionally taken for granted as a prerequisite for members of the civic elite, by the early decades of the twentieth century, according to the Lynds, education had come to evoke "the fervor of a religion, a means of salvation, among a large section of the working class." In Middletown and throughout America, high school had "become the hub of social life of the young, . . . and it is not surprising that high school attendance is almost as common today as it was rare a generation ago."

Not only was the school system itself structured to integrate students of diverse backgrounds and expectations into a cohesive community, the curriculum contained components intended to impart the civic values and skills essential to effective community membership.

"Second only in importance to...courses addressed to practical vocational activities," the Lynds observed, "is the new emphasis upon courses of history and civics. These represent yet another point at which Middletown is bending its schools to the immediate service of its institutions—in this case bolstering community solidarity against sundry divisive tendencies. Evidently," they continued (Lynd and Lynd, 1929, pp. 197–198),

> Middletown has become concerned that no child shall be without this pattern of the group. Precisely what this stamp is appears clearly in instructions to teachers. The most fundamental impression a study of history should leave on the youth of the land when they have reached the period of citizenship... is that they are their government's keepers as well as their brothers' keepers in a very true sense. This study should lead us to feel and will that sacrifice and service for our neighbor are the best fruits of life; the reverence for the law, which means, also, reverence for God, is fundamental to citizenship; that private property, in the strictest sense, is a trust imposed upon us to be administered for the public good; that no man can safely live unto himself.

The same impulse that led to the modernization of the school system as an engine of community building also drove the transformation of social welfare institutions. In the first phase of municipal reform, these efforts focused on eliminating poor relief as part of the system of political patronage that kept the bosses in power. The Charity Reform Movement, which began in the late 1870s, was less interested in building community as such, than in protecting it from the permanent underclass they feared was being created by political and sentimental relief efforts. The second phase of welfare reform, which emerged after 1900, was less guided by moralistic agendas than by a desire to eliminate the causes of poverty rather than merely treating its symptoms. Two decades of charity reform had produced the rudiments of a social work profession with a grounded understanding of the causes of poverty and dependency and the role of public and private agencies in addressing the needs of the poor [e.g., see Warner (1894)].

Before the turn of the century, "charity" had been left in the care of women and the clergy. After 1900, civic leaders stepped in to put the enterprise on a businesslike basis. This produced a number of important organizational innovations.

In 1900, the Cleveland (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce's Committee on Benevolent Associations, troubled by the large number of agencies soliciting funds in the city, began investigating and endorsing social agencies worthy of support and educating donors about the standards to which such organizations should be held. This became the basis for the establishment of Cleveland's Federation of Charities and Philanthropy and the uniting of nearly all the city's social agencies, public and private, into the Cleveland Welfare Council. In 1913, the Council began conducting an intensive annual drive to raise funds for its fifty-five member agencies. This was the first Community Chest, an enterprise which initiated "the principle of budgeting as a means of presenting to 'the community' a 'picture of total needs and resources'" (Seeley et al., 1957, pp. 18–19).

One of the most important institutional innovations of the period was the Community Chest, which began as an effort by large individual and corporate donors to eliminate charitable fraud and inefficiency, but which eventually expanded into an initiative intended to broaden participation in charitable giving and to rationally allocate communities' charitable resources among agencies that best served the public interest. Originally started by a committee of Cleveland's Chamber of Commerce, by the 1920s the Community Chest had become a national movement, with chapters throughout the United States. The Cleveland example was widely emulated. By 1920, nearly 400 cities had Community Chest affiliates.

The Community Chest was predicated on the idea that civic leaders, working with social welfare professionals, could make dispassionate assessments of community needs and disburse

the funds it raised to the most worthy and efficient organizations. The Chest idea was based on the assumption that the views of civic leaders represented a broad consensus about community needs and priorities.

In the mid-1920s, the idea of charitable federation was expanded to include other forms of giving with the creation of the community foundation. The community foundation, also invented in Cleveland, allowed donors to establish endowments—for general or for designated purposes—under the management of a committee of bankers, which would manage their investment, and a distribution committee representing civic leaders, which would allocate the funds according to their understanding of community priorities.

THE POSTWAR CRISIS OF COMMUNITY

The community institutions of the twentieth century, although drawing on the civic ideals of earlier eras, differed in significant ways from their predecessors. Most importantly, they embodied a coercive element absent from nineteenth-century civic institutions. Citizens in nineteenth-century America were free to embrace or ignore the community values propagated by leaders such as the Hillhouses. Because of the alliance between civic leadership and government that developed during the Progressive era, citizens in twentieth-century America were compelled to participate in civic institutions whether they wanted to or not.

Although the civic order created in the Progressive era continued to grow through the 1940s, there were emerging signs that it was beginning to falter. In the mid-1950s, the Indianapolis Community Chest retained Canadian sociologist John R. Seeley to find out "What's wrong with our Chest?" Why was it unable to attract or retain "top top leadership"? Why was it persistently unable to meet its financial goals? (Seeley et al. 1957, p. 395).

Seeley and his associates conducted an in-depth study of Indianapolis's charitable institutions. They found that the Chest's problems stemmed from a number of sources. One involved a change in the nature of philanthropy itself. Once concerned with disaster relief and relieving suffering, it had shifted to a "vaguer, more open-ended program calculated to better or improve life generally." The beneficiaries were (Seeley et al., 1957, pp. 396–397)

> no longer the unfortunate few, the "needy": "Everybody benefits, it is said, everybody gives," The fund-seeking agencies multiply, the techniques elaborate and become standardized . . . or differentiate and become the hour's passing novelty. . . . The pressures increase, the arguments begin to contradict one another, and the layman begins to ask "What's it all about?" and "Where will it all end?"

The increasing professionalism and ambiguity of postwar charity came into increasing conflict with the "Hoosier way," a mentality that distrusted government, expertise, and planning. "When we ask what . . . Hoosiers are 'against,' " Seeley observes, "we sense that they are against the urban, the secular, the specialized, the centralized, the big, the planned, and the continuous. Such strands in the culture affect both the content and the style—and hence the problems—of doing philanthropic business" (Seeley et al., 1957, p. 399).

Ultimately, Seeley believed, the Chest's problems came down to fundamental disagreement about its aims and purposes, specifically, tensions between a view of its pragmatic role as a fundraiser and its civic role as a builder of community. Should it, as Seeley asked, "conceive of itself in relation to the community as an occupying army, levying what it needs while provoking as little rebellion as possible, or. . . [as] more on the model of an instrumentality of local desire, registering rather than manipulating public opinion, expressing local forces rather than

molding them" (Seeley et al., 1957, p. 401). This general question raised other more pointed ones:

Is the paramount objective of the Chest (or ought it to be) *the extraction of money from the public or the organizing of that public into a community,* united in virtue of its shared endeavor to provide for certain health and welfare activities?

Is the Chest primarily (or ought it to be) *an organization of "the best people"* (or the fortunate) to provide for the "less fortunate"—*or is it an organization of "all the people"* doing things for one another? Should control vest in a small number of people who can act decisively and powerfully on the Chest, or should it be spread in such a manner that, even though immediate effectiveness is diminished, all sizeable segments of the community are represented, and, in some sense, participant?

Is the Chest (or ought it to be) *an organization that embodies in its statements and its relations a substantial degree of honesty and plain dealing, or is it sufficient to have the semblance of so doing?* Should the Chest strive towards "full, frank, and free disclosure," or towards whatever permissible dishonesty is involved in the conception of "most effective selling"? Is "education" or "propaganda" the model for communication? Who is to tell the trust, in respect to what, and to whom? (Seeley et al., 1957, pp. 410–402)

Even among citizens who viewed the Community Chest as a mechanism for community building, Seeley found significant disagreements: some viewed

the welfare sector primarily as a problem in *social control,* i.e., a problem in "reducing the multiplicity of drives," in eliminating "charity rackets," in introducing or increasing wisdom and reason in planning and operating the agencies, or maintaining and increasing the interest of "the best people" so that the enterprise may be "properly" run.

Others regarded it

as a *civic asset,* both in the sense that it brings together in a common cause those who are otherwise divided—different social classes, ethnic groups, the two sexes, management and labor—and in the sense that it adds to the city's renown or repute, and therefore to its power to attract industrial or cultural enterprise.

Those interested in *"The" 'goodness' of the people* of a community tended

to believe either that vigorous 'giving' is a good in itself, or an index of some other virtue or virtues. Others believe that the by-products of "campaigning"—the "connections" and "friendships" formed, the business "contacts" so established or customers thus turned up, the practice of "stewardship" associated with the use of one's selling talents and the handling of trust funds—all these are either goods in themselves, or productive of better people, or people better related to each other.

Those who regarded the Chest's work primarily in financial terms embraced an "agency-centered" view, equating success with the rate of growth it permitted their particular organization (Seeley et al., 1957, p. 412).

Clearly, by the mid-1950s, the ideal of the consensual harmonious unified community capable of articulating shared goals and committing their giving and volunteering to realize them was in trouble. This portended more fundamental fissures that would emerge in the 1970s, as minority and ethnic groups, empowered by the civil rights movement, would challenge the leadership, admission, and allocation policies of the Chest's successor organization, the United Way (Polivy, 1988). In some places, United Way's resistance to demands for support of minority-serving organizations led to the establishment of rival entities serving specific constituencies. Where United Way acceded to demands by permitting donors to designate which organizations would receive their donations, the overarching issue was whether communities possessed the

capacity to agree on their shared priorities and needs. Either way, it seemed clear that the conventional idea of community, as it had evolved over the past two centuries had become obsolete.

The erosion of the established civic order was evident as early as the 1930s in W. Lloyd Warner's Yankee City, where upwardly mobile ethnics such as "Biggy Muldoon," the "two-fisted red head" challenged the power of the city's old-line leaders (Warner, 1959, pp. 9–50). Biggy's challenge was not only political. He also directed his rage against the most potent symbols of the old elite, attracting national attention when he purchased one of the Hill Street mansions, cut down its elms, paved over its garden, and constructed a gas station on the site. This kind of assault on older symbols of community would become public policy with the rise of urban renewal programs after the Second World War.

NEW HAVEN REVISITED: COMMUNITY IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Although the New Haven of James Abraham Hillhouse is barely a memory, the deep structures of community he and his father established two centuries ago remained influential until fairly recently. As the city grew, it segmented into neighborhoods, each different in character, but all generally embracing a shared civic identity reinforced by setting and architecture. Differences in ethnicity, religion, race, and wealth did not appear to significantly affect the capacity of citizens to share a common identity or their willingness to participate in shared endeavors.

This began to change in the 1960s, when New Haven became a model city for federal urban renewal efforts (on this, see Dahl, 1961; Wolfinger, 1974; Domhoff, 1978; Rae, 2003). A combination of federal funds and foundation grants to nonprofit redevelopment authorities, which could operate without accountability to voters, led to a wholesale transformation of the city. Condemning whole neighborhoods as blighted, thousands of homes and businesses were razed by redevelopment authorities. In their place, planners tried to recreate community, as they understood it. A huge new coliseum, designed by world-class architects, was constructed to host athletic teams and community events. Long-established retail businesses in the heart of downtown were razed and replaced by a mall, most of whose occupants were outlets of national chains. Urban plazas were created to house public services, retail businesses, and community organizations (on this, see Hall, 1999). Nonprofit organizations were centralized in a new structure, the Community Services Building. Many of the displaced residents were housed in high-rise projects.

Urban renewal was used by New Haven's political inner circle as an instrumentality for creating one-party government. With complete control of vast patronage resources, the town's Democratic Committee ruthlessly extirpated groups that opposed it. (No Republican served as mayor of New Haven after 1950. By 2005, a single Republican served on the city's thirty-member Board of Aldermen.)

The new urban order had its own distinctive architectural expression: Brutalism, with its blockish, geometric, and repetitive shapes, and often revealing the textures of the wooden forms used to shape the rough, unadorned poured concrete of which such buildings were constructed. Brutalist buildings disregarded the social, historic, and architectural environment of their communities, making the introduction of such structures in existing developed areas appear very stark, out of place, and alien. The style was associated with a social utopian ideology in which the state, rather than the citizen, became the chief agent of community. A large section of New Haven's downtown, including the south side of the Green, was marred by Brutalist structures in the 1960s.

The effort by urban planners to reinvent community proved to be a dismal failure. "Population (especially affluent white population) and real estate investments and taxable assets flew faster and faster towards the suburbs," writes urban scholar and former city administrator Douglas Rae (2002, p. xv),

> and surplus housing stock was left behind in the central city. Poverty, concentrated public housing, educational failures, and crime came to dominate New Haven in the 1970s and early 1980s. Civic disengagement—especially in volunteer-led organizations—announced itself. Small-scale neighborhood retailing, once so vital, fell off sharply. ... No longer is central place economically privileged against the regional periphery. NO longer is the office of mayor an object of intense political competition. No longer is it possible to chart the city's best future without thinking about a far larger regional context, reaching at least as far as Manhattan and the surrounding boroughs of New York City.

The coliseum failed to attract teams and events and is currently being demolished. The downtown mall, after standing vacant for many years, is being razed. The urban plazas stand dilapidated and half-tenanted, sustained only by government agency tenants and heavily subsidized minority businesses. The ugly, crime-infested high-rise housing projects have been torn down. The city's once-thriving commercial and manufacturing economy, driven away by high taxes and labor costs, was replaced by a largely nonprofit service economy. (By 1990, four large nonprofits employed more people than all other enterprises in the city combined.)

The failure of government efforts to recreate community has been accompanied by a steady demoralization of the city's neighborhoods, the poorer ones overwhelmed by crime, drugs, and poverty, the wealthier ones transformed by the peculiar forces transforming the new class of knowledge workers that passed for a community elite.

The crown jewel of New Haven's neighborhoods, where the knowledge elite lived, had been extraordinarily stable. Developed in the opening decades of the twentieth century at the northern end of the Hillhouse estate, its magnificent houses were shaded by huge old oaks, many of them planted by the senior Hillhouse. As late as 1980, average tenure in one of the neighborhood's houses was twenty years. Residents, senior professors and successful businessmen and professionals, knew and were involved with one another, socializing, sending their children to the same schools, and serving on the city's public and private boards and commissions.

This began to change in the 1980s, as long-established residents moved from their grand houses into assisted-living facilities (or to the Great Beyond). The people who replaced them were a far less settled group. Half a century ago, a tenured appointment at Yale would have been sufficient to anchor a family permanently in the neighborhood. For the new residents, such an appointment was, more likely than not, just a stepping stone to something grander: a high government appointment or a position in another elite university that paid more or carried more prestige. By the late 1990s, annual residential turnover in the neighborhood was nearly ten percent.

The institutions that once held the neighborhood together were fraying. Households were increasingly likely to be headed by working couples, some of whom commuted to work in New York, Hartford, Cambridge, or Washington. Admission of children to private schools such as Foote and Hopkins, once a *rite de passage* for neighborhood families, became more difficult as neighborhood children had to compete against the offspring of affluent families from throughout the region who had become disenchanted with suburban public education. Increasing numbers of families sent their children to the local public school, whose active parents' group worked to make it the best elementary school in the city. With less time for leisure and with increasingly diverse interests, the hard-working residents of the 1990s were

less likely than their predecessors to have the time to socialize or to serve on public and private boards. Their children were less likely to play with the kids next door than with schoolmates who might live in other neighborhoods or in suburbia.

A mile away, the New Haven Green, once the center of the city's civic life, was empty, except for the homeless people panhandling or dozing under piles of plastic sheeting, rags, and newspapers. The three churches, all richly endowed, held worship services attended by a handful, mostly street people with nothing better to do. Yale's old campus, gated and barred, turned its back on the Green of which it was once an integral part.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has traced the idea of community not as a universal social form, but as a set of values, practices, and symbols specific to a particular place and time. In doing so, it has focused on a particular kind of civic community—intentional efforts to create symbolically and institutionally—domains of shared values, participatory practices, and private commitment to public purposes. This form of community, created initially in New England, became an ideal that persisted and adapted for nearly two centuries.

Americans paid a price for embracing this form of community. Based on the hegemony of secular Protestantism, racial superiority, and coercive conformity in behavior, belief, and lifestyle, it could not, in the end, accommodate the increasing diversity of the American people. Politically and economically empowered, the groups once excluded from civic leadership—Catholics, Jews, women, blacks, and ethnic minorities—had their own values, practices, and preferences in collective action, their own beliefs about what constituted the common good. Whether some form of community capable of accommodating diversity can be devised, much as Dwight, Hillhouse, and the leaders of the Federal Period invented the model of civic life recounted here, remains to be seen.

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Small Towns and Mass Society

CARL MILOFSKY

Community action is always societal action and all organizational behavior is always both local and national. Community movements and local organizations are shaped by mass cultural and political movements and by large-scale social events. Local people respond in their own personal way to these things and in a fashion that fits the context of local life. In this way life in small towns and in any community is always a manifestation of mass society (Vidich and Bensman, 1968).

It is not just that the outside environment has to be taken into account as we describe functional patterns and social interdependencies, which has been one important strategy in organizational analysis and part of the open system approach (Thompson, 1967). Participants may well think that they are acting nationally. For them, local organizing efforts simply reflect the inevitable truth that we live in a place and relate to a particular small network of friends and associates. Their true colleagues and soul mates and the strategic targets of their action may be located hundreds of miles away.

That mass cultural and political movements so deeply influence these individuals presents important challenges for understanding the structure and processes of local organizations because people's motivations and actions are shaped by factors that are not closely present or easily observed. They also may be guided in their actions by mass society values, traditions, political desires, and distant connections. Immediate economic incentives and concrete self-interests may be pushed aside in favor of these other concerns. Organizations may turn away from obvious "best" choices in their actions, favoring instead strategies that support certain values or that foster a style of participation that fits the institutional culture and allows for enhancement of emotional commitment by participants.

VERTICAL CONNECTIONS

From an organizational standpoint, the challenge for this chapter is to understand how vertical linkage affects local entities (Warren, 1963). A significant issue has to do with the direction in which influence flows, whether it moves from the national level to the local or vice versa. It also is challenging to understand why relationships between levels of aggregation in society

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Direction of Influence	*National to Local*	*Representative Organizations*	*Local to National*
Character of Interorganizational Ties			
Business/ Contractual	Franchises	Fraternal Organizations	Federations
Cultural/ Community	Local Versions of National Movements	Intermediate Organizations	Contagious Cells

FIGURE 3.1. A typology of organizations by local, regional, or national focus and by business or community orientation.

influence each other deeply. If contracts and money exchanges tie the levels together we have a good theory for explaining the dynamics of local and mass society interconnections because economic and legal authority are clearly defined and powerful. In contrast, local social and political movements or informal associations are often shaped and energized by cultural forces, and participation and conformity are matters of personal choice. The major task of this chapter is to explain how these cultural linkages gain force and shape organizational behavior.

Figure 3.1 offers a typology that will guide the discussion. One dimension distinguishes between business-style or contractual nonprofits and cultural or community organizations where the style is informal and associational. The other dimension relates to the direction of influence. The first and the third categories, situations where influence flows from national society to the local level or where local organizations influence national practices and perceptions are straightforward. The central category, labeled "Representative Organizations", involves national organizations or movements that create middle-level entities that are simultaneously "owned" or controlled by national and local branches. This seems like a confusing categorization but this sort of organization is quite common including, for example, middle-level judicatories in religious denominations (synods for the Lutherans, dioceses for Catholics and Episcopalians, presbyteries for Presbyterians, or conferences for the United Church of Christ).

Business Style and Contractual Nonprofits

Nonprofit organizations that behave like businesses have less trouble handling the problems that come with vertical connection than do community and cultural organizations. When the means of organizational production and operation are owned by someone and when there is a definite product and technological method for producing output, contracts define the core of authority.

Some organizations are franchises. These are local branches owned or controlled by a regional or national home office and the organization is from the top down (Oster, 1992). Other organizations are federations, where local groups join with similar organizations from other towns so they can scale up and effectively represent their interests at higher levels of the political system (Hunter, 1992). Here the organization is from the bottom up. Still other organizations operate at the intermediate level where an important purpose is to maintain a continual and

fluid exchange between local branches, regional offices, and a national organization. Skocpol (2003) describes nineteenth-century fraternal organizations as having this quality.

When we consider community and cultural organizations rather than business organizations these local to national relationships are harder to describe and understand because relationships are not so clearly hierarchical. In more businesslike organizations power determines whether authority moves from the top down or from the bottom up.

Local Political, Cultural, and Movement Organizations

In cultural and civic organizations the central dynamic involves creativity in action, and on the other hand, replication and dissemination of powerful ideas. Individuals may relate to others in their network, develop powerful symbols or methods for carrying out community action, and then spread their approach so it spreads and becomes a significant movement anchored in the grass roots that affects national life. Alternatively, symbols and political movements that change ways of defining reality and acting politically throughout the society may redefine local relationships. New movements and organizations form that give expression to national cultural waves.

Although most movements that link the local to mass society operate on several levels at once, we want to highlight three distinct processes.

1. Vertical to local relationships involve the process of cultural diffusion. Mass society groups develop insights, unique cultural values, and meaningful practices that are shared by people across the society. They may be transmitted through educational experiences or by the mass movement or by simple person-to-person connections that are replicated in many places at once. They materialize locally as organizations when these individuals seek to give expression to their value commitments in the place where they live.

2. Intermediate organizations, where national and local movements share an organizational space, are needed when the movement emphasizes personal participation in a process of personal expression and change. Contradictory actions are involved. The movement has a philosophy or a set of practices that are relatively standard and must be replicated in one locale after another. On the other hand, the movements involve personal choice, local ownership, and individual creative action. The movement cannot proceed in an authoritarian manner, where a central set of actors seeks coercively to control subordinates. These movements only work if they cultivate authority, where lower-level participants take ownership of central values and seek guidance and direction from those in positions of leadership (Selznick, 1992).

3. Local to vertical relationships occur when intense conflicts, challenges, or creative synergy in local places at once creates a drive for a centralized representative voice but continually disrupts central control. Changing events and the emergent nature of "hot", culture-producing local situations disrupt centralized efforts at policy making, leadership, and control. Many of the clearest examples involve violence: city gangs, paramilitary organizations in conflict-prone societies, and terrorist cells. Once we have the image or metaphor in mind, however, other examples come to mind such as innovative music or extreme sports movements. People identify strongly with the movement but any exertion of centralized authority seems like a challenge inviting creative disruption.

THREE CASE EXAMPLES

We illustrate each of these processes with three case examples, battered-women's shelters, an Episcopal diocese, and a Protestant marching organization in Northern Ireland, the Apprentice Boys.

Mass Politics, Local Organization

National cultural and political movements are an important source of change in local communities. Even in the most conservative and highly structured towns there are residents who come from outside or who for some other reason have developed a personal identification and commitment to an identity group or a political change effort given articulation by leaders located in large cities or university towns or in religious centers elsewhere. Usually there is no organization or formal expression of that political and cultural sensibility locally and so these people become activists. They try to start a movement and over time perhaps build a successful institution committed to their values.

Such efforts are clear examples of people operating simultaneously in small towns or local communities and in mass society: acting locally while thinking globally as the saying goes. Community life is a pastiche of people oriented to local structures and institutions (Milofsky, 2001) and trying to control them whereas others are cosmopolitans who happen to live in a location and give vent to their beliefs and thoughts with protests in front of the post office or quiet expressions of private life styles. For years gay men in my town quietly held a monthly supper meeting on Monday nights at the local hotel even though it was highly stigmatized to admit this identity in public in town [for a good description of informal relationships within a small town see Verghese (1994)].

Whether we think of people as local actors or mass society actors usually is a matter of what frame of reference guides our discussion. Consider the situation where a nationally inspired political or cultural movement leads people to start a local organization that then grows and develops a significant local presence. Despite their success many of these organizations never become integrated into local social and political networks. One thinks of national health charities that recruit people on a street to make fundraising calls to their neighbors. This might seem like a local organization but in fact national charities are often careful to avoid having a real local organization form because they do not want to share either resources or control with local people (Milofsky and Elworth, 1985; Sills, 1957; Zald, 1970). The recent growth of national mass political movements with strong local chapters (Staggenborg, 1991) is a manifestation of this dynamic that Skocpol (2003) explicitly argues is disconnected from the social capital of local communities and thus not a component of vertically integrated democratic organization.

This contrasts with a national movement organization that develops a true local presence guided by local leadership, examples that fit our typology. We can think of people who orient towards a national movement and create a local voluntary association to give expression to these values and political concerns. To the extent they can attract others, address issues of local concern, and effectively address problems and tasks they may develop an enduring local presence. As their movement achieves some success it then may evolve through the stages of organizational development so often described in the literature on management of nonprofit organizations [see Schmid (Chapter 25) and Wood (1992)].

As they grow, organizations develop resource needs and leaders are likely to think in increasingly eclectic ways about how to tap the local environment. The organization also begins

to encounter the local interorganizational field comprised of other social service organizations (Milofsky, 1998; Warren, 1967). Advancing its ideology is likely to involve criticizing the police or social work agencies and when these challenges are heard, the movement organization has to consider how much it wants to change its internal practices to coordinate with efforts by other organizations to accept its reform suggestions. This is the process of "cooptation", described as a positive development by Selznick (1966) and as a negative one by Piven and Cloward (1979).

An example of how a national political and cultural movement shaped decisions in a local organization is provided by a story about conflict in a shelter for women who are battered by their husbands (Milofsky and Morrison, 1996).

> The shelter had been in existence for about eighteen years when we conducted a series of interviews and learned that the executive director had recently been replaced. The organization had been in a period of rapid growth for about seven years because the state had mandated funding for programs like this one and the agency's caseload had grown. Government funding was inadequate to cover administrative expenses and programs. The organization judged the programs essential but public funding programs did not support them. The director felt a need to raise money and knew there was widespread support for the organization among wealthy women in the community. The organization had a long-standing alliance with lesbian women in the community. It also had taken an outspoken position in favor of women being able to choose abortion should they decide. Conservative potential donors would not give to the organization as long as these goals were in place.

> When the director took steps to change the organization's policies so that conservative individuals would be willing to give money, a violent outburst led to the director being removed. Leaders of the rebellion were staff members. Their anger arose from the day-to-day difficulties of working with abused women. The rigors of providing emotional support to clients linked naturally with the founding ideology of the feminist movement. The movement has been critical of male domination over women and of the resulting powerlessness many women experience. To staff members, support for women making their own choices about sexuality and childbirth was inseparable from their work helping battered women. The policy changes proposed by the director were repugnant.

> The director also had worked to streamline the organizational structure of the shelter by separating the staff from board members and by making the director's role the pivotal source of communication between the two. When she began violating values they judged fundamental to their work, staff members took it upon themselves to contact board members to explain the problem. To do this, they drew on members of the founding collective.

> These founders included some active local feminists but they also were influential community people who knew board members personally. These founders had built the organization on the idea that it should be a democratic collective. In addition to changing core ideological values, the director had tried to make the organization more bureaucratic. In the vocabulary of feminist organizational theory, her efforts to introduce more hierarchical control and structure and valuing means–ends calculations more than interpersonal relationships was making the organization more "male". The conflict was finally resolved when a local adjunct professor who was close to the founding group in values and lifestyle became the new executive director. Her combination of management sophistication and clear thinking about feminist values allowed the organization to move into a new period of social and fiscal stability.

This women's shelter follows the managerial model of organizational evolution pretty much in textbook fashion until "rational administration" contradicted the founding movement values that led shelters to be created across the United States. Certainly the organization had to find ways to generate resources and, to be successful, leaders wanted to train police and coordinate with other social service agencies. These links created pressure for the organization to push economic self-interest to the fore and to accept the dominant values of the local social service network as its service culture developed. But the events described in the case study showed that a cultural orientation representing feminism was as important, or more important, than the economic rationality of the managerial approach in forming the culture of the organization.

Battered-women's shelters were created in the first place as an argument about male dominance. The claim that implicit threats of violence imposed subordination on women was supported by the assertion that family violence was an omnipresent but ignored aspect of American life (Stark and Flitcraft, 1996). Shelters for the battered grew partly because their politics were successful and partly because their assertions turned out to be factually accurate. As other social service providers came to see the importance of family violence, shelter workers came to be seen as important and legitimate actors in local communities. This is where the pressure came for them to be economically rational and similar to other social service agencies.

Loseke (1992) shows us that the internal life of women's shelters depends on a feminist sensibility, however. Shelters maintain a counseling model asserting that battered women are caught in a dynamic of depreciation of self and subordination to men and that this is the cause of male violence in families (Belenky et al., 1986). The only remedy for violence in this perspective is for women to move out of their homes and become psychologically and economically independent. This conviction clashes with a more conventional view that violence is simply what it is: a sort of crime. If women choose to continue living with their violent husbands and if they do not choose to press charges, agencies still should give them support and help. Loseke (1992) reports that feminist organizations tend to reject women who insist on remaining subordinate and this was a pattern we found in the shelter we observed.

Women's shelters may or may not actually follow this pattern across the country. Nonetheless, the pattern Loseke describes and that we observed shows that women's shelters are strongly shaped by cultural forces in a fashion that follows Collins' (2004) discussion. Societal values shape the way people observe and respond to specific situations as individuals. They also guide people to participate in settings where they share with others these responses. That people share these emotional responses tells us that values exist and that they guide experience and behavior. Associations further amplify and enhance emotional sharing as they create organizational processes and rituals that emphasize the importance and legitimacy of participants' emotional responses. Creating semi-closed settings, sharing characteristic activities, and amplifying a shared ideology, the distinctive culture of an organization and of a social movement are given heightened importance.

As a consequence shelters may develop a strong and distinctive internal culture that can be sharply different from the dominant civic culture of the surrounding community. The national women's movement shaped identities, conveyed beliefs about proper behavior, and these interpretations were mapped onto the interpretation of cases as activists encountered them in local shelters. The local shelter developed an internal culture that was isomorphic with the internal cultures of other shelters [as we learn from Loseke's (1992) description]. This happened even though the civic culture of the broader community was sharply opposed to the perspective embodied in the shelter code of beliefs. The strength of the shelter's culture made it possible for a strong critical group to form within its community who could block changes in policy that would have allowed fundraising from wealthy, local conservative women but that would have abandoned core beliefs of the national shelter culture. In this sense, mass society was driving local patterns. Despite existing within a conservative community, the strength of the national political culture of feminism helped local women remain cohesive as a force of change over a span of decades.

Mass Practice, Local Process

To an organizational theorist, Alcoholics Anonymous is puzzling. It is huge. Ten or more weekly meetings are held in virtually every town in America as well as around the world. Many of

those participants must buy literature to learn about the organization and follow its precepts and there is a large central organization that sells this material. Observing meetings, one would see nearly identical procedures everywhere. This is not just a matter of following a recipe from "the Big Book" (Alcoholics Anonymous, 1953). Participants have learned a distinct set of values translated into an operating philosophy so that leaders are constrained by the convictions of followers (see Borkman (Chapter Thirteen), Borkman (1999); Messer (1994)].

Yet all of this happens in a context of minimal formal structure. The international office is not formally connected to the local meetings and it gains resources primarily through voluntary charitable donations (often made by participants). Furthermore, there is little formal quality control in the way leaders run meetings or guide local chapters. Meetings succeed if people participate and people participate for intense personal and emotional reasons related to their desire for recovery. If a leader "gets on a power trip" participants simply leave and attend one of the other, readily available meetings (Messer, 1994).

The A.A. pattern is one we see repeated in churches where congregations are the basic unit of organization and many are joined into denominations. Linkage between the denomination national office and congregations is provided by middle-level judicatory organizations that generally cover a geographic region that is more or less compact depending on the number of worshippers and congregations that exist in an area. This style of organization usually applies to older church organizations—many denominations were begun in the nineteenth century (Wuthnow, 2002)—and congregations tend to be small, with fewer than one hundred fifty regular participants. This contrasts with the most rapidly growing congregations in church life which enroll the preponderance of church members but that often dispense with membership in a denominational system (Chaves, 2004; Roof and McKinney, 1987; Trueheart, 1996; Warner, 1994).

The Episcopal diocese that is the focus of this case fits the pattern with 72 congregations spread over a rural district, shaped as a square roughly 200 miles on a side. Most of the congregations are small with 50 to 100 members but with so many units the diocese has a total membership of about 7500 people, quite a substantial organization if organization is the proper term. The bishop once said that Episcopal congregations should be thought of as communities, not as organizations, and perhaps that is the crux of the issue for this section.

As a liturgical church, Episcopalianism appears quite hierarchical compared to other denominations that more strongly emphasize congregational self-governance in their structure. Liturgical churches follow a set structure of worship laid out in a weekly schedule, a document Episcopalians call *The Book of Common Prayer* (Guilbert, 1979). As an apostolic church, furthermore, the Bishop has ultimate authority over baptism, the appointment of priests, and the disposition of church policy.

Despite this apparent centralization, the church has strong elements of democratic governance and gives congregations great autonomy. For example, in contrast to bishop-centered denominations congregation members "call" new clergy when they have a vacancy. In this arrangement the bishop cannot impose a new priest on a community and the community is empowered to select its own leadership. Furthermore, although the diocese formally controls property, congregations in fact own and control their buildings. Indeed, there have been more than a few instances where congregations tore down buildings or took other significant steps without diocesan approval. There is genuine confusion about who actually controls property should the diocese and the congregation disagree.

This is necessary in the Episcopal tradition because its theology views worshippers as intellectually and spiritually autonomous as they worship within a formally structured system. Worship is the central activity for most churches (Chaves, 2004) and this emphasizes the subtle relationship between ritual and spiritual or emotional response.

Rituals are settings where symbolic gestures and experiences foster an emotional response. In churches, of course, these are extremely complex. They draw on traditions written in texts and that guide complex schedules of activities. Important differences between denominations reflect subtle and powerful insights into how particular gestures or activities shape communication and responses among participants. Does the priest face the altar or the congregation? Is she on a high platform looking down or on the floor including members? Is music included or is worship silent? Does the group recognize the professional authority of trained clergy or does it draw pastors by lot from the membership or reject explicit leadership altogether? Many of these choices are highly calibrated and precise in terms of the meanings they convey and the emotional responses they evoke. The design of how one groups them together has an artistic quality not unlike the choreography of a dance concert or the composition of an ensemble musical production.

The way these ritual elements fit together creates a distinctive emotional pattern and response from the audience. The build-up of shared feeling is a process Collins (2004) calls "emotional entrainment". He argues that cultural organizations and processes have power because of the emotional experiences they give to members. People join, remain loyal, and develop passion because these feelings shape meaning and commitment. The emotions make participation valuable to members and so they want to continue. But the emotions and the way they are evoked also energize a way of understanding oneself and one's reasons for conforming to the regime of the movement.

The national church provides a mass-society template for local activity. However, in local churches the emphasis is on people gathering in a face-to-face community and sharing worship. One of the key things we must understand sociologically about worship is that people can pray and engage in many aspects of religious adherence alone. A unique quality is added when people worship together, submitting themselves individually and collectively to the authority of the church and of God. Among Episcopalians, as with most denominations this is explicitly not an act of subordination to authority even if institutional authority is a fundamental part of worship in the person of a priest or a bishop (Jeavons, 1994; Milofsky, 1995). Worship is powerful because one chooses to join others and to accept the authority of the institution as part of one's personal spiritual experience.[1] Personal emotional experience is the driving force in religious participation but the mass organization is essential because it provides a framework of ritual.

This is the point the bishop was making when he said the church is a community and not an organization. It is based on intentional choice to be part of a bounded group that shares values, intentions, and life choices as Breyman and Cnaan explain in Chapter Fifteen. Ambiguity about property ownership or limits on how much congregations may control their style of worship within the framework provided by *The Book of Common Prayer* are formal products of the ambiguity of the community/organization distinction in the diocese. The issue penetrates deeply into processes of interaction and the symbolism of worship.

Although congregations seem to be autonomous organizational units, in reality a puzzling dualism is present. The diocese is continually present in congregational life but the diocese is completely owned and shaped by the congregations. This is most apparent when conflict occurs. One might expect that a congregational split would be a local affair or perhaps a local matter in which the bishop and his or her staff mediate and perhaps ultimately play a coercive role, directing a resolution. What actually happens, depending on the issue, is that informal networks that cross congregational boundaries are mobilized. Members and priests from other congregations, usually those most nearby but sometimes from a distance, become personally involved with congregation members and may play a direct role in managing and mediating the conflict.

At the same time these individuals play a political role at the diocesan level, directly confronting the bishop's staff and mobilizing political support among members of key governance committees. The diocese is a pluralistic polity not unlike the political system of a large city and the bishop, like an elected city politician, does not control the system but rather must figure out how to lead it (Dahl, 1961; Meyerson and Banfield, 1955).

These qualities of ambiguity make an Episcopal diocese organizationally similar to Alcoholics Anonymous even if it has a more formal structure. The organization exists and prospers only because its processes give members a strong emotional experience that is spiritually meaningful in terms of guiding their lives. Cultural patterns that are historically institutionalized and strongly controlled are essential. But they are effective only to the extent that they work procedurally, generating emotional impact and entrainment.

They also must work philosophically so that central precepts pivot to work in two directions. Members use them to provide an emotionally infused logic to guide secular action; we might call this moral guidance. On the other hand the same logic tells members how the organization ought to function. To the extent leaders conform to members' expectations the organization gains support and builds enthusiasm. This is the quality of authoritative leadership (Selznick, 1992; Waller, 1967) and it is sharply different from the authoritarian leadership that gives top leadership power in business and contractual organizations.

Local Energy, Mass Impact

On September 14, 2005, Protestant Loyalists rioted in a dozen locations around Belfast, Northern Ireland. Although the country has been relatively free of violence since paramilitaries on the Catholic and Protestant sides agreed to cease-fires in 1994 and the Good Friday agreement of 1998 created a governmental formula for peace, there continues to be considerable tension between the two sectarian groups. Discontent is especially strong among working-class Protestants who form the core of the Loyalist movement and the political base of the largest political party, led by the Democratic Unionists.

Concerning the September 14 violence, newspapers said the immediate reason given for outbreaks was that a fraternal organization, The Orange Order, had been forbidden by the governmental Parades Commission to hold scheduled marches through Catholic neighborhoods. This is seen as a restriction on free speech and civil rights by Protestant activists and their efforts to march despite government prohibitions often have been associated with violent events. One protester said, "he was responding to a ban on a parade by the Orange Order, a Protestant organization, through a Catholic neighborhood last weekend. He listed other grievances, including the closing of a hospital maternity ward and the lack of a shopping mall near by. 'These services were available in Catholic areas,' he said. 'The government hasn't been listening,' he said" (Lavery, 2005).

Tension was high in Protestant neighborhoods in part because the Catholic Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) had recently announced it was decommissioning its stock of arms and giving up violence as a form of organized political expression. Loyalists are under pressure to accept the governmental arrangement of the Good Friday Agreement although many have rejected the plan because it requires that they accept the legitimacy of Catholic political leaders who formerly were part of the I.R.A. This tends to be felt personally by members of the Protestant community in part because the symbolism of identity differences governs day-to-day life in Northern Ireland. Members of sectarian communities not infrequently will travel tens of miles to shop rather than go into a store a block away that is located in the opposite

sectarian community. Loyalists also feel their personal security is threatened, especially if they are active in one of the fraternal societies that make marching a central feature of Protestant identity.

These events highlight the third type of connection between local associations and mass society. Here we are concerned with situations where local community dynamics are at the center of culture production and where idiosyncratic local events lead to actions that have societal implications. We are interested in situations like Northern Ireland where these local expressions are part of defined national movements with specific leaders, in contrast to spontaneous riots such as those that occurred in Los Angeles in the wake of the arrest of Rodney King in 1992 (LeDuff, 2004).

Protestant fraternal organizations in Northern Ireland tend to have tightly integrated national networks where national leaders know local members across the country.[2] Those leaders do have strong influence on policies and practices, being able to argue on the basis of knowledge, experience, and information about current challenges both in government and other communities. However, the direction in the organizations comes primarily from local neighborhood chapters, from the experience of local conflict, and from members' interpretations of contemporary political events. In the face of perceived injustice or danger local people innovate, reinventing the cultural expressions their chapters use and defying both civil and organizational authority.

Working-class Protestant communities often are intensely focused on the form of cultural production generated by fraternal societies and by paramilitary organizations. The communities themselves tend to be very stable, although there has been residential relocation since the beginning of the sectarian conflict in the 1970s in order to achieve greater sectarian residential homogeneity. The communities tend to be religiously fragmented and there are many different Protestant religious movements in the country.

In the face of conflict with the Catholics and the government, community members have overcome this fragmentation by joining the fraternal organizations that represent all Protestants and by engaging in frequent public demonstrations—primarily marches led by drum and bugle corps—of their ethnic identity. Although the largest marches commemorate historical events that are significant to their collective identity, Protestants in some communities march every week (Smithey, 2004). Some of these take routes through Catholic neighborhoods and are explicitly provocative.[3] Vibrant, partisan mural art also decorates many neighborhoods. As political fortunes change old murals routinely are painted over and replaced with new topical art (Jarmin, 1998).

Loyalist communities effectively hold the peace process hostage through these actions. In order for national leaders to represent this movement, they must continually communicate and negotiate with members of local communities. Furthermore, once collective positions have been established arrangements may quickly fall apart when political conditions change. There is intense local dialogue about both specific local issues and national politics. Leaders of neighborhood chapters undertake actions that can destabilize the national situation. Peacemaking thus is complex because it cannot simply be a matter of deal making by national figures.

CULTURE AS THE LINKAGE BETWEEN
LOCAL AND MASS SOCIETY

An important theme in community research is that action is at once local and part of mass society. It is hard to keep both the micro and the macro in view when doing analysis inasmuch

as the scale of aggregation generally plays a critical role in building the logic of analysis we are using in research. Community research tends to start with the expectation that the locale is a relatively closed setting so we can analyze it as a self-contained social system. This becomes difficult if we acknowledge at the same time that all of the players are orienting to mass society values and interests at the same time that they are building a local functionalist system.

Furthermore, when we analyze societal phenomena such as social class dynamics or national social policy our thinking becomes hopelessly bogged down with detail and filigree if we pay attention simultaneously to the way that complexities of local detail also shape the way individuals relate to large-scale events. As C. Wright Mills (1959) noted, overcoming the way micro and macro forces pull in opposite directions is the domain of the sociological imagination.

This chapter has argued that one way to understand the confluence of macro and micro social forces is through the action of voluntary organizations. The chapter made culture the primary vehicle by which local and macro influences can simultaneously operate and mutually reinforce each other. Using Collins's (2004) framework, we recognize that one aspect of the micro/macro relationship is that people acting locally have internalized, or support, certain values and practices that are broadly shared throughout society and that comprise elements of a national culture. Thus, when they interact locally they put into practice ideas, beliefs, and a sense of commitment that they may have internalized during experiences elsewhere or as a product of extra-local relationships they maintain or perhaps as a consequence of their use of the mass media.

One of Collins's main arguments, however, is that these larger-scale cultural values only have force if, as people socialize and act out certain precepts, they feel emotionally enlivened drawn together with others. We may enact broad social values as part of our "vocabulary" of social gestures as explained by social psychologists such as Goffman (1959) or those in the symbolic interactionist tradition (Blumer, 1969) but without "social entrainment" these remain fragmented individual actions.

National culture only becomes "hot" if, as they act on these larger values and beliefs, people find themselves acting in concert with or perhaps in opposition to others who share those or contrasting values. Local settings are crucial for mass culture because concerted actions, ritual, and shared traditions heighten the emotional intensity that comes from culturally appropriate action. This happens most commonly as the result of structured, repetitive social settings. This being the case, Collins (2004) argues, cultural intensity is a variable that differs from setting to setting. His theory of culture implies that there should be a parallel theory of local organizations.

The present handbook is committed to the task of beginning to build a theory of local organizations that can resonate with Collins's (2004) more macro theory of cultural life. This chapter has explored the theme of how local culture production and institutionalized mass culture interact through organizations that act simultaneously on the local and the mass level. We explored several patterns.

First, we discussed local organizations that are created to carry out an action agenda laid down on the national level. Using the example of the women's movement and local shelters for battered women we saw how an international identity movement with strong political overtones has been translated into a specific local organization that then evolves as a managerial system. A key aspect of this type of organization is that activists create the organization with the intention of producing social and political change in the larger community.

A key insight of this approach is that the resulting organization responds to two guiding principles. One is the set of founding values that motivates the community of support for

the organization. The other is the economic and administrative processes that drive normal management thinking. From the standpoint of conventional management the political and cultural ideas that come out of the founding community materialize periodically as a surprise and an intrusion. Yet to the extent that the underlying cultural movement remains alive and involved in the organization these intrusions will happen unless they are recognized as an important part of the organizational structure.

Second, we discussed local organizations that give expression to movements for personal change: self-help movements and congregations. These may originate in the larger culture but their principles and processes are realized locally. The process—rather than the outcomes—of organizational activity becomes the focus. Following Collins we could say that the main point of the movement and of participation is to focus on emotional or spiritual experience. The organizations exist because it is explicitly recognized that the personal emotional experiences enabled by the organization's philosophy and practices are less intense or valid or effective if they are individual.

The experiences must happen in a group so as to parallel and mutually reinforce individual experience. These organizations may have considerable impact on the surrounding community but those effects are supposed to be indirect. Faith-based social service, for example, often is unpredictable and hard to understand from the perspective of the larger community because its logic and actions emerge out of the internal spiritual life of a congregation and these are hard for nonmembers to understand.

Finally, we recognized the fact that culture production is fundamentally a local act because people experience the emotional intensity of action and the feeling of communion through face-to-face activity. We discussed organizations that produce a strong sense of local culture through their internal relationships and through their actions in the community. We talked about ethnic differentiation and intergroup conflict as important examples. Idiosyncratic local ethnic identities develop partially in response to the pressure from other groups and the formation of boundaries. Conflict, boundary formation, and the emergence of local leaders who define norms, identify deviance, and enforce social control have long been recognized as important ways cultural values are created and given emotional salience; this is what Collins (2004) calls the Durkheimian model of organizations.

Some intense local cultural movements break out and become significant for the larger society, and we used the example of fraternal organizations and sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland as an example. Disputes in that country are anchored in conflict relationships between neighborhoods. Tremendous national and international effort has gone into redefining and shaping that local conflict so that it will not be violent and so that grievances which make that conflict explosive can be resolved and removed as incentives (Cunningham, 1998). Despite all that effort local relationships continue to be tense and local communities continue to reproduce identity issues and commitments that make sectarian conflict culturally meaningful and socially threatening. National programs and policies have played an important role in fostering cross-community relationships and reducing the amount of hot conflict so that local and national cultures strongly interact.

The three types of organizations discussed here help us to differentiate ways local and mass action are simultaneous and mutually reinforcing. The greater theoretical importance of these types is to make explicit how it can be that culture is variable. Much cultural action is individual and fragmentary. Its significance is heightened and is most effective when cultural action happens in groups that heighten emotional experiences. If this is true, however, we need a theory of how those groups develop and when group life intensifies emotional experience. This chapter has offered part of such a theory.

NOTES

1. This paragraph is based on an eight-year ethnographic study of an Episcopal diocese that includes personal interviews with about fifty church members, focus groups that included fifty more, individual interviews with about twenty clergy, and participation in numerous congregational events involving fourteen congregations and the diocese as a whole. These findings mostly have not been reported in papers or publications, but see Milofsky (1999).
2. Data for this section come from interviews conducted by the author carried out over four years between 2002 and 2005 as part of a study-abroad program he directs, Bucknell in Northern Ireland. Most of the information comes from lectures to student groups that have been captured on videotape. On a few occasions data were gathered in personal interviews for which detailed field notes were written. Information in this paragraph was obtained in a videotaped lecture by leaders of the Apprentice Boys fraternal organization to Bucknell in Northern Ireland students, May 30, 2002 and May 23, 2003, and a personal interview between Milofsky and leaders on March 10, 2003, for which we have field notes. With the Orange Order, the Apprentice Boys are one of the two major fraternal marching organizations in Northern Ireland.
3. Videotaped lectures by Tom Fraser to Bucknell in Northern Ireland, May 24, 2002, and Neil Jarmin, May 25, 2002.

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Small Nonprofits and Civil Society: Civic Engagement and Social Capital

Jo Anne Schneider

Since Alexis de Tocqueville's (1990/1835) study of civil society in the United States in the early nineteenth century, community-based organizations and voluntary associations have appeared as central meeting places for citizens, serving to build civil society and foster participation in public life. In the 1920s (Lynd and Lynd, 1929, p. 478), researchers described a multitude of shifting and dissolving "small worlds" based on voluntary associations. People maintained multiple memberships in organizations for social activities, support, and to participate in civic life. More recently, some political scientists have claimed that civic participation in the United States is in decline (Putnam, 2000), whereas others note that U.S. civic culture is no less rich than in previous generations, but the types of groups that draw membership has changed (Rich, 1999).

This chapter uses case examples to explore the role of voluntary associations and community-based nonprofits in civic engagement and social capital. The chapter begins by clarifying differences between these terms. Next, I use case examples to explore the evolution of social capital to civic engagement in two communities. Final sections explore issues related to the decline of political participation and shifts in association membership.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

These two terms engender much confusion among scholars and practitioners because definitions have become muddy, and they are often used interchangeably. Although both terms have a long history in the social sciences, social capital has only become a popular concept recently, after publication of Putnam's (1995) paper claiming that civic engagement in the United States had declined because people no longer met on a regular basis in voluntary associations such as bowling leagues. *Bowling Alone* (1995, 2000) fostered much scholarly debate, creating a

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TABLE 4.1. Characteristics of Civic Engagement and Social Capital

Characteristic	Civic Engagement	Social Capital
Definition	Citizens working together for the common good	Relationships based on patterns of reciprocal enforceable trust that enable people and institutions to gain access to resources such as social services, volunteers, or funding
Form of trust	Generalized	Reciprocal enforceable trust in people or institutions that are part of the network
Strength of connections	Unspecified	Strong enough to ensure reciprocity and guard against misuse of network resources
Who benefits	Society as a whole	Members of the network
Role of norms, values, culture	Tocquevillian interpretations presume a reciprocal relationship between generalized community norms and civic engagement	Members demonstrate the shared culture of that network to indicate membership

small industry of research on social capital. Discussing the social capital debate is beyond the scope of this chapter, but I outline the major positions here.

Civic engagement means citizens working together for the common good and social capital refers to relationships based on patterns of reciprocal enforceable trust that enable people and institutions to gain access to resources such as social services, volunteers, or funding. Table 4.1 outlines the differences between civic engagement and social capital. As this table demonstrates, both concepts include similar elements that are important to help a community fulfill its needs: trust, connections among people, and common norms, values, and cultural attributes. However, the two concepts use these various elements differently and who benefits from any activity may vary dramatically.

Civic Engagement

The definition of civic engagement in Table 4.1 synthesizes several academic and popular understandings of the term as it applies to U.S. society. Brint and Levy (1999, p. 164) note that civic connotes the activities of citizens, "particularly with their rights and duties in relation to this legal status," with a frequently used secondary meaning that:

> emphasizes a normative position, a broad (rather than narrow) and objective (rather than self-interested) orientation to the needs of the civilized political community . . . "engagement" suggests active participation—in this case active participation in civic life. A secondary, but still frequent meaning . . . emphasizes depth of involvement.

This definition of civic engagement implies that citizens are participating in civil society institutions such as nonprofit organizations in order to serve general social goals. Lynd and Lynd (1929, p. 460) noted this connection between organization involvement in civic activity, commenting that "Men's, women's, girls', and boys' clubs periodically, chiefly at Christmas and Thanksgiving, become civic over the 'needy.'" Thus participation in community-based clubs becomes a mechanism to support the common good.

However, civic engagement also implies that participation in civil society will help individuals develop informed opinions of critical social issues that will lead them to actively engage in political activities. The connection between political engagement and voluntary action through associations in the United States stems largely from de Toqueville (1990/1835). Commenting that "the political associations that exist in the United States are only a single feature in the midst of the immense assemblage of associations in that country" (de Toqueville, 1990, p. 106), he observes that associational life is a key factor in fostering democracy. The act of working together gives individuals power. For example, he explains that the temperance movement sets a tone for different behavior through gathering together a significant number of people to support their cause (de Toqueville, 1990, p. 109):

> As soon as several inhabitants of the United States have taken up an opinion or a feeling which they wish to promote in the world, they look out for mutual assistance; and as soon as they have found one another out, they combine. From that moment they are no longer isolated men, but a power to be seen from afar, whose actions serve for an example and whose language is listened to.

Scholman, Verba, and Brady (1999, pp. 428–429) note two additional sources for the concern for civic engagement: John Stuart Mill's observation that voluntary action is educational and may broaden the perspective of the individual and Madison's assertion that people make their opinions known to politicians through forms of voluntary action. In both cases, gathering together in groups creates opportunities for education and political action. Voluntary associations and community-based organizations become critical mediating structures that foster civic engagement (Berger and Neuhaus 1977). This concept of mediating structures (Berger and Neuhaus 1977) highlights the idea that nonprofits become forums for political and civic activity. For example, unions serve simultaneously as entities to support worker rights, social clubs, support structures for insurance and other needs, and powerful forces in the political process through lobbying and get out the vote activities.

de Tocqueville (1990, p. 115) saw participation in civil society organizations and political organizations as linked: "the greater multiplicity of small affairs, the more do men, even without knowing it, acquire facility in prosecuting great undertakings in common." In other words, the more that individuals come together to support each other through associational activities, the more likely they are to engage in activities with larger implications such as the political process.

Putnam and other neo-Tocquevillians stress this connection between participating in voluntary associations and political activity because they see voluntary action as fostering the social skills and generalized trust characteristic of civic engagement. For example, In *Making Democracy Work* (1993, p. 90), Putnam asserts that:

> This [de Tocqueville's] suggestion is supported by evidence from the *Civic Culture* surveys of citizens in five countries, including Italy, showing that members of associations displayed more political sophistication, social trust, political participation, and "subjective civic competence." Participation in civic organizations inculcates skills of cooperation as well as a sense of responsibility for collective endeavors. Moreover, when individuals belong to "cross cutting" groups with diverse goals and members, their attitudes will tend to moderate as a result of group interaction and cross pressures. These effects, it is worth noting, do not require that the manifest purpose of the organization be political. Taking part in a choral society or a bird watching club can teach self-discipline and the joys of successful collaboration.

Note that Putnam stresses that organizations fostering civic engagement bring together people from diverse settings. In both *Making Democracy Work* (1993) and *Bowling Alone* (2000) he contrasts the kinds of voluntary activity that lead to civic engagement with the

activities of groups that engage in bonding social capital such as ethnic associations and extremist groups. Groups practicing bonding social capital may provide important supports for their members but do not contribute to society as a whole. Extremist groups such as the KKK may tear apart the fabric of civic society through their activities. In his examination of Italy in *Making Democracy Work,* Putnam observes that communities with greater incidence of close ties within groups or patron–client relationships do not have the same types of civic engagement as those with cross-cutting ties (Putnam, 1993).

As Putnam's more recent book demonstrates (Putnam and Feldstein, 2003), working together with others from different groups can enhance social trust through bridging social capital, which leads to more smoothly functioning democracy on all levels. *Bridging Social Capital* refers to reciprocal enforceable ties among people from different communities, such as relationships that cross class, racial, or gender boundaries.[1] Putnam and his followers focus on the positive potential of bridging social capital to foster civic engagement, presuming that expanded trust will create a commons where all residents of a locality will participate together in political and social arenas as equals. For Putnam and others, the connections between voluntary action and civic engagement stem from the ability for the interests of the small group of local residents to evolve into a concern for society at large.

The weakness of Putnam's vision of a good society is that it largely ignores the power imbalances inherent in the present-day United States (Edwards, Foley, and Diani, 2001; Schneider, 2006; Skocpol and Fiorina, 1999; Wacquant, 1998; Waldinger, 1995). These scholars dispute the connection between civic engagement and political participation, noting that political activity can stem from adversarial or interest-group relationships rather than the sense of common goals and working for a common good characteristic of neo-Tocquevillian civic engagement. Clearly, not all forms of voluntary action equally lead to civic engagement, much less political participation. Skocpol observes that civic engagement and political activity can stem from distrust as well as trust, noting that local women's groups, fraternal societies, and other nonelite groups contributed as much to changes in public policy as cross-cutting elite male groups such as the Elks and Rotary Clubs (Skocpol and Fiorina, 1999, pp. 14–16; Skocpol, 1999b, pp. 51–71).

As the U.S. civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s demonstrate, nonelite groups left out of the commons envisioned by Putnam and other neo-Tocquevillians approach the politics very differently than the elites who still control much of the political process. Both adversarial interest-group politics and the kinds of bridge building that foster political coalitions have become necessary elements in this modern democracy. However, the role of civic engagement and social capital in adversarial political campaigns is very different than in more collaborative political participation. The case studies in this chapter suggest that, as with social capital, civic engagement and political participation have some links to each other, but one does not always lead to the other.

As Skocpol and Fiorina (1999) note, both the social capital school of civic engagement engendered by Putnam's work and historical-institutionalists such as Skocpol see participation in voluntary associations as an important facilitator of civic engagement. But how does this relate to social capital?

Social Capital

Scholars recognize several competing definitions of social capital, leading to varying conclusions about its relationship to civic engagement (DeFelippis, 2001; Foley and Edwards,

1999). The definition used here draws from Portes (1998) and Bourdieu (1986), understanding social capital as a mechanism to gain access to resources. Structural understandings developed by Bourdieu (1986) and Portes (1998) see social capital as a process that enables people to find the resources that they need to meet their goals.[2] For example, people find out about jobs and educational programs through connections made in voluntary associations. Unions serve a political function because they pool human and financial resources and provide the means to lobby for certain positions. Union social capital also provides a mechanism to reach voters outside the union hall through connections among union members, their families, and friends. For political purposes, the mediating structure of the union offers access to the social capital of its members.

I agree with DeFelippis (2001), Waldinger (1986), Portes and Landolt (1986), and Wacquant (1998) that social capital is often used as a mechanism for exclusion and as a way to maintain unequal power relations. Organizations established by citywide elites rely on long-established social capital links to meet their goals. For example, an influential country club serves as the venue where citywide decisions are made. Belonging to this club allows contractors, community-based organizations, and individuals the connections they need to facilitate their activities. On the other hand, institutions formed by communities of color and newcomer groups may have limited access to citywide funding streams and other resource allocation strategies. In response, these communities develop their own social capital systems.[3]

Three equally important forms of social capital exist: closed, linking, and bridging social capital. Closed social capital, similar to Putnam's bonding social capital concept, involves interactions within bounded communities, but it does not necessarily presume that members should not have ties across groups as well. In fact, for marginalized communities, closed social capital networks provide information and support that help them to cross boundaries.

Bridging social capital, on the other hand, involves horizontal ties among different communities, for example, connections among faith communities to promote interfaith understanding or engage in civil activities. Linking social capital (World Bank, 2001) involves vertical ties, for example, relationships between members of low-income community-based organizations and government officials. To qualify as either bridging or linking social capital, these ties must involve established trusting relationships; simply meeting with a government official or participating in a rally with people from another group does not signify social capital.

Social capital is tied to cultural capital: knowledge of the appropriate behaviors, speech patterns, dress styles, and other symbols that indicate that someone is a member of a particular community. As Fernandez-Kelly (1995) points out, cultural cues may serve as markers of membership in closed social capital networks. As I observe elsewhere (Schneider, 1997, 2006), failure to follow expected cultural capital cues can prevent someone from developing bridging social capital.

Although Putnam uses the same attributes—social networks and patterns of trust—in his definition of social capital, he sees social capital as inextricably linked to civic engagement and political participation. This is particularly true regarding bridging social capital, which he views as the key to a healthy civil society. This is most clear in *Making Democracy Work* (1993, p. 175) where he claims that:

> ...networks of civic engagement are more likely to encompass broad segments of society and thus undergird collaboration at the community level...Dense but segregated horizontal networks sustain cooperation *within* each group, but networks of civic engagement that cut across social cleavages nourish wider cooperation. This is another reason why networks of civic engagement are such an important part of a community's stock of social capital.

The difference between the neo-Tocquevillian interpretation of social capital and the definitions based in Portes and Bourdieu used here stems as much from the different problems they address as the varying ways they understand the same concept. Proponents of structural interpretations of social capital such as Portes would observe that the links between civic engagement and social capital represent a separate and tangential issue from the primary goal of social capital to enable people and institutions to garner needed resources. By presuming that participation in voluntary associations necessarily represents social capital, Putnam and his followers ignore the fact that people can belong to the same organization and not develop trusting relationships. Furthermore, the specific trust of social capital does not necessarily lead to the generalized trust characteristic of civic engagement.

However, in some instances, participating in voluntary associations and especially local associations can serve as a mechanism to foster both civic engagement and social capital. This process happens slowly, as individuals develop common goals, learn the skills necessary for civic engagement, develop closed social capital bonds essential as the first step in building social capital and civic engagement, and move forward toward activities to benefit the larger society. In order to understand this process, this chapter next describes the evolution from social capital to civic engagement in two grass roots communities: the African American community in Kenosha, Wisconsin and anti-drug activities in the Kensington neighborhood in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Kenosha example illustrates connections between civic engagement and social capital that meet the expectations of neo-Tocquevillian scholars whereas the Philadelphia case shows limited civic engagement through nonprofits mobilizing people using their closed social capital.

SOCIAL CAPITAL TO CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The Case of Kenosha, Wisconsin

The African American community in Kenosha represents eight percent of the population in a predominantly White, working-class community (2000 U.S. Census).[4] Although the community maintained its own separate institutions for most of its history, politically African Americans have blended into the larger community until recently. Until the mid-1980s, Kenosha's major employer was Chrysler, and the UAW union hall served as the major institution for social, civic, and political participation (Dudley, 1994). Kenosha unions were integrated, as were schools and workplaces. That said, Kenosha has a long history of discrimination against African Americans, and the community generally kept to itself (Schneider, 2001; Zophy, 1976).

The Kenosha African American community is a classic example of closed social capital. During the early years of its development, the community had several churches and a social club where people met, socialized, and shared resources. A newcomer to the community brought the Urban League to Kenosha as a branch of the organization in nearby Racine. Kenosha African Americans were initially suspicious of the organization founder, causing her to develop strong ties in the community through local activities before Kenosha African Americans would provide support for this organization. An NAACP chapter formed that included some liberal Whites, but was dominated by a local African American businessman turned minister. In addition to some political activities, this organization also ran an advocacy center for community residents in need. Finally, a prominent African American woman who

had worked with the White establishment founded a neighborhood organization in a predominantly African American area that quickly became the major social service center for the community.

Once the social club closed and the union hall became less important when the Chrysler plant shut down, the churches became the primary center for community activities. Social capital developed in the churches that facilitated most community needs. This included such civic activities as providing for the old, sick, and needy. However, these neighbor-to-neighbor supports resembled social capital much more than the generalized support of civic engagement. Until recently, the churches had little involvement in political activity or citywide civic engagement.

Kenosha had two larger denominational African American churches (Baptist and AME), one smaller spin-off congregation from the Baptist church, and several active independent churches. Memberships of the various churches overlapped as families had members in all of the major churches and people moved back and forth among them regularly.

Community support for the Urban League illustrates social capital evolving into civic engagement exclusively for this marginalized community. Research in these institutions showed that the Urban League became the venue for community residents to provide for the general welfare of those less fortunate in their community, the hallmark of civic engagement. Community members volunteered as tutors, board members, and in other ways. Fundraising for the organization occurred at the Juneteenth celebrations as well as other events.[5]

The Urban League, in turn, played a key role in organizing Juneteenth. Through a youth program organized in partnership with the school district, the Urban League sponsored a mentoring program for teens that led some to attend college. The general goals of the program included individual empowerment and civic participation.

The churches often served as encouraging institutions and mediating structures for community support of this organization. For example, the churches organized volunteering. Youth activities encouraged church members to contribute to the organization. Together, the research revealed an organic link between the nonprofit, the churches, and the wider African American community as it became a target for civic engagement.

Profiles of individuals show how civic engagement develops and its links to social capital. Alicia is an African American school teacher in Kenosha in her late twenties. She grew up in Kenosha and has been involved in many of its organizations over time. She is currently active with the Urban League and one of the churches. Civic involvement developed early for Alicia through social capital connections that led to participation in voluntary organizations. Initially, ladies from her church and her mother encouraged her to join after-school clubs at the neighborhood center, social capital connections that led her to drill team and other clubs. Staff at this organization, in turn, encouraged her to become a youth member for the NAACP and Urban League. These youth activities fostered civic engagement:

> We had our young membership, this young coalition group going on and we met twice a month
> or once a month. We talked about different issues going on in our community and in school. It
> just gave us a chance to get together and there were times we got together with a little group from
> Racine and it gave us a chance to network and meet other young people. Talk about our different
> experiences and share.

This example shows that civic engagement and social capital are combined in these activities. Meetings served as a way to meet people, developing contacts that proved important later in life. Civics education occurred through discussion of current events. This awareness led to more intensive involvement in civic activities through support of these organizations.

The more effective organizations engaged in civic engagement use experiences like this to foster civic participation among their members.

Two Kenosha African American community-based organizations participate in city politics: the NAACP and one of the churches.[6] In both cases, institutions draw on social capital to mobilize their members for civic activities. These organizations teach leadership skills; for example, Alicia said that the youth programs emphasized public speaking and another older member of the church discussed leadership development by gradually taking on responsibilities at church (Schneider 2006, Chapter 13). However, the group solidarity is perhaps the greatest strength of these institutions in building civic engagement.

Participation in wider civic activities in the community evolved out of these closed social capital efforts. For one Kenosha church, the pastor started by building social capital within his organization through a number of "contact ministries" which created a community within the church. Next, he steadily developed civic involvement through nonprofits: first through the African American-run Urban League, and later through organizing volunteers to work with the White-dominated homeless shelter that primarily served African Americans.

Political involvement developed later in much the same way. This pastor galvanized his members, as well as those of other local African American churches, to elect him to the school board. Church members volunteered on his campaign and led a "Get Out the Vote" drive that succeeded in electing him as the first African American on the school board. This, in turn, led to more active involvement in local politics.

This initial activism paved the way for this church's leadership in a Gamaliel foundation-sponsored community organizing effort involving a number of the White churches and this African American church.[7] The organizing effort propelled the church and its members into the public arena, yet the first activity involved church members learning from each other about their concerns through a listening exercise. The reciprocal enforceable trust of social capital allowed members to talk with each other about issues that they would like to see in the public arena. The same relationships led church members to become actively involved in this movement. The initiative also fostered bridging social capital through activities across the churches. Bridging social capital, in turn, builds greater trust in the commons in this community as African Americans meet Whites who are in citywide leadership roles. As such, in this instance, social capital directly links to civic engagement.

This example has all the ingredients for civic engagement as envisioned by deTocqueville, Putnam, and his followers. Nonprofits serve as gathering places where people meet each other, develop social capital connections, and participate in civic activities. They develop trust among themselves and with members of the wider community through this process. Organization activities provide civic education, creating an engaged and aware citizenry eager to participate in social change through the electoral process, social service activities such as the Urban League and the citywide homeless shelter, and community change through the interfaith organizing project. This leads to a more vibrant and active populace involved in building their community.

Bridging individuals and institutions served as important catalysts in building this expanded commons in Kenosha. Some of the bridge builders were relative newcomers to the community such as the pastor of the key African American church, the Urban League director, and leadership in county government human service agencies that became important players in government, civic institutions, and the African American community organizations. Other bridge builders were long-time Kenosha residents who had slowly developed ties across pre-existing race, class, and power hierarchies. These bridging and linking individuals became key players in their constituent organizations, slowly creating bridging infrastructure within their organizations.

The organizations that institutionalized bridging social capital throughout their membership and systems, such as the key African American church, continued to expand their bridging and linking role in citywide political and civic arenas. However, organizations like the Urban League, which did not institutionalize bridging ties, lost their ability to bring their constituency's needs to the political elite once a founder with bridging ties left the organization. After the Kenosha Urban League founder died, the next director and his weak board had no bridging or linking social capital ties to the city elite or the construction industry that was their target for job development activities. As a result the organization floundered in any attempt at political participation and most efforts to improve conditions for their community. Instead, the organization returned to its closed social capital roots, working together with bridging churches to meet their goals.

The political activities of these various organizations demonstrate strategic use of both adversarial politics and building bridging coalitions. Through the NAACP, Urban League, and various town meetings, the African American community sought to build solidarity among this marginalized disempowered community to demand rights from the predominantly White city elite. To a certain extent, the Gamaliel activities also practiced adversarial politics, with limited success.

However, the more successful political efforts, particularly electing the pastor to the school board and the Kindness Week activities that engendered the Gamaliel coalition, relied on bridging social capital among the African American community leadership and elite, White, liberal churches. These White churches were central to the power elite in this small city, fostering most citywide civic institutions as well as actively participating in city politics. This combined bridge building and adversarial politics became central to successfully contributing to citywide policy. As such, this case suggests that bridging and linking social capital are important ingredients for marginalized communities seeking a greater role in civic, political, and economic aspects of locality life, but that interest-group politics also play an important role. Both Skocpol and Putnam are right because these two approaches play key roles in marginalized community empowerment.

However, not all civic activities through nonprofits engender the same kinds of civic engagement or political participation. Instead, organizations can use their social capital to mobilize community residents without fostering civic education, connections across groups, or greater participation in social support, politics, or community life. An example from Philadelphia illustrates this kind of limited civic engagement.

The Case of Kensington, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Kensington is a distressed neighborhood in Philadelphia in an area between predominately White and African American sections of the city.[8] The neighborhood population is a mix of African Americans, Whites, and Latinos. This neighborhood was solidly working class a generation before, but with deindustrialization, it has become an impoverished community with a significant drug presence. The park that is the center of this community had become overrun with users and dealers, a major center for police activity, and a danger for the community. This case focuses on anti-drug activity in this community.

Poverty and crime in this area led to creation of many nonprofits: four organizations existed on the blocks surrounding the park alone. Most of these organizations were developed by well-meaning outsiders to this neighborhood, elite Whites with a concern for poor youth and elite Latinos dedicated to uplift for their community. Some of these organization leaders hired

staff from community residents, whereas others primarily drew staff from young, idealistic college graduates with similar civic and social concerns. These outside connections meant that the neighborhood was a magnet for civic engagement from elites outside the community who worked on clean-ups, tutoring, and other activities to improve the lives of neighborhood residents.

In addition to the many nonprofits, the community also had a number of churches. The most active in the anti-drug activities were a Latino Catholic church, a Protestant church that hosted many community activities, and a charismatic independent evangelical community that drew middle-class Whites and Latinos to work in poor urban neighborhoods. These religious organizations combined with local nonprofits and the police to create an initiative to combat drugs in the community.

With the exception of this anti-drug campaign, these nonprofits and faith communities had little to do with each other. Each drew from separate, closed social networks in the neighborhood, developing strong patron–client relationships with the people that they served. Participants in these organizations, in turn, coalesced their preexisting closed social capital networks to preserve access to resources available through the organization. One developed a women's program that served as a source for social support for a small closed network; another ran housing programs that benefited its members as well as providing a source for employment. Several others were less insular, but still drew a limited constituency to their programs.

The anti-drug activities consisted of several components: efforts to seal abandoned houses that had become havens for drug users, night-time anti-drug rallies, cooperation with police to identify drug dealers and eradicate drug activities, clean up activities in the park, and a variety of education and outreach programs to discourage drug use among youth. Planning and organizing these events involved the Catholic and independent evangelical churches, the four nonprofits immediately surrounding the park, another nonprofit serving the wider neighborhood, and the police. Representatives from DARE, a citywide anti-drug program, and another citywide anti-violence program also participated in this initiative.

Planning events focused primarily on police activities and efforts to raise funds for various initiatives. This quickly devolved into separate activities for the various nonprofits: one relied on welfare-to-work community service volunteers to keep the park clear of drug paraphernalia, several organized youth education programs, and others focused on closing and/or rehabilitating crack houses. None of these fostered civic engagement among community residents; even the anti-drug programs for youth focused on individual responsibility and drug use rather than community involvement.

The night-time rallies were the only activity that drew communitywide participation. These were highly successful, bringing out many community residents for candlelight vigils, rallies, and patrols. On the surface, these events looked like classic civic engagement: neighborhood residents banding together to rid their community of crime and drugs. However, in reality, each nonprofit brought their constituencies to these events, but they did not engender the group solidarity envisioned for civic engagement. Each organization drew on its own social capital to draw civic participation, a limited form of civic engagement. However, these activities did not involve general civic education nor did they create a greater sense of community involvement. With the exception of a few volunteers galvanized by their participation, they did not lead to greater civic engagement or participation in the political process. These people were concerned about cleaning up their neighborhood, not broader social issues. This initiative even lacked connections to broader anti-drug movements across the city as leaders were jealous of activists in other neighborhoods and disparaged joint activity.

Although the leaders in these organizations were active in citywide circles, they used their bridging and linking ties in limited ways to improve conditions in their community. One organization had been founded by White elite Quakers, and continued to rely on volunteers from Friends Meetings throughout the area and others drawn through these elite social capital circles to support organization activities. However, Quaker domination of the board also created conflicts with the women's activities in the organization because the board felt these activities were external to the organization's mission focus on youth whereas the closed network of community women saw their activities as key to maintaining access to organization resources to support themselves, their community, and their families. The charismatic executive director of the organization remained aloof from this conflict, exacerbating the strained relations between the two closed social capital networks of organization participants and her elite board.

Only one leader of the three key organizations participated in citywide politics. A charismatic, upper-class Latina, she was instrumental in voicing the needs of low-income Latinos through active participation in citywide human relations and economic development venues sponsored by social service organizations, activist groups, and city government. She also became highly visible in Latino political circles, representing this marginalized community in various political arenas. Primarily using adversarial politics, she continued to raise consciousness regarding the needs of her constituency. Through ties to Latino, African American, and liberal White leaders with stronger bridging relationships to the city power structure, she also built bridging relationships that she used to affect the political process as well as garner resources from elite foundations. However, her political activities did not rely on her base constituency for support. Instead, she became a one-woman force representing a largely voiceless community. As such, she served as a highly effective advocate for her disempowered community while doing nothing to encourage political empowerment among her constituency.

This example shows that social capital does not necessarily engender the kind of civic engagement envisioned by deTocqueville and others. Although the Kensington anti-drug initiative led to civic participation by community residents, it did nothing to educate or engage them in wider social issues. Instead, the programs that came out of this initiative supported and uplifted the separate social networks within each organization. The community as a whole benefited from the various clean-up, youth empowerment, and employment activities, but it served to reinforce closed social capital rather than foster civic engagement.

Taken together, these two examples suggest that social capital is a necessary precondition for civic engagement as people develop the connections that lead them to civic activities through their involvement in community-based organizations. However, social capital is not synonymous with civic engagement and may not necessarily lead to greater understanding of social issues, political participation, or civic engagement. These are separate, though related, concepts.

The Decline of Civic Engagement?

These two cases demonstrate community residents participating in civic activities; the Kenosha example leads to broader participation in citywide social issues and the electoral process whereas the Philadelphia case yields no such similar social consciousness. As such, they raise questions about the connection between social capital, civic engagement, and political participation. Much of the debate about the decline in social capital/civic engagement hinges on assumptions that participation in voluntary associations is the cornerstone for both vibrant democracy and economic prosperity (Putnam, 1993, 2000). Although participation in electoral politics continues to decline—Skocpol and Fiorina (1999) report a twenty-five percent decline

in electoral politics since the 1960s—other scholars dispute the connections between social capital, economic development, political participation, and civic engagement (Kenworthy, 1997; Rich, 1999, Skocpol and Fiorina, 1999). This section briefly reviews this debate to situate earlier discussions on the relationship between civic engagement and social capital.

Much of the evidence for the decline of civic engagement focuses on the types of organizations people in the United States belong to rather than levels of participation overall. Putnam (2000) focuses on the traditional civic institutions: the Lions, Elks, charitable societies, bridge clubs, and bowling leagues that were prominent in earlier parts of the century. These organizations represented much of the power base in local communities and indeed functioned as social clubs that led to other civic activities.

However, like the nearly invisible institutions of the Kenosha African American community, a rich but unnoticed group of institutions formed by women and marginalized communities have always existed and continued to thrive in U.S. communities (Clemens, 1999; Lynd and Lynd, 1929; Skocpol, 1999a). Rich's (1999) overview of the literature on this topic stresses that associational membership tends to rise and decline over time, and that although people in the United States continue a vivid institutional life, the kinds of organizations that they belong to has shifted toward ethnic, racial groups, and interest groups. Cnaan (2002) asserts the vibrancy of civic engagement through religious institutions. Both Berry (1999) and Putnam (2000) indicate that special interest groups—environmental groups, issue groups, and others—are on the rise, with Berry understanding this shift as civic engagement whereas Putnam and Skocpol (1999b) question whether these groups represent civic engagement or mass marketing. Little or no social capital is needed to form an interest group, attract members, or maintain activities. These organizations can generate political participation through their activities, but seldom foster social capital.

The Kenosha and Philadelphia cases suggest that political engagement for marginalized, traditionally disempowered groups such as people of color and low-income populations looks very different than the neo-Tocquevillian vision of an expanded commons where everyone participates in an active democracy to build the common good. The mythical small town of neo-Tocquevillian America involves everyone as equals in all aspects of community civic and political life. To the contrary, these examples highlight the power imbalances between citywide elites that control civic and political institutions and the marginalized communities seeking to better their conditions. Expanded participation in the political process stems from strategically combining adversarial politics with coalition building through bridging and linking social capital. As I describe in more detail elsewhere (Schneider 2006, pp. 321–350), the most successful advocacy coalitions rely on solidarity from a large base, strategic use of bridging and linking social capital, and conscious use of common symbols and language that speak of relationships between marginalized communities and citywide interests.

Links among economic prosperity, social capital, and civic engagement also have been questioned. In the de Tocquevillian communities envisioned by Putnam, clubs such as the Rotary were places where businesspeople conducted their affairs as well as institutions that ensured the spread of economic prosperity across the community through civic activities. Putnam's (1993) study of Italy indicated a strong connection between social capital, civic institutions, and economic success. However, Kenworthy (1997) notes little connection between these three elements. Instead, he suggests that economic cooperation is important, but not linked to civic engagement.

Part of the limited connection between local civic engagement and economics stems from globalization of the economy. The neo-Tocquevillian ideal is small-town America in the 1950s or earlier, with stable local economies and independent social and political systems. Instead,

economic systems have shifted to global ownership of much local employment, people have left the small towns, or they have become bedroom communities for people whose employment, and often organizational activities, are located elsewhere. Even in cities, limited ties exist between businesses and local concerns (Sassen, 1998). As with Rich's (1999) arguments about membership, globalization has shifted and changed the nature of economic connections. As Ray (1999) points out, Internet connections lead to global associations and global business.

Taken together, the literature on the state of civil society suggests that civic engagement has simultaneously become more diffuse and more local. The rise of national interest groups, the Internet, and globalization shifts focus from independent small-town or city civic, social, and economic systems to national or international connections. At the same time, people continue to form small groups for social support and civic activities, anything from neighborhood-based groups such as those in Philadelphia, religious institutions, and identity groups based on race, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, or other personal attributes. These two trends complement each other, but lead to less connection between civic engagement, political behavior, and social supports through social capital.

CONCLUSION

Discussion of community-based nonprofits, social capital, and civic engagement shows that grass roots nonprofits remain mediating institutions where people meet, develop ties to each other, and perhaps engage in civic activities. However, this chapter shows that social capital and civic engagement refer to different kinds of behavior, with varying goals. Civic engagement focuses outward through activities to enhance the common good or that of the wider population of a defined community. Social capital focuses inward, on sharing resources among members of a designated network. Participants in a social capital network may support no one outside their group.

Political participation also has some links to social capital and civic engagement, but present-day interest-group politics requires neither broad-based social capital across communities nor participatory civic engagement as envisioned by neo-Tocquevillians. Some may argue that the lack of connections between party and interest-group leadership and grassroots communities is at the heart of declining political participation in this country, however, these cases suggest that interest-group politics does play an important role in gaining resources for marginalized communities. Indeed strategically combining adversarial policy strategies with coalition building is central to successful social change.

That said, in grass-roots communities, social capital does have some links to civic engagement and political participation. In the best-case scenario, such as the Kenosha example, trust-based relationships built in churches and community-based organizations can foster civic education and participation. In these instances social capital is linked to civic engagement. The limited civic engagement in Philadelphia depends on community-based organizations using their social capital to bring their members to rallies and other events.

Changes in modern society have highlighted the many small groups that have always existed in social systems, but also call for global connections and more generalized civic engagement. This may or may not lead to the withering of civic activity in local settings. Perhaps instead of decline, changes in civil and political society should be interpreted as attempts for people to simultaneously participate in local and global affairs, using preexisting and new groups to better conditions in their home communities whereas their political and economic interests turn to larger arenas where decisions are made.

NOTES

1. Many of Putnam's followers equate bridging social capital with the weak ties described by Grannovetter (1973). In contrast, I argue that both bridging and closed or bonding social capital represent strong ties developed over time, but that bridging social capital crosses family and self-defined community boundaries.
2. For more detailed discussion see Schneider (2001, 2006) and Foley and Edwards (1997, 1999).
3. As in Hunter (1974), community is multiplex and voluntary, representing the instances where people share a common purpose or subculture that could lead to social capital creation. Although communities can represent geographical areas such as neighborhoods, in this instance they refer to social communities of immigrants and people that share pan-ethnic identity.
4. Details on research in Kenosha are available in Schneider (2000). Three years of research were conducted in this community, with the primary project, the *Kenosha Social Capital Study*, focusing on the African American and Latino communities and their institutions. Research included a multimethods ethnography of these two communities.
5. The Juneteenth holiday is a common celebration of African American culture and accomplishments in African American communities. In Kenosha, the celebration was an outdoor fair.
6. Advocacy activities in both of these organizations are discussed in detail in Schneider (2006, Chapter 13).
7. See Schneider (2006, Chapter 13). Gamaliel foundation uses the teachings of Saul Alinsky (1946, 1971) to foster community organizing to address local concerns. The foundation primarily works with churches.
8. Research for this example was conducted as part of the Ford foundation study *Changing Relations Project: Immigrants and Established Residents in Philadelphia, PA*. Description of research and findings are available in Goode and Schneider (1994). This example draws from previously unpublished fieldwork conducted primarily by David Marin in 1989.

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Community Elites and Power Structure

Rikki Abzug

Where has the study of community elites in the United States gone? Has anyone read any good research lately on the structure (inclusion, exclusion, etc.) or influence (power) of community or local elites? At a time when media, both local and national, are screaming about the liberal elite or the conservative elite, it is hard to follow the power/community elite research trail begun by sociologists in the mid-twentieth century. How did we come to this juncture where community elite studies as a field is practically nonexistent and studies of community or local elites are, at best, hard to find? It is the intention of this chapter to follow (using the guidance of particularly adept meta-analyses) the historical trajectory and great debates of elite studies (largely within sociology but with help from political scientists and network and management theorists) to the point at which they very nearly dropped off and were largely replaced (in organizational sociology, anyway) with studies of increasingly national "inner circles" (Useem, 1984) and interlocking directorates [see, for example, Mintz and Schwartz (1981a)]. This includes detailing the literature and the concepts that arose to take the place of community elite studies and suggestions on under what rubrics to find community elite studies today.

THE BIRTH OF SOCIOLOGY'S COMMUNITY
ELITE STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES
(ELITE THEORISTS VERSUS PLURALISTS)

We start out at a time when the concept of "community" may have seemed slightly less problematic than it is in our new millennium [see Lyon (1987/1999); and Cnaan, Milofsky, and Hunter's introduction to this volume]. Some of the remaining/continuing community elite theorists (Farazmand, 1999; Heying, 1995; Laumann, Galaskiewicz, and Marsden, 1978; Marquis and Davis, 2004; Mintz, et al., 1976; and even Domhoff 2005a, etc.) trace the beginnings of community elite studies in American social sciences to the 1953 publication of Floyd Hunter's *Community Power Structure*.[1] According to Heying (1995), when Hunter first introduced a

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reputational method of ranking community leaders to define the community [Atlanta! (although called "Regional City" to protect the innocent)] power structure, he set the standard and strawperson for future studies in community leadership. From that moment, future studies had and would have to reckon with (1) Hunter's identification of an upper echelon of economic elites [including "[i]industrial, commercial, financial owners and top executives of large enterprises (Hunter, 1953, p. 109)] who formed the "first rate" tier of a power pyramid,[2] and (2) the reputational method of identifying them.

As many of our current elite theorists remind us, almost as soon as Hunter's suggestions of an economic elite dominating community power structure were published, the first major challenge to such an elite hypothesis was launched. Almost immediately upon publication of Hunter's treatise, political scientist Robert Dahl (1961), and his colleagues, in the "community" of New Haven, Connecticut, began an empirical study of their "community" (city). Their intention was to use local data to refute an elite hypothesis that they believed ran counter to what they knew as the strength of pluralist decision-making in America (Heying, 1995; Domhoff, 2005a). Centering the acts of political decision making, Dahl (1961) was able to argue that rather than economic or social power brokers dominating, it was professional and political players who were determining policy for the "community." The stage was set for the battle between two camps: those who, like Hunter, believed that communities in the United States were "run" by and for a self-interested, self-perpetuating economic and social power elite, and those who, like Dahl, believed that no such power elite existed or exists.

Dahl's 1961 study, in turn, ignited criticism that spawned whole new avenues of study (Heying, 1995), some of which are still dominant in the fields of urban governance today. Domhoff (1978) took Dahl to task for ignoring the power of private market decisions on policy agendas opening up a whole tradition of research on "Who Rules America? (1967/1983), becoming, in the process, one of the leading figures linked to the "power elite" hypothesis. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) introduced a major theoretical contribution to the field by critiquing Dahl's sole focus on decisions at the cost of ignoring "the other face of power" or nondecision-making (Heying, 1995). Stone (1976, 1981, 1989), writing specifically with the debate between the power structuralists and the pluralists in mind retooled and extended Hunter's original "top leaders" as major players in his "regime theory," which was concerned with questions of inequality in the way that political power is exercised in urban areas. At a similar juncture, Molotch (1976) and then Logan and Molotch (1987), were zeroing in on a particular "regime" of power brokers—the growth coalition—as the land-based elite who were more able than other city-governing contenders to set a city's pro-growth agenda. The threads that these theorists began represent some of the major guises under which to find community elite (or power in the city) studies in the United States at the turn of the millennium.[3] Yet the debate between the elite theorists and the pluralists was not the only one to spawn more recent field depositories for studies of community elites. Not long after Hunter published his Community Power Research, the field was to be roiled again as the criteria used for labeling an elite (for those who still believed in one) was questioned.

POWER ELITES, UPPER CLASSES,
AND NETWORKS OF DIRECTORS

As if the debate begun by the 1953 publication of Hunter's study was not enough to challenge an emerging field of study, a few years later, publications by C. Wright Mills (1956) on the power elite and E. Digby Baltzell (1958) on the national upper class would begin a parallel fault line that runs through elite studies today (Heying, 1995). In 1956, Mills proposed that the drama

of the elite is centered "in the command posts of the major institutional hierarchies." Mills (1956) gave a first expression to the notion that the decisions made that most affect modern individuals derive from a power elite, itself "the leading men in each of the three domains of power—the warlords [military establishment], the corporation chieftains [CEOs], [and] the political directorate." Mills' contribution to this debate, then, was to establish an American rule by decision makers whose positions (and not birth) enabled them to make decisions with major consequences for the citizenry. Mills also moved the locus of decision-making and consequence up from the local and towards the national. Mills (1956, p. 6) notes

> No family is as directly powerful in national affairs as any major corporation; no church is as directly powerful in the external biographies of young men in American today as the military establishment; no college is as powerful in the shaping of momentous events as the National Security Council. Religious, educational, and family institutions are not autonomous centers of national power; on the contrary, these decentralized areas are increasingly shaped by the big three, in which developments of decisive and immediate consequence now occur."

And so the "institutional" elite model was introduced. In 1958, the historian and sociologist, E. Digby Baltzell published *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of A National Upper Class*, with a slightly different hypothesis. Baltzell's contribution to this emerging debate was the notion that even in the relatively egalitarian United States, an upper class—as differentiated from managerial elite—exists. Using the city of Philadelphia as his "community" of study, Baltzell (1958, p. 6) defined the elite as the "individuals who are the most successful and stand at the top of the *functional* class hierarchy." These functional elites, whom he identified through their inclusion in the *Who's Who of America* in 1940, were defined in contradistinction (although quite a number of overlaps existed) to the upper class, which Baltzell identified through their membership in the Social Register (Priest, 1995).

Although Baltzell clearly separated out the (achievement-oriented) elites from the upper class, he seemed to concur with Mills that the recognition of the powerful (for Baltzell, the upper class) was moving to the national (not local, not community, not even city) level. He was, however, called on this slip from Philadelphia to the national scene by a review at the time in the *American Sociological Review* (Miller, 1958). Miller, using Mills' (1956) distinction, takes Baltzell to task for conflating Philadelphia's metropolitan upper class with a national American upper class. From a "community elites" perspective, though, it is interesting to note that, as Miller (1958) suggested, Baltzell keeps up a running critique of Warner and Lunt's (1941) "Yankee City" work for being focused on too small a community to represent the role of the upper class in America. So, the closer an elites study is to a "community" (Yankee City), as opposed to a metropolitan area (Philadelphia) the less credence it is given in subsequent elite studies—a pattern we show throughout this history.

Of course, the move from local focus to national focus was partly spurred by contemporaneous community studies that increasingly questioned the locus of local power. Warren's 1963 study of community in America suggested the "great change" of increasing orientation of local community units towards the larger systems (extracommunity, regional, national) of which they were a part (see also Hunter's Chapter 1, this volume).

Even as the concept of community was being rewritten at higher levels of abstraction, the Mills/Baltzell debate continued to attract adherents. Within the decade, sociologist G. William Domhoff began his oft-updated inquiry into "Who Rules America?" picking up the debate around the presence, composition, and power of a hypothesized upper class. Indeed, in a scathing review, pluralist political scientist Nelson Polsby (1968, p. 477) accuses Domhoff of fashioning his book out of "bits and pieces from the work of C. Wright Mills *and* Digby Baltzell." Yet, to folks more sympathetic to the reputational and upper class theses, Domhoff

(1967/1983) made the point that there are two dimensions to the concept of class: an economic relationship between an owner class and employee class in the economic sense, and a category referring to social institutions, relations, and so on within the various economic groups that serve to bind like people together. His goal, starting in 1967, was to determine the degree to which an economic class was also a social class, and specifically to determine the extent to which the economic upper class was controlled/intersected by the social upper class. Domhoff also, early on (1967/1983), sows the seeds of his later arguments that a national ruling upper class may coexist with local level power [well, *city* level (Domhoff, 2005b)] that is different and perhaps more diffuse in nature.[4]

But exploring the notion of a national (as opposed to local, or I daresay, community) upper class remained the flavor of the decade(s) and Domhoff's original work was followed notably by the publication (1976) of Thomas Dye's *Who's Running America?* Despite Dye's disclaimer (Stone, 1978) that his contribution was merely providing "interesting data on national institutional elites" (Dye, 1976, p. 217), Dye's identification of 4000 top position holders has been used by pluralists, (institutional) elite theorists, and upper-class theorists alike to affirm their entrenched positions. For, although Dye was careful about calling his multiple "interlockers" (those with formal authority over national dominant institutional resources) elites, he nonetheless noted the concentration of power positions in well-known dynastic families and the common race, gender, and social memberships among the top leaders (Heying, 1995). Indeed, the study of race, gender, ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation in the ranks of the power elite has, itself, become a major tributary of the work on national institutional elites.

Alba and Moore (1982, p. 374), focusing again on elites, defined as "individual[s] who by virtue of his or her position or other resources is able to exert significant influence on *national* policy," suggested that the notion of an American elite as an ethnically and religiously homogeneous club was in need of updating to include advances by ethnic groups in most elite sectors (except, of course, business and government). Researchers such as Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (1998) more recently have demonstrated inroads by women and minority groups in almost all elite categories since the 1950s although the increasing inclusivity of the elite has done little to change the character or influence of the national power elite.

As Dye and Domhoff and their disciples continued analyzing and reanalyzing increasingly sophisticated databases of national top leaders (in the service of elite or upper class, or even pluralist arguments), a methodological innovation was gaining widespread acceptance and siphoning off some of the next generation of "community" elite/power theorists. Network analysis (the confluence of the maturation of traditional sociological sociometric mapping and innovative mathematical formulations and computer programming) was soon adopted as the tool that might finally settle some of the old debates about who was elite, who had power, and how that power was wielded (Perrucci and Pilisuk, 1970).

In 1970 (four years before Dye was to publish *Who's Running America?*), Perrucci and Pilisuk, according to Whetten (1981), may have been the first social scientists to explicitly link the systemic study of the interlocking directorate ["any situation in which two or more corporations share one or more directors in common" (Allen, 1974, p. 393)], although called "overlapping directorships" by Perrucci and Pilisuk, 1970) through a rudimentary "network analysis" to the social science debates between the pluralists and elite theorists. Specifically, using newfangled network theory, Perrucci and Pilisuk (1970, p. 1041), promised to "measure power as an institutional variable, and to put the question of community pluralism vs. elite control to a methodologically different test from what has yet appeared in the literature." Critiquing the units of analysis used by both the elitists (the individual) and the pluralists (the issue), both of whose ideological positions dictated their methods which then determined their

findings [see, originally, Walton (1966)], Perrucci and Pilisuk (1970, p. 1042) offered that "the resources relevant to the existence of power are dispersed and reside in the interorganizational connections that may be mobilized in specific situations . . . ." It is also relevant to note that this study of "community" power was being done in an actual "community" of 50,000 residents. Their punch line (1970, p. 1056) is that "[t]his study of a relatively small Midwestern community (50,000 population) reveals the existence of a small ruling elite who have actual power, common interests, and definite social ties." The network analysis floodgates were open.

By 1978, in a review essay, Laumann et al. were able to argue that by the late 1960s the pluralist and elitist dependence on individuals as units of analysis of community power was increasingly untenable due to the "increasing recognition of the massive scale and functional differentiation of contemporary urban communities" (p. 456; again, presaged by the community work of Warren in 1963). Given the increasing importance of both elaborate complex organizations (Turk, 1977) and increased geographic mobility (Coleman, 1974) it seemed clear to Laumann et al. (1978) that the trend was to move from individual to organization and from "community" to urban metropolis/city when exploring power elites. They noted how, in interim literature (Laumann et al., 1978, p. 457),

> Students of community politics (Aiken and Alford 1970; Bonjean, Clark, and Lineberry, 1971; Clark, 1968) increasingly recognized the roles that corporate actors (in contrast to individual community leaders or aggregate categories of individuals, like class or status groups) play in explaining the course of community controversy over various policy options confronting community decision makers.

They were further able to write that "[d]espite the *recent* rise of organizations with nation-wide and multinational bases, geographical [read: community] factors continue to influence the formation of functional communities." (Laumann et al., 1978, p. 460). Indeed, it is ironic that the inexorable march to identify and study "national elites" in community power structure studies led to Laumann and Pappi, as far back as 1973, apologizing for their "step backwards" in describing one small city.

But the national elite and their interlocking directorates were soon to be the coin (unit of analysis, anyway) of the realm (which itself was less community and more nation). Even though interest in the "interlocking directorate" had always been high among government anti-trust factions and economists interested in the autonomy of corporate entities and decisions [see Dooley (1969) for an overview], the linking of an increasingly national interlocking directorate with elite studies would be a watershed for sociological inquiry and would come to define the field of community elites (often morphing into corporate elites) into the new millennium.

With the new concern over the growth of the national corporate form, the community elite question also merged with the concern over the separation of ownership from control. If the "managerial" elite got to be elite because they were managers (agents), that could leave space open in the upper class for the owners (principals). In 1974 (p.1073), Zeitlin first asked, "How has the ascendance of the large corporation as the decisive unit of production affected the class structures and political economies of the United States, Great Britain, and other 'highly concentrated capital countries. . . ?'" In particular, he wondered whether the separation of ownership and control (Berle and Means, 1932/1968), had an impact on the structure, or even existence of an upper class. Zeitlin explores Parsons' (1953, p. 123) claim that there was a "shift in control of enterprise from the property interests of founding families to managerial and technical personnel." But Zeitlin wonders whether this is the fact that Parsons claimed it to be. Unfortunately for our purposes, Zeitlin raises the question, but does not attempt an answer. Unfortunately, as well, Zeitlin starts us on a track (that will be continued by most theorists in this very long vein) to look at control of enterprise rather than control of community. To

the extent that we follow Perrow (1991) and others in believing that the large corporation is increasingly eating up the smaller decision spaces of community, then we can feel comfortable that, increasingly, elite studies are concerned with organizational rather than community elites.

In the same year that Zeitlin brought the issue of the separation of ownership and control to (now organizational) elite studies, Michael Patrick Allen (1974) tied interlocking directorates to elite cooptation. Again, though, the elites of concern are organizational—actually, interorganizational—for Allen (1974). And it is not far, then, from Allen's early take on the role of interlocking directorates in elite formation to Mintz and Schwartz's (1981a,b) recited trajectory of the study of the structure of power in the United States, for Mintz and Schwartz (1981a, p. 851) make it clear that the early controversy between Hunter (1953) and Dahl (1961), had become, by the 1980s, research on "intercorporate relations, since the nature and degree of business unity in large part determines the amount of political leverage available to corporate leaders...." With the work of Mintz and Schwartz (1981a,b), questions of elite unity soon became questions of business unity. The slippage is clear as when Mizruchi and Koeing (1986, p. 482) claim "[m]ost theorists, even those who posit elite unity, recognize that there are tendencies toward divergence within the business world."

This brave new "community" elite study paradigm was helped along greatly by the 1984 publication of Michael Useem's *The Inner Circle*, a culmination of his prior work in this field. Using the tools and language of the business unity/disunity crowd, Useem was also able to position his work to answer directly back to the original elite versus pluralist debates. As reviewer William Roy (1984) wrote, "Useem rejuvenates the Mills–Domhoff elite tradition by developing Maurice Zeitlin's notion of the 'inner circle,' a minority of interconnected corporate officers and directors who accept the stewardship of class leadership in political and social interests." Useem's inner circle privileges team-playing corporate leaders (as opposed to business leaders with firm-specific competitive strategies) who recognize the classwide rationality behind such social inventions as business roundtables. This moved the debate, at least temporarily, beyond a managerial/corporate elite and towards an upper class rationality, what Roy (1984, p. 164) calls an "extracorporate logic." Business unity was supplanted somewhat with the idea of an extracorporate inner circle that was to influence society beyond what could be imagined from organizational or even corporate elite.

But the corporate elite notion really took hold in the social sciences. A particularly productive avenue of this research is dominated by studies of political contributions (and arguably influence) of corporate and/versus capitalist elites [see, for example, work started by Clawson, Neustadtl, and Bearden (1986) and Mizruchi (1989), and continuing through Dreiling (2000) and Burris (2001)] although work more broadly in the "corporate elite" frame continues apace [see, for example, Jenkins and Shumate (1985) on "cowboy capitalists," Palmer, Friedland, and Singh (1986) who added a longitudinal perspective, all of the contributors to the Schwartz (1987) anthology, Scott (1991) for a nice review essay, and, more recently, Davis and Greve (1997) on corporate elite networks and coordinated action by local elites, to name but a few]. And work in both the organizational/corporate elite and broader community/societal elite veins continue today.

Perhaps ironically, Yale University, the original home of the 1960s political science pluralists, in the 1990s became the home of the sociological elite theorists as the Program On Nonprofit Organizations there brought historical data from six American communities to bear on the achieved versus ascribed elite question.[5] Although Abzug et al. (1993) documented the declining proportion of Social Registers among the nonprofit institutional leaders in six cities (including Atlanta!) over sixty years, they also entertained questions about the usefulness of 1930s elite indicators for determining community (city) power by the 1990s. Abzug and Galaskiewicz (2001) tried to bring the actual community back in by suggesting that organizations

may be legitimated by either (or both) local communities and national audiences through the composition of their leadership structures. However, Abzug and Galaskiewicz talked communities but studied cities, a theme that we have seen developing throughout this selective review of the community elite literature and pick up on again in the next section.

WAYS TO SORT ELITE STUDIES

As a sociologist, I have followed Walton (1966) dividing the terrain of community elite studies historically and methodologically by first contrasting the reputationally based (elite) power structure school with the overt decision-making-based pluralist school. I next divided the former so-called elite theorists into the upper-class (ascribed/birth characteristics) school versus the elite managerial/institutional positional (achieved characteristics) school. The latter two were and are increasingly evaluated against each other through increasingly sophisticated network analysis further distinguishing more recent studies from older ones that used individuals as units of analysis. I have further noted the increasing attention paid to corporate or organizational elite (also increasingly national to global in scope) compared with an original focus on a more local community elite. The historical progression of this division is presented in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1. Watersheds in Community Elite Studies' Historical Contributions

Author	First Relevant Publication Date	"Community" of Study	Author Discipline and Method/ School of Elite Studies	Key Word/ Term Contribution
Warner, W. Lloyd	1941	Newburyport, Massachusetts (Yankee City)	Sociologist Pre-Community Elite Studies	
Hunter, Floyd	1953	Atlanta (Regional City)	Sociologist Reputational	Crowds Power pyramid
Mills, C. Wright	1956	America	Sociologist Institutional/ managerial elite	Power elites Interlocking
Baltzell, E. Digby	1958	Philadelphia	Sociologist Upper Class	National upper class WASP
Dahl, Robert[a]	1961	New Haven	Political Scientist Decision-making Pluralist	
Domhoff, G. William	1967	America	Sociologist Upper Class	Indicators of upper class standing
Perrucci, and Pilisuk	1970	A Midwestern Community	Sociologists Network/power elite	Interorganizational leaders
Stone, Clarence	1976	Atlanta	Political Scientist Reputational	Regime Theory
Dye, Thomas	1976	America	Political Scientist Institutional/ Positional	4000 top position holders
Zeitlin/Useem	1974/1984	America	Sociologists Institutional ?	Inner Circle

[a] Although Dahl is known for the influence of his corpus of work, admiring reviewer Von der Muhll (1977, p. 1070) claims that "Dahl's name is associated with no one major methodological innovation."

As we see in the table, this list of authors would be at home in many an elite theorist's reference list. And, indeed, many other authors, past and present, have attempted categorizations and meta-analyses. From Walton's (1966) original conception of pyramidal, factional, coalitional, and amorphous categories of community power, we can trace Heying's (1995) dissertation work that categorized a null hypothesis of no elite leadership structure, a functional elite hypothesis, an inner circle hypothesis, and a growth coalition hypothesis. Heying supports these primary hypotheses with secondary hypotheses that also correspond to debates we have encountered along the way. He contrasts an institutional-elite hypothesis—where power is derived from occupational position and achievement, with an upper-class hypothesis—where power is inherited.

In 1999, Farazmand asked "the elite question" and ordered the answer by ordering the literature on elites. He first contrasts the whole of elite theory and the power elite with the Marxist notion of ruling class (following a long line of social scientists—many cited above— before him). He then spells out the different models of elite theory. These include some of the usual suspects including the plural elite model, the power elite model, and the ruling class model. He then adds the consensually integrated elite model developed by Higley and Moore (1981, p. 584), that posits "an inclusive network of formal and informal communication, friendship, and influence welding among top position holders in all major elite groups, i.e., business, trade union, political governmental, mass media, voluntary association, academic, etc.," as well as his own favorite, the organizational elite model that looks a lot like the corporate elite, which would lead us to look beyond the corporate elite for the more contemporary elite hypotheses.

But before we see how that plays out, I want to alert the reader to a theme that has run through this chapter thus far. That theme is how far community elite studies have come from the original community. Indeed, Hunter, who is widely seen as the progenitor of American social science community elite studies, used the city of Atlanta as his "community" laboratory. From that moment, cities became the modal locus of study for community elite theorists[6] until the organizational network theorists bumped the level of analysis up to the national stage. Given this *Handbook*'s focus on community, and given the fact that most of these studies are considered classics in community elite and power literatures, I wanted to make sure that the slip from community to nation[7] was not lost on the reader and thus the chronological table of studies includes the section highlighting which "communities" were under study [again, borrowed from Walton (1966)]. Of course, the last study listed brings us to the heyday of the community as the corporate network. The question for community studies in the new millennium is what lay beyond the corporate elite?

BEYOND CORPORATE ELITES

The organizational sociologist in me ended the progression in community elite studies (starting with Hunter) with the corpus of corporate elite and interlocking network studies. But the corporate and national level was not the only path for elite studies at the turn of the millennium. It is our task now to leave the well-worn path to corporate elite (or even growth-coalition elite) in order to explore side tracks and promising new avenues of "community" elite studies.

This will entail rethinking what we mean by the "community" part of community elites. But before we get to that: one more trip to the national level. Indeed, if "community elites" have gotten lost in the scholarly shuffle, the national "elite" seems of increasing concern not only to sociological network theorists, but to commentators, pundits, and even leaders of both

the political left and right. It is curious (and well beyond the scope of this chapter) how "elites" so maligned by leftists in academe were transfigured into the "liberal elites" so maligned by commentators on the right. At the same time that the 43rd President, George W. Bush, could intone to an audience of "the haves and have-mores," "Some people call you the elites I call you my base," those most sympathetic to this President were often decrying how out of touch with America were the (liberal) elite (Frank, 2004). The explication of an out-of-touch national elite (liberal, right, what have you), is a major cottage industry and it may, itself, be traced to a social science history of elites cutting themselves off from local communities as central states formed amid industrialization across much of the globe (Calhoun, 1983).

The posthumously published last collection of Christopher Lasch (1995), took as its theme an economic and cultural elite (both right and left) that was forsaking the founding principles of American democracy. With his last work, Lasch joined the ranks of social scientists such as Rothman, Nagai, and Lerner (1996), and colleagues who are best known for their continuing work on what they deem the adversary culture of the liberal/cultural "American elites" (Brint, 1997). And so the study of the impact of national elites is alive, well, and easy to find. Likewise, work on city or urban elites (often, but not always, from or against a growth coalition perspective) also continues apace [see, for example, Whitt (1982) on the influence of urban elites in mass transportation policy; Feiock and Carr (2000) on the influence of "community" elites in city/county consolidation; Paul and Brown (2001) on the influence of elites[8] on public opinion dynamics surrounding sports facility referenda]. There also exists a somewhat tangential literature on the "leadership effects" (not always synonymous with elites as we review the term here) on the delivery of policy and services [this would include work on how the experience of welfare recipients (Piven and Cloward, 1972), steel workers (Kornblum, 1974), and health care recipients (Alford, 1975), for instance, were affected by leadership characteristics and effects (Galaskiewicz and Shatin, 1981)]. Work on the influence or impact of more local (read: community) elites, is, as previously noted, often buried in diverse literature and, as a result, increasingly difficult to synthesize.

There may also be a more insidious rationale for the relative sublimation of the study of community elites compared with city, national, and local elites. In a provocative article, Schumaker and Burns (1988) suggest the existence of potential differential policy preferences across gender lines. They use the work of Peterson (1981) to hint that women-identified and promulgated "community" preservation issues (including social service delivery and neigh-borhood protection) may "be viewed by community officials as less important than the unitary interest of cities in economic growth" (Schumaker and Burns, 1988, p. 1071). One might then suggest that community elite studies may have taken a backseat to city power studies and growth coalitions studies (along with studies of the power and reach of the corporate and global elite) because the real power (and men) was on the side of the larger arena(s) of decision making.

The More (Less?) Local Community Elites

The mild but running critique throughout this chapter has been that elite theorists (includ-ing this one) have often conflated community power structure with city[9] power structure to the diminishment of both concepts. This critique itself, however, is highly dependent upon "community" being conceptualized nostalgically as a small to medium-sized town (Lyon, 1987/1999). As Lyon (1987/1999, p. 4), a chronicler of the slippery slope from "community" to "city," admonishes: "[s]ometimes, however, a community is defined in a way that includes a modern-day ethnic neighborhood in a large city (Suttles, 1972), a large corporation (Minar

and Greer, 1969), an informal professional group such as the "scientific community" (Kuhn, 1962), or even a philosophical and psychological commitment to communal lifestyles (Nisbet, 1953)." If community was or is never really that geographically fixed, socially linked space, then community elite theorists may be forgiven for having trouble finding the mark.

But that raises the question of what we know about the elites of these other communities. Does research about them follow the same fissures as research in the traditional sociological community vein? Is anyone comfortable positing that for every community, there is an elite? Certainly research has been undertaken on elites in nongeographic specific communities [see, for example, Odendahl (1990) on philanthropic elites, McGuire (1993) on legal elites, Rosenzweig (1998) on the nonhierarchical impulses of the original online community, to name a few]. As well, studies of "nontraditional" communities often include sections on power relations in these communities [see, for example, Blakely and Snyder (1997) on the spread of residence-based private governments in gated communities]. Yet searches of the scholarly literature turned up surprisingly few studies of (or even references to) modern community "elites" (traditional or not).

Love 'em, hate 'em, deny them, identify them, "community elites" as researched by social scientists have tended to be found (and defined) exactly where the researchers look. So who are elites, then, but those in potential power or influence positions who (can) use those positions to make decisions most amenable to their interests. If we define elites as those with power, should it surprise us to find elites where power is wielded (even if we don't, then, call them by name)? Once there, should we be no less surprised to find that selfsame power used to benefit mostly those who wield it? And as for community, could it be that a community reduces to the area or arena in which elites hold sway? Would we get different answers about community boundaries if we asked those who wield power in their communities as opposed to those upon whom actions are taken? Until and unless we can encourage more in-depth study of actual community (not city, not national, not global) elites, we will likely not have satisfactory answers to these questions. But it is fun to speculate until such time!

NOTES

1. Interestingly, reviewing the book soon after it was published, the sociologist C. Wright Mills (1953, p. 92) specifically distinguished it from past "community studies" as it was "*of* a city, rather than a small town or hamlet, and in that it is *about* this city's structure and personnel of power, rather than the more amorphous Community at Large or Stratification in General." In this, although Mills marks the book as a beginning of "elite" studies, he notes that it is not within the rubric of "community" studies. Hmmmm.
2. Note the absence of public officials from this first tier.
3. And the thread that Dahl started has largely morphed into the public or rational choice model of decision-making.
4. The local was not completely lost from community power structure research even though "elite studies" took a turn towards the national. In 1968 Terry Nichols Clark edited a volume that attempted to compare communities based on their power structures as a dependent variable, knitting together insights from the host of local community power structure case studies. However, the comparison of the local structures led many of the researchers to look for explanatory variables at the higher levels of extracommunity, regional, and even national levels.
5. The elite/nonprofit angle itself owes to the pioneering work of Domhoff (1967/1983) and notably, Salzman and Domhoff, who, in 1983, asked specifically about the role of nonprofit enterprises in creating policy and class unity in the corporate world. Skocpol (2003) answers the question by suggesting that nonprofits allowed community elites to redirect activism in associations to more professional, efficient, organizational feel-good solutions.
6. For an extensive discussion of this movement of community into the city, see Lyon (1987/1999).
7. Increasingly, however, elite studies (even in the United States) are not stopping at the nation's borders (although I will, as that was this chapter's charge). The systematic scholarly literature is in its infancy, however, there is no

shortage of popular references to international or global elite, most often in the context of international regulatory and advisory bodies including the World Economic Forum at Davos, the World Bank, and so on. This is not to be confused with (especially) historical studies of elites in countries other than the United States. For a classic historical perspective, see Jaher's (1973) anthology tracing elites from ancient Rome to Elizabethan London, to Tsarist Russia to 1930s Chile.

8. Paul and Brown's (2001) review of the literature found communities running the gamut from the "community" of Santa Clara to the "community" of New Jersey.

9. And increasingly, gasp, national.

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The Political–Economic Gradient and the Organization of Urban Space

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> There are plenty of reasons for thinking that descriptions and cross sections (of space) ... though they may well supply inventories of what *exists in* space, or even generate a *discourse on* space, cannot ever give rise to a *knowledge of* space.
>
> —Henri Lefebvre (1974, p. 7)

Community has once again become *de rigueur* in the contemporary moment. Its return to prominence coincides with efforts to transform urban governance through a familiar—yet reinvigorated—celebration of venerable social welfare traditions that have long extolled the virtues of local responsibility. American cities are enduring the transformations of a "post-welfare apotheosis," driven by (re)cultivated affinities for devolution, welfare state retrenchment, and privatization (Katz, 2001). As historian Michael Katz argues, these trends have culminated in the trifold victory of three great forces in social welfare politics: the war on dependence, the devolution of public authority, and the dominance of market models in public policy. The fallout leads states to increasingly displace misery to already distressed cities; while cities, in turn, are left to displace misery to the streets of poor neighborhoods. In this climate, the rhetoric of community voluntarism is pervasive, locatable in the discourse of entities ranging from nonprofits, to civic associations, to multilevel corporations (Sites, Chaskin, and Parks, 2003).

The growing reliance on community-based, nongovernmental resources in lieu of the aging apparatuses of the New Deal/Keynesian model of welfare provision has naturally prompted researchers to investigate questions of disparity in voluntary resource distribution. It has also stimulated new approaches to increase "community capacity" by focusing on issues such as resident commitment, access to resources, sense of community, and availability of networks or social capital (Chaskin et al., 2001). This work is deeply important, as variations in the prevalence of resident volunteers, institutions, and organizations between affluent and poor communities have particularly dire consequences in the age of devolution and welfare retrenchment.

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Yet in this chapter, I argue that the emphases on resource distribution and community capacity in urban research are insufficient if left to stand alone. My primary contention is that this literature must be augmented with macrostructural perspectives on the political–economic gradient of urban space, as well as the insights of studies in governmentality, in order to ascertain the full significance of what is at stake in the contemporary study of community capacity.

As a starting premise, this chapter posits that questions of resource disparity and community capacity are deeply entwined with macrostructural forces producing uneven geographical development and neighborhood decline. The latter are especially complex phenomena that in many ways preconfigure community capacity and social capital in the present. Following this assumption, the chapter invites community scholars to explore, quite broadly and eclectically, an intellectual history of studies on the social organization of urban space. My purpose is to explore how this literature enables new ways of thinking about uneven development, resource disparity, and notions of community. In accordance with these objectives, the chapter proceeds as follows. (1) To begin, I undertake a cursory review of what we know about the uneven distribution of nongovernmental resources for community use. This discussion illustrates the need for broader discussions on the macrostructural forces shaping urban environments, particularly those related to geographical inequality and spatial fragmentation. (2) A broad array of the interdisciplinary literature on the organization of urban space is explored, including works from ecological, suburbanization, racial/underclass, and Marxist geography camps. (3) Following my review of this literature, I argue that adjoining the insights emerging from my analysis with the field of governmentality studies provides an ideal framework for thinking critically about community spaces in the postwelfare era.

DIFFERENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF
NONGOVERNMENTAL RESOURCES

Several geographers have taken up questions concerning the "uneven" distribution of philanthropic, nongovernmental, and voluntary resources in order to elucidate growing inequalities exacerbated by contemporary welfare trends (Anheier et al., 2003; Wolch, 1990; Wolch and Geiger, 1983; Wolpert, 1988; Wolpert and Reiner, 1984). Of great importance, the work of these researchers addresses variations in the level and extent of voluntary activity across geographic locales. Wolpert (1988), for example, examined the "geography of generosity" to suggest that patterns of public and private support for social services are expressions of value differences. Finding salience in matters of distribution due to the recent pressures to restore responsibility for citizen welfare to states and localities, Wolpert focused on values expressed in community polity and civic engagement to uncover regional disparities in the level and variety of local services and amenities. In later works, Wolpert (1993) found that fiscal disparities and economic inequalities between state and local governments and nonprofit organizations yielded highly uneven support for transfer payments and social services. Based on disparities in altruistic values as well as differences in local resources and levels of distress, Wolpert concluded that decentralization has highly regressive effects that are difficult to ameliorate through government or voluntary efforts at the state or community level. Not surprisingly, his work finds that the poorest areas are most severely affected by these trends.

In a similar vein, Wolch's (1990) work on the uneven development of the shadow state suggests that although broad contextual forces shape the voluntary sector at the national level by defining its aggregate character, local conditions and institutional behavior are fundamental to explaining the patterns of voluntarism across urban communities. Wolch summarized

conventional explanations of uneven development in the geography of urban voluntarism and "shadow state" development, spanning the following hypotheses: (1) a variation of need across different regions, in level and variety, spawns uneven development; (2) divergent degrees of economic health and prosperity do not yield similar donative capacity, resulting in regional disparity; and (3) contrasts in regional and cultural history betray variations in deep-seated traditions of public and private provisions (Salamon, 1995; Wolpert and Reiner, 1985; Wolch 1990). Moving beyond these explanatory frameworks, Wolch explored the basic characteristics of urban economies, government, nonprofits and charities, as well as the behavioral responses of each of these institutions to structural changes imposed from the outside. She ultimately concluded that interactions and interdependencies among institutions provoke the uneven development of the voluntary sector over time and space.

As Wolch (1990) and Salamon (1995) have shown, decentralization of service responsibilities from devolutionary trends has exacted changes in the size, prevalence, policies, practices, and pressures faced by the voluntary sector. Augmenting Wolpert's emphasis on values, Wolch's work calls attention to the history, structure, and behavior of local institutions as constitutive elements crucial to understanding "shadow state" development in metropolitan locales. Like Wolpert, her work employs certain variables in order to map, sketch, or represent the geography of voluntarism. Such analyses have prompted a number of community scholars to sound the alarm of resource disparity in poor communities. Anheier et al. (2003) have shown that the relative size of the community nonprofit sector in Los Angeles is below the national average, despite the fact that local needs in L.A. are greater and more acute (as indicated by a higher poverty rate). Similarly, a number of community scholars have come forth to explore the ways neighborhoods are differentially endowed with resources due to historical factors affecting "community capacity" (Chaskin et al., 2001; Furstenberg, 1993; Hawley, 1981; Hunter, 1974; Jargowsky, 1997; Sampson, 1999; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997).

The attention called to the uneven distribution of resources across this literature is remarkably salient at the present moment, particularly given the accelerated trends of devolution, retrenchment, and community inequality in recent decades. However, the work of the foregoing authors fails to take up the matter of space or geography per se as an explanatory variable in matters of distribution. Conversely, each selects different variables said to manifest in spatial differentiation, without theorizing the actual territory upon which such inequities are situated. In essence, this equates to an exercise in rendering the geography of distribution, rather than offering a critical analysis of the ways in which geography produces inequalities. In other words, we are led to a mapping strategy of inequality and resource disparity in urban space, rather than availed knowledge of the ways in which urban space preconfigures resource disparity. Urban space becomes merely the stage upon which a topos of institutional behavior and cultural values unfolds, tantamount to a functional canvas for the mapping of variation and unevenness.

By focusing mainly on matters of distribution and capacity alone, I contend that the literature reviewed here forgoes attention to the a priori macrostructural forces that generate spatial fragmentation. In general, the category of space is taken for granted as a naturalized vector of social analysis, and the privileging of historical factors induces an "implicit subordination of space to time" (Soja, 1989, p. 15). The following sections of this chapter provide an introduction to spatially informed analysis of urban decline, particularly as it relates to the political–economic gradients endemic to the organization of urban space. The purpose is to provide a geographical pretext to factors affecting community capacity and the distribution of philanthropic and voluntary resources. Such an endeavor—when combined with the theoretical insights of studies in governmentality—can provide students of community with a critical

lens for analyzing the restructurings of the devolutionary welfare state and the neoliberal city.

MICROECONOMICS AND THE ECOLOGICAL PARADIGM

Scholars throughout the twentieth century have studied the linkages between urban decline and community capacity from a myriad of perspectives. Perhaps the most profoundly influential paradigm emerges from the Chicago School of sociology and its notional concept of ecology. The dominance of the ecological paradigm on urban formation emanates from the works of the first Chicago school of the 1920s, most notably the work of Burgess (1925) and Park (1936). The classical ecological theory borrows from human ecologists to explain population movements within cities as natural or ecological phenomena. Chicago School sociologists beheld the city as an expression of human nature, particularly in terms of the social relations that are generated by territory. The core assumptions of this model include a uniform land surface, universal access to a single-centered city, free competition for space, and the notion that development will take place outward from a central core. It follows that the primary metaphors to describe population movements are invasion, succession, and segregation. The founding model put forth by Burgess (1925) holds that populations filter outwards from the center as resident status and level of assimilation progress. A central business district is typically surrounded by a "transitional zone" (where new immigrants are located), followed by a zone of "working men's homes" inhabited by more stable social groups. Beyond this, newer and larger dwellings are found, occupied by an even more stable middle class. Finally, the "commuter zone" is located at the outermost ring, comprised of affluent residents who have moved through the various stages of social mobility (Dear, 2000; Leon, 1985).

The enduring impact of the Chicago School's ecological model can be found in the work of the Local Community Research Committee (LCRC). The LCRC produced the celebrated "Chicago community areas," described as 75 socially and culturally distinctive areas of human settlement (Venkatesh, 2001). As Venkatesh notes, the importance of the LCRC's incessant surveying and mapmaking was to order twentieth-century Chicago, that is, to effectively codify the city for observation and administration using an epistemological tradition that can perhaps best be characterized using Henri Lefebvre's notion of *abstract space*. Lefebvre's concept describes the dominant mode of spatial thought in city planning and in urban politics. It denotes the ways in which the prescriptive powers of urban planners separate production and reproduction such that space takes on a disembodied and instrumental form. Venkatesh (2001) argues that the Chicago School's deployment of abstract spatial methodologies in urban research—ostensibly in efforts to "uncover" the human ecology of the city—facilitated a "social construction of the city." Historically, the implications of the LCRC are quite significant, as the embrace of a pragmatist ideology of descriptive analysis resulted in the prescription and creation of an urban reality rather than an uncovering of latent social phenomena.[1]

A broad array of literature in urban sociology has evolved from the ecological tradition, focusing primarily on factors such as the internal structure of the city, urban form, neighborhood change and the development of "natural areas," the growth of the housing supply, the economic usage of land, and population trends (Berry and Kasarda, 1977; Fisher and Winnick, 1951; Hawley, 1981; Hoover and Vernon, 1959; Hunter, 1974; Lowry, 1960; Suttles, 1972, 1990). The bulk of this work follows two basic theoretical assertions: that urban decline, poverty, and uneven development result from organic, migratory movements across spatial environments as

groups "filter" outward from the central core through evolutionary processes, and that neighborhood characteristics persist over time which selectively influence population characteristics, in turn producing a functional division of land use in the city (Dear, 2000; Leon, 1985). By way of these spatially Darwinistic processes, urban deconcentration and out-migration are constructed as cultural givens; effectively naturalizing a process such as suburbanization as simply a manifestation of human development along the biological trajectories of the American Dream.

Although the ecological paradigm moved beyond microeconomic theories of spatial differentiation by focusing on geographical regions as opposed to strictly the behaviors of market actors, there are several factors that leave it wanting. The presence of geographical differentiation takes on a cryptofunctionalist nature, as poor communities provide opportunities and developmental stages for the "life cycle" of social mobility. Under this model, racial and class tensions, neighborhood devaluation, and population loss are considered functions of natural development, rather than products of historical or political–economic forces. By failing to reference the social system and historical factors that produce, sustain, and reproduce urban communities, the vulgar organicism of such thought renders out agency, as well as social power, from processes of spatial change. The role of politics, race, and economics is either subjugated or naturalized as differentiation in the organization of social life in neighborhoods and communities is attributed to "organic" rhythms and constraints (Smith and White, 1929). Moreover, under the guise of "scientific description," social scientists like Burgess effectively became city managers, deliberately involved in determining boundaries, assigning names, and dictating the subjective experience of the city (Venkatesh, 2001).

What becomes particularly significant are the ways in which the LCRC and the ecological paradigm enable a way to make the community thinkable, calculable, knowable, practicable, and administrable through a form of superimposed, top-down expert knowledge. Given the wide circulation and currency of the LCRC's "descriptive" findings, settlement houses and community groups began to draw upon "community area" boundaries for needs assessments and decisions in resource allocation. The abstract and prescriptive areas themselves were thus incorporated into local institutional discourse and into the minds of inhabitants through the local organizations available to them (Venkatesh, 2001). This allowed researchers to track social indicators in community areas over time, much in the same way that Wolch and Wolpert map patterns of distribution to highlight inequities (see also Culhane and Breuer, Chapter 8 in this *Handbook*). But the methodological approach and positivist assumptions of this work by and large belie a hermeneutics of suspicion that might otherwise elucidate matters of race, class, and politics as determining forces in the social construction of urban space. Attention to these matters requires a theoretical approach capable of integrating history and politics into the discourse on deconcentration, disinvestment, and resource disparity in urban communities.

SUBURBANIZATION

A second movement within the ecological school sought to link deconcentration to the functional division of land use in the city, particularly by emphasizing such factors as transportation networks and their impact on, or "distortion" of, the "natural life cycle" of neighborhoods. Arguing that urban growth takes place along the arcs of wedge-shaped sectors that are aligned with transportation routes emanating from the center of the city, these scholars introduced a more historically specific model of population movement and in so doing altered the classical ecological model (Alonso, 1971; Bartlett, 1985; Hoyt, 1959; Leon, 1985; Taueber and Taueber, 1965).

Transportation networks provided a template for the functional division of urban space and its subsequent development, suggesting that the internal structure of the city was influenced by historical changes in technology rather than just the natural laws of human development. Yet although this second offshoot of the ecological paradigm elucidates the role of history and its influence on the development of cities, the tendency to sustain allegiance to variations of the life cycle model typically obfuscated macrolevel factors of uneven development. For the most part, scholars still contended that various "site and situational" factors selected for certain population characteristics (Leon, 1985). The internal structure of the city was said to reflect its chronological development over time, as development and decline were related to the functional division of land, the transportation system, and the "quasi-natural" process of decentralization.

Still, the illumination of factors related to "street-car suburbs" and their subsequent decrease in inner-city housing demand were of great importance, as several scholars who applied filtering theories in conjunction with the impact of suburbanization were saying something new (Leon, 1985). Essentially, suburbanization appeared either distinct from, or antithetical to, the healthy growth of cities. This type of thinking led to Dear's study (1976) of a North Philadelphia neighborhood, which found evidence that suburbanization led to inner-city blight. Building on this work, a number of sociologists embarked on the construction of a literature base focusing specifically on suburbanization, primarily as a way to elucidate factors other than natural market forces or migratory patterns. A growing attention to historical periods (Dear, 1976; Orum, 1996), regional variations (Horowitz, 1994; Leon, 1985; Mueller, 1977; Sternlieb and Hughes, 1980), and political processes and policies (Downs, 1974; Harvey, 1977; Hyman and Kingsley, 1996; Rybczynski, 1995) set the stage for a new discourse on factors underlying community deconcentration, disinvestment, and resource disparity.

In what has become a seminal work in the suburbanization literature, Kenneth T. Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985) advanced a meticulous historical account of the federally induced process of suburbanization and its devastating impact on inner cities. To build his case, Jackson chronicled how the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) advanced a two-pronged attack that would catalyze the suburbanization of the United States. First, in order to determine which areas of cities were safe for investment, HOLC devised a four-category "security" rating system based on long-standing discriminatory practices in private real estate. To the extent that this newly codified system was later adopted by the entire real estate and banking industry, HOLC had given birth to the now well-known practice of redlining, a process that would forever undervalue densely populated, ethnically mixed, black, or aging neighborhoods. Whole areas of inner cities were declared ineligible for guaranteed loans, producing a spiral of disinvestment, vacancy, and market collapse that still exists today in the form of uneven development, urban blight, and resource disparity.

As the second prong of the attack, the FHA (emboldened by a partnership with the Veterans Administration), transformed the terms of the home finance industry and subsequently stripped the urban core of its middle class in the following ways. (1) It favored the financing and construction of single-family suburban homes over their multifamily urban counterparts by a ratio exceeding seven to one from 1934–1972; (2) the FHA and the VA made it easier to purchase a new home than to renovate or improve an old one; and (3) a culture of middle-class suburban favoritism was born based on the "unbiased professional estimate" that was a prerequisite to any loan guarantee. In this respect, the federal government had embraced the discriminatory attitudes of the marketplace by turning the building industry against the inner-city housing market. Consequently, federally induced suburban regions grew at a rate

forty times that of the city as the suburban population more than doubled (from thirty-six to seventy-four million) from 1950 to 1970. Expectations for utopian suburban living, car culture, low population densities, home ownership, cleanliness, and safety were inculcated into the consciousness of America's middle class. In the process, any hopes for solidarity across class and racial lines had been systematically dismantled (see also Blakeley's Chapter 16 in this *Handbook*).

The work on suburbanization by scholars such as Jackson (1985), Downs (1974), and Hyman and Kingsley (1996) renounced the supposed neutrality of life cycle and ecological explanations of suburbanization by introducing a critical political economy analysis at the national scale. Their works illustrate that the consequences of suburbanization on matters of geographical disparity are vastly significant. Yet the implications do not desist at the level of geography alone. As Matthew Ruben (2001) contends, suburbanization cannot be accurately discussed without attention to its fueling counterpart, the "suburbanized American consciousness." Since the 1960s, a normative middle class has been "whitened" into homogeneity as a political force and an icon of America itself. As Ruben notes, it is this sizeable suburban class that has beheld an increasingly racialized, impoverished urban environment from its comfortable position on the periphery. Amid these economic and political changes, the dominant view of the city materialized as a "troubled" maelstrom of racial primitiveness, serving as a mirrored other of the suburbanized consciousness. Ruben further contended that "the nationalized suburban position is the necessary point of observation and enunciation for urban diagnosis, providing a vantage point from which the city may be apprehended precisely as a site of national otherness" (Ruben, 2001, p. 243). A correspondent ethos in academic research renders urban neighborhoods as isolated cauldrons of vice, graft, unruliness, and disorder, doomed to inexorable decay based on their geographical severance and isolation from mainstream society.

By combining Ruben's analysis with the work of Kenneth Jackson, we are given a significantly enhanced lens with which to view the processes of geographical differentiation in resource distribution. Jackson's work pulls us away from factors such as "*value* differences in the geography of generosity" (Wolpert, 1988), or the institutional behaviors of local nonprofits (Wolch, 1990), by explaining the ways in which urban neighborhoods have undergone widespread disinvestment and decentralization. This type of perspective allows us to indict the federally induced disinvestment processes that create geographical differentiation in "community capacity," thereby augmenting efforts to simply map these differentiations or to theorize them as place-based manifestations of value differences. Ruben's critique suggests that urban analysis of resource disparities is conducted under the auspices of the "suburbanized consciousness," which pathologizes disparities in "community capacity" (typically by using behavioral and moral categories of social decay) while naturalizing and "white-washing" suburbanization as an American ideal. By subjugating the political–economic forces underlying uneven development, neighborhood values and behaviors became the targets of paternalistic interventions designed to "improve" poor communities (Goode and Maskovsky, 2001). These outcomes are very much in line with the policy trends of the postwelfare state, which frame social pathology and community decline as the inevitable products of isolation from "mainstream American values."[2]

Contemporary policy advocates bootstrapping strategies of empowerment to counter disparities in community capacity while obscuring the ways in which those disparities were created by the state's earlier policy measures. Concomitantly, the call for community empowerment puts the onus for reform on distressed communities, despite the fact that the suburbanized middle class has overwhelmingly reaped the benefits of postwar housing policy. Empowerment thus equates to an interpolation of poor communities to carry out the goals of the declining

welfare state. Taken together, these factors call attention to the ways spatial differentiation is created, as well as to the ways resource-deprived neighborhoods are envisaged in the contemporary present to facilitate processes of devolution, retrenchment, and urban rescaling. In this sense, community becomes a burdensome cost—rather than an asset—to poor neighborhoods, as residents are expected to compensate for the disparities and assaults created by macrostructural forces of disinvestment. Further elaboration on these points follows in the remaining sections.

RACE AND UNDERCLASS THEORIES ON GEOGRAPHICAL DIFFERENTIATION

In the 1980s and 1990s, urban and community scholarship continued to compensate for the inadequacies of the ecological paradigm by linking neighborhood change to historical and macrogeographical factors of the political economy. Focusing on the urban realization of the ideology of apartheid in the United States, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton's *American Apartheid* (1993) explained racial segregation and the "black ghetto" as a complex manifestation of institutional practices, private behaviors, and public policies by which whites seek to contain growing black populations. The consequences yield widespread disinvestment in inner cities that produce "steep declines in property values and a pattern of disrepair, vacancy, and abandonment" (Massey and Denton, 1993, p. 55). In a style similar to Jackson's, this analysis offered some respite from the ecological paradigm's organic metaphors by elucidating the structural forces of racism in the generation of urban decline.

Similarly, William Julius Wilson (1987, 1996) advanced compelling theses on the structural forces that create disinvestment, urban blight, and social unrest through processes of postindustrial decline. Wilson contended that the decline of manufacturing, the suburbanization of employment, the out-migration of the black middle class on the wings of civil rights gains, and the rise of the low-wage service sector concentrated poverty and resource disparity in poor neighborhoods.

Although the arguments made by these scholars are strong in terms of the lucid historical documentation of racial segregation in the United States (Massey and Denton, 1993) and the vagaries of class-contingent suffering born out of postindustrial decline (Wilson, 1996), each is extremely pernicious in its suggestion that structural forces have given birth to an "urban underclass." Accordingly, these scholars not only failed to dispute the assumptions of the culture of poverty thesis long espoused by the right to explain community differentiation, but they ultimately embraced and reaffirmed it. For example, Massey and Denton (1993) ultimately claimed that the primary issues and problems facing the underclass were sustained within their own "adaptational strategies" and "cultural behaviors." The authors contended that as segregation compounded—and was compounded by—spatially concentrated poverty, a "spiral of decline" ensued. Isolation from middle-class values created "blighted ghetto environments" in which "a pattern of decay takes hold that is self-reinforcing and irreversible" (Massey and Denton, 1993, p. 145). These environments are said to be characterized by a proliferation welfare dependency, teenage pregnancy, crime, and a withdrawal from community life and the labor force. Not surprisingly, these types of factors have come to be seen as prime indicators of "community capacity" and neighborhood well-being in the age of voluntarism and devolution.

Similarly, Wilson contended that economic and demographic forces created an entire segment of the population lacking the institutions, resources, and values necessary for success in modern society. As a growing "underclass" became more and more isolated from "mainstream society" and its values, a "ghetto mentality" takes hold whereby chronic joblessness, a

proliferation of female-headed households, and persistent welfare dependence became a "way of life" in poor communities (Wilson, 1996). Thus, although this work offers a corrective to the ecological paradigm in its introduction of political economic and geographical understandings of poverty and resource disparity, its tendency to produce and sustain an imaginary of poor neighborhoods as deeply entwined with a "culture of poverty" is problematic. And although matters of space and political economy are aptly theorized, the ultimate explanations for resource-deprivation and disparities in community capacity are framed in pathologizing terms that offer little in the way of challenging the devolutionary mandates of the postwelfare state. In order to incorporate these objectives, it is imperative to seek refuge elsewhere.

MARXIST GEOGRAPHY

In addition to suburbanization, or race/underclass perspectives on spatial development, there has also been widespread movement in what has been called critical, Marxist, or radical geography since the more general resurgence of Marxist thought in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Dear, 2000). At the crux of this movement is the role of space in the political economy of urban milieus, particularly in terms of the ways in which capital shapes the built environment. A number of Marxist geographers take capitalist accumulation strategies, the political economy of space, and uneven development as their primary foci (Jackson, 1989; Smith, 1984, 1986; Zukin, 1991). The term "uneven development" is described by Smith as "the systematic geographical expression of the contradictions inherent in the very constitution and structure of capital" (Smith, 1984, p. xi). Uneven development results from the inherent tension in accumulation strategies between the spatial fixity of capital and the need for capital mobility in order to resolve the problem of diminishing profits. This tension results in permanent contradictions that manifest in differentiated spatial environments and periodic crises involving the restructuring of geographical space through processes such as deindustrialization and globalization (Jackson, 1989).

Few theorists have been more prolific in this realm than David Harvey. Much of Harvey's analytical focus over the past thirty years has been on the organization of consumption, its contribution to the process of capital accumulation, and the configurations of urban space that emerge as a result. His primary emphasis on the circulation of capital through the production and utilization of the built environment reflects his assertion that the geographical landscape is an expression of flows of capital. He contends, as such, that the spatial design of a city must facilitate the flow of capital, lest it become outmoded, dysfunctional, or saturated. In the case of the latter, space must be destroyed or strategically outmaneuvered in order to become resuscitated as a site of accumulation (Harvey, 1989). According to Harvey, accelerations in production and consumption turnover time (brought about through technological innovations and advanced organizational techniques in the labor process) have resulted in the annihilation of space by time to facilitate the rapid flow of capital. This general quest to accelerate turnover time is accompanied by a continuous reshaping of geographical landscapes through processes such as deindustrialization, globalization, and gentrification.

It is at this point that Harvey locates a certain planned obsolescence of capitalist logic, as in order to survive capital must destroy the geographical foundations—cultural, ecological, and spatial—of its own activities so that new accumulation strategies become possible. He provides examples in the massive redevelopment campaigns of cities such as Baltimore, as well as in the myriad urban renewal programs of the twentieth century (Harvey, 1989, 2000). He also discusses the debt-financed and federally funded processes of suburbanization, which

solved a problem of underconsumption by deconcentrating the built environment of cities (thereby creating more opportunities to invest while transforming the urban infrastructure) and effectively mobilizing demand by making car culture a necessity rather than a luxury. These transformations stand as exemplars of Harvey's most notable concept, namely, the "spatial fix" of capital accumulation. Arguing that the "spatial fix," described as the breaking down and reorganization of spatial barriers, is an integral mechanism for the functioning of capitalism, Harvey (1989, p. 190) asserts the primacy of space in Marxist thought:

> Capitalism, Marx insists, necessarily accelerates spatial integration within the world market, the conquest and liberation of space, and the annihilation of space by time. In so doing it accentuates rather than undermines the significance of space. Capitalism has survived, says Lefebvre, 'only by occupying space, by producing space.' The ability to find a spatial fix to its inner contradictions has proven one of its saving graces.

Harvey traces the phenomena of spatial fixes to their manifestations in uneven geographical development, illustrating capital's phoenixlike affinity to rise again by reducing itself to ashes.

The emphasis on uneven geographical development and the spatial fix has enormous currency in terms of its capacity to explain the resource disparity in urban communities. The assertion that processes of capitalist accumulation are materialized in space (thus allowing Harvey to claim an objective historical materialist perspective on the geographies of time and space) allows Marxists to identify the deeper social forces (base) affecting surface phenomena (superstructure). Marxist geography thus provides compelling explanations for the ways in which geographical differentiations in community capacity are shaped by macrostructural forces of capital accumulation. Yet although the insights of Marxist geographers are essential to understanding resource disparity and uneven development, it is incumbent upon scholars of community to augment this perspective with the insights of more contemporary thinkers. By confining explorations of spatial form to repression or resource withdrawal (which prompts left-liberal/progressive activism geared to harness state power for the amelioration of social ills), we lose the capacity to appreciate the ways in which poor communities are both effects and instruments of political power in the contemporary moment (Cruikshank, 1999). I explore these concerns in the concluding section that follows.

GOVERNMENTALITY AND THE GENEALOGY OF COMMUNITY

In the final analysis, we would do well to ask what can be learned from the intellectual history of urban spatial theory, ranging from the ecological, suburbanization, race-based, and Marxist-geographical perspectives. I contend that this intellectual history evinces the crucial significance of Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault for any endeavor in contemporary spatial analysis. As a starting point, I am compelled to elaborate on Lefebvre's notion of *spatial practice*, a concept that highlights the active and dialectical nature of the social production of space. Spatial practices are dynamic principles of organization keyed to dominant social relations of production, as such they embrace "production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets of characteristics of each social formation" (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 33).

Lefebvre's work suggests that in order to understand the new relevance of community in the present, we must consider the spatial practices that both produce and are produced in relation to the passage from one mode of production to another. Inasmuch as each mode of

production is assumed to have its own particular space, the shift from one mode to another (e.g., from Fordism to Flexism, from manufacturing to service sector economy, or from the durable goods of high modernism to the aesthetic economy of the postmodern distraction factory) necessarily entails the production of new space. We can expect, as Lefebvre contends, that social practices will continue to be directly linked to the contemporary moment in capitalism; as such they will express a relationship between global modes of accumulation and spatial outcomes at the local level. We are thus afforded a shift from perceiving communities as mere resource containers, to conceptualizing them as active sites for understanding the present. In the postindustrial age of neoliberalism, this requires a focus on how particular locales become envisaged as communities in order to facilitate the mandates of the postwelfare state.

Further elaboration on the shortcomings of contemporary literature suggests supplementing Lefebvre's work with Michel Foucault's later work on advanced liberalism. As has been well documented, several politicians and scholars have emerged in recent years to lament a certain "decline in civil society" and community values [see, for example, Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone* (2000), and Eli Anderson's *Code of the Streets* (1999)]. In the imaginary of a growing number of policy pundits and think tank provocateurs, this "crisis" of civil society can be linked to myriad social ills, including increases in crime and addiction; reduced confidence in government and electoral processes; and a general civic malaise, apathy, and abdication of responsibility (Hyatt, 2001). As a panacea to this erosion of good citizenship, notions such as community voluntarism, service, and self-help have been dusted off in attempts to rejuvenate a declining yet venerable civil society, which has always stood as the preferred (alternative) to state action, posited historically as an "unequivocal good in American political culture that distrusts government and exalts the individual" (Katz, 2001, p. 165).

Although certainly significant, analyses in this tradition fail to recognize the ways in which civil society has been deployed as a mediating structure between markets and states, thus enabling a certain extension of democracy through the relays and bonds essential for civic engagement and effective democratic governance (Cruikshank, 1999; Rose, 1999). Conventional analysis also obfuscates the proliferation of a new set of discourses that are being deployed in welfare politics, each fundamentally restructuring relations between citizen and state in order to facilitate wide-scale transformations under the economic pressures of globalization. The distinctive features of these strategies have to do with their role in the stimulation of community space through a promotion of autonomy and self-governance. Thinking along these lines leads us to Foucault's (1991) concept of governmentality, which prompts us to conceptualize social configurations of civil society, community, and voluntarism not as self-regulating, autonomous spheres, but rather as technologies that are intimately coupled with the actions and interests of the state.

Foucault's notion of governmentality refers to the rationalities and mentalities of governance as well as the range of tactics and strategies that produce social order vis-à-vis modes of self-regulation (Foucault, 1991). Governmentality encompasses techniques that govern the self as well as society through a set of apparatuses operating across distances of time and space. The concept elucidates the ways in which governance takes place through rather than despite civil liberties, as governments use myriad techniques for the regulation of a carefully calculated freedom (Foucault, 1991). Led by Foucault's later works, several scholars have advanced a literature on spatial governmentality, focusing on the proliferation of regulatory mechanisms that target spaces rather than persons under pressures of globalization and neoliberalism (Davis, 1990; Caldeira, 1999; Merry, 2001; Low, 2001; Smart, 2001). Spatial governmentality theorists reveal new governance strategies focusing on zoning (Merry, 2001), planning (Rotenburg, 2001), policing (Davis, 1990), the built environment (Caldeira, 1999; Low, 2001;

Smart, 2001), and community (Rose, 1999). Each of these works exposes new modes of pro-
duction in contemporary spatial environments that articulate well with the mandates of the
postwelfare state. We are afforded an analysis of the ways that socioeconomic disparities are
reinforced by spatial practices and techniques—often subsidized by banks, businesses, and the
government—that facilitate the restructurings of the neoliberal city.

Foucault's legacy calls us to recognize effects of power not merely for their repressive
force, but for their generative force as well, thereby suggesting that strategies of governmen-
tality can be expected to produce new forms of spatial organization. These spaces depend
upon the presentation of community strategies that rely upon the consensual participatory gov-
ernance of selves, within which decisions can be made freely and voluntarily. Such a focus
also calls upon us to challenge social welfare metaphors that hinge solely on notions of with-
drawal, retrenchment, and devolution. Under this analytical purview, the withdrawal of the
state abandons urban subjects by withdrawing social protections, vis-à-vis an exilic strategy
of indifference, neglect, and uncoupling. This conception has the capacity to blind us to the
ways in which the state extends its power within the context of neoliberal economics, that
is, the ways in which governments under pressure from the global economy redistribute the
disciplines of the world market throughout the interstices of the social body (Gordon, 1991).
This is not to diminish an analytical agenda focused on the retreat from provision of public
services, but rather to supplement these discussions by emphasizing the simple fact that the
state has not ceased all involvement. Conversely, the state has reinvented its role by occupying
various knowledge systems, typically characterized by notions of community participation and
empowerment.

The purchase of these insights is essential based on the shifts in the 1980s and 1990s, which
fomented a sea change in welfare politics. As the New Deal/Great Society coalitions dissolved
under the Reagan/Thatcher revolution, a resoundingly anti-statist politics on both sides of the
political divide took shape, replacing public sector interventions intended to address poverty
through progressive policy measures in favor of community programs geared to actively shape
the poor into self-managing, entrepreneurial, autonomous, and "responsibilized" citizens. It
can be argued that the reliance on voluntarism is historically contiguous with American poverty
politics and welfare policy as well as liberal forms of governance, which have long established
traditions on the premise that an overly activist government diminishes the importance of
community organizations operating in the realm of civil society.

But there is indeed something novel about contemporary community projects aimed at
refashioning the poor into autonomous subjects. Several scholars contend that the rallying
call for notions such as community responsibility is linked to a much more broadly based set
of political processes. Attention to these transformations has prompted urban researchers to
undertake various sites of community and civil society as sites of inquiry, such as community
health campaigns (Paley, 2001), self-esteem programs (Cruikshank, 1999), tenant management
groups (Hyatt, 2001), alcohol policy (Valverde, 1998), and microenterprise training (Goldstein,
2001). These researchers have opened us up to an archeology of neoliberalism and the mech-
anisms through which globalization pulses in its many forms, including the mechanism of
community itself.

In closing, I offer a brief review of Nikolas Rose's (1999) theorization of community as the
"third way," or "third space" of governance, to further adumbrate the purchase of Foucault's
notion of governmentality. Rose chronicles the ways in which policy debates of the 1990s
appealed to this third space as a solution to problems of government. Community space was
envisaged as the appropriate locus for crime control, punishment, psychiatric services, social
welfare, and community policing. Rose is quick to point out that although community has long

been a staple of constitutional and liberal thought dating back to the eighteenth century, its new conception gestates a novel twist. Whatever images of spontaneous, ecological, or natural traits community might have once invoked, it is now clear that community has become a diagram for the reorganization of publicly provided services.

Under the political administrations of Clinton and Blair, community was notably distinct from the bureaucratically organized and professionally staffed community service infrastructure of the 1960s. The newer neoliberal notion of community was infused with notions of voluntarism, charitable works, self-organized care, and unpaid service. The third space under Clinton and Blair became a fertile ground for experimentation and the development of political technologies of government (Rifkin, 1995; Rose, 1999). Community thus becomes a space in which one can observe the "hybridization of political power and other non-political forms of authority," primarily as an attempt "to enframe and instrumentalize the forces of individuals and groups in the name of the public good" (Rose, 1999, p. 171).

Also of great significance, Rose contends that the third space of community is no longer simply a geographical space, a social space, or a space of services. Conversely, it is a moral field binding individuals into lasting relationships through which individual identities are forged via connection to microcultures of values and meanings. This deterritorialization of community maps onto a vast and growing literature on the deterritorialization of states, whereby the restructuring of territorially demarcated forms of state power and the decentralization of nationally scaled forms of state activity are highlighted [see, for example, Brenner et al. (2003), Brenner and Theodore (2002), Hardt and Negri (2000), Liggett and Perry (1995)]. Theorists in this realm sketch the processes by which the nexus between state sovereignty and territoriality is "unbundled," prompting new forms of state spatiality geared to address the regulatory deficits that emerge from political–geographic ruptures (Brenner et al., 2003). Rose envisages community as one such apparatus; and he argues that it is through the political objectification and instrumentalization of this community that government is to be reinvented.

Rose's work draws important questions on community that go beyond the mere distribution of resources, and even beyond questions of race, class, and the ecology of cities. He decries the fact that community discourse is being set forth simultaneously as both a diagnosis of social and economic ills and a solution to them. In light of this normative development, Rose asks, "if community in so many guises and forms is seen as a solution, what is it in our welfare democracies that it is seen as a solution *to*?" He insists that the answer requires us to identify something new taking shape alongside old community arrangements, "something different (that is) threatening or promising to be born" (Rose, 1999, p. 173). This notion of community space emerged as the welfare state was relieved of its powers to know, plan, calculate, and steer from the center. Community, in its stead, is instituted in its contemporary form as a space for government, a technology brought into being to be enlisted and mobilized.

The works of Lefebvre, Foucault, and Rose call upon us to reconceptualize community space as a new mode of production in the postwelfare age. These theorists lead us to different sets of questions, ones that are able to encompass the many ways in which macrostructural mandates are carried out at the microlevel of community. Moving beyond questions of *what is*, as in the case of ecological, race-based, and Marxist analyses of space, these theorists invite us to map questions of the *how*. The elusive shifts of the postwelfare/neoliberal age prompt questions on how welfare restructurings are facilitated through the value systems of poor communities, how notions of community autonomy and responsibility are presupposed in contemporary policy formulation, and how urban communities are made en route to taking up their place in the new urban order.

Such an approach leads us to the ways in which "community" becomes both a spatial and a cultural strategy to solve social problems (resource disparity, social capital, shortages of "capacity"), and political problems (retrenchment, devolution, neoliberal reform). We are afforded the opportunity to indict retrenchment and devolutionary measures, exploring not merely the limitations of voluntarism but also the elusive ways in which community discourse enables a subsidizing of economic restructuring on the backs of poor neighborhoods. What is at stake is the prospect of rethinking the notion of community itself as an engine of welfare retrenchment and neoliberal social welfare policy reform. Such a move produces an inroad not only to the political–economic transformations of late capitalism, but also to the many ways in which these transformations have actively reshaped the regulatory strategies of state and local governments.

NOTES

1. It should be noted that the "Second Chicago School" made several attempts to compensate for the limitations of the LCRC and its enduring legacy. Most notably, Albert Hunter (1974) critically assessed the stability of the "community areas" with a decidedly less prescriptive, pragmatic methodology. Hunter's work pointed to community as a function of shared interest, social cohesion, and racial ideologies. For a more comprehensive account of the second Chicago School's efforts to augment the ecological paradigm of an earlier era, see Venkatesh's article, *Chicago's Pragmatic Planners* (2001).
2. See, for example, Wilson (1996), Massey and Denton (1993), and Anderson (1999).

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Public and Private Space in Urban Areas: House, Neighborhood, and City

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INTRODUCTION

From time immemorial, societies have fashioned informal and formal public and private spaces in their settlements. Public space is "a place accessible to all citizens, for their use and enjoyment" (Jackson, 1974). In contrast, a private place is open to those permitted by law or custom. As it becomes more clear in the following essay, the meaning of the words "accessible," "use," and "enjoyment" is very broad (Francis, 1989). The demarcation of public and private areas, although seemingly sharp is sometimes vague. In addition, different societies at various times in history have placed more or less attention on the creation and maintenance of public space. Public space is important to urban sociologists who recognize that it serves as a setting for community activities or public life, for example, parades, meetings, and informal gatherings. They also observe how it can be a magnet for community organization; for example, groups unite in designing, developing, maintaining, and protecting public spaces. And finally, they see that it can provide a unique identifiable reference that reinforces a sense of belonging to a community; for example, New Yorkers identify with Times Square, Rockefeller Center, Fifth Avenue, and Central Park or Philadelphians resonate to Benjamin Franklin Parkway, Love Park, Fairmount Park, and the steps of the Museum of Art.

The inhabitants of the earliest urban civilizations in Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, China, and Middle America incorporated public and semi-public space in their houses, neighborhoods, and cities. They set it aside in homes built around patios, in streets connecting their neighborhoods, and in ceremonial and commercial spaces in their cities. Through law, custom, and sometimes design, they developed means to ensure the safety and security of these places (Mumford, 1961). Although public space is present in many forms in cities and towns throughout history—from the classical to medieval, renaissance, and industrial periods to the present (Zucker, 1959)—its use has changed over time (Sennett, 1976).

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Today's observers of public space focus on it as an urban phenomenon emerging in conjunction with the modern industrial city. They view its primary function as relieving congestion and crowding in cities [defined as compact permanent settlements having a large, socially heterogeneous population living and working in close proximity; Marshall (2001); Wirth (1938)]. And they also appreciate its ability to provide a locale and source of community organization. They include streets, squares, and parks in their definition of public space, labeling the totality the "public realm" (Garvin, 2002). They view public space as arenas that reflect contemporary community values and attitudes and as places that contribute to urban social life (Jacobs, 1961; Low, 2000; Whyte, 1980).

In the past fifty years, understanding public space has commanded the attention of a virtual army of scholars from many disciplines: social scientists including sociologists, anthropologists, and environmental psychologists (Anderson, 2004; Castells, 2000; Lewis, 1961; Low, 2003,2000; Nasar, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Whyte, 1988,1956); designers including architects, landscape architects, and city planners (Bacon, 1974; Garvin, 2002; Gehl and Gemzøe, 1996; Jacobs, 1993; Lynch, 1960,1981; Marcus, 1998; Olmsted in Beveridge and Hoffman, 1997); and popular observers, including journalists and photographers (Hiss, 1990; Jacobs, 1961; Vergara, 1995). They have traced the functions and uses of public space and documented its changing functions and character.

In general, their questions revolve around the relationship between community organization and the form and use of public space in modern society. They focus on the definition of "public," issues of free speech, safety, ownership, crowding, design processes, and programming. These concerns stem from late nineteenth century sociological inquiry, rooted in the work of German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies (1957) that distinguished behaviors labeled as *gemeinschaft* (community), rooted in family and governed by folkways and customs, and *gesellschaft* (society), based on more complex industrial organization and governed by law and policy. They owe a great deal to the explorations of Louis Wirth (1938) and his colleagues in the Chicago School of Sociology, who in applying Tonnies' concepts to the city, attributed a mode of life to urban features (large, socially heterogeneous, and dense populations) arguing that they weakened *gemeinshaft* ties and strengthened *gesellschaft* tendencies.

In practical terms, Wirth and his followers argued that city dwellers' experiences differed widely from those of rural inhabitants. Although urban residents experience more personal independence and freedom, they have segmented transitory relationships that can lead to "anomia or social void." City people tend to specialize and compete for scarce space in cities. They lose the simple, predictable social order of country life but enjoy multiple complex relationships based on memberships in widely divergent groups. In coming to these conclusions, Wirth considered three interrelated aspects of a city: its "physical structure," its "system of social organization," and its "attitudes and ideas." Although later scholars challenged aspects of Wirth's theories, they have maintained the basic outlines of his argument to frame contemporary thinking about public space (Gans, 1962; Jacobs, 1961; Milgram, 1972). The most enduring refinement is Jacobs' (1961) assertion that in certain circumstances high density in cities supports the *gemeinschaft* paradigm.

As this chapter reviews current thinking about public space, it focuses on its character at different scales: the house, the neighborhood, and the city/suburb. In each instance, it identifies public space and issues related to its physical manifestations, associated social organization, and reflected values and attitudes. Most important it demonstrates examples of where public space affects community life, a sense of community affiliation, and community organization.

THE HOUSE: A MAN'S HOME IS HIS CASTLE

In the United States, seventy-eight percent of all housing units are in metropolitan areas and seventy-six percent of all households live in single-family dwellings, sixty-one percent on lots of a half acre or less (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2004). For the most part, these houses are private places, sanctuaries for the basic societal unit, the family. However, houses do have public space aspects, expressed in their design and site layout. Although under U.S. property law, the public has no access (the right to walk or move in) to privately owned residential land, it does govern certain elements (legally considered a form of public space) including signage, the placement of the dwelling unit on its lot (side, back, and front yards), and its height. It usually regulates this public space through zoning, a local law. Recently, municipalities have extended the public space concept under zoning to limit dwelling size ("anti-mansionization" laws) (Wood, 2005). Proposed zoning changes, especially those that affect the type of public space described above can stimulate negative forms of community organization, often labeled NIMBY (not in my backyard) reactions. Although many motivations stimulate exclusionary behavior including racism and fear of loss of home equity, citizens often see zoning modifications especially those that affect the height and bulk of a building as imposing on the public space associated with their houses and unite in opposition.

Some communities have inserted design guidelines in their building regulations, purposefully promoting community life. The use of design guidelines has grown in popularity with the rise of a school of thought labeled "New Urbanism," articulated by the Congress of New Urbanism and its leading proponents, Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk.[1] New Urbanists employ guidelines that shape residential public and semi-public space to foster stronger community ties, counteract anomia, and prevent crime (Congress for the New Urbanism, 1993; Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 2000). They prescribe four devices: compact development on gridded streets, the backyard alley, the sidewalk, and the porch. Compact development results from outlining very small house lots and narrow side yards.[2] Backyard alleys (for garage access) push houses close to the street. Sidewalks encourage walking and front porches accommodate inhabitants who congregate there. These features increase density (four to twenty dwelling units per acre), heighten human activity, promote visual scrutiny, and provide opportunities for chance meetings and conversations with passersby in public spaces. They posit that these interchanges break down urban anonymity and enhance community life. Houses in Celebration, Florida, Kentlands, Maryland, and Seaside, Florida are representative of this approach as are the house designs in such U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development public housing reconstruction projects (HOPE VI projects) as Martin Luther King Plaza (Philadelphia) and Centennial Place (Atlanta).

The New Urbanists were not the first group to design public space elements in housing for social purposes. Architect Oscar Newman (1972) pioneered an effort to design crime prevention for high-density settlements, coining the name "defensible space." After extensive field work in crime-ridden high-rise public housing projects, he identified three territorial-based concepts: surveillance (increasing visual links between dwelling units and public space), access control (limiting entrances to apartments), and ownership/stewardship (creating public spaces whose size and shape encourages residents to take responsibility for them) and translated them into three specific design features for multifamily housing. They are: constructing low-scale buildings with a limited number of apartment entrances/exits, making apartment lobbies and their mail/delivery rooms visible to the outside, and keeping public areas small so that strangers

or intruders would be easily identifiable. The purpose was to reinforce informal social controls in public space.

In many U.S. regions, especially in high-growth suburbs in the south, southwest, and west, the idea of limiting access to single-family homes and their surrounding public space has gained currency through the emergence of the gated community (see Chapter 16 by Blakely in this *Handbook*). A recent report estimated that only about four percent of U.S. households lived in such places (El Nasser, 2002), however, observers argue that the trend is accelerating (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2003). Households move to gated communities in the belief that they are safe and populated by others having common values. Often associated with the gated community is the common interest development (CID), a group of homes whose public spaces are privately owned and maintained by the residents (McKenzie, 1994). Although a CID may or may not be gated, it always has a structured community organization in the form of the residents' association that provides governance. In both cases the owners or the association limit the accessibility and use of public space.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD: BUILDING BLOCK
OF THE CITY

Thinking about the neighborhood and its public spaces follows a dynamic trajectory responding to America's rapid nineteenth century urbanization and industrialization when developers seeking to accommodate the nation's numerous factory workers in burgeoning cities, especially in the northeast and midwest, built seemingly endless blocks of tenements with little regard for public space. They exhibited no appreciation of the social, economic, or sanitary ramifications of their developments and the cities in which they operated mandated few controls other than basic public hygiene and fire prevention rules.

By the late nineteenth century, housing reformers, often women who likened themselves as "municipal housekeepers," looked to improve these wretched living conditions, first advocating housing regulations focused on improving minimum standards in individual dwellings (e.g., requiring toilets and running water) and, later, focusing on neighborhood development that would provide public open space through dedication of parks, school playgrounds, and the rearrangement of blocks and streets to free up space for recreation (Birch, 1978). Although primarily concerned with public health, the reformers viewed these changes as supportive of family and community life.

The reformers often adapted European precedents to American conditions. Among the most important models was the "garden city" devised by an English clerk, Ebenezer Howard, refined by his British followers, and brought to the United States by a group known as the Regional Plan Association of America (Birch, 2002; Stein, 1951). As translated in the United States in the 1920s in Radburn, New Jersey and in the 1960s in Reston, Virginia and Columbia, Maryland, the American formulation called for the use of the "neighborhood unit," a concept developed by Russell Sage Foundation analyst Clarence Perry (1929). Focused around a grade school serving as a community center and placed a walkable quarter mile from the borders, the neighborhood unit incorporated a hierarchical street system that funneled traffic away from housing and a minimum of ten percent of the land in public open space for use as recreation and parks.

As employed at Radburn and in later developments, the neighborhood unit would incorporate housing on small plots clustered around large public spaces interlaced with pedestrian paths leading to the school and other community facilities. Through street and site planning, it

controlled the automobile that transported workers to downtown jobs from their decentralized residences, limited private space, apportioned maximum public space, and promoted safe walking environments. These features purported to expand opportunities for social interaction in the strategically placed public space. Ultimately, the developers turned the public space over to the residents who formed a Radburn Association to maintain the space. This association soon expanded its mission to sponsor community activities and became a full-fledged community organization that exists to this day. Labeled the "Radburn Idea," community builders later incorporated it in government-sponsored public housing projects in the United States and abroad but the model never became universal (Birch, 1980).[3]

At about the same time, contrasting visions of public space emerged in the work of notable architects, Le Corbusier (La Ville Radieuse) and Frank Lloyd Wright (Broadacre City) (Fishman, 1982). The former developed the superblock and tower-in-the-park concepts that used public space as a setting for sculptured buildings in residential and commercial neighborhoods whereas the latter emphasized private open space in low-density residential districts (every home on one acre) at the expense of public space. These visions would prove to be extremely influential in the mid- to late-twentieth century as city planners, urban designers, and architects incorporated them into their work, leaving a legacy of stark, skyscraper-dominated downtowns and sprawling suburbs, all having inferior public space from the point of view of accessibility, usage, and enjoyment.

By mid-century, journalist Jane Jacobs blasted these three types of neighborhoods in her influential bestseller, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). Focusing on civic life and public space, she celebrated the features of her own Greenwich Village, New York neighborhood as the ideal. She analyzed how the public space found in its dense mixed use (residential, commercial, and institutional) and walkable (short blocks arranged in a gridiron pattern) design assured the presence of people round the clock. "The resulting crowded sidewalks and well-populated parks," she argued, nourished community life, social interchange, and public safety. Furthermore, she asserted, as these conditions created informal not formal social controls, they yielded strong vibrant communities and sustained the neighborhood networks to provide "the city's irreplaceable social capital" (Jacobs, p. 138). Jacobs' work transformed thinking about the value of these arrangements.

While Jacobs was praising urban life, Americans deserted their cities, building their homes and businesses in the outlying suburban areas. This migration had two major consequences pertaining to public space: the rise of abandoned property in urban neighborhoods resulting in a number of responses and the creation of suburban neighborhoods with poor-grade public space.

In 2000, with approximately fifteen percent of U.S. central city land vacant (Pagano and Bowman, 2000), community activists responded with the development of communally cultivated and maintained gardens (American Community Gardening Association, 1998). Emerging in low-income neighborhoods with high levels of vacant property, especially in the northeast and midwest, community gardens perform many public space functions. They provide actual products (vegetables, fruit, flowers), act as a means to build social capital as neighbors collaborate in these projects, and serve as "defensible space," populating lots that might otherwise become trash-laden or harbor criminal activities (Schukoske, 2000). Across the United States community organizations such as New York's Green Guerrillas have arisen to support them and, in some instances, venerable civic groups, such as the Philadelphia Horticultural Society, have reshaped their missions to allocate funds, provide training, and offer technical assistance to neighborhood groups for their gardens. The Green Guerillas, for example, founded in 1973 by a young artist who reclaimed a rubble-strewn lot in the slum-ridden Lower East Side,

grew from a small, volunteer-run neighborhood association focused on a single garden to a citywide professionally run group providing horticultural assistance to more than 200 grass-roots community garden organizations, running two youth leadership programs related to the environment and art, and sponsoring community organizers working on political empowerment with local groups (Green Guerrillas, 2006).

In another type of response to the vacant property issue is the emergence of random voluntary groups, often nonmainstream ones, users and guardians of derelict public spaces. A recent study of this phenomenon in a Brooklyn, New York neighborhood revealed a tuba band, roller blade club, sculptor and followers, flame-eaters, and a band of homeless sharing a multiacre abandoned shipping yard (Campo, 2004). The land in question, once privately owned but transferred to the municipality for lack of tax payment, functioned as a "guerrilla" public space with the groups listed above accessing, using, and modifying it without the knowledge of a responsible public agency. However, when the city reclaimed the space, major conflict arose.

Finally, the study of the ongoing theme of crime prevention in public space, especially in areas of high land vacancy, has led to the so-called "Broken Windows" theory, a philosophy that calls for immediate attention to visibly neglected property and petty crime (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Its advocates demand repair of broken windows (a "plug" name for any sign of neglect such as widespread graffiti, abundance of trash, or abandoned vehicles, and the tolerance of small violations of law) whose presence signals an absence of stewardship that can lead to avoidance of an area, subsequent popular withdrawal (and loss of "eyes on the street"), and abandonment of a public space.

Moving to the issue of public space in suburbs draws attention to the fact that in these peripheral settlements the social heterogeneity and density that characterize the city environment are largely missing. Furthermore, in private-space-dominated, auto-served suburban neighborhoods sidewalks and local parks are more absent than present. Consequently, what suburban public space exists (streets, park systems, and semi-public facilities such as school playgrounds and shopping malls with their associated parking lots) not only differs in purpose and use from the city types but also receives far less design attention than their urban counterparts. In many cases suburban public space is dysfunctional (Kunstler, 1993). Although serving as places where behavior is observable by all, fewer people are watching. Although offering space for social interaction, other places or organizations often substitute. Although being open, the relief from the surroundings is less useful because of the spread-out nature of suburban development (Gans, 1967; Jackson, 1985). Recently, designers have sought ways to incorporate more functional public space in the suburbs, often focusing on shaping "downtowns" and pedestrian ways (Barnett, 2003,1995; Kelbaugh, 2002; Vernez-Moudon, 1991).

THE CITY: PUBLIC SPACE

Public space at the city level pertains to downtown activities and city/regional open space systems, and incorporates streets, plazas, and parks. In many modern cities shopping malls, public atria, and citywide facilities such as public libraries, schools, convention centers, and stadiums have public space components.

How people access, use, and modify public space often provides an environment in which to study community organization. Contemporary demographic shifts, including immigration, greater recognition of the disabled, evolving land uses and regulatory functions, and issues of mobility and technology are factors that define public space functions. Instances of civil

disorder and threats of terrorism as well as changing views of participatory democracy in the design process affect public space in many ways. The former has decreased accessibility and usage whereas the latter has enhanced individuals' sense of ownership and belonging.

In cities, especially those experiencing immigration, public spaces have new meanings as residents redefine them to suit their habits. For example, streets take on an identifiable ethnic character when, as is customary in the countries from which they come, vendors spill out of stores or set up independent stands on sidewalks; parks support such new sports as soccer and cricket, tae kwon do exercises, or barbecues enlivened by Latino music. Not only are these activities emblematic of community organization in the broadest sense but also can become the basis of action in the political arena as groups advocate for their public space needs at the municipal, and sometimes state or federal, levels.

The U.S. Americans with Disabilities Act (1990) mandates wheelchair accessibility for public space resulting in modifications to its appearance and more opportunities for its use. Some examples are curb-free crosswalks, ramps to bypass stairs, modified public rest rooms, lowered public telephone stands, and other amenities. The existence of this legislation is testimony to the organizational efforts of the handicapped community.

In the late twentieth century cities experienced radical changes in land use as their economies shifted from manufacturing to service activities and the retail and office activities in their downtowns diminished. These resulting socioeconomic transformations yielded land and buildings available for adaptive reuse and redevelopment. Formerly industrial waterfronts, for example, were suddenly attractive as public space (Garvin, N.D). Municipalities rushed to develop these areas in order to accommodate new populations, sometimes labeled the "creative class" (Florida, 2002). Composed of young urban professionals, students, and empty-nesters, this group who began to populate downtowns or inner-city neighborhoods formed loss communities, clamoring for more amenities in their cities including attractive public space (Birch, 2005b).

Some municipalities, seeking to shift the burden for the provision and maintenance of public space or simply wishing to provide incentives to real estate developers, have traded additional floor space allowed under zoning for the provision of public space (Barnett, 1974; Kayden, 2000; Whyte, 1980). Under these arrangements, the law mandates the public use of the space but allows the developer to negotiate limits, typically similar to those the municipality itself might employ [e.g., hours of operation, types of uses; Birch (1996)]. Monitoring individual landowners' adherence to these public space rules has proved to be difficult (Kayden, 2000). In addition, some public space agreements have become increasingly complex, going beyond the simple provision of a plaza to include public facilities such as a public library or transit station. These kinds of arrangements have been controversial with some observers decrying dominance of the corporate over civic character in these public spaces (Nader, 2003).

Technology has had a vast effect on the nature of public space. For example, the advent of the automobile with its demand for accessibility transformed urban public spaces and led to the widening of boulevards or streets, often absorbing sidewalks, diminishing the public spaces, making them treacherous to walkers (Jacobs, 1993; Jacobs, 1961). Pedestrian activity by choice or necessity declined. One effect of lower foot traffic was the weakening of retail thus contributing to the downward spiral of the urban street experience and even the functional redefinition of downtowns (Isenberg, 2004). (Of course, other trends such as suburban retail migration, the evolution of the shopping mall, and the outward movement of office jobs were also factors.) The widespread adoption of the modern or International Style office and residential building exacerbated these conditions yielding severely dysfunctional public space, inaccessible and user-unfriendly (Barnett, 2003). Today's technological changes include the

rise of Internet and networked communications. Some observers posit virtual space replacing physical public spaces with a loss of community organization and social interaction that currently occurs in public space (Castells, 2000).

The types of social interaction and broad community organization that public space supports range from the formal to the informal. Urban streets and parks, for example, become venues for the exercise of free speech, voluntary association actions, and/or group pride. From the historic 1960s "March on Washington" to the annual ethnic or voluntary group parades in many cities, these public spaces allow for mass congregation. The ability of groups to assemble and proclaim their allegiance or identity strengthens their ties to their communities. Global communications, especially worldwide television, enhances the impact of the events and, in turn, reinforces the sense of community. In the event that a group is seeking publicity for a cause, it endeavors to attract media attention.

Public spaces also serve as places for celebration, commemoration, and display, highlighting community values. For example, centrally located plazas become the locales for war memorials, holiday exhibits, and public art, and often have associated assemblages for special occasions. These kinds of activities heighten the importance of specific public spaces, giving them high symbolic significance. Anthropologists caution that this very symbolism comes with layers of meaning that affect diverse groups differently. Thus, signage, design, and facilities can play a role in peoples' use and enjoyment of public space (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003).

Public spaces can spawn negative social activities. They can become the focus of community tension related to territoriality or occupation of an area, especially under competitive conditions. The typical example is confrontation between the elderly or mothers with children and teenagers who all enjoy using the same section of a park but may come in conflict when the juveniles' boisterous enjoyment disturbs the others. A more difficult scenario involves the homeless. Municipalities have varying approaches to this issue, some, like New York City, being very restrictive and others, like San Francisco, being more tolerant of the homeless' use of public space. In some downtowns, the presence of a relatively new type of organization, the business improvement district leaders, has resulted in higher levels of control blending limitations and social service/shelter programs (Houstoun, 2003, Hoyt, 2001).

Although informal controls can ameliorate benign community disputes, more intractable situations arise when anti-social groups such as drug dealers, gangs, or others engaged in criminal activities take over public spaces whether they are streets, parks, or plazas (Anderson, 1999). Civil disorders or street riots are extreme cases of this phenomenon. Crime and disorder prevent vulnerable individuals' use of public space even under the most severe conditions. For example, in 1995 in a week-long heatwave in Chicago, hundreds of low-income people died in their unairconditioned apartments, unable or unwilling to escape to cooler public spaces (Klinenberg, 2002).

Two recent phenomena, terrorism threats and increased citizen participation in design, have had opposite effects on the perception and use of public space. At one extreme, highly symbolic or heavily used public spaces are now potential terrorist targets. In response, governing bodies have erected barriers to entry, hired guards, or otherwise inserted heavier controls on their uses and users than formerly. These precautions have limited use, contribute to disaffection among users, and tend to cancel the benefits of public space. Public space has traditionally accommodated a wide range of behaviors, but now, under more scrutiny, it is less capable of doing so. At the other extreme, public space designers are increasingly involving users in their plans either through observation (Zeisel, 1981) or direct citizen participation (Faga, 2006; Project for Public Places, 1984). Public meetings, charrettes (drawing exercises), and negotiated agreements are part of the process.

One extreme example was a lengthy process that led to the 4000-person public meeting, "Listening to New York," held in 2002 to scrutinize and modify the proposals (each of which had an enormous public space component) for the reconstruction of the World Trade Center (Birch, 2005a). Although the New York example is exceptional for its scale, it is representative of the trend to include citizens in all phases of design (Faga, 2006). Notably, citizen participation in these instances takes many forms including individual and group input. In recent years, civic groups have emerged to take an active role in articulating the so-called public interest in these efforts. Examples from just one city are the Project for Public Places that has an international reach, the Regional Plan Association that monitors metropolitan public space issues in a metropolitan area, encompassing three states, and the Municipal Art Society that has a city scope. One result of high levels of participation is an increase in usage and a stronger sense of ownership in the area (Faga, 2006).

CONCLUSION

Modern urban public space serves as a locale for social interaction and a stage or subject for community activities and organization. Public space exists at many scales—in the home, neighborhood, and city—and serves differing functions related to its size, location, and design. At its best, it serves as a means to counteract the negative aspects of city life by providing an environment for formal and informal group activities. Good public space is malleable and allows its users to take or give it meaning and definition. At its worst, public space acts as a magnet for conflict where disagreeing individuals or groups display harmful social behavior.

Over time, designers have endeavored to create public spaces to support positive and minimize negative aspects of urban life, inventing and testing devices to make public spaces safe, accessible, and sociable. These experiments are ongoing with current efforts focusing on issues of finance and maintenance, privatization and public/private partnerships, and promotion of safety in a world threatened by terrorism. These challenges may limit its access, use, and enjoyment. At the opposite end of the scale are more positive public space trends, ones that strengthen their role in supporting community organizations including emerging use of vacant land as community gardens, increased citizen participation in planning and design, and a rising consciousness of the importance of all public space elements, the public realm, in urban life.

NOTES

1. Other labels are: neotraditional town planning, and traditional neighborhood development (TND).
2. They also endeavor to include a nearby shopping center, school, and other amenities such as open space that can be reached on foot.
3. The Radburn idea would have transatlantic applications in the British New Town Program developed after World War Two.

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CHAPTER 8

The Development of Community Information Systems to Support Neighborhood Change

DENNIS CULHANE AND BRADLEY BREUER

INTRODUCTION

"Community information systems" are becoming an increasingly common way to distribute administrative data from local governments. These Web-based systems are using these administrative data to create and distribute valuable community and social indicator data to concerned individuals, social service organizations, community development professionals, and planners. Using the infrastructure provided by Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software and the Internet, these systems distribute important and detailed neighborhood data via maps, tables, and sometimes downloadable files. Some also provide analysis tools for users to manipulate or extract key neighborhood indicator data. Such systems have become popular in some municipal agencies because they are inexpensive and don't require desktop GIS software or expertise (Hillier, McKelvey, and Wernecke, forthcoming).

GIS is often defined as a computerized database management system that can capture, store, retrieve, analyze, and display spatial data. Any data that include information about location—be it a street address, zip code, census tract, or longitude and latitude coordinates—can be considered spatial. Many different types of data can be integrated into GIS and represented as a map layer. When these layers are drawn on top of each other, spatial patterns and relationships often emerge. The most common GIS product is a map, but GIS can be used to generate tabular answers to queries or can be included in a spatial statistical analysis. GIS is also used as a scientific tool in interdisciplinary research that combines elements of geography, cartography, and computer science. Thought of in this way, GIS is a way of representing or modeling the world in a spatial framework. GIS technology was originally developed to model the natural world: land masses and bodies of water, elevation, temperature, soil composition, and suitable habitats for animals. More recently, social scientists have begun applying these tools—and this way of thinking—to understanding the social and built environments, and their

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impacts on health, development, and behavior. These technologies form the infrastructural core of online community information systems.

Among a variety of offerings, these community information systems typically have census data, city administrative records, economic and social indicator data, and important housing and poverty indicators. With the availability of the Internet, these systems have significantly increased access to many data sources that previously were either inaccessible or required expert knowledge. Similarly, providing these data with a geographic interface and analysis tools has allowed end-users to access or analyze data in a more intuitive way, as compared to other tabular organizations of data. Community information systems have added to the richness of information that is available to community organizers, social workers, local leaders, and community organizations and it has been especially helpful to those engaged in neighborhood development. New audiences for these data, including commercial entities, continue to emerge as data and tools expand.

Despite the vast improvement of these online systems and their increasing availability, many barriers to access and use exist. Even people who have access to the Internet may not have the technological skills to fully utilize these burgeoning technologies or be knowledgeable regarding the potential applications. In many cases, users are familiar with the technical functionality of a community information system, but lack the ability to use the data they extract for policy, planning, or intervention. Other users seek more advanced functionality such as the ability to export data for use in their own GIS or statistical software. The range of technical skills among end-users requires training and outreach suitable to the needs and abilities of users to be a central requirement for any successfully deployed community information system.

Implementers of a community information system application also need to consider data quality issues and appropriate data to include in such an online system. Who should decide what data elements to include and at what geographic level data should be disclosed? How can community information systems provide valuable data but still protect confidentiality? Furthermore, given the nature of administrative data, are sufficient quality audits in place to ensure that data are reliable and useful to end-users? Similarly, to what extent are users aware of the data's limitations?

These questions represent some of the challenges faced by those engaged in developing and administering community information systems. As users and uses of these online systems grow, critical questions about their reliability and robustness must be answered. This chapter discusses how users access and use small area data in accomplishing their work. The Philadelphia Neighborhood Information System (NIS) is used as a case study to examine ways to address barriers that have traditionally restricted access to data and ways that the Cartographic Modeling Lab at the University of Pennsylvania has sought to reach out to users and to provide technical assistance. The chapter concludes by suggesting future areas of research for overcoming barriers to data access and for promoting further use of community information systems.

THE PHILADELPHIA NEIGHBORHOOD INFORMATION SYSTEM

The Neighborhood Information System was developed by the Cartographic Modeling Lab (CML) at the University of Pennsylvania. The CML is an interdisciplinary research center that

applies GIS and spatial analysis to social policy analysis, teaching, and research with a special focus on Philadelphia. Principal investigators from across the University of Pennsylvania have access to the lab's hardware, software, and data warehouse investments as well as method-ological expertise. The CML is funded primarily through research grants from foundations and public institutions, and by contracts for services and application development. The NIS is just one of several successful city–university partnerships designed to distribute administrative data in a user-friendly and Internet-based interface. Other such partnerships include community information systems at the Case Western Reserve University (2004; Cleveland Area Network for Data and Organizing), New York University (2004; New York City Housing and Infor-mation System), and the University of California (Neighborhood Knowledge Los Angeles). Similar systems in Chicago (Chicago Neighborhood Early Warning System) and Milwau-kee (Map Milwaukee) provide similar data access systems for community groups and private citizens.

The NIS started in 1998 as a three-year project funded with $900,000 from the Pew Charitable Trusts, the William Penn Foundation, and the University of Pennsylvania. Today the NIS relies heavily on the generous funding from the William Penn Foundation and the City of Philadelphia. Maintaining the applications, updating data, adding new functionality, training, and publicity costs approximately $150,000 per year. Funding for PhillySiteFinder, one of the applications that makes up the NIS, comes from the Pennsylvania Environmental Council and a grant from the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission's Transportation and Community Development Initiative (TCDI). A wide range of resources including university–city partnerships, foundation support, and government grants are available to organizations seeking to implement a community information system.

The NIS provides data for the city of Philadelphia, which is coterminous with Philadelphia County. Users can access the system at http://www.cml.upenn.edu/nis. Technical requirements for using the system are kept to a minimum; most users only need an Internet browser such as Microsoft's Internet Explorer or Netscape's Internet Navigator and a connection to the Internet. Given the widespread availability of the Internet in homes, schools, workplaces, and libraries, a vast majority of Philadelphians have access to the Neighborhood Information System. Outreach and training are used to promote the use of the system.

The NIS is comprised of five applications: the parcelBase Web site (address-level housing data), the neighborhoodBase Web site (aggregate housing and demographic data), muralBase (information on the 2000 murals in Philadelphia), crimeBase (five years of crime data), and PhillySiteFinder (an inventory of vacant and underutilized commercial and industrial sites in several Philadelphia neighborhoods). NIS users can research individual properties; run queries to locate comparables; plan, site, and evaluate housing development programs; and study neighborhood conditions with user-defined maps, charts, and reports. The integrated database also supports academic research on housing, social indicators, public health, school achievement, and environmental science. Applications under development include schoolBase, a utility for distributing information about schools and children, and a social service locator system.

The NIS also directly supports the broad policy analysis and planning efforts of the City of Philadelphia's Neighborhood Transformation Initiative (NTI), which seeks to "renew and strengthen entire communities, to ensure quality housing, clean and secure streets and vibrant cultural and recreational outlets" (City of Philadelphia, 2004). The NIS is a data management and research tool used by staff members responsible for NTI as well as hundreds of users not directly affiliated with the city's initiative. In some cases, the NIS is the only way that city

TABLE 8.1. Data Providers and Data Elements in the Neighborhood Information System

Data Provider	Data Type
Board of Revision of Taxes	Owner name, type of property, sale date, sale price, assessed value, exterior condition
Department of License and Inspections	Demolition, clean and seal date, housing code violations, vacancy status
Philadelphia Revenue Department	Current tax bill, tax arrearages, lien sale status
Water Revenue Bureau	Water shutoffs, water bill arrearages, vacancy status
Office of the Fire Marshall	Date of fires, cause of fires, type of investigation
Gas Works	Gas shutoff date, vacancy status, bill arrearages
Office of Housing and Community Development	Community foot surveys, digital photographs
United States Post Office	Vacancy status
Police Department	Crime incidents (several hundred classifications of crime)
Mural Arts Program	Mural location, artist, artist contact, photograph
Mayors Office of Information Service	Parks, recreation centers, other layers
City Planning Commission	Parcel layer (spatial)
Streets Department	Street layer (spatial)

employees are able to view the data of their own or other city departments. Given the importance of the NIS to the city of Philadelphia, city agencies have remained an active partner in providing data updates and funding for the project. Many other users including librarians, community health organizations, and educators who use the NIS for reasons not directly connected to NTI.

ParcelBase was the first of the applications developed by the CML and gives users access to address level data. parcelBase is a data warehouse that integrates data on over 500,000 parcels, or properties. Users can access data on any parcel in Philadelphia by typing an address. In most cases, the address entered can be interpreted by the master address table, which tries to account for common misspellings and abbreviations, and users are provided with information on the property that includes its ownership, sales listing, utility and tax information, basic property description, vacancy indicators, and fire history. In addition to this standard information, the parcelBase provides foot survey information and photographs collected by community groups for and uploaded by the CML. Table 8.1 shows the specific data elements and data source for the NIS.

In addition to the traditional sources of administrative data, the NIS utilizes several spatial data sources. Spatial data are electronic files that tell cartographers the location of properties, parks, streets, and other components of the built environment. These data elements are included in Table 8.1, and highlight that well-maintained spatial data such as streets and parcel maps are critical to the mapping component of the online application. The agency attribute data from municipal agencies are updated on a quarterly basis, census data are updated every ten years, and spatial data are updated when new map layers become available.

parcelBase is a password-protected site that is currently restricted to City of Philadelphia employees and nonprofit organizations that are approved by the City of Philadelphia Office of Housing and Community Development (OHCD). Since the project began, OHCD has approved nearly every request for NIS access from a nonprofit organization. The application will be public access in the future, giving the general public access to much of parcelBase's data.

Currently parcelBase creates a barrier for private developers and investors, who are not given access to the system and to a lesser extent for nonprofits because they must apply to OHCD for access.

NeighborhoodBase gives users access to many of the same data elements in parcelBase, but the data are presented at various aggregate levels rather than at the individual address level. NeighborhoodBase provides census data in a format that is much more user-friendly than the Census Bureau's download Web site (United States Census Bureau). The online mapping, reporting, and data analysis tools in neighborhoodBase can be used to focus on a specific council district, elementary school feeder area, neighborhood, zip code, census tract, or block group. Users can draw comparisons between individual neighborhoods or compare local conditions to the city as a whole. Drawing upon physical, demographic, and real property data, neighborhoodBase users have a planning tool that greatly enhances their ability to start new programs, manage resources, and target interventions. NeighborhoodBase is publicly accessible and can be used by anyone with an Internet connection and Internet browser.

MuralBase is an interactive database and Web site showcasing hundreds of murals produced by Philadelphia's Mural Arts Program since 1990. Visitors to the muralBase Web site can search for murals by theme, artist's name, zip code, or year, as well as through a map interface similar to the other NIS applications. The community mural projects it documents are significant both as public art and as neighborhood redevelopment initiatives. Over 2000 murals have been painted on the sides of buildings that serve as canvases for public art in Philadelphia. Having thoroughly documented vacancy and abandonment in Philadelphia through the other NIS applications, muralBase is an effort to document the positive redevelopment that is occurring in the city. It is also an effort to provide virtual access to a wide range of community art installations. MuralBase is publicly accessible and can be used by anyone with an Internet connection and Internet browser.

CrimeBase, released in April 2004, is a publicly accessible application that provides online mapping, reporting, and data analysis tools for crime data from the Philadelphia Police Department (PPD) in a similar form to neighborhoodBase. Users can create tables, maps, charts, queries, summary statistics, or trends and can create their own geographic boundaries by defining a neighborhood and producing aggregated statistics for that area. Users can download much of the data for free and the CML shares revenue with the PPD, for fees paid by researchers who require specialized data tabulations.

PhillySiteFinder, released in July 2004, is a publicly accessible, Web-based mapping application developed in conjunction with the Pennsylvania Environmental Council (PEC), the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission, and the City of Philadelphia Commerce Department. The application is designed to provide potential investors with information on an inventory of vacant and underutilized commercial and industrial sites in the Kensington, Richmond, Bridesburg, and Fishtown neighborhoods of Philadelphia. Users can search for parcels and uncover details including size, past sales, property assessment information, data from the Environmental Protection Agency, photographs, and zoning classification.

The Neighborhood Information System contains a wealth of data about Philadelphia. Because so many data are available, choices about what to include in the system are critical. In particular, the U.S. Census provides hundreds of data elements that might be included in any community information system. Choices to include information on race, poverty, income, and housing are represented in the data elements selected for this system. Table 8.2 shows the various data elements in the system. Most data elements include both the raw number and the

TABLE 8.2. Sample Data Elements in the Neighborhood Information System

Sample Data Elements
African Americans, number, 2000
Arson/incendiary fires, percent, 1992–2004
Asians, number, 2000
Bachelor's degree, over 25, number, 2000
Children under 18, number, 2000
City-owned properties, number
Condominiums, number
Fires on property, number, 1992–2004
High school diploma, over 25, number, 2000
Hispanics, number, 2000
Household income, median, 2000
Households, number, 2000
Housing units, occupied, number, 2000
Housing units, owner occupied, number, 2000
Housing units, renter occupied, number, 2000
Income below 100% poverty level, number, 2000
Income below 200% poverty level, number, 2000
Industrial properties, number
L+I clean/sealed properties, number, 4/2004
L+I demolished properties, number, 1992–2004
L+I housing code violation properties, number, 4/2004
Lien sales for delinquent taxes, number
Mortgage housing costs, monthly, median, 2000
Multifamily properties, number
Owner households, income <$20k, number, 2000
Owners paying >30% income on housing, number, 2000
PHA-owned properties, number
PWD assistance program, number in
PWD senior discount program, number in
RDA-owned properties, number
Rent, monthly, median, 2000
Renter households, income <$20k, number, 2000
Renters paying >30% income on rent, number, 2000
Residential sale price, median, 2002
Residential sale price, percent change, 2001–2002
Vacant buildings, L+I survey, number, 2000
Vacant properties, L+I survey, number, 2000
Vacant properties, USPS, number listed as, 1/2004
Vacant residential, L+I survey, number, 2000
Water service shutoffs, number,
Whites, number, 2000
Year structure built, median

percent of total. NeighborhoodBase and crimeBase include several hundred data elements and for this reason only a partial list is included here.

Table 8.3 shows the predefined geographic levels at which data are aggregated in the Neighborhood Information System. Census statistical units, such as census tracts and block groups, and governmental units, such as council districts and elementary school feeder areas, may not be how all users understand the boundaries of their neighborhood, study area, or

TABLE 8.3. Predefined Geographic Aggregations

Geographic Division	Number of Divisions
Council districts	10
Elementary school catchments	173
Neighborhoods	69
Zip codes	47
Census tracts (2000)	381
Census blockgroups (2000)	1816
Police districts[a]	25
Police sectors[a]	419

[a]Indicates geography available only in crime application.

service area. To overcome this barrier the NIS has developed a user-defined neighborhood function that allows users to define the boundaries of their neighborhood and receive custom data aggregations for their area. This innovation and other improved online functionalities are described later in this chapter.

Typology of NIS Users

The NIS is used by City of Philadelphia employees, private citizens, students, researchers, community-based organizations, community development corporations (CDCs), and other nonprofit organizations. The NIS has many thousands of hits per month and can be measured both in terms of overall use and number of users. Each month the NIS receives about 75,000 data requests. A data request is equal to someone requesting a map or table or someone mapping an individual address. In a typical session, one user might make several dozen data requests. During a typical month, the parcelBase system will handle about 2500 logins to utilize the application. NIS users represent 34 city agencies and 229 nonprofit organizations. There are over 1100 individual parcelBase accounts, suggesting that there are on average five users per organization. Roughly half of users are city employees and the remaining half are employees of nonprofit organizations. ParcelBase use can be tracked by number of users because a login is required of users; however, tracking neighborhoodBase is significantly harder because there is no login requirement. Evidence from training suggests that nonprofits and educational institutions make up the bulk of neighborhoodBase, muralBase, and crimeBase users (Hillier, McKelvey, and Wernecke, 2006).

Uses of the NIS range from simple property queries to look up ownership information on a specific property to sophisticated gathering of neighborhood characteristics for a particular area in Philadelphia. Many city users simply use the NIS to view data from multiple city agencies or to do research for condemnation purposes. Other nonprofit organizations have used the neighborhoodBase application to write grants for community development.

The City of Philadelphia Finance Department uses the Philadelphia Neighborhood Information System to determine property ownership information. The department is responsible for processing tickets for false fire alarm activations, "trash out early" violations, and other sanitation code violations. Locating the owner of a particular property using paracelBase is useful to the department because the department has to send violation notices. Often, properties are not in the city database maintained by the Finance Department, and by using the parcel

map the Finance Department is able to locate the property and contact the owner. Finance Department users utilize the map interface to locate properties where the address might be unknown or is unclear, for example, if a complaint were filed by a resident about someone who was directly behind their property. The department is a transactional user of the system, insofar as they have a very defined work flow that requires them to use the NIS for a routine and usual service that would otherwise require visits to the field. Local community groups, local officials, and caring individuals can also access property owners and initiate improvement projects.

The Philadelphia Department of Public Health Vector Control Services has been using the Neighborhood Information System to help control the spread of the West Nile Virus, a potentially deadly virus spread by mosquitoes. Mosquitoes breed over water and so substantial problems are posed by private residential pools, water reservoirs, and areas prone to flooding in urban areas. Using observations made in the field, the Health Department has used parcelBase to determine who owns vulnerable properties and to determine locations to spray pesticides.

For example, the Health Department identified 2901 South 84th Street as a potential mosquito breeding area because it has a tendency to flood. Mosquito surveillance in the area found mosquitoes that tested positive for the West Nile Virus. This area is an elementary school and the health department is not allowed to spray school grounds with pesticide to kill mosquitoes. To overcome this problem they used the Neighborhood Information System to determine the precise boundaries of the school parcel—it is a wooded area and the parcel boundaries are not immediately clear—so that they could determine an alternate spraying location. They were able to located areas nearby the school and thus provide mosquito abatement without violating procedures and regulations or harming young school children.

When the Health Department receives complaints about properties with pools that breed mosquitoes, they visit the site to investigate. If they are not able to gain access to the property or speak with the owner, they use the Neighborhood Information System to find the responsible party. Properties with pools are also identified by the City's Community Life Improvement Program (CLIP) during fly-alongs in the police helicopter unit. In this case, the NIS is used to look up ownership information. In the case of vacant lots, which are often very good breeding grounds for mosquitoes, the Health Department finds the NIS very useful in identifying the owner of the vacant lot. The Health Department also uses Microsoft Streets and Trips in their work, and this program often fails to identify some of the city's smaller streets. The NIS is a resource they turn to for more accurate street data in this case. The Health Department Vector Control Services also sees valuable use of the neighborhoodBase application in grant writing and proposals. As the need arises for demographic information, they plan to use the Neighborhood Information System to analyze neighborhoods and parts of Philadelphia. The health department is another transactional user of the system, because they enter with very specific address-level concerns.

The South of South Neighborhood Association (SOSNA) has found the Neighborhood Information System helpful in renewing their community. In SOSNA's neighborhood, residents have renovated a block and a half of land. The residents have turned this formerly blighted stretch of land into a beautiful community garden. The enclosed garden consists of stone walkways, neatly organized gardens, a pond, and over thirty trees that were planted by the residents. This particular stretch of land was placed on the City's condemnation list. The residents were upset and felt that numerous other properties should have been condemned instead, because they were hazardous to the community. SOSNA has recently used the NIS to identify the owners of each individual parcel that makes up the community garden. SOSNA has taken this information to their City Council representative asking for the community's voice

to be heard in the condemnation process. SOSNA is advocating for this community garden to be saved by adding it to the City's land trust. The response has been favorable, but the issue is still pending. However, the NIS has allowed this community to research the area and build a case to impede the demolition process. This community group has utilized their access to the Neighborhood Information System in advocacy efforts to ensure a fair process in the City of Philadelphia's Neighborhood Transformation Initiative.

The University of Pennsylvania has fifteen libraries, located throughout the campus, housing a collection of over 4.5 million volumes. The Van Pelt–Dietrich Library includes an undergraduate center, which is open for study all night during the fall and spring semesters. Lounges, study carrels, group study and seminar rooms, and over one hundred fifty public computers for student use are located in the center. The Van Pelt Library Center holds the University's main social sciences and humanities collections and is considered to be the most frequently used library at the University. Van Pelt librarians are responsible for assisting students, faculty, and administrators of the University in their search for information.

The University of Pennsylvania's Van Pelt Library staff use the neighborhoodBase to assist patrons seeking access to neighborhood-level data for research and activism. Students are often involved in community activities that require them to investigate their surrounding environment. Students are also required to write reports and conduct research projects that focus on particular communities within the City of Philadelphia. NeighborhoodBase has been utilized by many patrons to pull demographic information about Philadelphia neighborhoods. Prior to giving patrons access to the Neighborhood Information System, librarians spent many hours teaching students to extract data from the United States Census Web site. The use of neighborhoodBase gives patrons access to data at a finer geographic level and a user-friendly Web interface. Librarians are gateways to many potential users and their value in outreach and training cannot be stressed enough.

Located in West Philadelphia, the Friends of Clark Park is a volunteer association dedicated to improving Clark Park, the largest green space in University City. The diversity of the organization reflects the diversity of University City, as it unites students, university faculty and staff, families, and representatives of major institutions within University City in caring for the park. Through its involvement, the Friends of Clark Park transformed the open area from an overgrown park to an active and welcoming space.

The Friends of Clark Park relies extensively on the Neighborhood Information System to reach its mission of public space maintenance and education. Because of its volunteer-dependent structure, Friends of Clark Park faces difficulty in raising funds. Although the organization receives support from the William Penn Foundation and other partners such as University City District, it continues to rely heavily on individual donations and membership drives for its operating expenses. The Friends of Clark Park uses the Neighborhood Information System in assessing the potential fundraising base. Using the parcelBase application, Friends of Clark Park queries recent home sales to locate potential new members/donors. Also, the organization looks at the average housing sales prices to evaluate the levels of membership dues. These measures assist the organization in assessing their potential funding base, which aids the organization in determining the scope of projects that it can undertake.

In addition, Friends of Clark Park also refers to the Cartographic Modeling Lab's University City Indicators' annual report when determining on which projects it should focus. The University City Indicators' annual report describes the fabric of University City, and provides extensive demographic data. Specifically, Friends of Clark Park looks at the percentage of undergraduate students and university staff members that are present within its target area. Recognizing that undergraduate students and staff members comprise the base of its volunteer

labor pool, Friends of Clark Park tailors its project selection to reflect the percentage of undergraduates and staff in the population. If there is a trend of large numbers of undergraduate students in its target population, then the organization can embark on a volunteer-intensive project.

The Ogontz Avenue Revitalization Corporation (OARC) was established to create and stimulate economic development and improve the quality of life for the West Oak Lane community located in Philadelphia. OARC provides a wide range of services including mixed-use and commercial development, employment training referral services, clean sweep and business association support programs, civic programs and activities, and family and recreation centers. OARC works with the West Oak Lane residents to address concerns about troublesome and dangerous properties within their community.

OARC has primarily accessed the Neighborhood Information System for information about individual properties in their community. However, OARC also utilizes aggregate data included in the NIS to compile neighborhood condition reports about their community. OARC often acquires properties that were located using the NIS. OARC gave an example of a commercial property about which several residents complained. OARC used the NIS to gather information about the property's owner, debts, and condition of the property in order to plan an intervention. When OARC gathered this information they approached the property owner and made an offer to purchase the property. Often the organization is sucessful in acquiring nuisance properties.

The Neighborhood Gardens Association (NGA) is a community-based organization dedicated to ensuring the continuity and long-term preservation of community-managed gardens and open space within Philadelphia's moderate- and low-income neighborhoods. NGA's mission is to make Philadelphia communities greener places to live. NGA is able to accomplish their mission by assisting community residents in several ways. NGA assists individuals and community groups with identifying potential land, information, and assistance with acquiring land to create community gardens, as well as providing materials and labor to improve the quality of pre-existing gardens.

NGA has been using the NIS since its creation. NGA often receives calls from concerned residents and community groups interested in either creating green space in their neighborhoods or preserving pre-existing gardens that have been a source of inspiration for communities. The NIS has allowed NGA to identify vacant parcels that can be used to create green space as well as identify ownership of pre-existing gardens in the hopes of preserving them. NGA has used the NIS as a tool to establish credibility in their neighborhood redevelopment efforts. In the past NGA relied on a paid neighborhood information service that provided only a fraction of the information available in the NIS. Today NGA relies heavily upon the query capabilities included in the NIS to locate and identify properties within specific neighborhoods. Having access to the NIS has allowed NGA to save money and, most of all, valuable time.

The Queens Village Neighbors Association (QVNA) is a community organization dedicated to the preservation and beautification of their Queens Village community. QVNA is made up of various committees; among them are a town watch group, clean street committee, and a zoning committee. The QVNA is interested in maintaining and improving the quality of life in their community. The Queens Village Community actively monitors events and development located within their community in order to remain successful.

The Queens Village Neighbors are continuing to discover new ways of using the NIS in their organization. The NIS has allowed the Queens Village Neighbors to identify the owners of neglected properties and QVNA has had success using the NIS to address issues of neglect.

Once the association identifies a property owner, they write a letter to the owner identifying problems and outlining the requested remedies. The group used the NIS to identify vacant parcels that were overgrown with weeds. The NIS informed them that there were four separate lots, with three different owners, and provided them with the owners' mailing addresses and specific open code violations for those properties as reported by the Department of License and Inspections. The Queens Village Neighbors used the information to contact the owners asking them to address the issue of neglect on their properties. As a result of the inquiry the owners of the properties complied. The Queens Village Neighbors have also made use of the NIS to identify and gather information for an entire block that is vacant in their community. The Queens Neighbors have taken this information to their City Council representative advocating for these properties to be included in the City's Neighborhood Transformation Initiative planning.

Training and Outreach

Having built the Neighborhood Information System and made it publicly available online, significant barriers to access remain. With a sophisticated GIS interface and multiple layers of data aggregations, training and outreach are a key part of reducing barriers to access. Giving users the skills to use the NIS effectively, to understand the limitations of the data, and to access policy-relevant data are important goals of the training and outreach program. High levels of Neighborhood Information System usage are directly tied to outreach and training efforts made by the Cartographic Modeling Lab. This section describes how training and outreach for the NIS have evolved and how staff meet the needs of a wide range of users through training and outreach.

Since 2002, the Neighborhood Information System has employed an outreach coordinator responsible for communicating with users, providing support, and organizing a training program for potential and current NIS users. In 2004, a decision was made to move from a demonstration-based training in which an instructor operates the Neighborhood Information System displayed on a large screen to a hands-on interactive training in which users have their own computer terminal and follow examples provided by the trainer. These computer lab-based trainings have proven more effective in reaching users and giving them the skills to use the Neighborhood Information System. These trainings are staffed by two staff members who are very familiar with the Neighborhood Information System. Users are given guided examples to provide experience with the types of functions available in the online application and the types of data they are able to access. Trainings are scripted to include examples that give users a sense of how they might use the NIS to advance the goals of their organization.

In addition to these introductory trainings, which are open to any user and free of charge, the Neighborhood Information System offers advanced trainings. These trainings offer users the chance to review some of the basic principles of the NIS and to explore the system's more advanced functions. For example, users are taught how to use the *user-defined neighborhoods function,* an advanced function that gives users custom data aggregations based on geographic boundaries defined by the user. More of these advanced uses are explained in the section that follows. In addition to reviewing and teaching, these sessions give users an opportunity to ask sophisticated questions and troubleshoot topics with the help of the NIS trainer and the other seminar participants. Often the most important component of the advanced training is the conversation that occurs among those users who attend the training. NIS staff have begun to view these trainings as a chance for users to informally discuss how they are using the

system, to gather ideas about how they might use the system, and to learn about new advances in technology that improve the system.

To reach specific groups, the NIS has sought to provide customized trainings to groups ranging from the City of Philadelphia Human Relations Commission to students pursuing masters' degrees in elementary education. In direct consultation with an agency or organization, NIS staff create trainings that utilize examples relevant to the organization. These trainings are often most effective because they have a specific goal or objective in mind.

NIS professional staff consistently seek to work with librarians, because they provide a valuable gateway to knowledge and serve thousands of library patrons per year. Training one librarian is the equivalent of training several dozen potential users. Librarians are encouraged to funnel users that are seeking to learn more about the Neighborhood Information System to a free training. Other user groups include children doing a neighborhood survey, fire department officials, Philadelphia Gas Works employees, school district employees, and students pursuing higher education.

In addition to trainings, the staff of the Neighborhood Information System engage in targeted outreach efforts. For example, the outreach coordinator attends Philadelphia Town Watch conferences to encourage crime watch organizations in the city of Philadelphia to use crimeBase to plan and monitor their patrol efforts. In addition to face-to-face contact, fact sheets, postcards, and other public relations material are prepared for targeted groups.

Training and outreach are often the first things to be liquidated when budgets run low or when costs need to be cut from a grant. However, community information systems require a strong training and outreach program. Without adequate publicity and training, the likelihood of the intended use being realized is greatly diminished. Furthermore, the provision of ongoing user support is critical in order to ensure that users have a direct line to help navigate their way through the online system. Some of this support should be provided with online help tools and tutorials. However, experience has shown a need for live help that is provided on the telephone or through electronic mail. Users often call with simple questions about how to update their password or how to log into the application. Explaining the nuances of administrative data and the limitations of the online system are most effectively accomplished through a staffed outreach and support team of people. In addition, this contact provides a crucial line of communication between users of the system and those people who manage the system. This communication is an important part of evaluating how the system is being used and how it can be improved.

BUILDING TECHNICAL CAPACITY
AND FUNCTIONALITY

Community information systems utilizing GIS and providing data on the Internet are a relatively new phenomenon. For this reason, innovation and technological advances constantly change how users interface with the online system. This section describes new technology that has been incorporated into the Neighborhood Information System and other community information systems. How and why new technology is incorporated into the online system and how these new technologies are changing the way end-users interact with online community information systems are discussed.

NeighborhoodBase provides users with data aggregations at various geographic levels such as neighborhood, zip code, and census tracts. These sometimes arbitrary geographic divisions prove challenging for users to interpret, given that each organization determines

its neighborhood or study area differently. In other words, not every group will agree on the boundaries of a neighborhood, nor will they necessarily find the NIS's geographic demarcations useful. Given these limitations and overwhelming demand from users, the Neighborhood Information System recently began implementing the *user-defined neighborhood* function. This tool literally gives users the ability to zoom into a particular area of Philadelphia and draw the boundaries of their neighborhood on a map. Once the user has outlined the neighborhood on the interactive map, she is given a custom data aggregation for this user-defined geographic area. Where users previously had to approximate their neighborhood based on a NIS name scheme and geographic division, users can now create their own geographic divisions and data aggregations.

This new tool is a very powerful way of placing more control in the hands of the users and giving them greater control over how geography is defined for the purpose of data aggregation. However, this new technology has some limitations. Users must define neighborhoods in terms of the smallest NIS geography (census block group). Because administrative data is often not disclosed at a geographic level smaller than this arbitrary census designation, users are required to use it as a building block to create user-defined neighborhoods. Furthermore, the technology requires very precise navigation of an interactive map. Users are required to zoom into a certain area of the city and use the city streets to pick the area they seek to define as their user-defined neighborhood. Early experience with users has shown that this technology will be advantageous to organizations and individuals seeking more precise neighborhood-level data. It has also shown that training is a key method for teaching users how this new technology works.

The ability to extract data from the Neighborhood Information System and use it in statistical software or tables in reports has been sought by users for some time. To meet this need, which has been primarily demanded from a group of advanced users, the NIS recently developed the *export data* function. Once a user has created a table of multiple data elements, he can click on the *export it* shortcut tool and choose to download the data into a common database application such as Microsoft Excel or Microsoft Access. Previously users could only view data on a Web page while browsing the Internet. Now, data can be extracted and used without the Internet or NIS online interface. Many users have taken advantage of this option to remove data and analyze it in their own GIS or statistical software applications. To facilitate this process the Neighborhood Information System has also begun disclosing shapefiles for download. Shapefiles are electronic maps that are required to use any data in a GIS desktop software application. By giving users the ability to download data, the Neighborhood Information System has made a significant step from simply being an online data intermediary to being a data clearinghouse where users can both utilize the NIS's online functionality and extract data from the Internet to use in their own analysis.

Data in the NIS are unique because NIS is geographically related, but also because it gives users a snapshot of how things have changed over time. Since 1997 the NIS has been collecting data from various City of Philadelphia agencies. In 2004, the NIS began to implement a trending capability in the Neighborhood Information System. Given five years of data since its inception, the NIS interface was upgraded to allow users to see how specific data elements have changed over time. By providing users with trend data, the NIS is allowing organizations, individuals, and agencies to measure the effectiveness of interventions. It also helps users plan for future programming and interventions. Furthermore, the NIS is a very rich archive of City of Philadelphia administrative data. For example, the United States Post Office, from which the NIS draws information about which addresses are vacant, destroys their data after only a few months. The NIS archives these data and gives users the ability to trace back in time to see how vacancy patterns have changed.

Other improvements and additions to the NIS are driven by user feedback or by specific requests by outside funding sources. For example, PhillySiteFinder is an innovation that was added to the Neighborhood Information System by outside funding sources seeking to fill the need for an online inventory of Brownfield sites in Philadelphia. The Cartographic Modeling Lab holds focus groups from time to time to discuss the NIS and how it can be made more user-friendly. Improvements to the Web interface are made based on these groups' and other user feedback. Everything from changes in map symbology (the legend) to how a user navigates the site is based on how users experience the NIS. Connecting designers and managers with the users who utilize the NIS on a daily basis is a key way to ensure that the system is serving the community of users for which it was intended.

EVALUATING OUTCOMES

Driven by funding requirements and the desire to incorporate user feedback into future releases of the Neighborhood Information System, the Cartographic Modeling Lab Neighborhood Outreach staff frequently conduct user surveys. This is done in the form of an end-of-year online survey that all users are asked to complete. In December 2003, the Cartographic Modeling Lab (CML) conducted an online survey as part of an evaluation of the NIS. The CML contacted, via e-mail, approximately 797 parcelBase account holders and neighborhoodBase users who have attended a Neighborhood Information System Training. The survey asked users to complete thirty-eight questions about the parcelBase Web site, the neighborhoodBase Web site, the muralBase Web site, about user support, and overall usefulness of the NIS. The survey's overall response rate was twenty-five percent. Thirty percent of respondents received accounts through a City of Philadelphia agency and sixty-two percent through a nonprofit organization. The remaining eight percent did not respond to this question or responded "not sure." The sample size and distribution of users suggest that these findings are broadly representative. These findings were used to plan improvements to the NIS and to report statistical information to the NIS funding sources.

According to the survey, parcelBase is the most popular and highly utilized NIS application. NeighborhoodBase was more widely used in 2003 than in 2002 and it is gaining users. MuralBase is utilized by a smaller "niche" group of users. Results of the survey reflect satisfaction with the tools and data elements. CML support of users through training and telephone and electronic mail support is also strong and well utilized. One key finding of the survey is that increases in outreach and training have been associated with increased use of neighborhoodBase. More than half (fifty-four percent) of respondents use neighborhoodBase at least once or twice a month, with over twenty-one percent using it at least once a week. In 2002, only forty-three percent of users logged in once or twice a month or more.

For users who utilize neighborhoodBase, the tools are valuable to their organization. Seventy-seven percent of users found making maps to be very or highly useful (in 2002, this number was sixty percent). In other areas, including tables, reports, querying, summary statistics, and help functions, respondents found tools very or highly useful fifty to sixty percent of the time. In every area, 2003 results outpace 2002 results by a minimum of ten percent. The 2003 Survey also found that trainings are well received. Eighty-eight percent of respondents said the trainings were very or extremely helpful. In addition, users stay in touch with the CML, with forty-three percent of respondents telephoning or e-mailing for support (eighty-five percent rated the help they received as very helpful or extremely helpful). One user wrote on the survey that

> the NIS program is extremely helpful for me, as I mainly utilize the system for mapping purposes and neighborhood assessments. In the past, I would have to drag out the heavy Sanborn maps to assess an area, and wait for the Company to once a year update information as far as demos [demolitions], new streets, etc. go. Now I can just click on the information at my computer and printout the report.

Other users requested increased data portability and manipulation tools; one wrote, "It would be extremely helpful if the data was easier to download. If I create a query I would like to be able to download that data into a Microsoft Access database or an Excel spreadsheet." Many users request additional data elements, including the ability to access crime statistics for their neighborhood or study area. These testimonials represent the range of survey responses. Survey comments and data help inform new releases of the Neighborhood Information System.

In addition to the online survey, Neighborhood Information System staff conduct case studies with advanced users of the NIS. This provides insight into how users utilize the system to advance the goals of their organizations. Case studies provide a great deal of the information used in this chapter; they help illustrate how the intended uses match up with the actual uses. Furthermore, this type of information helps to inform how the NIS can be improved and expanded. Again, the importance of connecting the system's designers and the system's users cannot be emphasized enough. Simply providing a Web site with valuable data is not sufficient to encourage best practices and best uses of the Neighborhood Information System. This interaction provides a valuable feedback mechanism that allows the system to best serve its intended end-users.

AREAS OF FUTURE RESEARCH

The Neighborhood Information System is one example of a community information system that provides aggregate administrative data online. The Neighborhood Information System's user-friendly format and simple instructions make the system accessible to a broad range of users and because it is a Web-based application, no special hardware or software is required. Users can use a connection to the Internet and Internet browsers to access the system. With a robust training and outreach program, the NIS has excelled at providing users with access to data, specialized geographic information, and complex analysis tools. The map interface allows users to view data in a spatial context and to make geographically relevant decisions. However, with the advent of this technology come many limitations and areas of future research. This chapter concludes by discussing limitations and suggesting areas of future research.

Past efforts have been made to survey the availability of community information systems across the United States (Caulfield, 2003). Future research should seek to build an inventory of systems nationwide by gathering a holistic picture of how systems are utilized, the technical requirements, the cost, and other policy-relevant information. Efforts should be made to understand best practices in community outreach and technical ease of use. Research should examine the effectiveness of training and outreach. From a usability standpoint, there is a need to examine the effectiveness of training and outreach efforts. Furthermore, research into the level of understanding that users have in terms of the community information system's limitations is needed. How informed of data reliability issues are users? And to what extent is this awareness communicated to others when making policy or intervention decisions? Furthermore, some evaluation of the extent to which community information systems affect policy and change should be made.

Research should address best practices for disclosing aggregate data online. There is a distinct need to develop best practices for ensuring that confidential data, such as health data, are disclosed at geographic levels that are useful to users and protective of confidentiality. Further research should examine how quality checking is incorporated into the way researchers use administrative data and how understanding of the data's limitations is translated by users of the community information system. This field of research is an increasingly important area as researchers use more census data and administrative data in their analysis.

Barriers to accessing community information systems are quickly eroding. However, many intended users have little or no access to the Internet or computing environments that permit access to the Neighborhood Information System. Many City of Philadelphia users and community-based organizations do not have Internet access. Similarly, access to training is limited, with some community information systems providing little or no training. The quality of administrative data is a barrier to accessing the most accurate information. Given access, social workers and others engaged in neighborhood-level activities can use community information systems to examine various neighborhood indicators and inform decisions across space. These powerful online tools hold great potential to affect change.

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Describing the Community in Thorough Detail

Sonya Salamon

Community study as a method focuses holistically on how people think and act in their every-day lives, in their natural settings. An inductive process is used to learn the meanings attached to things in their lives. If a community is selected carefully it can serve as a representative cultural or societal sample. For a community study the researcher is the research instrument who typically becomes immersed in the place, even for a short while. The researcher inter-acts with people, shares daily life, and participates in community experiences with at least some of the inhabitants. In this process, termed participant observation, data are collected systematically and unobtrusively (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). Being an observer has moral and ethical problems, and communities are not likely to agree with all or some of what is found [c.f., famous example of Vidich and Bensman (1968)]. A community study can provide vivid rich detail that uniquely in social science research makes a place come alive, due to the field immersion of the researcher. A typical criticism is that a researcher produces a sympathetic portrait of a place, due to a lack of detachment (Bell and Newby, 1972). The aim is to describe the uniqueness of a community studied but simultaneously show that it is representative of a problem or phenomena in, and theory about, the wider society.

Community studies take the community as an object or the unit of observation while also being the sample or the setting for study. Problems normally attributed to community studies are typically: (1) representativeness or which one to choose; (2) completeness or when is the whole obtained; (3) inclusiveness or whether it includes much of the society as a whole; and (4) cohesiveness or whether it is integrated enough to be a community (Arensberg, 1961). These four factors concern the community both as an object and a sample: definition and selection issues. When the focus is voluntary organizations in the community or across communities if comparison is required, selection criteria must take into account these four factors. Finally, team work lessens the biases obtained by a single fieldworker, but validity can be compromised by misinformation obtained or purposely given by informants (Erickson and Stull, 1998). Triangulation of observed data with data about the same issue collected in other ways is important to checking data validity (Bell and Newby, 1972; Denzin, 1989; Patton, 1990).

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When the factor of voluntary organizations in the community description and analysis is the focus, it is useful to examine selected community studies using this perspective. Various U.S. community studies cite the presence, absence, or distinctiveness of voluntary organizations as representative of local cultural variation, and community strength or weakness (Duncan, 1999; Goldschmidt, 1978; Gans, 1962, 1965; Hatch, 1979; Kefalas, 2003; Vidich and Bensman, 1968). Cross-culturally, community studies seldom focus on voluntary organizations per se, outside of Putnam's regional comparative study of Northern and Southern Italy (1993a). In England belonging to local community organizations, termed "communalism," is one trait identifying those committed to rural life (Bell, 1994). Two European studies that use controlled comparisons of farming communities highlight contrasting organizational patterns of cooperation shaped by cultural and religious differences (Cole and Wolf, 1974; Golde, 1975). How rural Spanish family engagement in a village changes with adoption of urbanized and consumer values in the late twentieth century is the focus of another study (Collier, 1997). Classic community studies, concerned with cultural explanations for the absence of local voluntary organizations, demonstrate why these institutions matter to communities [c.f. Banfield (1958); Gans (1962)].

Thirty years of U.S. rural community studies, ethnographies of family farmers and small towns, taught me that Illinois communities differ in culture and vitality despite sharing geographic region, similar size, economic sector, and superficially homogeneous populations (Salamon, 1992, 2003). Uncovering the source of that variation—the cultural framework that underlies and shapes a distinctive sense of, and organization of community—drives how I do community studies. As an anthropologist I assume the basic tenet, that everyday behavior is not random. People choose actions according to rules learned via what is encouraged or discouraged by their community. That is, a community culture is part of a logical, interrelated whole (Barlett, 1990; Fitchen, 1990; Salamon, 1990). Ethnographers attempt to suspend expectations for community at the outset of study. The research design is emergent, a product of an inductive process as the native meanings for objects and their world view are learned. Community engagement, volunteerism, informal social life, or local activism are affected by taken-for-granted beliefs and practices about community, family structure, gender roles, social structure, and life chances.

Thus, when goals are to best describe community organizations, understand patterns of participation, or assess meaning of local organizations, attention must be focused on the context for these activities. Community context is a product of culture, history (from settlement to the present: who, how, and why), critical community events, economics, and environment (social and physical). Finally, simply counting or making a census of local organizations is important but tells you little about how these groups work, whether they make a difference, or why people do or do not engage in such activities, all issues critical to understanding the meaning for voluntary organizations in a particular place (Putnam, 1993a).

The chapter first outlines major concerns when undertaking a community study, emphasizing the multiple methods typically employed. Turning next to the issue of how to document local voluntary organizations, a holistic approach is outlined that relies on describing the mix of capital resources, both concrete and abstract, that define any place (Flora, Flora, and Fey, 2003). Suggested formal voluntary organizations potentially associated with each of these community capital resources are then provided. Typical community informal voluntary organizations are next cited as relevant to document. In conclusion, some suggestions about how to analyze whether voluntary organizations matter to a community—how, why, and which matter—are considered.

DOING A COMMUNITY STUDY

This section focuses on doing a holistic community study, in particular a study that emphasizes voluntary organizations: their identification, description, participation, and meaning. First, a study should provide a context for understanding the local norms for engagement in voluntary organizations. Next, why a particular mix of voluntary organizations typifies a community, enhances understanding of membership, types, and impact of these groups is explored. Finally, it is important to introduce the dimension of time for dynamic phenomena, such as civic engagement in local organizations. Archival and census data employed provide a context with depth for comparison with the data gathered by participant observation and interviews. Learning whether civic engagement has changed over time, and why, situates the current mix of voluntary organizations more accurately, and helps to evaluate meaning for participants and the community (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998).

A community study designed with multiple methods might include all or some of the following techniques among others: a household survey of a randomly selected sample; focus groups; interviews with a cross-section of key community figures; participant observation of public events; and use of archival materials such as census, local newspapers, and histories. Multiple methods allow for triangulation of data focused on the same issue so that biases from reliance on a single data source are avoided (Denzin, 1989). A community ethnography need not employ a research strategy of a lengthy residence. Although living a year in a place affords the leisure of interacting with and observing people repeatedly, to learn the rhythm and reason of their lives through experience, a comprehensive community study can be achieved by a mixture other research strategies.

Quantitative Research Strategy

Before beginning a community study, particularly if a mailed survey is the major method employed, a brief on-site field reconnaissance is useful for identifying indicators or for localizing any instrument developed. Fitchen (1990, pp. 17–19) provides useful guidelines for a presurvey reconnaissance process in rural and small towns, but the approach is adaptable to urban or suburban neighborhoods. If possible, having a team with at least one woman and one man maximizes potential contacts. For example, in small towns men and women typically socialize at different places and times. Several days, during which nights are spent in or near the community, provide opportunities for conversations (bed and breakfasts are good for this) and making contacts. Tell people about your intent to do a study/survey in the area and that you want to learn something about one community before you begin.

While there, it is important to listen carefully and make quick notes about what is said, and at the end of the day write up full detailed notes heavy with quotations. At the local library skim the daily or weekly newspaper for the past few months. Read current papers as well. These sources provide information about current issues, calendars of coming events (e.g., community public celebrations), preoccupations in letters to the editor, and what is considered news, or not. At the county courthouse or city hall obtain a local map, telephone directory, and other public information about who are the city and county government officials, the structure of the governance system, and the local service clubs and other formal organizations. Secretaries in such offices are typically local residents, knowledgeable about what is going on and whom to contact. Spend time in the coffee shop, restaurant, library, or barber shop where local people gather and strike up conversations about the community or your issue of interest.

Drive around the community guided by the map obtained and do a windshield survey to familiarize yourselves with the layout of the place, prominent local landmarks, and physical features. A windshield survey gives a feel for the landscape and people in a place. I used a windshield survey once to systematically count the number of Mexican-origin households in a small town. A long-term resident Mexicano male, drove every village street with the field researcher. Their ethnic household count in 1995 indicated the trend toward almost fifty percent growth eventually documented by the 2000 census (Salamon, 2003, Chapter 7). Getting lost can be useful: asking directions may lead to productive conversations. Here is where two people are needed, one to drive and one to take notes. When alone a tape recorder will allow for observations to be remembered.

A second visit should be arranged for testing hypotheses formed about the community during the first visit. It is advantageous to time the visit for a community event, where local voluntary organizations can be watched in action. Before returning to the community study the results of the first visit. By the second visit, who is important to interview is clear, and critical appointments can be prearranged. Do more of the same activities of the first visit, with each team member working alone. People appreciate that you return, facilitating cooperation. Focus group panels can be arranged with different categories of citizens (see below) to discuss the topic of community voluntary organizations. The above techniques help produce a mailed survey instrument that contains questions that are relevant, in the local language, and is contextualized (Fitchen, 1990).

Alternatively, focus groups are often employed in applied and evaluation research. This methodology uses group dynamics to yield insights not necessarily accessible in individual interviews (Morgan, 1997). After sensitizing the researcher to the community voluntary organization patterns with the techniques outlined above, focus groups composed of representatives from relevant organizations can be knowledgeably constituted. For example, in a rural watershed study, my research team spent two days in town talking with panels of local people arranged by phone (government officials, business people, farmers, and nonfarmer citizens). Each panel provided our team differing perspectives on the issue of the farm-chemical compromised water supply. We also toured several farms and the water company. We followed this intensive visit with a mailed questionnaire of water-supply users (Salamon, Farnsworth, and Rendziak, 1998). Developing a community-mailed instrument, without some contact-based knowledge of a place, may lead to critical false assumptions or mistaken undertakings.

Qualitative Research Strategy

My approach to a community ethnography departs from that of the classic rural and small town researcher that keeps community impersonally at arms' length [see, for example, Goldschmidt (1978); Vidich and Bensman (1968)]. Rather than starting from the top down I study community from the bottom up to capture a sense of community from the household or family stance. Community governance is explored, for example, through encounters of daily life rather than starting from a top-down analysis of the local power structure. In this respect, my approach highlights a focus on the interface between household and community inherent to a sense of place, community attachment, or the nature of interpersonal relationships relevant to voluntary engagement activities [cf. Baumgartner (1988); Erikson (1976); Schwartz (1987); Williams (1988)].

Following the framework inherent to this approach a community culture is constructed from patterns that emerge from analysis of interviews and observations of a cross-section of

citizens, and enhanced by various local data sources. Following this perspective, questions asked seek to identify how community is experienced customarily in public spaces (or lack of them), whether cross-age interactions shape adolescent lives, or is revealed in taken-for-granted practices of engagement (Oldenburg, 1999). Such behaviors are crucial indicators of the underlying cultural factors characteristic of community context. For example, small towns traditionally have worried about maintaining a local restaurant because of its importance to sustaining a sense of community. Keeping their small café and a local school open resulted in so much civic engagement that one tiny community was known countywide for being more close-knit than other towns (Salamon, 2003, Chapter 3).

It is useful to combine a qualitative research strategy with some quantitative methods that provide a context for data collected from a subsample of households or members of voluntary organizations interviewed and observed more intensively. Prior to beginning fieldwork we meet with key community members, such as a village administrator or minister; the person who is representative varies by community type and size. Such individuals help gain entry to the community and ensure that locals know the study has an official imprimatur. In one town a vendor permit was required to do a door-to-door household survey. A short description of the study placed strategically in the local (often weekly) newspaper advertising the research activity, is important to being well received. Local reporters are eager for news and typically ask for an interview to expand on the brief news release. The actual study combines a door-to-door randomly selected community survey with participant observation, over about a year's time. In a small community the newspaper report and key contacts pave the way for the initial face-to-face household survey. We have used telephone directories to draw the random sample of about fifteen to twenty percent of a community or neighborhood. The advent of cell phones that lack a presence in the community telephone directory has complicated this task, especially among young people. In addition to obtaining the actual household survey it is essential to write up field notes for each interview with contextual information about housing, clothes, behavior, and most critical, key quotations of comments. Often the most useful comments come after the "formal" survey is completed and people think they are off-record.

The overview obtained from analysis of the household survey, in particular, facilitates strategically focused follow-up interviews and observations with a second subsample drawn from the first. The second, smaller intensively studied sample (several longer interviews and numerous observation sessions) provides the contextual detail for exploring issues that emerged in the household survey, and allows an assessment of those findings. After doing the second phase an appreciation for why, who, how, and where volunteerism takes place, or not, and how people feel about it, is possible. For example, in my study of small town change two small communities had distinctive cultures that in one case rewarded community engagement and in the other embittered anyone who volunteered. The former was a declining but not dying town, the other was riven with conflict and rapidly dying. Why this contrast existed could only be explained by follow-up intensive interviewing and observations focused on civic engagement and community dynamics (Salamon, 2003, Chapters 3, 8).

Crucial to the research process, if a team is employed, are frequent team meetings as the work unfolds. Everyone reads each others' field notes, exchanged by e-mail in preparation for team discussions. This process provides an ongoing mechanism for joint analysis of findings. The continual refinement of a working hypothesis as new data are collected allows the team to test it with those who form the second, intensive phase of the study (Denzin, 1989; Patton, 1990).

Finally, when local organizations are the community study's focus, "gate-keepers" such as elected or appointed officers may limit easy access for researchers. Because researchers

must ask permission of such people for access to organizational records or its membership, it is important to convince gate-keepers that one is not threatening as were the authors of *Small Town in Mass Society* to furious townspeople (Vidich and Bensman, 1968). A researcher must ethically be truthful (and Institutional Review Boards required use of a document of Informed Consent), but one can always be vague and imprecise. However, a researcher should never misrepresent oneself, or will surely be caught (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998).

DESCRIBING THE COMMUNITY HOLISTICALLY

It is important to capture all the dimensions of a community—not just voluntary organizations—to fully understand the unique context in which civic engagement takes place, or not. One way to achieve a holistic study involves documenting the various types of capital communities possess: physical or built capital, natural or environmental capital, financial capital, human capital, political capital, cultural capital, and social capital. As forms of capital, communities of place can use one type to produce another type of capital [Flora, Flora, and Fey's (2003) conceptions of community capital are drawn on for the discussion below]. For example, community financial capital in the form of taxes, when invested in local schools produces human capital. Alternatively, these capitals can be considered community resources potentially accessible to local people. Describing a community by these capital dimensions must draw on a variety of data sources, in addition to participant observation and interviewing people via a mailed survey or face to face. The history of a community is meaningful for understanding how each resource or capital developed or changed over time. Each community capital implies using specific types of data, procedures to follow, and questions to ask through interviews, observations, or archival sources.

Although the community capitals approach is a trifle mechanistic it is serviceable as a checklist for what must be taken into account when the goal is describing the community in thorough detail. Keep in mind that the separation of community dimensions into capitals is artificial; in real life activities are a mix of elements. For example, community flea or farmer's markets represent cultural capital, but simultaneously generate financial capital. A description of each community capital is outlined, followed by possible research strategies or sources for obtaining pertinent data. First described are material forms of capital, those most easily documented. Next depicted are abstract forms of community capital more challenging to describe, but crucial to understanding voluntary organization, their meaning and relevance for a particular community.

Physical or Built Capital and Natural Capital

This capital includes a community's natural and man-made resources that constitute its landscape. Wisely managed, such resources are continually available for community satisfaction, quality of life, and economic development. It is important to map an inventory of such resources, which are easily found on the Web at both the local and regional levels. The type of housing present, its value, and quality are accessible through the census and Web-based real estate data provided by the industry or by the community. Maps, perhaps produced while speaking with a knowledgeable informant, provide information about the social construction of space and allow a generic map to be annotated with qualitative comments (Fitchen, 1990).

Photos taken around the community are effective as a projective technique for use when talking about people, places, or events and for triggering discussion in focus groups. Newspaper clippings are another source for obtaining materials for use as a projective technique.

- Reproduce a map that places the community in a regional context of a network of neighboring communities.
- Describe the community's location in relation to major highways, larger places in its commuting zone, train and airline transportation routes, rivers, and so on.
- Note which natural capital factors (e.g., rivers, mountains, position in the local county or regional watershed) were important to the community's settlement, development, and current economic status.
- Produce a street map that shows distinctive features: roads, downtown business district, schools, parks, bodies of water, bridges, railroads, industrial district, and the like.
- Identify distinctive neighborhoods with the names used by local people.
- Document housing values and the distribution and density. Are there distinctive upscale enclaves? Are there trailer parks or subsidized housing available for those of lower income?
- Are public or private places available to community members where they can meet, talk, and organize in the formal and informal groups crucial to community engagement? Oldenburg (1999) argues that vital "third spaces"—informal public gathering spots apart from the home (first place) and the work site (second place)—function as the heart of a community. A rich informal life that takes place there is important to community building, to the extent that places are inclusive and local. Third places are often central to community identity and may be the meeting place of voluntary organizations, or be maintained by them.
- What are the community voluntary organizations concerned with: the physical infrastructure, the environment, or others?

Oscar Lewis (1965) in the methodological chapter of *La Vida* describes his ethnographic technique of having poor Puerto Rican and Mexican families relate the source or story of every possession in their spare homes. This inventory provided a window on the survival strategies of the poor. An extrapolation of Lewis's technique is useful for obtaining sources and stories about the "bricks and mortar" assets of a community (e.g., as part of the household survey). Because many public spaces and structures in communities are donated, produced, or maintained by voluntary organizations asking people the story, source, and building or maintenance processes behind the origin and preservation of each provides a window on the links between physical capital and local voluntary organizations. That is, making a detailed inventory with the help of key community people and ordinary people allows one to see how community possessions are viewed by different groups in the community. If ordinary people are not aware of the source of parks, meeting halls, libraries, and the like, local voluntary groups may not be on their radar screens, trusted, or otherwise effective.

Financial Capital

Money or other resources constitute financial capital when used for investment (to make more money) versus being used for consumption. Financial capital can be transformed through building other forms of capital. The economic situation of a community often dictates its ability or commitment to carry out activities beyond those basics expected of a local government:

maintenance of the infrastructure and funding police, fire, and water services. Whether a community generates private capital for development or enrichment purposes reveals a tradition of community service or giving that fosters others doing the same (Flora, Sharp, and Flora, 1997). It is also important, for equity issues, whether all people have access to public financial capital.

- Describe the businesses in the downtown area, the tax rates, the agricultural situation (farm consolidation, farmland values, etc.), and other relevant economic data about the community.
- Comment on economic change between 1990 and 2000 based on census data, Chamber of Commerce reports, the housing market, tax rates, and the like.
- Obtain records, budgets, annual reports of agencies and the government, and grant proposals that provide a picture of what gets funded, what does not, or whether voluntary organizations fill the gap.
- Identify funds that come to the community via private donations or estates that enable special activities. Such information is found through community newspapers, plaques on public buildings, statues, or endowments for schools or city hall.

Human Capital

The skills and abilities of local people represent human capital including: potential, formal and informal education, health, and leadership skills. Whether a community invests in education, training, medical care, or childcare that give people the skills, knowledge, experiences, and support to make a living, for self-improvement, or care for dependent family members is important to the strength and vitality of a community. Who lives in a community is related to what organizations operate there and their focus. Obvious demographic data are available from census archives. Comparing two or three decades of census data is the best way to see the composition of community change and trends. Public institutions (public school system, community or other colleges, community centers, libraries, Chamber of Commerce) keep anonymous records/surveys of who uses them and even why. For example, churches chart the age distribution of their congregations, and community centers similarly chart the ages of members and users. Whether a community is investing in children, youth, or the elderly is indicative of the responsiveness of leaders who invest in social service agencies or community centers. Such investments are important to the use and generation of human capital.

- Construct a community demographic profile from census data that highlights its homo-geneity or diversity: age composition (proportion of age groups relative to one another), educational levels, jobs held and commutes to work, access to housing, poverty levels, single-parent households, and so on.
- Document how the schools are distributed in the community and the performance of students on national tests: data available from school board documentation, on the Web, and in annual school report cards.
- Find the ratio of children in private versus public schools; private schools are typi-cally listed in the telephone directory and/or Web sites. Public schools have similar documentation.
- What is available for older adults for housing, sheltered care, meals, and so on?
- What is available for adolescents in the way of physical facilities, activities, and are they welcomed as an important resource for the community?

- Is there daycare available for families with young children and/or dependent elders, supporting active family members' work?
- What community voluntary organizations are concerned with these issues?

Survey questions about how the community has changed demographically allow a comparison or contrast to what people think about the local population and the reality of who is recorded. Presence of a Carnegie library in the community demonstrates that the local business leaders in the early nineteenth century mobilized to obtain funding for the building from Andrew Carnegie, and pledged to maintain it (Van Slyck, 1995). In the small town where the windshield survey was used to find the census underestimation of Mexicans and Mexican American migrants the local Carnegie library served as public third-place space for ethnic youth. The facility was well financed, and the sympathetic librarian welcomed ethnic youth using the resources, and obtained books in Spanish to attract them (Salamon, 2003, Chapter 7).

The next three forms of capital delineated (and to a certain extent human capital) are more abstract, less material, and correspondingly difficult to document and evaluate. For the following capitals community interviews and observation are the major mechanisms for gathering data.

Political Capital

In a community the ability of a group, individuals, or institutions to influence the distribution of resources—such as the previous capitals—refers to political capital and reflects the power structure. Political capital analysis focuses on who sets the agenda for available resources and who benefits or loses from how these resources are distributed. Such capital is expended or manipulated both formally and informally. Size, location, and population makeup are all factors critical to the relative amount of political capital a community has, or the power that particular local or absent interest groups wield. For example, a real estate entrepreneur might have allies in village government that allow development of land in a way that burdens the village with physical infrastructure costs, rather than his business. A wealthy farmer, powerful but never a formal office-holder, in a small Illinois town out of concern for keeping the local school, recruited young families by providing land for trailer homes. Although the idea backfired after the original recruits left, community members knew the farmer had the community welfare at heart (Salamon, 2003, Chapter 3). Political capital may be held or wielded by community actors who are elected or who work behind the scenes, as did this farmer.

- From local newspapers and histories, document the history of the political parties that dominate local government, to understand formal political capital.
- What form of governance operates the community is information available from state or local government institutions.
- Use the local newspaper and interviews to learn about the organization of local politics, the connections of community organizations to other levels of government, and the inclusiveness of homegrown political organizations.
- From the local newspaper archives document what were and are the major issues challenging the community and whether political capital exists to meet them.
- Rural communities and inner-city neighborhoods are likely to have relatively less political capital due to size, location (marginalization), or engagement of the population.
- Do local voluntary organizations fill the gap where local political capital is weak?

- Network analysis of the community is a useful tool for uncovering connections among powerful community members, and how power flows in a community [e.g., Hyman, Higdon, and Martin (2001); Sharp, Flora, and Killacky (2003)].

Asking in a survey who runs the community—powerful absentee wealthy corporations or local business people, for example—normally provokes comments about whether people are committed to employing political capital for fostering community well-being, versus their own benefit.

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital constitutes how a community views the world around it. It represents the filter through which community members experience their lives and shapes how lives are lived, practices followed, or rituals observed. Through socialization in families, schools, and community people come to learn local culture. Culture is also capital in the sense that having more than others (due to a relatively better socioeconomic position or human capital investment) gives access to greater resources. Robust cultural capital helps maintain a privileged position in a community or in society (Bourdieu, 1986). Those with fewer cultural resources (due to class-based behaviors, linguistic skills, or experiences) have barriers to obtaining those resources that would allow them better life chances. Community voluntary organizations are often dedicated to leveling the playing field across groups, to enhance relative life chances among those deficient in cultural capital.

At the community level, Cultural capital (with a capital C) is part of a community's distinctiveness, as a place and people with a unique history. This latter form of cultural capital represents membership in a community, and shapes local activities, concerns, and ritual celebrations.

- Local histories, newspapers, and the ethnicity of names that dominate the telephone directory give indicators of what ethnic and/or religious group contributed to the formation of community culture historically.
- From town, city, or regional histories, library archives, and local historians (typically well known to community people) construct a history of who settled the community (ethnicity, religion, race, occupation); when, why, and what did they do. After original settlement what changed quickly and what more slowly? Were later-arriving groups disadvantaged?
- Is a distinct ethnicity, history, or culture celebrated or in other ways drawn on by the community for reinforcing identity and creating community attachment (McMillan, 1996)?
- What ritual events are celebrated by the community, as seen in the local newspaper and according to local histories and informants?
- What is reported in the local newspaper (social events, academic and or sports achievements of the local schools, gossip), and whether controversy is represented or avoided.
- Is there a community Web site that demonstrates a distinctive and unifying identity, communal activities, and inclusiveness for all community members?
- What are the local churches? Are they engaged in the community? Do people attend church in the community or travel elsewhere, such as to suburban megachurches?
- What specific recreational activities identify the community in the park district's use of resources (such as a parent-run soccer league, Little League baseball, or an adult softball league)?

Cultural capital is transmitted through families, schools, and other community institutions and organizations. Schools, in particular, reflect community values and priorities and a careful examination of their structure and functions should reveal whether community engagement is being encouraged as a civic responsibility.

Social Capital

This resource is slippery to describe and assess. Social capital is an attribute of a community's social structure that facilitates cooperation for shared goals and activities. Social capital is typically viewed as the effect of civic engagement. Civic engagement, in turn, represents attachment to place, commitment to the general welfare, and trust that reciprocity prevails in a community (Bourdieu, 1886; Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993b). Because social capital is embedded in a community's social networks no public documentation is readily available (e.g., the census or a Web site) that provides local norms for community engagement, levels of trust among residents, mobilization efforts to make it a better place, or inclusiveness of voluntary organizations (Putnam, 2000). This capital, more than the previous ones, is identified through talking to a broad cross-section of people and observing where, how, and for whom a community invests its social and financial resources.

Active civic engagement not only helps make a community work; it is normally what produces trust and responsiveness, the hallmarks of a rich store of social capital. For example, in a study examining a farm town's response to an agricultural chemical compromising its water supply we found that people from all walks of life trusted local farmers to solve the problem, despite their being the source of the water contamination. This store of trust gave an ad hoc resource-planning committee of farmers the breathing space to construct a plan that brought the local water company in compliance with national standards (Salamon et al., 1998). We learned about local expectations through a community survey asking if neighbors and community leaders were to be trusted. Such questions typically prompt comments about whether people are to be trusted to act on the community's behalf, or only for personal gain.

A rich store of social capital is not equated with locals only speaking positively about a community (Salamon, 2003). Those committed enough to complain, to worry, or to argue about community decisions, are engaged citizens (Coleman, 1957; Kemmis, 1990). Community is continually built in public spaces, "third places" where citizens work through issues informally, which is why such places are so important to a vibrant community (Oldenburg, 1999). Decisions made in a public manner are more likely to be those people are willing to go along with, even if not entirely satisfied. When civic participation does not alienate citizens, resourceful communities prosper (Kemmis, 1995). Community engagement in volunteer organizations need not be the branches of the famous national service clubs (Lions, Kiwanis, Rotary, etc.) characteristic of the Midwest, where most originated (Charles, 1993). Putnam (1993a) identified community engagement in groups such as choral societies in Northern Italy as fundamental to generating the social capital that led to the region's spectacular economic development. In contrast, Southern Italy lacked comparable voluntary organizations and remained less developed. Thus, numbers or the proliferation of local voluntary groups is indicative of community traditions favoring a citizenry active in volunteerism and engagement, and potentially the creation of a store of social capital accessible for accomplishing other activities.

One issue often emerges during a survey that is a critical indicator of how a community works such as: a school funding initiative, a latch-key after-school program support, a

hard-fought election, or supportive activities for adolescents. A particularly useful technique in a follow-up research phase is to ask everyone about the same issue, This technique provides a strategic focus—an analytical window—that allows cultural change (before and after the event) or the enduring structure of community meaning and identity to be disclosed (Fernandez, 1990; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1990). By obtaining multiple perspectives on the same event, the researcher also avoids becoming biased by narrowly focusing on one category of people or by one interpretation of community meaning.

- Telephone directories and community directories of organizations are a place to begin a community inventory of formal associations.
- A survey of formal organizations obtaining details about membership characteristics, program of activities, officers, recruitment process, local or national affiliations, and inclusiveness provides an indicator of formal structure.
- A community survey asking affiliations of residents and the extent to which they are regularly involved in local activities, is important data to obtain.
- Editorials and letters to the editor in the local newspaper are good indicators of community priorities, failings, and concerns, and whether people care or active voluntary organizations match these issues.
- Local histories and the newspaper can be mined for evidence of mobilization in the form of meetings, fund raising, or testimonies of past behavior on behalf of a community.
- The follow-up intensive interviews and observation of a representative cross-section of community members might ask the following questions about voluntary organizations:
  - Does this community have particular strengths or weaknesses in dealing with challenges? As compared with other like communities nearby?
  - How do you think this community has changed during your lifetime?
  - What gets people upset or actively involved in civic affairs here?
  - Describe the people in this community (apathetic, nosy, opposed to change, uninvolved, critical, etc.)?
  - Do people trust one another here? Explain why or why not.
  - As there a tradition of community engagement?

Through such questions we identified a mismatch between local concerns and the active voluntary organizations in one Western Illinois town. Some senior citizens were passionate about historical preservation of main street buildings and sumptuous homes, but younger families were most concerned about lack of community public spaces where adolescents could gather (Salamon, 1990).

TYPOLOGY OF COMMUNITY VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Formal Organizations

Formal community organizations are publicly recognized by a name, meet regularly, and have a charter and a set of rules for operation (Warren, 1965). These characteristics make them easy to identify through public lists such as the telephone directory or a city directory of organizations. Each of the above community capitals characteristically has voluntary organizations associated with maintenance, development, or general welfare of the specific resource. For example, physical capital potentially is enhanced by a beautification club, a garden club, or historic

preservation association that takes responsibility for maintaining or improving the community's landscape. These groups might focus on historic preservation of older homes or the main street or "adoption" of a city park or road. Cultural capital organizations may be concerned with ethnic group identity and practices, or ritual day celebrations such as a Fourth of July parade. Similarly local human capital is monitored by service organizations concerned with youth welfare (e.g., mentoring groups, Boys and Girls Club, or 4H). Other dependent groups such as young children or the elderly might have organizations whose charter mandate is to support and benefit that group. An exhaustive though somewhat dated list is found in Warren (1965, Chapters 16, 17).

Quantity and variety of formal voluntary organizations are important indicators of engagement in a community and the creation of cross-cutting networks that lead to resource access or flows of information (Putnam, 2000). It is important to note that such organizations do not inevitably generate social capital that benefits the larger community, nor their intended mission. In fact, community organizations have the potential to undermine creation of general welfare by benefiting only a small group (Logan and Molotch, 1987; Portes and Landolt, 1996). A group may incorporate several of the capital types:

- *Physical and natural capital* activities include groups for: historic preservation, gardens, environmental preservation, parks, community planning or councils, housing, and real estate.
- *Financial capital* activities include groups for: boosterism, Chamber of Commerce, professional associations, occupational groups, fund-raising for local charities, local markets held in the community (flea, craft, antique, or farmers), and investment for selves or the community.
- *Human capital* activities include groups for: arts, books, drama, concerts, hobbies (model railroad, computer games, hunting, quilting, crafts), recreation, athletic clubs and teams, national fraternal associations, service groups, adult or child education, parent–teacher school associations, health or specific medical issues, self-help or support, and welfare of a specific age group (elderly, youth, early childhood, families, married adults, singles).
- *Political capital* activities include groups for: political parties, political watchdog, better government, community governance, ad hoc issue advocacy (taxpayer associations), or lobbying.
- *Cultural capital* activities include groups for: religious worship or church affiliation, church outreach, ethnic nationality, ritual celebrations (Fourth of July parade, annual homecoming, or a Halloween festival), local history, and civic improvement. Capital Culture groups are: arts and crafts, art clubs, galleries, a symphony society, or music clubs.
- *Social capital* activities include groups for: patriotic and veterans associations, human and animal welfare, charity, social agencies, community councils, block and neighborhood associations, coordinating committees, federations of clubs, other interagency associations, or job clubs.

Informal Associations

These groups are more difficult to locate and assess than are formal groups. Because such groups lack a name, charter, and arise out of social networks of kin and friends, no registry

lists their existence (Warren, 1965). Yet, if the community is rich in neighborhood groups, card clubs, pot-luck gatherings, and other associations that meet regularly and informally, networks are created that provide an underlying horizontal reinforcement of the community's formal groups. Such groups emerge from interactions among neighbors, friends, or peer professionals getting together for coffee in a neighborhood or public place such as a coffee shop, book store, bar, or barber shop (Oldenburg, 1999). Among farmers, older men religiously meet at 5 or 6 AM at a local coffee shop to gossip or compare the status of fieldwork or the grain markets (Oldenburg, 1999; Salamon, 1992). Younger men meet at the volunteer firehall to play cards and talk about the same topics. Each informal group is a vital part of the information system for obtaining land, whether rental or purchase, or comparing farming practices. Older couples in Illinois farm communities meet in weekly card groups (euchre is the game), typically for their whole adult life. Older urban Jewish women similarly gather weekly to play mah jongg.

Informal groups provide an arena for socializing, where gossip flows freely. When people in small towns complain about gossip they are referring to this effective community communication network. Newcomers to such communities may never be plugged into the "grapevine" because they make no effort to forge friendships that allow them to be incorporated in these groups that crosscut the community (Salamon, 2003). It was such a "peer group" that invited in Herbert Gans and his wife in Boston that provided him the core community engagement insights for *Urban Villagers* (1962).

It is important to document the extent of community informal groups. But asking people directly if they belong to such a group, who are members, and how long the groups have existed, is the only way to identify them. Communities that possess a social context of rich informal groups are also likely to be strong in volunteerism. Citizens linked in multiple ways through complex networks of integration are associated with generating social capital that facilitates mobilization or other group activities. Social capital research assumes that connections, both formal and informal, are crucial to its generation (Putnam, 2000).

CONCLUSION

When a community study produces answers to the questions below the data should reveal patterns or repetitions that allow the construction of a distinctive community culture relevant to its voluntary organizations, and whether what matters or makes a difference to a community is associated with its existing groups. Ultimately, the information about whether and how existing voluntary organizations matter lies in analyzing the meaning underlying social connections and activities of a community (Wuthnow, 1998). Analysis of qualitative data is complex because it involves weaving together multiple types of data and synthesis of ordinary behavior to find patterns, and comparing them or confirming them with quantitative, demographic, or archival data [c.f. a classic text, Glaser and Strauss (1967)].

If data are obtained through multiple strategies and sources this triangulation process permits assessment of the effectiveness, inclusiveness, and relevance of groups associated with each of the community capitals.

- Who lives in the place and is a broad cross-section involved in community engagement?
- Do people travel far for jobs and does work interfere with volunteerism?
- What are the community's future prospects?
- Do children who grow up in the community leave or prefer to stay there? Why?

- Does the community have rich stores of social capital? How do you know?
- Does the community provide public meeting places that are used for daily interactions that contribute to community building? What are these places and who uses them?
- Do people care about community welfare? How do they demonstrate it?
- What is distinctive about volunteerism and engagement for the community?
- Are the formal organizations inclusive in that community members of all walks of life are welcome to participate?
- Do groups altruistically work for the greater good or just act in their own self-interest?
- Do groups function as the basis for mobilization, that is, act to sustain or improve the greater community (Smock, 2003)?

Community trust is a crucial indicator of whether social capital is created or is accessed by people. Trust is related to weak ties of community members acting as intermediaries who can vouch for a leader or assure a leader's trustworthiness (Granovetter, 1973). Trust facilitates mobilization of the larger group. Trust in community leadership is integrally related to the capacity to predict and affect leaders' behavior by locals. Developing the capacity to predict community actors and outcomes derives from widespread engagement in voluntary activities and cross-cutting social networks. Community members who share a vision of the future for their community are better able to focus their energies and engagement. Learning from people the extent of volunteerism, if they feel trust that others will act in their best interests, whether it is inclusive and effective, and whether there is a culture of community investment should result from these methods and data.

Civic spirit is said to exist, and communities thrive where there is widespread participation in civic affairs by those able to benefit a community through their voluntary management of civic enterprises (Mills and Ulmer, 1970; Putnam, 2000). But we know that neighborhoods or communities in most need of voluntary organizations are often those with the least capacity to create and sustain them (Logan and Molotch, 1987). Civic spirit fundamental to democracy is found in neighborhoods and places where widespread participation occurs by those able to benefit the community.

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Communities as "Big Small Groups": Culture and Social Capital

MICHAEL REISCH AND DANA GUYET

INTRODUCTION

Since the early days of the American republic, social and political observers have analyzed the role of local associations in promoting civic participation, strengthening democracy, and developing countervailing structures to those of the state. Their commentaries emphasized the importance of group solidarity, voluntarism, and reciprocity in the preservation of republican virtues. During the late nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, these perspectives played a prominent role in defining the patterns and parameters of social policies designed to assimilate an increasingly diverse U.S. population. Conversely, they also enabled minorities to resist the forces of institutional oppression in their communities.

During the past decade, scholars, policymakers, and the media have given increased attention to the significance of community building in the United States. Inspired, in part, by Robert Putnam's work, *Bowling Alone* (2000), and that of Robert Bellah and his associates (1991,1996), a flood of articles and books has examined the extent to which "civil society" and a sense of community have declined in the United States, opined about the causes of this purported decline, and suggested various means to rebuild a sense of community in an increasingly diverse, fragmented, privatized, and isolated society (Fisher and Karger, 1997).

THE ROLE OF GROUPS IN COMMUNITIES

Much of this debate has focused on such issues as the relationship between social capital and the importance of group identity and group experience, and how these concepts might be applied to community building in a multicultural environment (Hutchinson, 2004; Hyman, 2002).

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Putnam's primary measure of social capital was the number and form of civic associations or groups that exist within a given community or society. According to his hypothesis, membership in such organizations correlates to levels of civic activity, constructive interaction with neighbors, and the general level of social trust in a given locality (Claibourn and Martin, 2000). Putnam assumed that higher levels of associational activity are reflections of underlying trust and engagement in the private sphere (i.e., among individuals), and that such activity is a precondition for community success in such public arenas as education, health, and employment (Putnam, 2000). His assumptions recollect the observations of de Tocqueville in the 1830s about the propensity for Americans to form voluntary associations out of mutual self-interest (2004 edn.). They are also at the core of contemporary communitarian thinking, which seeks an alternative to a society based either on aggressive individualism or excessive dependency on the state (Etzioni, 1993).

Several questions are at the heart of this chapter's theme. To what extent are communities merely "big small groups"? How can principles of group practice be applied at the community level, particularly in regard to the development and utilization of social capital? What distinctions need to be made when the groups that comprise a community are homogeneous or heterogeneous in their demographic composition and cultural identity? These questions have been addressed by scholars of community for decades (Bakalinsky, 1984). It is to these compelling questions that we now turn.

MODELS OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter, a small group is defined as "a tangible collection of people who can discuss matters personally and together in close association" (Rothman, Erlich, and Tropman, 2001, p. 13). Small groups have long been considered critical components of the processes of community change and development. Their creation and sustenance are both ends in themselves and vehicles to implement broader social goals. In turn, according to Warren (1983), communities are composed of many formal and informal groups, each of which possesses shared values, institutions, space, and people. In each group, there are also different patterns of interpersonal relationships and power distribution, and different degrees of connection with other groups inside and outside the community. The recent emphasis on resiliency and empowerment has led to a focus on identifying and strengthening community assets, including those intangible assets that small groups possess, such as trust and mutuality (Kretzman and McKnight, 1993). The growing interest in social capital as a critical component of community work may increase the attention paid by scholars and practitioners to the importance of small groups within the community context.

Since the 1950s, the rich literature on small group behavior has emerged from different theoretical perspectives, each of which focuses on different issues. Poole et al. (2004) listed the following nine alternative frames of reference.

- *Psychodynamic*: Theories in this category attempt to deduce which inputs shape the dynamics of behavior by analyzing the linkages between group processes and outcomes. They focus "on the relationship between the emotional and nonconscious processes, and the conscious and rational processes of interpersonal interaction" (p. 335). They assume, in Lewin's words, that "nonconscious processes produce forces that control the patterns of interactions between individuals within a social context, just as physical

forces control the relative movement of objects in a field" [in McLeod and Kettner-Polley (2004, p. 345)].

- *Functional*: This perspective is particularly useful for the assessment of task-oriented groups because it focuses on the measurement of goal-oriented outcomes. It emphasizes the identification of activities and behaviors that support or limit group effectiveness (Oh, Chung, and Labianca, 2004). These "include the nature of the group's task, [its] internal structure, . . . group cohesiveness . . . and composition, and the group's environment" (Poole et al., 2004, p. 7). According to Orlitzky and Hirokawa (2001, p. 314), "the core notion of functional theory is that effective group decision making is contingent on interactions contributing to the satisfaction of critical task requirements."

- *Temporal*: This approach focuses on the development of the group over time with an emphasis on the processes of change, rather than specific inputs and outputs. It was influenced, in part, by the Functional School of social work practice developed at the University of Pennsylvania in the 1930s and 1940s.

- *Conflict/Power/Status*: Researchers using this framework examine how inequalities among group members are created and perpetuated, and the role that intra- and intergroup inequality play in determining the effectiveness of groups in achieving their stated goals.

- *Symbolic/Interpretive*: Through an analysis of "social interaction, language, symbols, and individual and collective interpretive schemes" (Poole et al., 2004, p. 9) those who apply this perspective explore the social construction of groups and the meaning assigned to members.

- *Social Identity*: The primary focus of this approach is the degree of group membership individuals feel on the basis of social identity, which affects relations between different social groups and the understanding of intragroup dynamics, particularly within heterogeneous groups.

- *Social-Evolutionary*: This perspective assumes that patterns of "natural selection" determine group norms and preferences, because of the need for all groups to survive and reproduce.

- *Social Network*: This stresses the role that groups play in the larger networks of society, and the position that particular groups have within existing networks.

- *Feminist*: Feminist scholars regard power and privilege, defined primarily in U.S. society by men, as central features of groups. This leads them to assess group dynamics in terms of gender composition and the ways in which gender roles shape group behaviors.

The broad range of models in small group theory often makes it difficult to craft a clearly defined analysis of the relationship of a particular theory to small group and community processes. A synthesis of several theoretical perspectives may be necessary to capture the richness of the small group/community dynamic. Small group research, therefore, can be applied effectively to community work, with the caveat that what occurs within small group settings may not necessarily translate to identical behaviors on a larger communitywide scale. The extensive research and theory on small groups, however, can help illuminate the micro–macro interactions that occur between members of a community, interactions that are often mediated through groups. Because, insofar as they have a collective identity and coordinate their functions, communities consist of networks of small groups and associations, formal and informal, recognition of the role these small group interactions play is a critical aspect of broader discussions on the importance of social capital (Green and Brock, 2005; Uslaner and Conley, 2003).

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND GROUP
DEVELOPMENT

Writing for the World Bank, Narayan (1997) defined social capital as "the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures and society's institutional arrangements, which enable members to achieve their individual and community objectives." Social capital is often distinguished from other forms of "capital" by its emphasis on the importance of relationships and reciprocity within and among various formal and informal groups (Portes, 1998,2000). These relationships—the outcomes of intra- and intergroup dynamics—perform several vital functions for the maintenance of what Warren (1983) termed "the good community." The ability of community groups to develop the means to overcome class, racial, and ethnic obstacles to community collaboration and the promotion of individual and social well-being is, therefore, a critical element of their social capital (Wireman, 1984; Wilson, 1997; Ziersch et al., 2005).

One of the conceptual difficulties in defining and applying the concept of social capital to group development is due to its "circularity." The sources of social capital in groups (e.g., trust, stability, and mutuality) are also its products (Browning, Feinberg, and Dietz, 2004; Coleman, 1990, cited in Cattell, 2004). Most scholars agree, however, that the existence of groups and intergroup networks with established norms and acknowledged social trust facilitate coordination, collaboration, and cooperation among their members for mutual benefit, both material and nonmaterial (Fukuyama, 1995; Newton, 2001; Putnam, 1995). These aspects of social relationships are intrinsic parts of a community's social and cultural institutions, reflected in what Putnam (1995, 2000) termed its level of "social associational engagement," in the same sense meant by Bellah et al. (1991, 1996).

There is an important linkage, however, between the existence of these formal bonds and the informal, almost invisible ties upon which they are founded. People have access to generalized norms, sanctions, and shared behaviors of reciprocity largely by virtue of their social integration into solidarity groups, networks, or organizations (Fellin, 1998). The value of these resources is directly related to the degree to which they facilitate or promote action by others in the group or lead to the acquisition of tangible and intangible benefits for the group. They are, therefore, context specific and unevenly distributed (Colombo and Senatore, 2005). Thus, the linkage to group membership is critical to understanding the role of social capital and its distinction from more individually focused concepts such as human and political capital. In sum, there is near-universal agreement among scholars that social capital can only be created and applied in a group context (Coleman, 1988, quoted in Foley and Edwards, 1998; Wilson, 1997).

There is considerable controversy over the roles that culture and cultural identity play in generating group and intergroup norms such as tolerance, mutuality, and trust.[1] Consciousness of these shared attributes determines what types of relationships occur among individuals and groups, how trust and acceptance are signified, what constitutes shared interests and values, and what patterns of complex intergroup networks develop to produce positive outcomes for the community or group as a whole (Claibourn and Martin, 2000). This is a critical element in explaining the variations that exist among communities, but especially within economically and politically disadvantaged communities (Jacobs, 1961).

The role that religious organizations have played in creating "the social networks and norms that enable people to work together for common goals," particularly in racial minority communities, illustrates the importance of a common cultural identity in the creation of social capital (Steinfels, 1996). Rivera and Erlich (1998) and Delgado (1994) assert that cultural

identity or difference should be a primary determinant of the role organizers play in relation to particular communities. Gutierrez and Lewis (1998, p. 110) go so far as to suggest that in organizing among women of color "the small group provides the ideal environment for exploring the social and political aspects of 'personal' problems and for developing strategies for work toward social change."

Some scholars argue, however, that a focus on so-called "identity politics" has hindered the formation of coalitions that bridge racial and ethnic divides (Fisher and Karger, 1997). Others point out that groups formed primarily around exclusivity and shared cultural identity often produce negative outcomes for the community (Woolcock, 2004; Wakefield and Poland, 2005).

WHO'S "IN" AND WHO'S "OUT"?

This question symbolizes one of the most contested topics in the literature of group and community theory. Most explanations of the relationship between group membership and community development reflect "the belief among community members that other community members, and the community as a whole, are worth the struggle and effort that collective action requires," that is, the formation of networks and coalitions (Castelloe, quoted in Gamble and Hoff, 2005, p. 179). In recent years, long-standing assumptions about the role of groups in community development, based on norms and preferences within the dominant culture, have been effectively challenged by scholars and activists promoting a multicultural perspective. The latter have pointed out the exclusionary tendencies of group membership "rules" in most communities and the multiple challenges individuals from marginalized populations experience in their efforts to participate fully in community activities. This perspective acknowledges that intergroup conflict emerges from differences in cognition and culture that are compounded "by ideological and political dissension regarding the allocation of resources and feelings of injustice" (Bargal, 2004, p. 303).

One response to these structural barriers has been to reframe the isolation of these groups from a problem into an asset by stressing the strengths of their cultural values and the potential power their homogeneity provides. Some scholars have reinforced this effort by pointing out the critical role that "bonding social capital" (i.e., intragroup relationships) plays in enabling group members "to successfully navigate the multiple worlds of family, school, neighborhood and community" (Farrell, Jr., and Johnson, Jr., 2005, p. 502). This assumes that maintaining a common social identity within a group is a prerequisite to obtaining vital emotional and material supports.

Others have stressed the values of culture, family, and spirituality as means of expanding community engagement (Gutierrez et al., 2005). They suggest that such assets allow previously marginalized groups to build connections with and across communities. This would require groups to recognize and build upon diversity and by embracing "conflicts within that diversity . . . seek to bridge differences through recognition of similarities in small group membership, values, and goals" (p. 176). It is not clear, however, how the celebration of difference leads to the identification of common ground.

Another response to the challenges of group membership has been to develop new group structures—ranging from religious congregations to business cooperatives—to forge both bonding and bridging social capital and contribute to the strengthening of communities. This approach reflects the view that groups can be vehicles to reduce intergroup tensions and strengthen ties between hostile community formations. It also reflects the belief that alternative

group forms can be vehicles that cross racial, ethnic, class, geographic, and political lines and bypass the tensions those lines generate (Cnaan et al., 2005). History demonstrates, however, that the creation of these integrated networks or groups may, in turn, produce another basis of community division that proves equally intractable.

THE IMPACT OF GROUP HISTORY

According to the "mutual aid model" of group development formulated by Schwartz (1986), the existence of similar backgrounds and the awareness of common issues enable group members to act together to gain greater control over their environments. Guided by principles of reciprocity, group participation in collective action serves several reinforcing purposes. It increases the likelihood of the group acquiring attention in and resources from the community. It breaks down the isolation individuals experience, protects them from reprisals, and gives them "a sense of competence and efficacy" (Gitterman, 2004, p. 99). These "successes" promote greater reliance on mutual aid and strengthen the group internally. In today's context, however, one of the assumptions of this model, that a mutually dependent relationship exists both among group members and between the group and the environment, may no longer be valid.

THE COMMUNICATION OF GROUP NORMS
AND VALUES

Research on small group formation indicates that task-oriented groups exist to address issues that go beyond individuals needs. These are issues that can only be addressed in the community context through some type of formal organization. At their best, such small groups serve as "democratic microcosms" as well as systems of mutual aid. Through their unique structure and process, such groups become simultaneously decision makers and "incubators of organizational culture" (Ephross and Vassil, 2004, pp. 402–403). This view of small group behavior assumes the pre-existence of norms of civility and authority that are based on the presumed "universality" of these values. Ironically, in an increasingly multicultural society, it is these very norms that are contested and that serve as barriers to intergroup cooperation at the community level.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GROUP GOALS,
PROCESSES, AND BEHAVIORS

One effective means that groups employ as a strategy for social change is popular education, which includes the use of cultural activities, such as theater, as developed by Augusto Boal and others in Latin America. It is similar to empowerment theory in its emphasis on the use of cocreated knowledge and dialogue to increase a group's power and understanding of democracy, its belief in the importance of collective action, and its linkage of what Mills termed "private troubles" and "public issues." Unlike traditional community development theory, which promotes democratic participation through groups for its own sake, popular education exalts democratic principles within groups specifically "to preserve culture and insure that oppressive regimes... have little room to grow" (Finn, Jacobson, and Campana, 2004, p. 332). Groups become havens that provide security and stability, and instill a collectivist spirit through self-help and mutual aid.

THE "COST" OF GROUP MEMBERSHIP

Particularly for individuals who lack resources and power, group membership provides an opportunity to locate and obtain essential resources and to diminish existing barriers to critical services. "The mutual aid relationships established in [such] group[s] serve as the core of more expansive networks as members begin to identify and interact with others in relevant communities and systems to effect institutional or social change" (Carr, 2004, p. 362). The "cost" to members is ongoing participation in both dialogue and collective action that leads not merely to raising individuals' consciousness but to intragroup transformation and planning for extragroup involvement. Due to economic and social circumstances, certain individuals are more likely to be able and willing to pay these costs on a consistent basis.

Power and Group Participation

From an empowerment perspective, effective group organization and performance can dismantle oppressive social and political structures that prevent its members "from accessing needed resources and . . . from participating in the life of their community" Breton, 2004, p. 59). Through a process that combines consciousness-raising with social action (what Friere (2000) termed "conscientization"), they help individuals connect personal and interpersonal circumstances to the wider environmental context. They use the group as a sanctuary in which members "experience new ways of acting and interacting" derived from their revised perceptions of themselves and the world (Breton, 2004, p. 60).

As Bolland and McCallum (2002) point out, the fulfillment of this group empowerment-oriented objective requires mobilization and organization both inside and outside the group itself. So-called "empowerment work" and community work are, therefore, interconnected. There is both a need to create partnerships between groups and communities and to connect groups to external community resources. If successful, such efforts help group members "see themselves as members of a community and eventually to fully participate in the life of that community" (Breton, 2004, p. 60).

A major obstacle to this goal is that the prevailing institutional structure with which such groups must contend places them at a distinct power and resource disadvantage. Often, there is little incentive for existing institutions to share power or to allow emerging groups to access critical decision-making processes. This creates a fundamental dilemma: to avoid social marginalization and powerlessness, emerging groups must be allowed to participate meaningfully (at least to some degree) in community decision making. Yet, the very factors that often promote the process of intragroup empowerment—collective identification of needs, definition of group membership, and self-determination of mission and goals—can make it more difficult to form essential linkages with other, more powerful groups in the community.

VARIATIONS IN GROUP IDENTITY AND
THEIR CONSEQUENCES FOR GROUPS

Most of the literature on this subject has found little difference in the forms of social capital created by groups that come together under different auspices. All of these groups share certain common features. They consist of large numbers of people acting on their own behalf. They emphasize participatory democratic processes, the promotion of indigenous leadership, and the

development of effective organizational structures. The primary differences revolve around the extent to which group members come from oppressed or disadvantaged populations (however divided); the types of strategies used to effect power relations in the community (because this determines the nature of intergroup relationships); and the degree to which "turf" issues maintain existing demographic divisions (Staples, 2004).

OVERCOMING CULTURAL BARRIERS TO CREATE INTERGROUP TIES

The distinction within the social capital literature between "bonding" and "bridging" capital may also be useful in answering some of these questions. The former refers to relationships that strengthen ties among individuals and groups who have similar attributes or interests, have prior knowledge or contact with each other, exist in close proximity to each other, and share some affinity. The latter refers to connections or attempts at forming connections among individuals or groups who lack previous contacts, shared attributes, proximity, or natural affinities (Vidal and Gittell, 1998; Putnam, 2000). The distinctions may also help resolve two critical contemporary issues: how do small groups with high levels of bonding capital create linkages that strengthen their communities, and, how can heterogeneous communities develop bridging capital for their mutual betterment (Rohe, 2004).

Although the implied connection between small group solidarity and community strength is widely accepted, some scholars have questioned the utility of Putnam's formulation as a guide to community development or mobilization efforts. Edwards and Foley (1998) argue that the distinction between private and public groups needs to be emphasized, particularly regarding the interplay among them. They also criticize Putnam for adding a moral and ethical dimension to the definition—which in Coleman's framework (1990) was morally and ethically neutral—by identifying certain forms of social capital as preferable. They assert it is likely that groups will create forms of social capital designed to meet the needs of their specific communities. The value of these groups and the resources they generate cannot, therefore, be assessed by a universal standard (Stolle and Rochon, 1998).

In sum, group formation and sustenance and intergroup relationships are widely regarded as essential ingredients of successful social capital development because of the importance "of social networks and norms that facilitate trust and the ability to achieve individual and collective goals" (Saegert and Winkel, 2004, p. 220). Groups generate social capital for both individual and collective benefit. The characteristics of individual members shape its social capital even as it becomes the group's collective property. The ability of groups to forge "a conceptual link between an individual's particular social relationships and the social organization of a larger collective" occurs most effectively when group members have overlapping interactions and more complex patterns of relationship (p. 220). That is, in communities where the same people interact in more than one group setting, such as in congregations and schools, their relationships have multiple and richer dimensions (Saegert and Winkel, 2004).

The ability of groups at the community or neighborhood level to sustain such features as inclusive social ties, tolerance, solidarity, and trust is determined by both internal and external resources and conditions (Cattell, 2004; Hechter, 1987). Researchers interested in empowerment, for example, have found that group activity not only increases a sense of individual empowerment, it also empowers group members on a collective basis. This process occurs most effectively at the local level not through informal social ties alone, but through a combination of informal relationships and formal organizational structures (Saegert and Winkel, 2004).

Because neighborhood context is so critical to successful group formation, it is important to point out that not all group outcomes are uniformly positive or socially desirable. For example, gangs may enhance their members' sense of self-efficacy and community, but these benefits have limited value outside the immediate environment of the group. Moreover, their overall impact on the community is typically negative.

Another example is associations that are characterized by nepotism. They may not act illegally, but their structure reflects an abuse of power and trust, and denies others access to important networks or collective goods (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). A third illustration consists of private groups formed for exclusionary purposes that may exacerbate existing inequalities within communities. Issues of both structure (i.e., the organization and composition of a particular group) and agency (i.e., how a group makes decisions, acts on its own behalf, and affects the external environment in which it exists) can often be attributed, therefore, to the ways in which mutual trust and reciprocity are applied outside the group, not just how they are created within it (Cattell, 2004).

Thus, for both negative and positive reasons, small groups play a critical role in forging a sense of neighborhood and community identity and in creating networks that include or exclude individuals from vital resources, supports, and systems, such as jobs and housing (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). Through their emphasis on neighborliness, duty, and mutuality, groups also encourage more extensive participation in community activities and facilitate "people's capacity to prevent and solve ... problems" (Lelieveldt, 2004, p. 531). Networks at the community level can be particularly crucial to disadvantaged populations because they facilitate access to resources that otherwise may be unavailable to group members as individuals. This occurs more frequently in groups with clear membership boundaries and shared norms. Sometimes, however, these purported assets can limit the long-term prospects of group members, particularly if they serve to distance them from connections and resources that lie outside their community borders (Wakefield and Poland, 2005).

This complex dynamic is also reflected in the differences between approaches to community development that focus on community integration and those that emphasize community involvement. "Integration models" strive to strengthen internal community bonds and cohesion, whereas those that promote greater involvement concentrate on bringing the community into the larger decision-making process to ensure the sustainability of community change. Both approaches regard these outcomes as means to empower community members, individually and collectively, although the processes by which they are created differ substantially (Saegert and Winkel, 2004).

In fact, the social distance between groups in heterogeneous communities makes their collective empowerment through "bridging" social capital very difficult to achieve. Research reveals that people are more likely to create ties with those they believe are similar to them. Brass and Labianca (1999) observed that "similarity is thought to ease communication, increase predictability of behavior, and foster trust and reciprocity" (p. 51, quoted in Katz et al., 2004). Yet, unless disadvantaged groups form alliances with groups that possess higher power and status, "systems of domination between groups [will continue to] interact with systems of domination within groups, to the potential detriment of the most marginalized elements of society" (Wakefield and Poland, 2005, p. 2827).

Some studies have found that homogeneous groups are more likely to generate stronger bonds of trust and collective power (Lopez and Stack, 2001). Conversely, other research indicates that creating a sense of shared values and goals where clear homogeneity among group members does not exist is crucial to the development of cooperation within the group. In addition, high levels of "bonding capital" in homogeneous communities can be detrimental to their

overall well-being because the same factors that strengthen internal ties prevent the formation of linkages to external networks that possess critical resources and power (Uslaner and Conley, 2003).

The current literature contains few solutions to this dilemma. Scholars and activists recognize the need for more discussions of group identity and its role in strengthening communities. Yet, "most analyses of neighborhood mobilization only focus on [its] structural dimension ... and pay relatively little attention to [issues] ... such as trust" (Lelieveldt, 2004, p. 533; Bolland and McCallum, 2002). Although it is widely recognized that trust influences one's commitment to participation, there are scant suggestions as to how the linkage between structures such as networks and coalitions produces this asset. In fact, some influential elements of the practice literature articulate the inherent difficulties of creating trust across racial, ethnic, gender, and class lines (Yan, 2004; Pearlmutter, 2002; Rivera and Erlich, 1998). To further complicate matters, some argue that generalized trust—that is, trust of "others" outside one's own cultural group—is a necessary precondition for civic engagement (Marshall and Stolle, 2004; Newton, 2001; Theiss-Morse and Hibbing, 2005; Uslaner and Conley, 2003).

On a more positive note, small group research provides some useful insights regarding the role of social identity in the creation of group identity. Studies have found that members bring their social identity to the group, which obviously affects its "culture," patterns of interaction, and shared goals. One implication is that if the social identity of members does not significantly overlap, this may weaken the process of forging a common group identity (Henry, Arrow, and Carini, 1999). Examining the small groups that exist within a community, particularly in terms of their internal dynamics and success in goal attainment, provides a means of assessing the characteristics associated with the degree of social capital formation the community has achieved. It also provides a point of initiation for community work and may hold some solutions to prevailing challenges in the community development and organizing field.

THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN SMALL GROUP THEORY

The role of identity is a common concern in the literature of both group and community theory. There is an important difference in this regard, however, between the concepts used in small group theory and current research on social capital. Group theory makes a critical distinction between *social identity* and *group identification*. Social identity does not require actual interaction with a group. It creates an in-group/out-group dynamic solely due to one's self-categorization.

By contrast, group identification deals with one's attachment to a group. Henry et al. (1999) suggest that group identification emerges from cognitive (social categorization), affective (interpersonal attraction), and behavioral (interdependence) sources, and suggest "that the term *group identification* be used to refer to the individual-level process and the term *group identity* be used to refer to the distinctive identity of the group as a collective, analogous to the term *corporate identity*" (p. 561).

These constructs are interrelated because group members bring their social identity to every group situation. If the social identity of group members does not overlap, this may weaken their group identity and their ability to establish and adhere to norms of cooperation and trust, central features of social capital. Conversely, if group members are able to develop shared vision, mission, and goals and, by working together, find the means to implement

these goals, this behavioral interdependence may strengthen their sense of cohesion and group identification. In turn, this may alter group members' cognitive process of self-categorization and produce a revised social identity, based on a new "social collective."

Small group research also indicates that creating a sense of shared values and goals where obvious social homogeneity among group members does not exist is crucial to the development of both intragroup and intergroup cooperation. According to Henry et al. (1999), "the cognitive process of self-categorization can either facilitate or hinder the emergence of group identification." (p. 564). Within this process, "similarity . . . ease[s] communication, . . . predictability of behavior, and [helps] foster trust and reciprocity" (Brass, 1995, p. 51, quoted in Katz et al., 2004). A strong sense of group identity, in turn, has a positive impact on a group contributions to community development (Hutchinson, 2004; Hyman, 2002; Pantoja, 1999; Yabes, 2001). Small group theory is of particular interest here because it provides detail as to which group components are crucial based on its purpose, structure, and goals (Hare, 2003). Thus, looking at the range and variety of small groups that exist in a community, and, specifically, at the relationship between their internal dynamics and effectiveness in goal attainment, can contribute to the construction of the community "map" that Edwards and Foley (1998) argue is essential to determine which types of community activities are most closely related to social capital development.

Authors such as Hare (2003) have used small group research to determine what type of social capital is necessary for specific communities to develop based on their issues, mission, and goals. Small group theory also may help to understand the complexity of intragroup and intergroup relationships and the changes that occur to individuals as a result of these relationships. There are, however, certain limitations to the application of the findings from small group research to larger community settings. Factors such as group size, various motives for group participation, differences between group and individual productivity, the role of leaders, and the impact of the external environment all play a critical role.

INTERGROUP RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

Another linking concept pertains to intergroup relationships: the role of networks in small group theory and "bridging" capital in the social capital literature. In small group theory, a network consists of a set of actors and the relations among them. The actors can be at any level, from individuals to organizations, and the relationships can occur within or across actors. Particularly in communities, multiple networks exist and actors typically share more than one type of connection (Kavanaugh et al., 2005). Group boundaries are not always clearly defined. The group relationships one forges provide both access to resources and constraints on self-interest. Individuals create these relationships to exchange resources and access the skills and connections of others. In turn, the ties they form in pursuit of their own goals support the creation of social capital among individuals who come to act out of perceived mutual interest (Katz et al., 2004; Oh et al., 2004).

In this light, small group research since the 1990s has made several important findings that complement the work being done around social capital.

- Groups with more ties are more effective than those with fewer ties;
- Extensive internal ties can lead to conflict between subgroups which weakens the overall group structure;

- The value and importance of external ties varies depending on the specific task of the group;
- The value of external ties depends on how well-resourced a community is. This underscores the dilemma confronting disadvantaged communities: those communities that need the most extensive intergroup (network) ties to effect positive change are often those that lack the capacity to create them. In effect, "the impact of external ties may depend on a whole set of structural and institutional contingencies that are just beginning to be explored" (Katz et al., 2004, p. 323).

CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE OF GROUPS IN TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY COMMUNITIES

Recent research on the role of groups in the community context has discerned "complex, and at times, contradictory findings" (Ziersch et al., 2005, p. 81). For example, a study by Uslaner and Conley (2003) determined that a strong connection to one's ethnic group does not necessarily promote the development of social capital as much as would be established by stronger associational ties outside one's culture. Green and Brock (2005) assert that both informal social connections and formal organizational ties contribute to the development of social capital, but in very different and potentially complementary ways. This counters Putnam's assumption that participation in civic activities is what matters most, by arguing that the type of participation may be more significant, especially regarding its long-term impact. Thus, different types of networks with different underlying values shape the overall nature of a community's civic engagement.

> Social ties stemming from a group can build bridges either if the group's membership is heterogeneous or if its members reach out to other homogeneous groups.... Ethnic groups [alone]... can not promote social cooperation.... Ethnic groups [however] may build bridges with other social networks or formal groups. But to do so, they must depend upon generalized trust rather than particularized trust.... [This] will not be created when like-minded people only interact with each other. So the key question is likely to be: what values and social networks people bring to civic groups rather than what they take out of them (Uslaner and Conley, p. 355).

The assessment of the role of groups in building strong communities, therefore, depends as much on asking the right questions in the right manner to the right people. From a methodological perspective, this is further complicated by researchers' ignorance as to whether their inquiries are being communicated in a manner that is culturally and linguistically compatible with the community under study.

Another contemporary theme is that concepts such as group solidarity, reciprocity, and mutual trust can only be measured in terms of their potential within a given community and not their actual utility in the mobilization of community members (Wong, 2004). There are considerable difficulties in demonstrating their specific effects because there are so many other intervening variables that influence their usage.

Recent scholarship has also produced a more nuanced view of the impact and value of social groups within communities and society as a whole. Today, there is widespread recognition that the presence of social capital can benefit one group while harming others, particularly when both public policies and market forces "reflect and reward the social-cultural capital of upper classes and devalue that of lower classes thereby insuring the reproduction of inequality" (Bourdieu, quoted in Lopez and Stack, 2001, p. 32). The ability of marginalized groups to cultivate their potential strengths and assets is, therefore, diminished by the unequal

distribution of political power and other forms of capital. Strengthening groups in disadvantaged communities, therefore, requires knowledge of these structures, the unique cultures of the communities themselves, and access to a complex range of social, political, economic, and cultural processes (Riposa, 1996). Yet, class and cultural barriers make the acquisition and understanding of this knowledge more difficult than ever.

Finally, there is an emerging consensus that some combination of the following steps are required to promote group and intergroup development in isolated disadvantaged communities.

- Change the substance of public policies that preserve the imbalance of social capital and the political processes that constrain efforts to revise these policies.
- Answer the long-standing question posed by Foner (2001)—"Who is an American?"—in the broadest possible way.
- Develop means for community groups to translate the social and cultural assets they possess into political and financial capital. This will require greater intercommunity and interorganizational linkages across race, class, and cultural boundaries and more emphasis on developing "bridging" rather than "bonding" social capital. It will also require greater attention to ways in which generalized, rather than particularized, trust can be created.

This last point relates to small group theory in an intuitive way. Without an understanding of and respect for the culture of a group, the group's potential will be limited or remain unrecognized. Conversely, greater awareness of the dynamics that occur within ethnically homogeneous communities would facilitate the bridge-building processes that are critical for the creation of a more equitable society. Future research may need to focus more on how small group theory can inform our understanding of these processes and the factors that restrict or promote the development of generalized intergroup trust. In the final account, communities are certainly more than "big small groups" but they cannot survive or thrive without a sophisticated understanding of the role such groups play in their individual and collective betterment.

NOTE

1. Although the meaning of "culture" is also frequently contested, in this discussion it refers to mutual interests and a sense of identity based on shared customs, norms, beliefs, behaviors, history, and language (Fellin, 1998; Lopez and Stack, 2001). Other authors would include a shared sense of race, ethnicity, gender, class, religion, sexual identity, or generation (Hill Collins, 1998; Gutierrez and Lewis, 1998; Ards, 1999).

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Sense of Community and Community Building

MARY HYDE AND DAVID CHAVIS

INTRODUCTION

Improving the quality of life through the strengthening of the social fabric of relations is an important goal for practitioners and scientists addressing all social issues whether it be for prevention, intervention, treatment, or broad social change agendas. The social and medical sciences offer a wide range of terms for that feeling of connection among people and the benefits (and costs) that come from resulting behaviors whether it be called social capital, social support, neighborhood cohesion, place attachment, or sense of community; that feeling of connectedness with others, the feeling that we are a part of community, is one of the most basic human needs. Community is the human ecology. We use the term "sense of community" to describe that perception of belonging that makes us feel good and safe. The other terms, cohesion and attachment, are variations on this same basic human experience. Social capital and social support reflect the relationships that are part of a community.

Over 65 years of social science research in the United States has shown that having a sense of community (under the same and different names) is strongly associated with lower levels of mental, social, and health disorders. (Chavis and Newbrough, 1986). Having a sense of community has also been shown as a protective factor and a major contributor to an individual's resilience to health and other disorders (Kobasa, 1979; Chavis and Newbrough, 1986). Building a sense of community among group members can also serve as a catalyst for community change. Sense of community can encourage participation in neighborhood block associations as a collective response to community stressors, and involvement in community development (Bachrach and Zautra, 1985; Chavis, 1983; Chavis and Wandersman, 1990; Florin and Wandersman, 1984; Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980).

Sense of community fundamentally refers to an individual's experience of community life. Individual perceptions of community influence interactions with other community members. The purpose and quality of these interactions determine a community's vitality. A critical dimension of community life, therefore, is how it is experienced and valued by its members. Person–group transactions involve complex psychological responses and social processes.

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Community psychologists have devoted considerable attention to the psychological responses and social processes underlying sense of community.

Four benchmark publications review sense of community theory, research, measurement, and application. McMillan and Chavis (1986) reviewed initial studies in the area of sense of community and articulated the first formal theory of sense of community. Although the dimensions and measurement of McMillan and Chavis' theoretical model have been critiqued over the years, an alternative theory has not been developed. Since 1986, the *Journal of Community Psychology* issued two special editions (Chavis and Pretty, 1999; Newbrough, 1996) devoted to research on sense of community. The fourth publication (Fisher, Sonn, and Bishop, 2002) is an edited book that examines sense of community in locational communities, in specific settings (e.g., university campus, church), among specific groups (e.g., young people, immigrants), and reviews theoretical and methodological advances.

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of community definitions. A section on sense of community theory follows. Next, what research on sense of community has taught us is considered. Methods for measuring sense of community are reviewed in the next section. Examples of how the elements of sense of community can be used as a framework for community building are described next. Finally, we conclude by suggesting next steps for practitioners and scientists.

DEFINITIONS OF COMMUNITY

Social scientists have debated about how to define community since at least the turn of the last century [c.f., Hillery (1955)]. Is the community simply a geographic area, a territory, or locale? Is the essence of community the social interactions that occur within geographic boundaries? Or is the best conceptualization of community a locality-based social unit? It seems safe to say that most scholars would agree on the latter definition, and depending on their discipline's focus, researchers have focused on either the geographic area [c.f., Tuan (1974)] or the social life it contains [c.f., McDougall (1993)].

INDIVIDUALS BELONG TO MULTIPLE COMMUNITIES

Individuals are simultaneously connected to multiple communities both territorial and relational (e.g., neighborhood, workplace, church, hobby, political). The salience and importance of the various communities to which individuals belong vary over the life span and can change as individual needs change. Local communities may not be as important as they once were for those with resources to be mobile and for those whose economic needs cannot be met by the local residential environment (Hunter, 1974; Hunter and Riger, 1986; Popenoe, 1973). For example, middle- and upper-middle-class professionals often work outside the local community; they develop social contacts beyond the local area and often have relatively high mobility rates. Others, however, rely much more on the local environment for social, emotional, and physical well-being. For children, older people, those with illnesses, the handicapped, informal helpers, and the poor, the local residential community is their most important source of support outside their family networks. As Durkheim (1964) observed, however, modern society—especially segments with resources—develops community around interests and skills (e.g., profession,

sports, childcare) more than around locality. Virtual communities have emerged as a major part of modern life for many (Hill, 1996).

SENSE OF COMMUNITY THEORY

Sarason's book, *The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for a Community Psychology* (1974, p. 157), introduced the term "sense of community" and defined it as:

> The perception of similarity to others, an acknowledged interdependence with others, a willingness to maintain this interdependence by giving to or doing for others what one expects from them, the feeling that one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure.

A key element of Sarason's conceptualization of sense of community includes the affective quality of feeling as though one belongs. Also inherent to Sarason's description of sense of community is the notion of interdependence. Sarason illustrated his point about interdependence with an examination of how isolation from the larger community can harm everyone and not just the isolated individuals. For instance, Sarason described his observations of the deleterious effects associated with placing delinquent boys in a residential institution. Removal from family and community accentuated the boys' feelings of being different and rejected. The sense of community among families and their sons was further attenuated. Professional staff was perceived by their community colleagues as second-rate because of their decision to work with presumably lost causes. The local community assumed no responsibility for the residential institution, leaving no relationship between the institution and the community other than an economic one.

Underlying Sarason's conceptualization of the construct are a few key assumptions that have subtly influenced how researchers think of sense of community. First, Sarason assumes that in order to have a meaningful existence, people must experience feelings of belonging to their community. Experiencing a meaningful life is considered critical to psychological well-being which justifies studying the phenomenon for community psychologists. Second, just as scholars such as Wirth (1938) and Nisbet (1953) did before him, Sarason assumes that with advances in communication and transportation technologies there has been a decline in primary ties in our communities and that decline prevents us from experiencing a sense of community.

Attempts to transform Sarason's sense of community concept into an operational construct occurred about seven years after publication of his book. Glynn (1981) developed a 120-item community questionnaire to assess the psychological sense of community of residents living in three different communities. Ahlbrandt and Cunningham (1979) operationalized sense of community by asking residents about neighborhood characteristics and their feelings of loyalty to the neighborhood versus the city. Davidson and Cotter (1986) created a sense of community index using the city as referent and asked residents questions about the city, the people, their attachment to neighborhood and house, their satisfaction with the neighborhood, and their feelings of belonging. Unger and Wandersman (1985) considered sense of community as one element comprising a system of neighboring. McMillan and Chavis (1986) synthesized the theories and research findings from social psychology, including group dynamics, power, conformity, social competence, and group cohesion as well as other social sciences such as sociology and anthropology to develop the most commonly cited definition to date.

McMillan and Chavis (1986) developed a theory-based definition of sense of community. McMillan and Chavis defined a sense of community as a perception with an affective component

(i.e., feeling). They define it as "a feeling that members have a belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together (p. 9). Four dimensions were included in their definition: membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection. *Membership* is the feeling of belonging, earned as a result of investing part of oneself to become a member. Membership includes five attributes: boundaries, safety or trust, a sense of belonging and identification, personal investment, and a common symbol system. Boundaries ensure protection for intimacy or safety. Intimacy creates a sense of belonging and identification that facilitates the development of a common symbol system (e.g., myths, symbols, rituals, rites, ceremonies, holidays) which in turn defines the community's boundaries. Feelings of belonging and safety lead to personal investment in the community.

   Influence is the idea that a member's attraction to a group depends upon his or her influence over the group as well as the ability of the group to influence its members. Group influence over its members is essential for cohesiveness. Communities form and maintain themselves around meeting common needs. People associate with communities in which their needs are reinforced. *Integration and fulfillment of needs*, therefore, is the dynamic between the person and the community that is rewarding for both the individual and the collectivity. Shared values among people help foster the belief that in joining together members' needs will be satisfied given their similarity. *Shared emotional connection* refers to a shared history, either through direct participation in creating the history or indirect identification with the history. This connection is also determined by frequent and positive interaction, important events to share and ways to resolve them positively, opportunities to honor members, opportunities to invest in the community, and experiencing a spiritual bond among members. McMillan and Chavis' sense of community theory is expected to apply equally to territorial communities and to relational communities.

   More recent theoretical developments include Brodsky, Loomis, and Marx's (2002) expansion of our understanding of a sense of community to include two additional dimensions for consideration. Brodsky et al. conceptualize sense of community as a continuous bipolar construct that ranges from positive through neutral and negative (versus present or absent). This was based on her work (1996) with resilient single mothers in risky neighborhoods. These mothers had a negative sense of community (e.g., rejected identification with a less competent community) which they attributed to their psychological well-being and adjustment. Additionally, Brodsky and her colleagues recommend expanding the number of communities explored in order to reflect the fact that individuals are simultaneous members of multiple communities. The example they give is an individual may live in one neighborhood, work in another geographic community, attend school in yet another distinct community, and have community allegiances to any number of relational communities that may or may not share a geographic locale with each other. Individuals may also identify with a school as well as its separate subcommunities such as students, faculty, staff, athletes, Muslim students, and so on.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY RESEARCH

Throughout the last two decades, community psychologists have studied sense of community in a wide variety of contexts and with various specialized populations (Plas and Lewis, 1996). Contexts in which sense of community has been assessed include neighborhoods (Brodsky, 1996; Chavis and Wandersman, 1990; Pretty, Andrewes, and Collett, 1994; Pretty et al.,

1996; Unger and Wandersman, 1982, 1983, 1985; Wilson and Baldassare, 1996), the university (Lounsbury and DeNeui, 1996; McCarthy, Pretty, and Catano, 1990), the high school (Bateman, 2002; Pretty, Andrewes, and Collett, 1994; Pretty et al., 1996; Royal and Rossi, 1996), correctional facilities (Redman and Fisher, 2002), an alcohol treatment facility (Ferrari et al., 2002), church (Miers and Fisher, 2002), and the workplace (Klein and D'Aunno, 1986; Lambert and Hopkins, 1995; Mahan et al., 2002; Pretty and McCarthy, 1991; Royal and Rossi, 1996). Sense of community is experienced in all of these contexts.

Specific types of groups that researchers have examined in relation to sense of community include the mentally retarded (Dunne, 1986), the mentally ill (Cooley, 1982), immigrants (Regis, 1988; Sonn, 2002), the elderly (Minkler, 1985), young people (Pretty, 2002), people classified as Colored in South Africa (Sonn and Fisher, 1996), virtual environments (Roberts, Smith, and Pollock, 2002), aboriginal Australian people (Dudgeon et al., 2002), and single mothers (Brodsky, 1996). Sense of community is experienced by members of these various groups.

Beyond measuring sense of community in different contexts and with different populations, much research has examined associations between sense of community and other individual-level variables. These studies essentially ask, "Who has a high sense of community?" Scholars have found sense of community to be positively associated with subjective well-being (Davidson and Cotter, 1991; McCarthy, Pretty, and Catano, 1990; Pretty et al., 1996); extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and neuroticism (Lounsbury, Loveland, and Gibson, 2003); age, income, and length of residence (Brodsky, O'Campo, and Aronson, 1999; Davidson and Cotter, 1986; Davidson, Cotter, and Stovall, 1991; Glynn, 1986; Unger and Wandersman, 1982); and with having children (Obst, Smith, and Zinkiewicz, 2002; Unger and Wandersman, 1982).

Scholars have also been very interested in potential associations between neighborhood or community-level characteristics and sense of community, asking "What types of places are associated with sense of community?" Brodsky, O'Campo, and Aronson (1999) surveyed 914 residents in three Baltimore communities and found positive associations between sense of community and community levels of voter registration and homeownership and negative associations between sense of community and average household size, population density, and percentage not in the labor force. Kingston et al. (1999), in their examination of 2409 residents in 21 neighborhoods of a Northeastern city, did not find, as they had expected, sense of community to be associated with the presence of a neighborhood association or other neighborhood characteristics (boundaries that discourage through traffic, open spaces, and existence of local shops). They did, however, find that perceptions of sense of community vary at the community level.

Ultimately, many scholars have been interested in understanding how sense of community is related to social and civic participation. Sense of community can promote community involvement (Chavis and Wandersman, 1990; Kingston et al., 1999) and community development (Unger and Wandersman, 1982; Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980). For instance, positive associations have been found between sense of community and "neighboring" [discourse among neighbors about neighborhood events and critical community issues (violence, teen pregnancy, etc.; Ball-Rokeach, Kim, and Matei (2001); Bolland and McCallum (2002); Prezza et al. (2001)], charitable giving and civic involvement (Davidson and Cotter, 1986), participation in local organizations (Obst, Smith, and Zinkiewicz, 2002), participation in religious or community organizations (Brodsky, O'Campo, and Aronson, 1999), and voting, contacting officials, working on public problems, and political participation overall (Davidson and Cotter, 1989).

SENSE OF COMMUNITY MEASUREMENT

Questionnaires

McMillan and Chavis (1986) developed a theory-based definition of sense of community in 1986 that captured four dimensions of an individual's experience in a geographic community (membership, influence, reinforcement of needs, and shared emotional connection). That same year, in collaboration with Hogge and Wandersman (Chavis et al., 1986), they developed the Sense of Community Scale in order to validate sense of community as an empirically sound and measurable construct. Based on this work, a more easily administered questionnaire was developed called the Sense of Community Index (SCI) (Chavis et al., 1987; Perkins et al., 1990). The Sense of Community Index is shown in Table 11.1.

Many researchers have modified the SCI instrument since its development to examine sense of community in different settings and populations such as workplaces (Burroughs and Eby, 1998; Klein and D'Aunno, 1986; Lambert and Hopkins, 1995; Pretty and McCarthy, 1991; Royal and Rossi, 1996), universities (Lounsbury and DeNeui, 1996; McCarthy, Pretty, and Catano, 1990), high schools (Pretty, Andrews, and Collett, 1994; Pretty et al., 1996; Royal and Rossi,1996), religious organizations (Maton and Salem, 1995), community organizations (Hughey, Speer, and Peterson, 1999), and with adolescents (Pretty et al., 1996), drug addicts,

TABLE 11.1. Sense of Community Index

I am going to read some statements that people might make about their [block]. Each time I read one of these statements, please tell me if it is mostly true or mostly false about your [block] simply by saying "true" or "false"

True = 1		False = 0

Q1.   I think my [block] is a good place for me to live.
Q2.   People on this [block] do not share the same values.
Q3.   My [neighbors] and I want the same things from the [block].
Q4.   I can recognize most of the people who live on my [block].
Q5.   I feel at home on this [block].
Q6.   Very few of my [neighbors] know me.
Q7.   I care about what my [neighbors] think of my actions.
Q8.   I have no influence over what this [block] is like.
Q9.   If there is a problem on this [block] people who live here can get it solved.
Q10. It is very important to me to live on this particular [block].
Q11. People on this [block] generally don't get along with each other.
Q12. I expect to live on this [block] for a long time.

Total Sense of Community Index = Total Q1 through Q12

Subscales: Membership = Q4 + Q5 + Q6
                 Influence = Q7 + Q8 + Q9
                 Reinforcement of Needs = Q1 + Q2 + Q3
                 Shared Emotional Connection = Q10 + Q11 + Q12

*Scores for Q2, Q6, Q8, Q11 need to be reversed before scoring.

ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS

The attached scale was developed using the urban block as the referent for determining one's sense of community. If you are going to use a different referent, replace "block" with the specific name of the setting you wish to assess (e.g., school, neighborhood, city, church, etc.) Do not use "community" as the referent. Make other adaptations as appropriate (e.g., Q12 "expect to live" can be changed to "expect to belong".)

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and alcoholics (Bishop, Chertok, and Jason, 1997). [For an overview of the settings in which the SCI has been used see Chipuer and Pretty (1999).] A Brief Sense of Community Index is a new eight-item scale adapted in part from the twelve-item Sense of Community Index (Perkins and Long, 2002). This index has three dimensions: social connections, mutual concern, and community values.

Example of Use

A local government may be interested in assessing whether its family policies and programs are not only improving family well-being but also developing a community that supports family life. The Sense of Community Index could be administered over time to families in the community to determine whether their sense of community strengthens as more family-centered policies and quality programs are implemented. Ideally, the local government would have the opportunity to administer the questionnaire before the policies and programs were implemented and then at regular intervals as policies take effect and programs develop. In addition to the Sense of Community Index questions, it would also be important to ask questions about respondents' demographic characteristics as well as specific questions that link policies and programs to the qualities and conditions of community life. If the policies and programs are effective, one would expect to see an increase in sense of community at the neighborhood, census tract, or county levels.

   Administering a questionnaire such as the Sense of Community Index to an entire community requires careful attention to sampling to ensure that all families have an opportunity to complete the questionnaire and have their responses represented in the findings. For example, questionnaires might be distributed to selected postal routes so that all the zip codes in a community of interest are represented. Religious organizations, local businesses, neighborhood associations, local libraries, banks, restaurants, post offices, gas stations, and daycare centers might also be targeted. Incentives such as a drawing to receive a $100 gift certificate can be offered to increase the response rate.

Focus Groups and Interviews

Focus groups and key informant interviews can be equally informative ways of assessing sense of community. Two community-building efforts in Baltimore, Maryland used these methods for measuring residents' sense of community (Meyer, Hyde, and Jenkins, 2005). Focus group participants may be recruited through neighborhood associations. Key informants may be identified by focus group participants or formal community leaders. Those interested in using focus groups or key informant interviews may consider using the questions listed in Table 11.2 to facilitate discussions.

TABLE 11.2. Focus Group Questions Used in a Community-Building Effort

DISCUSSION AMONG RESIDENTS WAS FACILITATED BY ASKING:

What does sense of community mean to you?
How would others recognize your neighborhood's sense of community?
What does "getting involved" in your neighborhood mean to you?
What facilitates a group's ability to act as a community?
What does getting involved or community action do to make a difference?

Data analysis will require qualitative techniques. For example, Meyer, Hyde, and Jenkins (2005) analyzed the qualitative data gathered from these two initiatives by coding and categorizing the responses, as suggested by grounded theory researchers (Creswell, 1998). Atlas/ti 4.2, a qualitative analysis software program, may be used to identify core themes. These core themes can then be compared across key informant interviews or focus groups to determine areas of common focus and points of divergence.

Example of Use

Organizations interested in building the capacity of residents to strengthen their neighborhoods and measure progress toward achieving this goal could use focus groups and key informant interviews to mobilize residents. Residents could be engaged via these methods to identify and define community indicators as well as how to measure them. For instance, residents may identify sense of community as a neighborhood priority that, if present, indicates a sign of health. Using the same methods, residents could also be asked to define what sense of community means to them and how they would measure it. Neighborhood indicator projects typically aim to employ a community-driven approach to develop indicators, and focus groups and interviews facilitate such an approach. In this way, these projects assess how areas are faring from year to year on measures that were identified as meaningful and designed by residents themselves.

Observational Methods

Identifying observable features of neighborhoods as a way to measure sense of community is also a viable measurement approach. Urban planners, for example, have long argued that spatial features of neighborhoods—such as narrow streets, outdoor lighting, and barriers that define space—may facilitate neighborhood cohesion and that visible conditions (well-maintained gardens, etc.) may symbolize it (Brown and Werner, 1985; Perkins, Brown, and Taylor, 1996; Perkins and Taylor, 1996). Perkins, Brown, and Taylor (1996, p. 95), for example, developed "environmental inventories" that capture the spatial features of neighborhoods thought to be associated with community health and cohesion.

Examples of observable indicators have been identified by residents (Meyer, Hyde, and Jenkins, 2005) and include the following.
Expressions of Pride and Shared Values (Symbols of Membership)

- The number and nature of emblems or signs per block
- The number of flowerpots and porch lights per block
- The number of community art pieces within the neighborhood
- The number of houses using trash cans properly in the neighborhood
- The number of people cleaning stoops/alleys during a typical day/week

These street-level symbols of belonging could be documented by residents and researchers using observation guides such as those developed assessing the physical and social conditions of a neighborhood (i.e., "environment inventories). Alternatively, artists or community art institutions could train young people, students, or whomever, to conduct an art project with this purpose in mind.

Positive Street Level Interactions and Social Gatherings (Social Glue)

- The number of supervised/unsupervised children playing in the street during a typical day/week.
- The number of residents visiting with each other outside their houses at various intervals/times of day during a typical week.
- Of those on the street, what percentage is interacting with each other and what is the quality of that interaction?
- The number and types of social events held during each month/year.
- The number and characteristics of residents participating in social events.

Neighborhood tours could be conducted by residents (with researchers invited as desired) using an observation guide that would capture social characteristics such as greetings and other types of positive interactions. Photographs of social events could also be used to document this observable social bonding and if desired, residents could use the pictures to show their community to others.

Generally speaking, a community could develop and distribute Assessment or Data Collection Kits. The kits could contain the Sense of Community Index, observation guides, focus group and interview protocols, and other resources. Qualified community organizations could train groups on how to use the kits and offer technical assistance for data management and analysis.

The very process of developing measurements such as those suggested can provide opportunities for residents to easily participate in the evaluation of community building efforts, a key tenet of community organizing and empowerment. Therefore, the assessment process could help organizers and community leaders evaluate the potential impact of their efforts on SOC, while at the same time provide them with a mobilizing tool.

Establishing a diverse set of measurement options strengthens our ability to understand the breadth and depth of this construct. Ideally, well-resourced or large-scale community building efforts would employ a mixed method approach to measure sense of community, allowing residents within targeted neighborhoods to select from a variety of instruments and methods to gather comparable data across neighborhoods. Ultimately, neighborhood organizations and leaders need relatively simple and quick ways to assess what one resident in our study described as the "heartbeat" of their neighborhood. Easily observable conditions of communities that indicate to residents that others have a sense of membership in and influence over their community, such as the display of art and inspirational signs, the presence of flowerpots and porch lights, and the positive character of street-level interactions provide this option.

Levels of Analysis

Sense of community is a psychological concept that by definition is experienced at the individual level of analysis. One critique of the field is to expand sense of community measurement to the group or community level of analysis (i.e., sense of community is also a group or community experience). Perkins and Long (2002) argued for the use of multilevel analysis as more ecologically valid research approach. Aggregating individual-level data is a typical approach to examining sense of community at the group or community level. Perkins and Long remind us of the criteria for validating aggregate individual perceptions as group climate variables

and they review the few multilevel studies of sense of community (Brodsky, O'Campo, and Aronson, 1999; Hyde, 1998; Kingston et al., 1999; Perkins and Long, 2002).

Brodsky et al. (1999) identified individual- and community-level predictors of individual sense of community. Kingston et al. (1999) found that perceptions of neighborhood climate (sense of community) vary at the community level. Hyde (1998) found significant neighborhood-level variance in both sense of community and attachment to place. She also found that both resident perceptions of disorder and independently assessed disorder predicted sense of community and attachment to place. Perkins and Long (2002) found that between nine and thirty percent of the variance in individual-level sense of community was due to block-level differences and that sense of community was predicted by place attachment and other community-focused cognitions and behaviors at both the block and individual levels.

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Using the elements of sense of community as a framework for community building is one example of how theory and research may be applied to addressing practical problems. Membership, influence, shared values, reinforcing needs, and shared emotional connection offer a conceptual framework that maps to community building principles. Developing community, for example, involves: meeting the priority needs of community members, promoting common values and culture, controlling the direction of change, having the capacity to meet needs and care for members, and providing opportunities for social contact and positive experiences. The success of a community building initiative, therefore, may be determined by the extent to which it was able to strengthen sense of community. Given the benefits of a sense of community for mental, social, and physical health, other social programs can incorporate building a sense of community into their strategy. For planning and evaluation purposes the practitioner can ask about their initiative or program:

1. What common needs can it or has it met?
2. How can it or has it built upon common values?
3. How does it or has it strengthened the sense of membership or belonging to a community?
4. How does it build individual and collective influence over their community environment?
5. How does it or did it foster a shared emotional connection among people or an important shared experience?

NEXT STEPS

As a community of practitioners and scientists who share a concern for collective and individual well-being, we encourage collaborative efforts to integrate the critiques of sense of community theory and measurement and update both to advance the field. Although unique (i.e., individual) contributions to knowledge are typically expected and rewarded by academia, we feel this approach to knowledge-building is counterproductive to building a community of like-minded professionals. Furthermore, we feel the potential for promoting health and preventing undesirable social outcome (i.e., disease, violence) will be maximized when our

collective best thinking is applied to our most pressing social problems. Creating a sense of community across cultures, for example, represents a challenge critical to promoting peace in a global society. Integrating a developmental perspective with sense of community theory may lead to insights into how to develop and maintain a concern for collective well-being across the human life span. Instilling an understanding of the need to balance individual and collective needs among young people may help prevent social problems such as violence and apathy. Enhancing and expanding upon our current knowledge of sense of community is important for community life.

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Friendship and Community Organization

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Summarizing a collection of chapters describing how the character of civil society has changed over the past fifty years in eight advanced democracies, Putnam (2002) recently observed that mass participation in elections, political parties, unions, and churches has declined. Contrary to his own observations that more people in the United States are now "bowling alone" (Putnam, 2000) however, the contributors to the volume he was summarizing, *Democracies in Flux*, reported impressionistic evidence that these common declines in formal social capital have been at least partially offset by increases in the "the relative importance of informal, fluid, personal forms of social connection" (p. 411). The contributors to this volume expressed concern that the "new individualistic forms of social engagement may be less conducive to the pursuit of collective goals" (p. 412). Friendship, although not a particularly new form of social engagement, is an example of an individualistic form of it. This makes understanding of the role of friendship in community organization and civic engagement more important now than it would have been during a period when formal social capital was more plentiful. Furthering this understanding is the purpose of this chapter.

Community organizing is "the process of bringing people together to solve community problems and address collective goals" (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. xx). The collective goals a community might wish to achieve vary, and might include, for example, procuring resources, acquiring power, redefining group identity, or improving an institution's efficiency, effectiveness, or relationship with those it is supposed to serve. The question addressed in this chapter is: how might friendships facilitate or constrain efforts to mobilize the members of a community to work together to contribute to the commonweal? In other words, how do friendships affect the success of recruitment efforts, the effectiveness of outreach and communications, the accomplishment of adequate representation of the diversity characteristic of a community, and efforts to sustain involvement and engagement in a community organization (Chaskin et al., 2001)?

Definitions of "friendship" (Adams, 1989) and "community" (Hillery, 1955) abound. Friendships are generally understood to be close or personal relationships, but in Western

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societies some people use the term to refer to both intimates and mere acquaintances (Allan, 1977; Kurth, 1970; Paine 1969). Scholars have defined friendship as relatively more egalitarian (Thomas, 1987) and voluntary (Allan, 1979; Suttles, 1970) than other types of personal relationships, but as we discuss later in this chapter, research has demonstrated that friendship varies on these dimensions as well. Approaches to community have also been wide-ranging. Scholars have conceptualized communities as ecological (Hawley, 1950), functional (Warren, 1987 [1963]), and organizational (Hillery, 1968), and more recently as psychological (McMillan, 1996; McMillan and Chavis, 1986), cultural (Murray, 1992), and in other ways as well.

Not only do definitions of "friendship" and "community" abound, they overlap. For example, studies of friendship document that participants influence each other (Neff and Harter, 2003), are emotionally close (Donelson and Gullahorn, 1977), and satisfy each other's needs (Hays, 1988; Veniegas and Peplau, 1997). Not surprisingly, some definitions of community include these same characteristics (e.g., Herek and Glunt, 1995; Murray, 1992). Although theorists generally describe friendship networks as being embedded within larger communities (e.g., Adams and Blieszner, 1993), some people have friendship networks whose members are recruited from more than one community and some communities are so small that most of its members know each other as friends.

The distinction that needs to be made here, however, is not between the concepts of "friendship" and "community" but between the types of questions that friendship researchers and community scholars have traditionally addressed in their research. Although recently friendship researchers have begun thinking about how friendship might affect social institutions (e.g., O'Connor, 1998; Oliker, 1989), work in this area traditionally has focused on individual outcomes. Pertinent here is that community scholars, in contrast to friendship researchers, have addressed what affects people's willingness and decisions to join with others to contribute to the larger collectivity. In this chapter, we discuss how findings from friendship studies can address this question previously posed by community scholars. As we do so, we distinguish between the possible effects on community organizing of friendship networks that are internal to a community (i.e., embedded within it) and those networks that include people who are external to it (i.e., friendships between community members and noncommunity members).

What little discussion there is in the literature of the effects of friendship on the development of community suggests that they are positive. Although Janowitz (1967 [1952]) argued that personal interests detracted from the formation of a residential community, he also found evidence that informal local social ties contributed to participation, as did Axelrod (1956) and Hunter (1974) after him. More recently and relevant to the distinction we made above between friendship networks that are internal to a community and those that are external to it, researchers have shown that community attachment is higher when ties are predominantly local (Liu et al., 1998). So, it is not just that having local ties is important, but that having more local ties to the community than nonlocal ties is. Another relevant thread of research also suggests that friendships are building blocks for community. Fischer (1982) argues that due to the sheer size of cities, diverse inhabitants of urban areas are able to find others who share their primary characteristics and to join together with them to form subcultures. Although he notes, using other words, that formal social capital seems to be lacking in urban areas compared to rural areas, he does not address whether the members of these urban subcultures could be mobilized to work together for a common cause. Nardi (1999) elaborates on his argument, however, in his discussion of the gay community. He concludes "[n]etworks of friends and acquaintances become the interface between personal identity and membership in cultural and political communities" (p. 206).

So what we do in this chapter is to build further on this literature that documents the importance of local friendships (i.e., informal ties) to community participation and hence to community organization. Rather than merely documenting the connection between the existence of local ties and civic engagement, however, we speculate about how specific characteristics of friendship networks might affect community development. Using a distinction developed by Blieszner and Adams (1992) and subsequently by Adams and Blieszner (1994) and Adams, Ueno, and Blieszner (2005), we first discuss what can be gleaned from the literature on the internal structural characteristics of friendship networks (i.e., size, homogeneity, density, solidarity, and hierarchy) and then from the literature on interactive friendship processes (i.e., affective, cognitive, and behavioral). Note that although these two friendship literatures are admittedly overlapping, sociologists (and to a certain degree anthropologists) have mainly studied network structure, whereas psychologists and communication studies scholars have mainly studied dyadic processes. In addition to suggesting how the various structures and processes of friendship networks might facilitate community organization, we also consider what barriers they might represent.

POTENTIAL EFFECTS OF INTERNAL FRIENDSHIP STRUCTURE ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

One aspect of friendship patterns is the internal structure of friendship networks (i.e., the form of ties linking an individual and his or her friends). Aspects of friendship network structure include size, density, solidarity, hierarchy, and homogeneity, which are discussed further below.

Size of Friendship Networks

Social capital is, by definition, "social networks and the norms of reciprocity associated with them" (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p. 3). It therefore follows that the more friends people have, the more social capital they have. Although this may be basically true, especially when satisfaction of the individual's needs and desires is the goal, this statement is too simplistic to capture how social networks affect efforts to organize communities. Later in this chapter, for example, we argue that friendships can represent social debt as well as social capital. In addition, and also relevant here, participants with a large number of friends can be an asset or a liability to community organizations depending on whether these friendships are internal or external to the community being organized. A participant in a community organizing effort who has many friends inside the community might certainly be an asset for recruitment. In addition, joining a community organization under these circumstances could represent an opportunity to spend time with friends and therefore contribute to sustained involvement and engagement.

Similarly, a participant with many friendships external to the community might help with communications and outreach. Both friendships embedded in a community and those external to it can detract from the community, however. For example, groups of friends within a community might dominate initiatives or even exclude people outside their friendship group. Furthermore, if friends outside the community are not supportive of their friend's commitment to the community organization or have no resources to contribute, they could merely distract a participant from the community organizing effort. So whether and how participants with a

large number of friends are useful to community organizations will largely depend on whether their friends are also a part of the community being organized, how supportive the friends are of the efforts to organize, and whether they have resources to contribute.

The number of friends people have varies by social category, and so the amount of social capital people bring to community organizing efforts also varies. For example, middle-aged men have more friends than women, but this gender difference reverses in old age, and this gender gap continues to increase as older adults age (de Vries, 1991; Field, 1999; Fischer and Oliker, 1983). Kalmijn (2003) demonstrated that friendship networks do become smaller over the life course, although these changes occur primarily when people begin dating or get married. The number of friendships also varies by location in the class structure; members of the middle-class have more friends than members of the working class (Walker, 1995). This means that depending on the nature of the community organizing effort and the composition of the community being organized, the friendships of the participants might represent greater or lesser amounts of social capital. As mentioned earlier and discussed further in the sections following this one, however, it is not merely the existence of friendships (or by extension the number of them) that could potentially affect community organization, but also the characteristics of these friendships.

Homogeneity of Friendship Networks

Homogeneity is the degree of similarity among friends in terms of social positions filled external to their relationship or network. Depending on the challenge facing a community organization and whether the friendship networks are internal or external to the community being organized, homogeneous friendship networks can represent an asset or a liability. If the goal is to bring together people who are similar to each other, homogeneous networks internal to a community represent what Putnam and Goss (2002, p. 11) refer to as "bonding social capital." If, however, the goal is to involve people who are different from each other, perhaps from different communities or of different social status, homogeneous friendship networks are not assets. In this situation, heterogeneous networks would represent what Putnam and Goss (2002, p. 11) call "bridging social capital," which brings together people who are unlike one another or, more specifically, what Wuthnow (2002, p. 670) calls "identity-bridging social capital," which spans such "culturally defined differences as race, ethnicity, religious tradition, sexual preference, and national origin" or what he calls "status-bridging social capital," which "refers specifically to networks that span vertical arrangements of power, influence, wealth, and prestige."

Friendship networks tend to be homogeneous, no matter what the social characteristics of the participants (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook, 2001). Studies, for example, have documented that friendship networks tend to be homogeneous in terms of gender, race, age, marital status, religion, and sexual orientation (H. Akiyama, K. Elliott, and T.C. Antonucci, 1996; Fischer, 1982; Kalmijn, 2002; Kalmijn and van Groenou, 2005; Laumann, 1973; Nardi, 1999; O'Boyle and Thomas, 1996; Perkinson and Rockemann, 1996; Smith, 2002; Usui, 1984; Ying et al., 2001), as well as in terms of income, education, and social class (Laumann, 1973; Verbrugge, 1977; Wright and Cho, 1992). So, for the most part, friendship networks serve as sources of bonding social capital rather than of bridging social capital.

Homogeneity does vary according to people's social characteristics, however. For example, researchers have repeatedly found that higher-status adults have more homogeneous friendship networks than lower-status adults [see Blieszner and Adams (1992) for a summary

of this literature], which suggests that it is lower-status individuals who are most likely to have status-bridging social capital. So, other resources held constant, it will be easier for a community organizing effort that requires involvement from all levels of the socioeconomic spectrum to start from the bottom up than from the top down. On the other hand, if the community organizing effort requires bonding social capital, this would be more plentiful in the upper echelons of society.

There is also some scant evidence on how specific types of friendship network homogeneity vary. For example, a higher proportion of men's friends are women than vice versa, both during midlife and old age (Booth and Hess, 1974; Dykstra 1990; Usui 1984), although this gender gap increases as people age because fewer men are available to be friends to other men (Field, 1999). This suggests that men will be more likely to recruit women to a community organizing effort than women will be to recruit men. Similarly, racial minorities are more likely than majorities to have friends outside their racial categories. For example, eighty-two percent of Black adults have at least one close White friend, whereas only sixty-six percent of White adults have any close Black friends (Sigelman and Welch, 1993). These two findings together suggest that people who are minorities within a community are more likely to have friendship networks that are sources of bridging social capital. In addition, some rather dated research (e.g., Nahemow and Lawton, 1975) shows that old and young people are more likely than those in midlife to select friends of their own race, probably because their friendship ties are more likely to be local. This suggests that midlife adults have more identity-bridging social capital of this specific type.

Friendship Network Density and Solidarity

Friendship network density and solidarity are closely related concepts. Density is a measure of "the extent to which links that could exist among persons do in fact exist" (Mitchell, 1969, p. 18). One commonly used formula for calculating density is: $100a/[n(n-1)/2]$ where a refers to the total number of links among friends, $[n(n-1)/2]$ refers to the number of potential links among friends, and multiplying by 100 converts a proportion to a percentage (Kapferer, 1969; Kephart, 1950). The degree of solidarity of a friendship dyad is sometimes referred to as "tie strength" or "degree of closeness" (Campbell and Marsden, 1984). One formula for calculating network solidarity simply builds on the network density formula by weighting each link between friends according to how close they feel to each other (Adams and Torr, 1998), which is a statistical reflection of the conceptual overlap between these two concepts. This overlap, along with reports that network density and solidarity are highly correlated [e.g., Feld (1981); Jackson, Fischer, and Jones (1977)], is the basis of our rationale for discussing the implications of these two characteristics of friendship networks for community organization together.

The effect of network density and solidarity on community organizing efforts once again depends on whether the friendships are embedded within the community being organized or are external to it and on what challenge is faced. Density and solidarity are positively correlated with various types of network homogeneity [e.g., gender, age, and occupational homogeneity; see Blieszner and Adams (1992) for a discussion of the research reporting these correlations], so it is easy to confound the findings on these very different concepts. Dense networks and those that are high in solidarity, such as homogeneous networks, are a source of bonding social capital whereas low-density networks and those that are low in solidarity, such as heterogeneous networks, are a source of bridging social capital. Similarity and equality

fuel bonding in the case of homogeneous networks and dissimilarity and inequality encourage bridging in heterogeneous networks. The mechanisms operating due to the level of density and solidarity in networks are distinctly different, however, and have to do with how communication and resources flow through networks.

For example, imagine a community in which it is important to transmit information to members quickly and efficiently. In this situation, it would be useful if community organization participants were to comprise a dense network high in solidarity, because contacting only a few members and asking them to spread the word to their friends would suffice. In contrast, a loosely knit friendship network within a community would mean that each member had to be contacted individually to ensure that they would receive the information. Conversely, if the goal were to keep information confidential among a small number of community members, low density and low solidarity networks, both inside the community and outside it, would be more functional.

Researchers have not studied friendship network density as much as they have studied size and homogeneity and have hardly studied network solidarity at all, possibly because collecting information on all possible interconnections among network members is very time consuming and labor intensive. It appears, however, that friendship network density does not vary much across the life course. Researchers have reported average friendship network density as thirty-eight percent for college students (Wister and Avison, 1982), lower than forty-four percent for midlife adults (Fischer, 1982), and between twenty-seven and forty-two percent for older adults in age-integrated and age-segregated communities, respectively (Blieszner and Adams, 1992). Some characteristics of friends do affect their network density, however. For example, less affluent and less educated people have denser networks [e.g., Fischer (1982); Walker (1995); Willmott (1987)], as do those who have lived in an area for a long time or who live in a nonurban area (Fischer, 1982). Similarly, Laumann (1973) reported that Catholic and Jewish men had denser networks than other men in the Detroit area. Some studies report no gender differences in network density, but one study reported that young men and older women had higher network density than other gender-stage of life combinations, possibly because their social lives were focused on gender-segregated activities [see Feld (1982) for a discussion of how the focus of activities structures friendship networks]. All of these findings suggest how communication and resources will flow in groups with different demographic compositions.

The behavior of network participants can also affect network density. Wister and Avison (1982) reported that among the college students they studied, marijuana smokers were most likely to have dense networks in which there was considerable agreement that marijuana use is appropriate in a wide variety of circumstances. This result suggests that people who participate in deviant activities form dense networks, which may have relevance for understanding how networks might evolve in some community organizations.

Organizations might have one or more densely knit subgroups. For example, Paxton and Moody (2003) studied a sorority in which the members formed two cohesive subgroups. The members of one subgroup did not have many friends outside it, but the members of the other one did. Members outside these two groups only had loose connections with each other. Compared to these loosely connected members, students in the first subgroup had a weaker attachment to the sorority as a whole, and members of the second group had a stronger attachment to it. This suggests that dense networks high in solidarity within a community organization could undermine commitment to the movement as a whole. Note, however, that these findings might have been different if Paxton and Moody had studied a fraternity rather than a sorority. Other research [e.g., Gabriel and Gardner (1999); Seeley et al. (2003)] suggests that women's attachment to a group is dependent on the existence of friendships with members whereas

men's attachment to a group is dependent on both the existence of friendships with members and on their attachment to the collectivity (i.e., their identification with the group as a whole). This suggests that among men, identification with a community organization might influence their commitment to it more than their friendships with other members.

Status and Power Hierarchy

Another aspect of the structure of friendship networks is the degree to which the friends' relationships are hierarchical. Very few studies have examined the relative power and status of friends, perhaps because friendship is, by definition, considered to be egalitarian (Allan and Adams, forthcoming, November 2006). The lack of such studies is unfortunate given our current task of discussing the implications of friendship network structure for community organization, because understanding how friends might influence or even coerce each other is related to whether friendship networks might be liabilities or assets under various circumstances. If the friend who is involved in a community organization, for example, is relatively powerful or has high status within his or her friendship network, the friendship network is more likely to be a source of social capital for the community organization.

Scattered findings suggest that although friendships might be conceptually defined as egalitarian, not all of them are. For example, in a study of older adults in Greensboro, North Carolina, Adams and Torr (1998) reported that only sixty-five percent of their friendships were equal in power (influence on decisions) and only sixty-eight percent were equal in status (respect accorded). Similarly, Neff and Harter (2003) reported that the college students they studied perceived seventy-eight percent of their friendships to be equal in terms of power. Also relevant to community organization efforts is the finding that egalitarian relationships are more satisfying, higher in solidarity, and involve more self-disclosure (Neff and Harter, 2003; Roberto, 1996; Veniegas and Peplau, 1997). This suggests that community members who exercise influence in their friendships on behalf of the movement might risk jeopardizing their friendships, which could in turn have a negative impact on community organizing. The relative value of their roles as friends and members of the community organization could dictate the outcome.

POTENTIAL EFFECTS OF FRIENDSHIP
PROCESS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Friendship process is another component of friendship patterns and includes behavioral processes (what people do with their friends), affective processes (what people feel about their friends), and cognitive process (what people think about their friends). Many processes of each type have been repeatedly studied, whereas others have received little attention from researchers. Even though this literature is not comprehensive, it is extensive. So rather than systematically summarizing all aspects of this literature, we discuss a few specific processes that are most relevant to community organizing. Note also that friendship structure and process are in a reciprocal relationship, and certain processes are more likely to occur in friendships with certain structural characteristics than in those with others, as we discuss below. As with friendship structure, we argue that friendship processes can facilitate community organizing, but can also constrain it as well. Also as with friendship structure, we note that the effect of friendship processes on community organizing may vary depending on whether the friendships are embedded within the community being organized or are external to it.

Behavioral Processes

People engage in a variety of activities with their friends, including attending or engaging in sports, sharing meals, and getting together just to talk (Fehr, 1996). These friendship activities may help keep social ties active among community members, which indirectly contributes to the maintenance of a community. In other words, because they participate in activities together, they are in touch with each other. So, when a community encounters a problem, members can quickly communicate with each other to take collective action. As we pointed out earlier, dense friendship networks would further enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of communication among community participants. The personal and informal aspect of friendship activities may be particularly useful for creating status-bridging social capital; friendship activities allow casual interactions among community members who occupy different status. The personal and informal aspect of contact with friends could, however, also constrain community organizing by undermining the seriousness and formality necessary for certain community activities.

Talking

Talking (or getting together to talk) is one of the most common friendship activities, and much research has been conducted to understand the content, style, and consequences of conversations among friends. Discussions among friends within a community can make important contributions to community organizing. As members talk with each other, they express, interpret, and negotiate various aspects of the community (e.g., boundaries, rules, history, purposes, future directions). At the collective level, conversations among friends thus help the community spread these essential pieces of knowledge across members and maintain them across generations. Because friendship conversations are an informal process of knowledge construction and maintenance, they are likely to be flexible and to integrate current members' needs and interests rather than merely reproducing previous knowledge. At the individual level, talking among friends within a community can contribute to the internalization of self-identity as a community member because friends who both belong to a community will treat each other as community members and act on each other's expectations as community members. It is still worth noting, as Mead (1934) did decades ago, that this process of identity internalization is essential to community organizing.

Conversations among friends within a community, however, may also constrain community-organizing efforts. Community leaders (and members) have limited control over how much and what information is transmitted throughout a community. Information may also become distorted over time. Modifications to the original message may bring out valuable changes to the community as we pointed above, but they may also lead the community in unexpected directions. Conversations among friends may also create a gap between formal knowledge about the community (e.g., by-laws) and members' interpretations. These undesirable consequences of friends talking to each other may be magnified in communities that include dense friendship networks; information spreads more quickly and widely in dense networks, as we mentioned above.

Discussions between community members and their nonmember friends can contribute to community organizing in ways similar to discussions between friends who are both part of a community. Through conversations with friends outside the community, members may articulate what the community means to them, which may then contribute to their internalization of self-identity as a member. Community members may also acquire valuable information through their conversations with nonmember friends, especially when these nonmember friends come from backgrounds different from members' backgrounds (i.e., identity-bridging social

capital). Previous friendship and network studies have emphasized information-gathering be-
haviors that are intended to meet individual goals [see Granovetter (1974) for his discussion
of how friendship networks can help people find jobs], but individuals may also seek or come
across information that is useful for meeting community needs.

Conversations friends who belong to a community have with those who do not also
have a potential downside. Confidential community information may be leaked to nonmem-
bers through friendship network connections. Friendships external to a community that are
characterized by high degrees of equality and solidarity or have endured a long time are more
susceptible to this risk as people tend to disclose more personal information in those friendships
(Levesque, Steciuk, and Ledley, 2002; Veniegas and Peplau, 1997).

So far we have discussed how conversations among friends might facilitate or constrain
community organizing in general, but the content and style of conversations moderate or ex-
acerbate these consequences. As the friendship literature shows, the style and content of con-
versation in friendships vary across sociodemographic groups. For example, women often talk
about relational and personal issues, whereas men's conversations tend to deal with sports, busi-
ness, and politics (Aries and Johnson, 1983; Davidson and Duberman, 1982; Fox, Gibbs, and
Auerbach, 1985). Consistent with this pattern, women tend to engage in "face-to-face" interac-
tions (i.e., develop knowledge about and emotional intimacy toward each other), whereas men
engage in "side-by-side" interactions [i.e., participate in common activities; Wright (1982)]. It
is not clear, however, whether women are more likely to discuss community issues than men
(because female friends talk more than male friends) or whether men would be more likely to
discuss them than women (because of the types of topics they discuss and because they might
be more likely to have a friendship based on involvement in a community organization).

Behavioral Demands, Expectations, and Motivations

As with family and work relations, friendships involve behavioral expectations for each partic-
ipant, although expectations are more loosely defined in friendships than in family and work
relations. For example, friends expect each other to reciprocate support, trust, and commu-
nicate openly (Sapadin, 1988; Tesch and Martin, 1983). In the case of friendships that are
embedded in a community, some of these expectations may influence how people respond to
their expectations as community members. For example, when people have friends within a
community, they may be willing to devote more time to community services because they can
indirectly meet friendship expectations (e.g., helping friends in need) by doing so. Commu-
nity members might even feel personally obligated to engage in the provision of community
services when directly asked by specific community members who are their friends. These
influences of friendship expectations (and others mentioned below) are probably stronger
for friendship networks characterized by high levels of density and solidarity because those
structural characteristics are generally associated with intensive obligations.

Behavioral expectations for friendships embedded within a community can also constrain
community organizing, particularly when friendship expectations contradict community ex-
pectations. Related to this issue, Bridge and Baxter (1992) described conflicting behavioral
expectations experienced by friends who are also coworkers. For example, people were ex-
pected to evaluate each other's work as colleagues, even though they were also expected to
accept each other as friends. Community members who have friendships within a community
organization may experience such conflicting expectations. For example, friends may expect
favorable treatment, but other community members may feel this is inequitable.

Related to the issue of behavioral expectations, Hogg and Hains (1998) examined the
effectiveness of communications among friends as opposed to those among strangers. Applying

the concept of "groupthink" (Janis, 1972) to their study, the researchers hypothesized that the pressure to agree with friends would undermine the effectiveness of the decision-making process in a group of friends. Interestingly, however, groups of friends were not any less effective than groups of strangers in making decisions. In fact, another study reported that a decision-making process is more effective when a group consists of friends than of strangers, because friends are more willing to communicate openly and provide critical feedback to each other (Jehn and Shah, 1997).

Behavioral expectations of friends and community members do not always contradict each other, but having two sets of behavioral demands may constrain one's ability to manage time and energy, creating social debt instead of social capital. In other words, people may decrease the amount of time they spend on community activities in order to meet the expectations of their friends. This mechanism applies to both friendships within a community and those outside it and is probably more intense when community members have large friendship networks. As this issue relates to emotional attachment and self-identity, we discuss it in more detail in these subsections.

Social Support

Earlier we mentioned that the expectation to provide support to friends within a community might increase community members' overall community engagement. In addition, certain kinds of community services may be more effective when provided as an informal friendship activity. For example, community members may be formally assigned as "friends" or "buddies" to other members who need assistance (e.g., those with chronic illness or disability). These friendships should help reduce the formality of community services. In addition, this strategy should be effective for increasing both identity-bridging social capital and status-bridging social capital in the community because friendship assignments will create bonds among community members across cultural backgrounds and statuses.

Social support exchange among friends who belong to the same community also may undermine community organizing efforts. Analyzing emotional support exchange in a work setting (paralegals who listen to each other about their frustrations at work), Lively (2000) demonstrated that much support only helps employees cope with problems emotionally and actually contributes to the maintenance of the status quo at the organizational level instead of solving underlying problems and improving the working environment. This dilemma is likely to apply to support exchange among friends in a community; community members may meet their needs in their friendships rather than contributing to the community, even if their friends would ultimately benefit from changes in the community as well.

The costs and benefits of support exchange in friendships between members and non-members of a community overlap with other issues discussed earlier. As with information exchange, support exchange with nonmember friends may be thought of as mobilization of social capital; it transmits practical resources that are useful for the community but unavailable internally. Helping friends, whether they belong to the community being organized or do not, has a time cost, which may reduce members' community engagement.

Affective Processes

Affective processes include emotional reactions to friends' specific actions, overall emotional attachment and relational satisfaction, and liking and disliking of friends. Many friendship researchers focus on emotional attachment and satisfaction as their dependent variables because

they are interested in how these desirable characteristics of friendships can be increased. Attachment and satisfaction share many correlates and influences, so we discuss them together in this subsection (Ueno and Adams, 2006). For example, social support, especially when exchanged in a communal manner to meet each other's needs, increases emotional intimacy and relational satisfaction (Jones, 1991; Mendelson and Kay, 2003).

As with people who frequently engage in activities with friends within their community, those who are emotionally attached to or satisfied with these friends may have a strong commitment to the community because they are personally invested in it. Thus, friendships among community members may facilitate community organization. Members who have many friends within a community are likely to have lived in the community for longer periods of time and to be invested in other ways (e.g., financial investment, career, family), which would also reinforce their commitment to the community and their likelihood of participating in community organizing efforts. The opposite may be possible, however. As community members become invested in their friendships, they may lose interest in the broader community. This disadvantage is probably much stronger for friendships with people outside the community because those friendships most likely reduce members' emotional attachment to the community.

Existing patterns of friends' positive and negative affect for each other (i.e., network balance) influence friendship development over time. For example, a new friendship is likely to develop if one's existing friend likes the potential friend. If the existing friend dislikes the potential friend, on the other hand, the new friendship is not likely to develop. To demonstrate this principle, van Duijn and his colleagues (2003) asked college students five times during their freshman year to report on the nature of their relationships with each other (e.g., positive, neutral, dissonant, or no friendship). Although similarity in terms of gender and academic curriculum predicted which students developed friendships at the initial stage, it was the existing patterns of students' positive and negative affect for each other that predicted changes in friendship networks over time.

Applying this example to a community organization context suggests that positive affect in friendships with community members may help to recruit new members who are common friends of the existing members. That is, nonmembers may become interested in a community organization when their friends introduce them to other members with whom they are also good friends. Note, however, that negative affect among community members may also cause changes in their friendships with people in the community and in the community itself. For example, hostility between two members may strain relationships among these two members' common friends, which could develop into serious chasms in the community and interfere with efforts to organize.

Cognitive Processes

Among other topics, research on cognitive processes has focused on self-identities as friends, friends' knowledge about each other, and their evaluations of each other or of the relationship. Below we discuss the importance of these processes for community organizing.

Self-Identity as a Friend

Earlier we discussed how conversations among friends might influence self-identity as a community member. Some people also develop and maintain a self-identity as a friend (of someone), and because self-identity guides behavior (Mead, 1934), this friend identity may have positive and negative consequences for community organizing. If community members have

close friends in their community, their self-identities as friends may enhance their community identity and thus their community involvement. (Note that earlier in this chapter, we made similar arguments regarding friendship attachment and behavioral expectations.) Identity as a friend may also constrain community organizing, however. As Rosenberg (1979) argues, most people have multiple identities, which are hierarchically organized in terms of relative importance to the person. Therefore, community members who have strong self-identities as friends may have relatively weak identities as community members, which in turn could reduce community involvement. Similarly, self-identities based on friendships outside the community (or any strong identity not directly related to the community) could reduce community involvement.

Mutual Knowledge Among Friends

Unlike strangers and acquaintances, friends develop a great amount of knowledge about each other. In Planalp and Benson's (1992) college student study, for example, compared to strangers, friends knew much more about each other's schedules and plans as well as their personal backgrounds. Friends can also explain how their similarities and differences influence their relationships (Baxter and West, 2003). Thus, mutual knowledge among friends can increase efficiency and effectiveness in communication. In fact, Planalp and Benson further demonstrated in the study just mentioned that friends spend less time asking and answering questions in their conversations.

Furthermore, friends can guess each other's thoughts during their conversations more accurately than strangers can (Thomas and Fletcher, 2003). Therefore, it is possible that community members communicate more efficiently and effectively when they develop mutual knowledge in friendships. For example, they may be able to understand each other's opinions about the community in general or about specific community issues because they know about each other's backgrounds, values, and personal goals. This aspect of friendship is beneficial particularly when a community attempts to use identity-bridging or status-bridging social capital because mutual knowledge among friends within a community should reduce miscommunication among community members who are diverse in terms of backgrounds and status. Mutual knowledge in these friendships may also help with community administration. Specifically, knowing each member's strengths and weaknesses should help community members determine what role each member should play in community organizing (e.g., officers, coordinators, line workers).

Mutual knowledge among friends within a community also has some potential costs, although they are probably small relative to the benefits. For example, earlier we addressed the possibility that cohesive subgroups of friends within a community could dominate community organizations. Mutual knowledge may exacerbate this tendency. In addition, mutual knowledge in friendships within a community may limit the community's capacity to generate new ideas. In other words, communications may become too predictable when members think they know what other members would think and how they would respond to particular issues. Furthermore, friends' mutual knowledge may lead to a false sense of agreement (Janis, 1972). The limited ability to generate new ideas may not necessarily result from internal friends' mutual knowledge, but it could stem from the fact that friends tend to be homogeneous in sociodemographic backgrounds and psychological dispositions [e.g., Feld (1982); Krackhardt and Kilduff (1990)].

Mutual knowledge between friends who are a part of a community and those who are not may also have some costs. As we discussed earlier, for example, nonmember friends may

inadvertently or intentionally leak information about a community, which they learned in their conversation with friends who belong to it.

Evaluations of Friends and Friendships

Friendship studies have repeatedly shown that people tend to evaluate their friends and friendships positively, probably because friendships are considered to be voluntary (i.e., if friendships are not satisfying, they are ended, so the ones that survive are satisfying). The positive evaluations of friends and friendships may bias community administration. For example, community members may nominate, appoint, or vote for their friends when selecting community leaders or officers, because they judge their friends' skills and knowledge positively (e.g., "He is outgoing and likable."). Selecting friends as community leaders may facilitate community organizing by assuring positive working relationships between those who do the selecting and those who are selected. The problem is that skills and personality traits important in friendships are not necessarily relevant to community leadership. Also, friends may overestimate each other's skills and abilities, which would undermine the effectiveness of community administration as well as the fairness of selection processes. Community members' positive evaluations of their friends may thus undermine community-organizing efforts in addition to facilitating them.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the potential role of friendship in community organization and civic engagement. Previous research demonstrated that local friendships are important building blocks for community (Axelrod, 1956; Fischer, 1982; Hunter, 1974; Janowitz, 1967 [1952], Liu et al., 1998; Nardi, 1999). Although it may still be true that people who have local friendships are more likely to be engaged in community organizations than those who do not, we assumed throughout this chapter that the effect friendships have on community organizing efforts will depend on the structure of the friendship networks of community members and the processes involved in them [see Adams and Blieszner (1994) for a discussion of the internal structural characteristics of friendship and the interactive processes involved in them). So, throughout this chapter we speculated not only about how friendships might facilitate efforts to mobilize the members of a community to work together to contribute to the larger collectivity, but also about how friendships might constrain these efforts. In so doing, we have implied directions for future research on the effect of local friendship on community organization.

Throughout this chapter, we argued that the consequences various types of friendship networks have for organizing efforts depend on what type of social capital is needed (i.e., bonding or bridging) to meet the challenge facing a community [see Putnam and Goss (2002) and Wuthnow (2002) for discussions of these types of social capital]. If, for example, the goal is to bring together community members who are similar to each other to fight for a common cause, then bonding social capital is needed. This type of social capital is inherent in homogeneous and dense friendship networks that are high in solidarity and low in hierarchy. In contrast, if the goal is to bring together diverse community members to work for the good of the commonweal, then bridging social capital, which is available in low-density heterogeneous friendship networks, is required. So, one type of social network might be an asset in one situation and not in another.

We also examined how the structural characteristics of friendship networks (e.g., size, density, solidarity, hierarchy) might facilitate or constrain various interactive processes (e.g., behavioral, affective, cognitive) among friends and speculated about how these processes, in turn, may have positive or negative effects on community organizing efforts. For example, the flow of information about community issues from friend to friend, which is more common in dense networks, could help with recruitment and mobilization efforts, but could also lead to the distortion of information and, especially if the friendships of community members extend beyond the borders of the community, to confidential information being leaked.

Another thread of the argument that we developed in this chapter is that friendships embedded within a community may affect organization efforts differently than those between community members and outsiders. For example, in situations in which close friends both belong to a community, participation in a community organization might help meet the behavioral expectations involved in friendship such as spending time together, helping to support each other, and so on. In contrast, however, when a person's close friends are not part of a community, their friendships and a community organization could be in competition for a person's time, energy, and commitment.

In this chapter, we also presented information suggesting that it is important for community organizers to take the composition of their communities into account when considering how friendship might affect their efforts, because the structure and process of community members' friendship networks will vary depending on the community members' demographic characteristics. For example, during midlife, women have fewer friends than men, a higher proportion of same-sex friends than men, talk more to their friends than men do, talk less about sports, business, and politics than men do, and are more likely to base their attachment to a group on the existence of friendships within it than men are. All of these gender differences in friendship network characteristics may, in turn, affect the consequences of friendship for community organization efforts.

Despite our systematic review of the friendship literature, however, we did not glean all that we could have from it that is relevant to community organization. For example, we did not address contextual effects such as how communities vary in the number and types of friendships members tend to have [see Adams and Allan (1998) for a discussion of contextual effects on friendship]. Similarly, we did not tackle the issue of how nonlocal friendships might affect community organization efforts, although given advances in communications and transportation technologies that facilitate long-distance relationships, this topic certainly needs to be addressed [see Adams (1998) for a discussion of the implications of technological developments for friendship].

The discussion of the potential positive and negative effects of friendship on community organization included in this chapter is highly speculative. The topic has not been studied directly, and therefore research is necessary to confirm (or refute) the hypotheses we derived from the friendship literature. We propose that such studies consider whether bonding or bridging social capital is needed to meet the challenges facing the community, include measures of the internal structural characteristics of friendship networks as well as of the internal processes involved in them, distinguish between friendships embedded within the community and those involving outsiders, examine demographic and contextual effects, and research the impact of long-distance or virtual friendships on community engagement. Only when such empirical studies have been conducted will we reach an understanding of the importance of friendship for community organization.

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CHAPTER 13

Self-Help Groups
as Participatory Action

Thomasina Borkman

INTRODUCTION

"You alone can do it, but you cannot do it alone" uniquely captures the combination of self-help (personal responsibility) and mutual aid (interdependence with others) that characterizes voluntary self-help groups (SHGs) and self-help organizations (SHOs). The slogan also emphasizes action, the participatory action of self-help/mutual aid, not organization or form.

SHGs share many commonalities with other community-based small groups and, consequently, much of what I write applies equally to them. This chapter begins by defining SHGs and situating them within the Third Sector in the United States and internationally. The focus is on single-issue SHGs, not community self-help nor more general economic or material aid as is found in self-help groups in industrializing countries. Second, the political, societal, and cultural context in which they occur is examined. As voluntary associations, SHGs and SHOs are found in industrialized democracies in Northern and Western Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand. More problematic is the development of SHGs in formerly communist countries where the population is used to having health and social services provided for them by the government and/or where professional and medical authority has never been questioned by patients. Third, I contrast SHGs as organizations with professional services with which they are often compared. Fourth, I examine experiential knowledge which is SHG's most distinctive feature and which is the source of their authority. The outcomes of this new knowledge of living with, through, and beyond a chronic disease or addiction often challenges medical professionals' viewpoints and creates new selves, social identities, and communities for the self-helper. Finally, I end the chapter with a brief methodological examination of the kind of research and methods of data collection and mindset that are important in order to excavate the new meaning perspectives, selves, social identities, and communities of SHGs.

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SELF-HELP GROUPS IN THE THIRD SECTOR

Mutual aid associations in the late nineteenth century United States and England were set up to help lower- or middle-class people or immigrants (Katz and Bender, 1976; Beito, 2000) bury their relatives, borrow money in emergencies, and provide other periodic material help and/or to maintain their cultural heritage. Today, mutual aid associations are primarily SHGs which are single-issue groups for people with a physical or mental health condition or a stigmatized social issue.

Self-help groups have been defined as "autonomous, voluntary assemblies of people in similar situations or predicaments, or with the same disease or condition, who join together to cope with and resolve their troublesome issue through sharing knowledge and providing mutual social and emotional support" (Borkman, 2004, p. 428). An important aspect of the definition is that SHGs are governed by and for the people with the focal shared experience, not by professionals or outsiders who do not share the focal condition. SHGs are also known as mutual help groups, mutual aid groups, or as self-help/mutual aid groups in the research literature and are distinguished by researchers from do-it-by-yourself self-help books, tapes, or videos in which an outside expert counsels an individual on how to improve some aspect of his or her life. Self-help organizations (SHOs) are more formal than SHGs and often are "paid staff nonprofits" (Smith, 1997): they are registered 501(C)3s with noticeable budgets who employ staff to provide services to clientele but use the social technology of self-help/mutual aid approaches (Borkman et al., 2005).

Who is the "self" in SHG? The self is variously defined as an individual in do-it-myself in reference to the self-help books and tapes, or, in the community literature, the self is a political unit: national, regional, county, or local community. In Chapter 24 by Harris, Cairns, and Carroll in this volume, the self in action research is the community in relation to the next higher level political unit. In the research literature on SHGs and SHOs, the self is an individual but within a context of mutual support from experientially-similar peers.

Single-issue health and social issues are the focus of the research literature on SHGs internationally in industrialized countries. An individual or the close loved one of someone with an often chronic physical or mental disease, an addiction, a member of a stigmatized social category, or who is undergoing life transitions (e.g., widowhood or divorce) or life crises (e.g., families of victims of the bombing of the New York World Trade Center) constitute focal issues of SHGs. There is a separate literature for the economic and other material self-help found in developing/industrializing countries which is often on a community level or status level. For example, the International Society of Third Sector Research Conference in Toronto, Canada, in July 2004 had an entire session on economic self-help projects for women with microcredit schemes in India that are funded and administered by an international agency but the authors rarely cited the mainstream SHG literature.

A growing body of research literature on SHGs and SHOs, as defined here, is developing internationally in English. Moreover, there is a fledgling *International Journal of Self-Help and Self-Care* (*IJSHSC*) initiated in 1999 by the now deceased Alfred Katz who was a well-known contributor to the self-help group literature in the United States. The *IJSHSC*, published by Baywood Publishing in Amityville, New York, has an irregular publication schedule: since the first volume and issue in 1999–2000, there have been seven to eight issues in two volumes. Of the forty-one articles in the first seven issues in which a country was named, twenty-two (fifty-four percent) dealt with the United States; four (ten percent) dealt with the Internet worldwide; twelve of the remaining sixteen (forty-six percent) were primarily about Western Europe, Australia, and Israel; two involved Eastern Europe, and one each was on Japan and Third World countries.

In the United States, there had been a consistent bias in the literature of framing SHGs as alternatives to human service agencies (Riessman, 1990) which severely limits the questions that can be raised. Relatively few researchers in the United States look at SHGs as Third Sector voluntary associations that evolve in the community. In contrast, Europeans are much more likely to frame their research within a voluntary action perspective [e.g., Burns and Taylor (1998)].

SHGs are part of the invisible dark matter—an image propagated by David Horton Smith (1997)—of the nonprofit and voluntary action sector; that is, the informal grassroots-based voluntary associations, especially membership organizations, that are ignored in large-scale and prestigious research projects such as the Johns Hopkins-based Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project or the Nonprofit Almanac. Smith (1997, 2000) shows that cumulatively there are perhaps more of these small grassroots associations than there are of the "bright matter" of the paid staff nonprofits that are systematically studied. As voluntary associations, SHGs are quasi-public in that peers who are strangers meet in association; because they are often small and do not advertise their existence, they are also quasi-private. If they have membership lists, the lists are not published; and they seldom receive money from governments or charitable organizations, which would necessitate a public paper trail.

SHGs are often social inventions created to supplement the medical and professional help people receive with experientially based knowledge related to daily living. Many SHGs form for individual chronic diseases (e.g., diabetes, Parkinson's disease, or schizophrenia), or for parents whose children have a chronic or rare disease (e.g., spina bifida, childhood cancer, leukemia), or for addictions or stigmatized social conditions. Although the twelve-step groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous (and over ninety other twelve-step anonymous groups) are well known and part of the popular culture, they probably represent only one-third of the SHGs in the United States (Wuthnow, 1994) and are less well known in other countries.

Organizationally, local SHGs have been divided by researchers into two prevalent structures: the twelve-step anonymous group and the incipient nonprofit organization (Katz, 1993; Riessman and Carroll, 1995). The twelve-step anonymous group has an egalitarian and democratic structure with decision-making by consensus and a rotating and elected leadership; they are largely autonomous local groups who own no property, have no staff, and operate with almost no money. Many other SHGs are legally incorporated 501(C)3 nonprofit organizations even when they operate more informally than required by their legal structure or the equivalent incipient hierarchies with elected officers, advisory boards, membership criteria, and lists and some monetary resources.

SOCIETAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF VOLUNTARY ACTION AND CITIZEN PROBLEM SOLVING

Most of the research on self-help groups has been done in industrialized societies with well-established customs or histories of citizen problem-solving through voluntary action. Recent research has established that there has been and is extensive voluntary action not only in North America but also in the Northern and Western European democracies, Australia, and New Zealand.

A picture is emerging that the capacity to develop and utilize self-help groups is significantly affected by the population's more general knowledge: about creating and using voluntary associations to problem-solve, about their attitudes toward professional authority, and other cultural factors. With the breakup of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s the previous

governmental programs that treated and supported the sick and disabled disintegrated in the newly autonomous countries such as Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, and East Germany. Ursula von Appen (1994, p. 113) who ran a self-help resource center in Schwerin, in the former East Germany, wrote in 1994 that

> Self-help as it has been practiced for decades in the former West German state and in other west-ern countries was almost totally unheard of and hardly likely to be implemented in the former German Democratic Republic before unification, given the then prevailing restrictive state policy and monopoly on all matters concerning health. It was possible to form self-help groups only within the protected sphere of the church.

The few studies extant of attempts to establish self-help groups of citizens uniformly report difficulty in mobilizing people who are accustomed to a governmental or professionally based agency providing for them. Even the idea of developing a member-run group to problem-solve and to advocate with the government is exotic and unwelcome. Von Appen (1994, p. 103) reported that in the former East Germany (shortly after unification in 1989–1990)

> Awareness of the concept of self-help has not risen spontaneously out of any expression of the needs of the lowest strata in society. Well-researched and established self-help programs are being offered to people in the new eastern provinces who at first knew nothing about the concept and could not imagine what it might entail. It is unthinkable for many suffering under physical or psychological hardship that something might be done in the way of self-help without the assistance of doctors, psychologists or the state health system.

Furthermore, the public lacks basic organizing skills and skills in leading groups. Despite the ideal of member-led self-help groups, von Appen and others found that the primary way groups could be instigated and survive for any length of time was to have a professional facilitator in the beginning; some of these groups later evolved into member-run groups whereas others did not. A secondary way that groups were started was through the intervention of self-help group leaders from other places. For example, members of twelve-step groups Alcoholics Anonymous and Gamblers Anonymous from Hamburg visited Schwerin. "Lengthy discussions with these visitors impressed the local groups a great deal. The reports of extreme suffering on the long road to abstinence as well as evidence of an admirable commitment to the cause were part of these exchanges" (1994, p. 105).

Oka (1994) talks about how the effects of Japan's group-oriented culture retard the concept of self-help/mutual aid as it is practiced in more individualistic societies where the ideas of self-determination and self-reliance are strong. In Japan, social and self identity is tied with one's group affiliations with the concomitant turning one's will and life over to the group: belonging to the group, to a large extent, absolves one of personal responsibility. This is contradictory to the dynamic in the more individualistic English-speaking societies in which the "self-help" of self-help/mutual aid refers to the member assuming responsibility for resolving his or her own problem; the mutual aid is the reciprocal help members give to and receive from each other. Thus, Japanese cede their responsibility to the group(s) with which they are affiliated whereas in English-speaking societies the group teaches and supports the self-helper to take responsibility for his or her actions

Social movements questioning medical authority did not arise in Hong Kong, a British protectorate in the 1970s, and in the 1990s social scientists were finding it very difficult to institute SHGs because of the professional dominance of physicians and cultural attitudes toward illness (Wong and Chan, 1994). Moreover, when SHGs were able to be instituted in the Eastern societies such as Japan and Hong Kong their character was considerably different as the people did not have a tradition of expressing personal views to outsiders and the "sharing

circle" was not as effective as in western countries where feelings and attitudes are openly expressed (Oka, 1994; Wong and Chan, 1994).

WHY DID SHGs DEVELOP IN THE 1970s IN THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES?

In the 1960s and 1970s in the United States (a decade later in other industrialized countries) social movements challenged the authority of institutions and of professionals, initiating an era of consumerism and client participation. In the United States the civil rights movement to end racial discrimination was accompanied by other movements: coalitions against the Vietnam War, the Women's Movement, and protests of people with disabilities. SHGs, an integral aspect of these social movements, were among a number of alternative organizational inventions of that era: feminist health clinics (Mogren, 2002), battered women's shelters (Loseke, 1992), communes (Berger, 1981), self-help advice centers (Matzat, 2001–2002), independent living centers (Litvak and Martin 1999–2000), and new health charities (Milofsky and Elworth, 1985). In some cases, such as the Women's Movement, early consciousness-raising was done through thousands of SHGs which evolved into or joined advocacy organizations. In other cases charitable associations were created for advocacy and fund raising whereas the social and emotional support functions were housed in SHGs, subunits of the more formalized associations. The complete story of the relationships between SHGs and advocacy organizations has yet to be definitively recorded.

In addition to the social movements, two other social factors combined to provide a nurturing climate for the SHGs: changes in medical sciences and public health that led to a proliferation of named diseases and a sense of entitlement for services among sufferers; and, the mobility and weakening of family and kinship structures of support that had been in process since World War II.

In 1900, relatively few diseases had been identified; for example, death certificates often listed "old age" as cause of death; few people lived long enough to acquire chronic diseases. Today old age is not a cause of death because medical science has identified so many physical and mental diseases [see Cockerham (2002); Horwitz (2002)]. Longer life spans result in older people developing many chronic diseases that require extensive self-care with only periodic medical monitoring. People with chronic diseases can lead quite ordinary lives, modified by some changes in diet, exercise, mobility, or the like, depending on the condition. To assist in self-care and to live daily with a chronic disease or other stigmatized conditions, many people are turning to self-help groups. The majority of SHGs are for health-related issues.

As physicians "named" many chronic disease diagnoses, society has accorded them and their institutions (clinics, hospitals) extensive authority for managing and treating the diseases. Conrad and Schneider (1992) write about the medicalization process occurring in contemporary life and the impact of being labeled with a diagnosis. Medicalization refers to the process by which a condition or behavior becomes defined as a medical problem and/or as requiring a medical solution; interest groups such as physicians, drug companies, or segments of the public advocate for the redefinition of a condition into a medical one that requires medical treatment. Diffusely defined conditions become medicalized when they have a diagnosis that can have positive and negative consequences for "patients." On the positive side, individuals have clearcut information and knowledge about what to do because there is a diagnosis and treatment plan. Foundations and researchers can be induced to develop new treatments for these conditions

and medical control is often regarded as more humane than legal control. Consequently, people with health conditions that are not diagnosed, such as chemical sensitivities or chronic fatigue syndrome, create advocacy groups to promote the medicalization of their condition. On the negative side, however, diagnosis can become a label that limits and stigmatizes the person. Medical solutions are often incomplete or unhelpful as in the deinstitutionalization of mental patients in which many mentally ill ended up homeless or segregated in the community (Weitz, 2001). With the medicalization of so many aspects of life experience, the power and control of the medical community has expanded while diminishing the authority of others such as teachers, judges and police, legislators, and religious leaders.

Another negative consequence of medicalization is that people diagnosed with one of these conditions become, in the medical setting, a patient: the "heart attack in Room 412," or "pancreatic cancer in Room 313." These patient "selves" are extremely limited and limiting in terms of one's humanity. Although SHGs frequently organize their groups on the basis of the labels/diagnoses given by the medical community, they do not restrict themselves to the medical definition; generally, they develop new expanded "meaning perspectives" that deal with all aspects of the human being and include their lived experience in coping with the disease/condition in everyday life as well as in relation to the health and social care systems.

SHGs and other advocacy groups frequently create alternative nonstigmatizing "meaning perspectives" and modified "selves" as a way of demedicalizing (Fox, 1977) or modifying the ramifications of the definition of their condition/behavior as a condition requiring professional intervention. One striking difference of these movements is that the people experiencing the condition now lead the advocacy efforts instead of charitable foundations or upper-class white women who were their advocates before.

A related process sociologically is the social construction of social problems in which advocacy efforts by numerous claims makers result in the reframing of private troubles into social problems about which something can be done. The social movements of the 1960s and 1970s led not only to lay people and experientialists (the people experiencing the condition) participating in movements to medicalize or demedicalize conditions but also led to advocacy in social construction movements, such as efforts to define wife abuse, the battered woman, and shelters as a solution (Loseke, 1992).

Rappaport (1993) discusses the importance to both individual and to social change of SHGs' creating and reframing a shared narrative that challenges dominant stereotypes portrayed through the mass media and other institutions. Within the group, experientially similar peers who are voluntarily problem-solving to cope with or contend with their situation, share stories of the various aspects of their living situation, their encounters with medical or social service agencies, and their relationships with their family, at work, and in the neighborhood. Established groups over time develop a body of understandings based on the participation of the members, and these understandings become a "meaning perspective" and a source of authority on what it is like to live with, through, and beyond the condition (Bayers, 2004; Borkman, 1999).

Among the reasons that SHGs and the related advocacy organizations are so fascinating to me is that the people with the condition are empowered to create their own "meaning perspectives" that often challenge the prevailing views of their condition and/or the image of what people with their condition/health problem are like. Conventional views usually are based on medical and other professional knowledge as well as folk knowledge available in the popular culture. In contrast, the SHG's "meaning perspective" of their focal issue and of themselves in relationship to it is derived from lived experience, often innovative, and always oriented to what is pragmatically useful in their lives.

In addition to the reactions to medicalization and patienthood, the "weakening familial ties" (Humphreys, 2004) as exhibited in higher divorce rates; later age of first marriage; more single, divorced, and widowed people living alone; and more geographical separation among extended family make SHGs attractive as substitute families or supplementary support networks. Moreover, SHGs as contemporary forms of voluntary associations are also attractive as institutions "lite" that require little time, service, allegiance, or loyalty from their members (Irvine, 1999) and are thus ideally suited for mobile persons with multiple statuses living in a rapidly changing, urban environment.

WHAT ARE SHGs LIKE AS ORGANIZATIONS AND HOW DO THEY OPERATE?

Judy Wilson, previously Director of Self-Help Nottingham, a resource center for SHGs has a useful table, shown here as Table 13.1, contrasting SHGs organizationally with professionally organized services.

The first dimension, structure, which is labeled "informal" for the SHG in contrast with the "formal" organization inhabited by professionals actually contains a wide spectrum of differences. The professionals work in a variety of organizations (whether government agencies, nonprofit organizations. or private for-profit organizations) which are bureaucratized. Professionals are accustomed to dealing with organizations that have specific geographical locations, fixed addresses, stable telephone numbers, and other regularized means of contact. They usually work with peers in sister organizations who have job titles and position descriptions that clearly delineate their function. They are used to working with organizations that have lists of employees and of patients/clients and who can identify whether a specific person is a client/patient. They are used to written rules and procedures and to writing up notes or case notes for the files of their significant decisions with individual clients or patients.

Almost none of these items apply to self-help groups. Many SHGs have no physical location or street address: they meet in churches, community centers, schools, or other public buildings. They may have a post office box as a fixed address. Although some SHGs have lists

TABLE 13.1. Two Worlds: Self-Help Groups and Professionals

Dimension	Self-Help Groups	Professionals and Their Bureaucracy
1. Structure	Informal	Formal
2. Decision-making	Participative	Hierarchical
3. Main concern	Mutual support, information	Provision of services
4. Source of knowledge	Through experience	Through training
5. Degree of permanence	Uncertain	Long term
6. Reward for time	Better coping; satisfaction from being helpful	Pay and status; Satisfaction from being helpful
7. Resources	Volunteer help; members' homes	Revenues from government or grants; paid staff offices
8. Degree of integration into formal structures	Low	High
9. Language	Everyday	Jargon/shorthand

Source: Adapted from Figure 2.1 of Wilson (1995, p. 8).

of their membership, many do not. They are run entirely by their members who are volunteering their time and energy; their leadership structure is often fluid and people substitute in carrying out needed functions of the group. Often there is no job title or position to indicate who does what. Often groups act more as networks than as structured groups; they will have a regular meeting (weekly, bimonthly, or monthly) but much of the interaction among members is carried out before and after the meeting and in friendships and relationships by telephone, face-to-face, and e-mail. Relationships are personal and people know each other's biography and the details of their focal problems based on their sharing experiences. They help each other 24/7 instead of Monday to Friday 9 AM–5 PM or the equivalent which is normally the case with professional services (except hospitals). What distinguishes an informal gathering of mothers on the playground who provide mutual aid to one another from the mothers who create a SHG? Often they provide the same functions for attendees but the SHG is likely to have a name, to have been intentionally created for some articulated reasons, and their slightly more structured approach allows them to function longer, be easier to find for potential members, and to create some leadership positions independent of individuals.

In many communities, finding a SHG is very problematic and dependent on the good will of professionals or newspapers' willingness to mention them. Self-help clearinghouses, also known as resource centers or contact centers, are relatively recent inventions that were designed to help connect the public to groups of interest as well as to advise and support fledgling SHGs (Hastie, 1999–2000; Madara, 1992). Because they are not institutionalized and only irregularly supported in most countries, the number of self-help clearinghouses fluctuates as some disband due to lack of funding and fledgling ones emerge. Self-help clearinghouses keep listings of local SHGs in their area and update them periodically. They are likely to have informational (but not financial or material) resources for SHGs. A national-level resource in the United States is the American Self-Help Clearinghouse run by Ed Madara, his staff, and volunteers who maintain an online data base of models of national-level SHGs; the URL is http://www.mentalhelp.net/selfhelp/.

A few large national-level organizations such as Alcoholics Anonymous or National Alliance of the Mentally Ill (NAMI) operate as clearinghouses for the particular disease or condition and have local telephone numbers and local areawide offices that connect people with local groups. Increasingly SHGs and SHOs have Web sites that provide contact information. Groups for rare disorders frequently are initiated with the direct assistance of one or two physicians who are pioneers in identifying and treating rare diseases; SHG leaders would have no other reliable way of identifying and contacting potential members.

COLLECTIVELY PRODUCED EXPERIENTIAL KNOWLEDGE: A DISTINCTIVE FEATURE OF SHGs

Bruner (1990) speaks of two major ways by which we know: the logico-scientific and narrative (or stories). Professional knowledge of the logico-scientific variety is learned in universities and tested in licensing and certification exams. Each profession or semi-profession also has practical or craft knowledge learned on the job through the experience of applying the logico-scientific knowledge to particular patients in concrete situations (Etzioni, 1969). The physicians' two forms of knowledge differ from that of the nurse's (Hughes, 1971) or that of the occupational therapist's although all three use the same basic sciences of biology, anatomy, physiology, and so on. Typically, the researcher is devoted to generating logico-scientific knowledge whereas

the clinician concentrates on craft knowledge. Mattingly (1991) conducted an action research project in order to identify the role that storytelling plays in making sense of one's work. Occupational therapists were shown a videotape of an OT working with a patient; the participant OTs then interpreted what they saw in story form. In contrast with their "chart talk" (a logico-scientific form of presentation that OTs use in formal medical settings) the storytelling (narrative form) put the experience of the patient and their experience working with the patient center stage; and the OTs learned more about their practice and flexibility in responding to patient contingencies through the shared narratives.

Historically, the patient has been regarded as a know-nothing and was at the lowest level of all hierarchies. This was changed by the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s when the empowerment of women, blacks, people with disabilities, and others included demands that their voices be heard and taken into account: being female or black or having a disability meant a voice of experience from living with the status or condition. Women stopped paying attention to male psychiatrists who claimed expertise about female orgasms; churchgoers ignored the homilies on marital dynamics from celibate priests.

The SHG literature written by professional social science researchers similarly regarded self-helpers as lay patients, using the terms interchangeably in the 1970s and early 1980s. In 1976, I introduced the concept of experiential knowledge, the idea that self-helpers acquired information and wisdom from reflecting upon their lived experiences within the context of the "sharing circle" (Borkman, 1976). The experiential knowledge of living with and through treatment of cancer or being in a wheelchair or the parent of a child with moyamoya, a rare disease, was different from but often complementary to the forms of knowledge held by the physician, nurse, or other professional. In contrast, the lay person was a bystander who had folk or second-hand knowledge from the media or friends' stories or books (Borkman, 1999). In those early years, researchers often regarded self-helpers as anti-professional because they criticized the limits of knowledge of professionals and protested that the self-helpers' insights and perspectives were trivialized or ignored. I knew this was not true because self-helpers used professional services more frequently and more carefully than did non-self-helpers.

Experiential knowledge is primarily expressed as stories or narratives and secondarily as maxims or truisms. The "sharing circle" of attendees disclosing their personal experience with a relevant topic symbolizes their main methodology. Mature groups such as the twelve-step anonymous groups have maxims or slogans that signify complex ideas. SHGs can and do accumulate a body of collective knowledge based on dozens or hundreds or thousands of experiences that have been examined, reviewed, and amassed by group process over a long period of time. This dynamic of transforming one person's idiosyncratic experience into a body of collective knowledge happens as a group evolves and its members gain insight and authority about their common issue.

When a researcher or observer encounters a SHG or a self-helper (a member of a SHG) one of the first parameters to be discovered is the extent to which the self-helper and the group are newcomers or old timers. Both groups and individuals go through stages as they problem-solve, and it is important not to confuse a fledgling group or new self-helper with one that has been problem-solving for a longer period of time. I categorized groups and individuals as each going through three stages of development of a "meaning perspective" (Borkman, 1999) and the following analysis is taken largely from my book. The three stages are analytic distinctions; actual groups and individuals may go through fewer or more stages.

Typically, a group develops in its knowledge and power as a collective before the individual; that is, the individual usually learns from the accumulated knowledge in the group. In the first stage, the *Fledgling Group* or individual (labeled a Victim) air grievances and pain,

sounding helpless and powerless as they share experiences. Typically, the group is also orga-
nizing and developing its leadership positions, norms, relationships with professionals, and
procedures for operating. Through people sharing, they begin to see their commonalities as
well as the idiosyncrasies of individuals; this is the beginning of the creation of a body of
collective knowledge based on lived experience.

By the second stage, labeled a *Developed* group, the basic process of organizing into an
intentional group is completed, a workable redefinition of their common problem is occurring,
and they are searching for and eliminating solutions that are unsatisfactory, unworkable, or
disliked. They are likely to be undergoing the demystification of the professional's treatment
and authority that Zola (1987) argues is the first step in politicization. For example, Chesler and
Chesney (1995) studied fifty local Candlelighters groups, some of which were controlled by
professionals. There were very clear and large differences in the groups that were member-run
versus those that were professionally run: the professionally run groups acted like therapy
groups whereas the member-run groups were more likely to challenge professionals and pro-
fessional organizations. Other researchers report similar findings: groups with professional
facilitation capitulate to the professional's perspective and do not challenge the professional's
authority and power.

The third stage of development is referred to as the *Mature* stage. Knowledge has become
authority. Groups in the Mature stage are very authoritative about their experiential knowledge:
A.A. is an excellent example. Long-term self-helpers in A.A. can remain open to learning from
the experiences of younger alcoholics and expand their own knowledge or, conversely, they
can become dogmatic and stop listening to the contemporary experiences of peers, maintaining
that their own experience is the ultimate authority for them.

Outcomes of Experiential Authority: New or Complete Selves and Social Identities

Individuals find themselves regarded as a whole person without judgment in a SHG instead
of the "cancer patient in Room 410." Instead of segmented and fractured role relationships
as patients, clients, or customers in the highly specialized division of labor in healthcare or
in social services, the SHG is a place where all aspects of life in relation to the shared issue
is of interest. Although groups usually form around a single narrow issue, the way that they
consider the issue is holistic, involving the physical, emotional, mental, familial, and (with
twelve-step and some other groups) spiritual facets of the person (Borkman, 1999). Members
interact with each other in personal terms, as unique and special individuals.

Interestingly, despite the huge contrast between the individual in the role of a patient
versus the whole person who is a member of a SHG, much of the research literature has shown
little explicit interest in the concept of self or the related terms of self-concept or self-image.
There are two almost separate literatures on SHGs: one primarily for addiction SHGs and the
second for SHGs in general and for nonaddiction groups. Researchers seem to specialize and
rarely cite from both bodies of literature. It appears that it is primarily the addiction SHGs
that consider changes in concept of the self and social identity. These are also the groups
whose major problem-solving technology is personal transformation. Using a typology of
SHGs categorizing a group's problem-solving technology as coping or personal transformation
(Borkman, 1999), it is easy to understand that those groups believing in short-term participation
in the group using only coping strategies (e.g., groups for parents of premature infants) would
be unlikely to focus on changes in the self or self-concept or social identity. In contrast, groups

believing that transformation of the self is essential to the resolution of their focal problem would be likely to have noticeable changes in social identity and transformation of the self. With the exception of studies of severe mental illness (Kloos, 1999), most of the studies of self-transformation appear to have been done with Alcoholics Anonymous and other twelve-step groups. Humphreys (2004) summarizes the literature on transformations in the addictions and the use of life stories in these studies.

The relevant social identity of the focal issue around which the group organizes is usually contained in its name such as Alcoholics Anonymous, Multiple Dystrophy Network, or Juvenile Diabetes Foundation. We know that given the voluntary nature of SHGs, people who want to avoid a particular social identity will not attend, much less join, that group (Kurtz, 1997). Many people do not realize that although the issue may be stigmatized in the outside world, in the group it is not. The contradiction in the twelve-step anonymous groups, many of which deal with stigmatized social identities, is that the individual needs to accept the social identity of that group to be a member but he or she can simultaneously keep that social identity private avoiding the stigma of the outside world. Newer charitable associations formed since the 1970s sometimes broke away from older ones (e.g., the Juvenile Diabetes Association was formed from the older American Diabetes Association) to create a distinctive social identity for their members in order to attract researchers and funders to their cause (Milofsky and Elworth, 1985).

Checking the indices of major books on SHGs in the literature, I confirmed that use of the concept "self" is very rare. Yet the concepts are implicit and applicable. Leslie Irvine's (1999) outstanding study, *Codependents Forevermore: The Invention of Self in a Twelve Step Group* is unusual in specifically dealing with the "self" and her work provides the bridge to familiar terrain in the SHG literature. The "self" is manifested and understood through the narratives or stories that comprise the major currency of SHG sharing. As Irvine (1999, pp. 1–2) states: [the narrator] "portrays the self as a story, . . . or as stories, and people as narrators of selves. . . . The self is both the premise and the result of the stories people tell. . . . Our experience of 'having' a self is contained in an 'internal conversation' about who we are."

Irvine understands narratives or stories in the same way that researchers studying SHGs do. Further, she adds some sociological understanding (Irvine, 1999, p. 2).

> The narrative concept of self that I use here is not so much a matter of people making up stories as it is of stories making people. . . . The events of people's lives are reshaped according to the storytelling norms of given situations, and, through telling and retelling, those stories become the events of those lives. The 'truth' of an experience is what emerges from the telling. Moreover, the stories will depend on the institutions within which you are embedded, as well as the resources that you bring to the telling. Institutions impart guidelines or formulas for what constitute acceptable stories. People reshape their experiences to fit.

Although the concepts of the self or social identity and the like are rare in SHG literature, the importance of narratives or stories in SHGs has been recognized since the 1990s and is increasingly a topic of research. The discussions of "narrative communities" (Rappaport, 1993), "worldview transformation" (Kennedy and Humphreys, 1994), or "meaning perspectives" (Borkman, 1999), are implicitly related to social identities although the terms are not used as such.

The SHG research literature has been criticized for not utilizing social science concepts and theories that are relevant. The study of the "self" and "social identity" have long and elaborate histories of research in psychology, social psychology, and sociology among others (Forsyth, 2005; Medvene, 1992; Turner, 1999). There are well-developed concepts with decades of thoughtful analysis and research. This rich social science literature on self and social

identity could be used to enhance future research especially as we have the bridge of narratives or story-telling as a way to access the concepts. Most of the research to date has dealt with conversion and personal transformation often using schemas from religion about conversion. But, there are dramatic stories of personal change away from irresponsibility, self-absorption, selfishness, and ignorance having little religious context that have yet to be examined. Bayers' (2004) research on the more modest change from breast cancer "patient" to "survivor" suggests more possibilities.

THE METHODOLOGY OF IN-DEPTH RESEARCH WITH SELF-HELP GROUPS

Because the values, belief systems, and practices of SHGs can be quite complex but are not written down or articulated in position papers or intellectualized statements and because the mode of conveying information in the groups is not the logical-scientific discourse used by professionals, how does one research the "meaning perspective" and practices of a SHG or other self-defined process-oriented group?

On the most general level, the qualitatively based naturalistic paradigm is invaluable instead of the conventional positivistic paradigm (Kennedy, Humphreys, and Borkman, 1994). The latter emphasizes distance of the researcher from the people being studied (widely regarded as objectivity), the use of experimental-control designs (which would distort the voluntary nature of participation in SHS), the use of surveys and questionnaires to collect data (which assumes the researcher thoroughly knows the topic being studied), and statistical analysis of large representative samples to test hypotheses and generate universal statements. The newer naturalistic paradigm [described by Guba (1990); Guba and Lincoln (1983); Lincoln and Denzin (2003); Lincoln and Guba (1986)] fits the reality of conducting close in-depth studies over some period of time with community-based groups whose values, belief systems, and practices are likely to be relatively unknown to the researcher. Distant and arrogant researchers will not be welcomed or allowed to observe; the researcher needs to develop a personal relationship with the group and convince the group that he will not harm them or even that he has their best interests in mind. For a longer and more thorough discussion of how to apply the naturalistic paradigm to studying groups see Kennedy et al. (1994) and Borkman (2005).

My suggestions for research are based on thirty-five years of experience studying a variety of groups (for people who stutter, people with ostomies, alcoholics, bereaved parents, mentally ill, adult children of alcoholic parents, parents of children with rare diseases) and types of organizations (twelve-step groups, nonprofit organizations, SHOs, self-help clearinghouses, and quasi-self-help groups).

Initial Considerations

Two issues are especially important at the beginning. First, because you will become close to the people in the group you are studying, consider doing action research, participatory action research [PAR; Chesler (1991); see Harris, Cairns, and Carroll, Chapter 24 in this *Handbook*], or collaborative research (Rappaport et al., 1985). PAR or collaborative research involves power sharing with the SHG that should be carefully thought out (Isenberg et al., 2004). Second, respect the experiential knowledge and authority of the group you want to study. Self-helpers and community-based members can sense a researcher's attitude; respect is repaid

with access and openness. I talk to self-helpers about the concept of experiential knowledge which delights them that their experience-based wisdom is validated. "An appreciation for the value of experiential wisdom is hard to accomplish without an accompanying humility about the limitations of professional knowledge and ways of knowing" (Lavoie, Farquharson, and Kennedy, 1994, p. 308). Berger, who studied countercultural communes in the 1970s, especially "the ranch" over a ten-year period, was respectful to the communards: carefully avoided acting like a father or any authority figure to these younger people; brought gifts of food or toys for the children; revealed a lot about himself and his life; and regularly helped them with weeding, running errands, or whatever was needed (Berger, 1981). Despite his excellent personal relationships with them, at one point they asked him to discontinue his sociological research (because of their ideological positions). He said that his "relationship to them as a researcher was never secure" (Berger, 1981, p. 45).

Assumptions That Impede Impartiality

Professionals are usually prisoners of their worldview argues the well-known community psychologist, Seymour Sarason (1972). Professional training leads to a certain mindset, a certain way of thinking of which individuals are often unaware. These thought patterns lead to repetition of past behaviors; solutions to problems arrived at by professionals usually end up being those that involve professionals like themselves.

The paradigms and worldviews that guide our thinking are deep-seated and unrecognized assumptions that shape our interpretations of what we are observing. They operate as blinders and limit our capacity to see novel and innovative phenomena on their own terms; instead, we interpret what we observe on the basis of the known and the familiar. The following suggestions stem from my experiences and are offered to assist other researchers from unwittingly making the same incorrect assumptions.

- Professionally based programs are culturally privileged over nonprofessional or volunteer services. SHGs and SHOs that provide services are regarded as nonprofessional programs because experientially knowledgeable "lay" people staff them and the groups use self-help/mutual aid technologies, not professional ones. Although I was favorably disposed and, I thought, open-minded about viewing some SHOs, my ingrained preference for conceptualizing "treatment" in professional terms severely limited my thinking for too long a time.
- Large, well-funded, and bureaucratically organized nonprofit organizations are respected and regarded as worthy of attention whereas informal and alternatively organized voluntary organizations tend to be neglected or ignored (Smith, 1997, 2000); this is a clear form of partiality. I have interviewed two executive directors of SHOs who independently declared that an organization that has no money (not a significant amount thereof) cannot do anything. This bias from proponents of self-help/mutual aid is quite shocking; they are implying that the majority of SHGs and all of the social and emotional support that hundreds of thousands of SHGs provide their members have no value.
- In the voluntary sector, membership organizations tend to be ignored unless they are large, well-funded, and deal with economic issues (e.g., labor unions, trade associations) or are politically important (e.g., AARP).
- Innovative organizational forms are difficult to research because of our assumptions about hierarchy, bureaucracy, professionally based programs, and the inherent value

and worth of bigness, money, and formality. Several tendencies impede our impartiality in researching alternative organizational forms:

o The hierarchical model of bureaucratic organization is ingrained in our consciousness and it is difficult to take alternative organizational forms seriously.

o The ideas, processes, and practices of SHGs or local community-based groups are often oversimplified and regarded with disdain by researchers because they are lay-led, small, poorly funded, and/or informal, and because the researcher has not understood their functioning.

o Social processes, structures, and social networks surrounding SHGs, SHOs, and other alternative-based groups are often invisible or discounted, but vitally important to understanding them.

o Researchers who are experientially unlike the people they are studying frequently misinterpret the meaning and significance of what they dismissively view as "small talk."

CONCLUSIONS

The social movements of the 1970s liberated the voices of women, racial/ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, and many others with stigmatized statuses and conditions. Now, the authority of professional and institution is questioned by those cognizant of the power of their experiential knowledge from having lived with and through disease, disability, stigma, or discrimination. Accompanying the multitude of liberated voices were myriad social inventions in the nonprofit and voluntary sector: feminist health clinics, battered women's shelters, self-help groups, and communes. Many of these inventions have disappeared (e.g., communes) or have been compromised in order to survive by becoming bureaucratized and relinquishing their participatory values [e.g., battered women's shelters, feminist health clinics; Mogren (2002)]. But the number of SHGs has exploded (Wuthnow, 1994); and they have retained their informality replacing participatory action for structure or form, much to the consternation of some professionals. Jon Van Til, a long-term sociological critic and theorist of the Third Sector, recently suggested replacing the Third Sector emphasis on nonprofit organizations with the Third Space (Van Til, 2000, p. 214):

> In the final analysis, what really counts is the informed, voluntary, and self-actualizing activity of individuals, joined with others in a search to build a better, fairer, and more productive society. . . .
> But the test of a society like ours does not ultimately inhere in form or structure. Rather, its worth should be judged by the content of the actions and outcomes these structures generate and assure.

There are 500,000 SHGs that provide information, support, a family-of-choice, community "lite," advocacy, and informed and positive critiques of the professionals and the institutions who provide them service, Jon, to creatively populate your Third Space.

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CHAPTER 14

Online Communities

GUSTAVO S. MESCH

Access to and use of information and communication technologies have expanded rapidly. This circumstance has focused academic attention and interest in social groups that are not bounded in a specific geographic place and for which well-documented evidence exists of social interaction and involvement among individuals who in many cases have never met face to face.

Participation of individuals in geographically dispersed groups through a mediated form of communication is not new. For example, at the beginning of the twentieth century wireless radio was used to transmit long-distance communication, and amateur radio operators worldwide used this technology to chat and exchange information (Stephens, 1995). Yet the convergence of the Internet and World Wide Web is important because it allows reliable access across any distance in real-time. High-bandwidth data can be transmitted at low cost anywhere. Unlike radio or other non-face-to-face forms of communication, the medium allows bi- and multidirectional communication and storage of data for use on demand (Plant, 2004; Rafaeli and Larose, 1993). The characteristics of the technology and the human desire for connection, knowledge, and information support the existence of a large number of online, non-face-to-face communities. A virtual community is a voluntary group of individuals with shared interests that through computer-supported networks socially interact for a relatively long period of time, exchanging sociability, social support, and resources. Through this social interaction common ties and some social organization develops (Driskell and Lyon, 2002).

This chapter reviews the expanding literature on online communities, with particular focus on their characteristics and functions.

ONLINE COMMUNITIES AS COMMUNITY
WITHOUT PROPINQUITY

Much of the controversy on whether online groups are communities focuses on the degree to which community can exist without a shared locality (for a review, see Hunter, Chapter 1, this *Handbook*). In fact, conceptual models in the field of community studies have placed emphasis on shared needs and concerns, even without propinquity, as a basis for community.

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The idea of "community without propinquity" elaborated by Melvin Weber (1964) suggested that individuals were enmeshed in an overlapping range of groups, and that increasingly, these social networks were not limited to physical location. In that sense, the approach to community should be one oriented to social process and from them to identify the matching spatial form without an assumption that locality limits social interaction. In other words, rather than propinquity, the emphasis was on accessibility to flows of social interaction and resources as the necessary condition for the formation of community. Confirming this observation, studies have informed us that locally based social ties are a small part of people's networks that expand all over the city and reach other parts of the country (Wellman and Worthley, 1990).

An additional perspective, The Community of Limited Liability holds that individuals' orientations and attachments to place are limited by the reduction of their dependence on the local community for their needs due to transportation and communication in modern urban societies (Hunter, 1978). This limited variable orientation to the community may in a sense be seen as an exchange relationship. An individual's social and emotional investment in the community depends on the degree to which the community meets his or her needs; when these are not met, the individual will withdraw, if not physically, then socially and emotionally (Hunter, 1978).

In a similar vein, the Liberated Community approach suggests that increased geographic mobility has created a community without propinquity. In it, the individual relies on a complex system of social ties composed of kin, friends, coworkers, and neighbors who provide him or her with economic, social, and emotional support (Wellman and Whortley, 1990). In both models communities without propinquity, based on sustained voluntary social interaction and social ties, whose origins are in shared needs, interests, and concerns, are shown to have existed prior to the Internet. Before turning to the main characteristics of the online communities, we present a brief history of social research on sociability and the Internet.

STUDIES ON INTERNET AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

The connection between the use of information and communication technologies and sociability has been extensively studied, yielding what appear to be mixed results. To understand the findings, the different topics investigated should be distinguished.

The first generation of studies (1986–1998) focused on the effect of Internet communication on existing social relationships, involvements, and community participation. One topic that created concern among social scholars was the amount of time that must be invested in the use of the Internet as a medium for information and communication. It undoubtedly depends on computer literacy, skills, and experience: the less the skill and experience, the more the time that is invested in Internet-related activities. Early studies on this issue inquired how Internet time is associated with participation in existing relationships and involvement in the local community. Preliminary findings showed that Internet-related activities appeared to be associated with lower participation in familiar activities, less participation in the community, and an increase in perceptions of loneliness (Kraut et al., 1998; Nie, Hillygus, and Erbring, 2002). A weakness of these studies was the implicit assumption that Internet-related activities are nonsocial or even anti-social. Still, the apparently negative association between time devoted to the Internet and sociability set the research agenda for the years to come.

More recent studies have shown that Internet use is not negatively associated with time spent on the family and on social and community activities [see Haythornwaite and Wellman (2002) for a review]. Furthermore, evidence exists that instead of replacing family, social, and community activities, the Internet supplements them; this new channel of communication is used to increase involvement in offline as well as online social groups (Katz and Rice, 2002). Rather than decreasing participation and social involvement, the Internet is being used to communicate in local and nonlocal relationships, increasing the number of neighbors known and awareness of local community-based activities (Hampton and Wellman, 2003; Mesch and Levanon, 2003). Furthermore, studies found that the Internet helps in maintaining social ties across geographic space. People who have moved away use the technology to keep in touch with long-distance friends and relatives (Hampton and Wellman, 2003).

The second generation of studies (since 1998) focused on Internet use to supplement and expand existing social ties. Community networking concerns the use of information and communication technologies as a supplementary tool for geographically local community development. It is the name given to the process by which computer-supported communication serves the local community's needs (Loader and Keeble, 2001). With the proliferation of computer use and Internet connections, interest has grown in the potential role of computer-mediated communication in the development of social ties among members of geographically based communities and perhaps in solving problems arising from decreased community participation (Hampton and Wellman, 2003).

Community networks appear to provide new opportunities for political participation. At the very least, individuals might use geographically based computer-supported communication to express their opinions on local issues as well as to organize collectively (Tonn, Zambarano, and Moore, 2001). Moreover, community networking can be a source for information on social, cultural, and political activities. The dissemination of information provides an opportunity for residents to become involved in local activities (Tonn et al., 2001). Thirdly, community networking provides opportunities for the formation of local social ties. Studies have shown that computer-mediated communication, as a tool for community development is appealing. Internet users report knowing more neighbors than nonusers (Hampton and Wellman, 2002; Mesch and Levanon, 2003), increasing their awareness of and social interaction in the local community (Etzioni and Etzioni, 1999).

The third generation, research on online communities, is a continuing topic of research since the early days in which Rheingold (1993) described the WELL. This concept is widely used to refer to geographically dispersed people in diverse locations who through electronic space and computer-mediated communication are members of electronic groups. They gather voluntarily in an electronic space and share and exchange information, social support, and sociability (Blanchard and Horan, 1998). Virtual communities have enjoyed a substantial amount of public and academic interest, because despite the nature of the communication, members of virtual communities seem able to develop intimate and personal relationships on the basis of common interests, not place (Blanchard and Horan, 1998; Wellman and Gulia, 1999).

Virtual communities take the form of groups of geographically dispersed participants discussing a shared topic of interest. Although technology now allows interaction including voice (Internet phone) and picture or motion (Webcam), most communities rely on textual communication. This consists of messages posted and stored on a bulletin board; the member can choose to receive the posting directly in his or her mailbox or to read it at his or her

convenience. Virtual communities function as social spaces, providing two different broad types of resources: socioemotional support and exchange of information and resources (Burnett, 2000). These two functions are not mutually exclusive, and in many communities both are performed. Participation in online communities can be extensive, and some studies report that participants spend varying amounts of their daily lives involved in such activities. The lower and upper limits noted are, respectively, about thirty minutes and eight hours a day. In various communities, members report that their interactions are of real social significance as friendships are created, and information and social support are exchanged (Cooper and Harrison, 2001).

ONLINE COMMUNITIES AS COMMUNITIES WITHOUT PROPINQUITY

The concept of community has been traditionally associated with a shared place in which social interaction takes place and shared bonds developed (see Hunter, Chapter 1, this *Handbook*). The electronic space can be conceived as a shared space. Among early sociological studies on social association, Feld (1981) used the concept of foci of activity, defining it as "social, psychological, legal or physical objects around which joint activities are organized." Foci can be formal (school) or informal (regular hangouts), large (neighborhood) or small (household), and they systematically constrain choices of social relationships. The concept is useful for understanding the association of individuals in virtual social groups and communities. Foci of activity place individuals in proximity and provide opportunities for frequent meetings, in which individuals reveal themselves to each other.

Nowadays the Internet can be considered a new focus of activity, an electronic space in which people with access to the technology gather for sociability, information search, entertainment, and commercial activities. They are drawn to such spaces in search of specific formal (information search) or informal (social support, entertainment) activities according to their particular interests and in this search tend to associate with others. The voluntary and intentional nature of online communities makes them similar to intentional communities (see Cnaan and Breyman, Chapter 15, this *Handbook*).

Certain features of the new electronic communication have made participation in virtual communities attractive. Unlike other communication technologies such as the telephone, the Internet is intended to support communication in real-time as well as delayed communication, person-to-person or people-to-people. As Internet accessibility and use are increasing, there is always the chance that someone is there all the time. The implication is that access to information, entertainment, and social support is personalized; this is provided round the clock, whenever needed by the individual, and not at certain restricted hours. As such, access to data or resources is no longer a matter of six degrees of separation but a matter of finding the relevant online community.

The nature of the Internet as a channel that supports global communication means that the likelihood of finding others sharing the same cultural tastes, hobbies, interests, or tensions in cyberspace is higher than in face-to-face communities. Furthermore, communication of many with many in real-time supports the kind of interaction required for the formation of a repetitive pattern of social interaction. It promotes the development of a common identity based on a shared interest, of norms of behavior, and of a social structure characteristic of the concept of community.

INTERNET CHARACTERISTICS THAT
FACILITATE ONLINE COMMUNITIES

An innovative aspect of the Internet is the proliferation of a wide variety of special interest groups devoted to almost any imaginable topic: music genres, sports, gardening, dating, parenting and pregnancy, chronic and life-threatening diseases, socially stigmatized identities, and so on, *ad infinitum*. Online communities have become spaces for social interaction in which friendships and even close relationships are created (Parks and Floyd, 1996; Mesch and Talmud, 2006; Hampton and Wellman, 2002; McKenna, Green, and Gleson, 2002). Individuals sharing the same interests, beliefs, concerns, and values create online communities. Perceptions of similarity are probably the most robust variables that the sociological literature has identified as conducive to the formation, development, and stability of interpersonal relationships [see McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook (2001)]. In fact, the chance of finding people who share one's own needs or passion in one's geographic community may at times be slim whereas on the Internet one is looking worldwide and the chances of forming a community of like-minded people is way higher. For example, to find a penguin-caring group in rural Iowa is quite unlikely, but for a rural Iowan who cares for the penguins it will be easy to find an online community.

But why does online community formation appeal to some individuals? One important feature of computer-mediated communication is that it is based on relative anonymity. Intimate and close relationships require self-disclosure, which increases the experience of intimacy in interactions. But revealing intimate and personal concerns carries certain risks, such as embarrassment and diffusion of information to all the members of the social circle. It has been argued that the relatively anonymity of Internet interactions greatly reduces the risks involved in such disclosure, especially about intimate aspects, because one can share inner beliefs and emotional reactions with much less fear of disapproval and sanction (McKenna and Bargh, 1998). A good reason for allowing greater self-disclosure with strangers seems to be that a stranger has no access to one's social circle so the dyadic boundary cannot be violated. In other words, information disclosed to a stranger is not diffused to members of the face-to-face social circle, thus anonymity lowers the risk of embarrassment.

In addition, the rules of relationship formation online apparently differ from those of face-to-face relationship formation (McKenna and Bargh, 1998). Online communication overcomes barriers to relationship formation based on demographic characteristics (age, gender) and physical appearance. Because much of the communication is based on text, it lacks the usual features that gate the establishment of any close relationship. Easily discernable features such as physical appearance (attractiveness), shyness, or social anxiety are not highly visible in computer-mediated communication; often these constitute barriers that prevent individuals who are less physically attractive, suffer from a physical disability, or belong to a cultural or ethnic minority from developing relationships to the stage at which disclosure of intimate information can begin. On the Internet such features are not initially evident so they do not stop the formation of potential relationships (Joinson, 2001; McKenna and Bargh, 1998).

Anonymity, the absence of gates restricting social interaction, and the sharing of interests, beliefs, and values are conducive to interactivity, this being the extent to which messages in a sequence relate to each other and any later communication refers to previous exchanges (Rafaeli and Larose, 1993). Interactivity is an important characteristic of online communities, indeed a

necessary condition to demonstrate the existence of a community as in their messages members refer to other members who have expressed interest or concern previously (Jones, 1997). Without interactivity the very existence of a group sharing beliefs, norms, and a collective identity is difficult to demonstrate.

THE FUNCTIONS OF ONLINE COMMUNITIES

Online communities perform two general functions: information exchange and social support.

Information Exchange

Scholars in the information sciences tend to distinguish between two activities going on in online communities. The first is seeking practical information to meet particular fact-finding needs. It appears in online communities in the form of specific questions. The second, orienting information-seeking is a more general activity in which individuals as part of their daily routine monitor the Internet in search of any information that may be related to their interests and concerns. This type is more informal and is like wandering in the environment (Burnett, 2000). Whatever the type of information sought, information exchange within a social setting involves, in addition, communication, including socializing (Haythornthwaite and Wellman, 1998).

One of the most widespread and extreme cases of communities based on the principle of information sharing is peer-to-peer sharing. Music file sharing has made possible the formation of communities, but also free access to a large number of copyrighted songs archived in the private hard disks of million of subscribers worldwide. Beyond music files, peer-to-peer file sharing today covers any type of data including documents based on text and video files. These communities are a distinctive subgroup of society that participates in exchanges based on trust and reciprocity with a shared commitment to a particular product or consumption activity (Shouten and McAlexander, 1995).

Studies show that peer-to-peer file sharing communities attest that the existence of the community is based on a donor, a recipient, and a gift transaction (Giesler and Pohlmann, 2003). What makes this transaction a community-based activity is that a donor is usually a recipient and a recipient is usually a donor, but not always from each other. A can donate to B; A will receive a file from C and B from D. Interviews with members of the Napster community showed that they perceived information sharing as a reciprocal giving to and receiving from the community, and not a person-to-person behavior (Giesler and Pohlmann, 2003). A recurrent problem discussed by members of these communities is free riding, whereby individuals benefit from files they get from others without contributing. This problem has two aspects: community members who do not share files at all and community members who share files that are not in demand. Studies have shown that almost seventy percent do not share files at all with others and nearly fifty percent of the requests for files are returned by the top one percent sharing (Adar and Huberman, 2000). Free riding is a threat to the existence of any community and in some cases it becomes a hot topic of discussion. When a few individuals share information that is needed, the community is dependent on the good will of those few, and if they refrain from participation the collective is under threat of existence (Giesler and Pohlmann, 2003). From these studies we learn that resource dependence is a weakness and a threat to information sharing communities.

Social Support

Among the most important types of online communities are those that provide social support. Online support groups differ in form; one major distinction is the degree of involvement of professionals. Some have a professional that is a moderator and others lack any moderator. But the common characteristics are that members are individuals with a shared condition such as hearing impairment, diabetes, recovery from cancer, sexual abuse, or pregnancy that assemble to cope with their condition through sharing knowledge and providing mutual support. In that sense social support online communities are similar to self-help groups (for a detailed discussion see Borkman, Chapter 13, this *Handbook*). Social support online communities can be accessed in different ways but the usual structure is bulletin boards. Support is provided and received in these groups in the form of a question-and-answer thread in which one person posts a question and several people answer it. Every reader can see the original post and all the replies, and any reader can post another reply or start a new thread. For the most part anyone can join the list; having subscribed, the person receives by e-mail all the messages posted by others.

This type of communities attracts interest mainly because social support is deemed to require the exchange of verbal and nonverbal messages conveying emotion, information, and advice on reducing uncertainty or stress associated with the condition. Social support is exchanged through computer-mediated communication in relatively large networks of individuals who do not know each other and do not communicate face to face. Also, nongeographic computer-mediated social support communities develop among strangers whose primary connection is sharing a concern over a source of personal discomfort. Social support online is available day and night. As the Internet is a global communication technology the likelihood of finding social support when needed, at any time of the day, is high. An important characteristic of online social support communities is that a very narrow and specific topic is defined, and this attracts individuals who when joining tend to identify themselves as having the particular problem or concern.

An obvious draw for online social support, where the interaction is anonymous, is that it avoids the embarrassment that ordinarily follows the expression of personal and intimate problems in face-to-face relations. In addition, online social support facilitates interaction management, namely, taking time to elaborate and write thoughts online (Walther and Boyd, 2002). These three characteristics, shared identity, anonymity, and interaction management, provides an ideal context for social support (Turner, Grube, and Myers, 2001; Walther and Boyd, 2002).

People's ability to find social support online depends partly on the medium's ability to provide emotional support. Empathy is the capacity to identify with and understand another person's situation and feelings. The ability to empathize affects how well individuals seeking social support perceive that their thoughts and feelings are understood, and how far they perceive the online community as providing social support. Yet empathy is usually considered inherent to face-to-face communication: it is sensed not just through words but more particularly through body language such as gestures, voice intonation, and eye-to-eye contact. Mere textual communication seems inappropriate for the transmission of emotions in general, and of empathy in particular. In recent years a number of studies have reported that empathy appears to be a central feature of successful online support communities. A pilot study of a community devoted to the social support of individuals suffering knee injuries performed content analysis of the messages. These were classified as expressing empathy when they represented the different dimensions of the concept, which is, they expressed knowledge of

what another person was feeling and responded compassionately to another person in distress (Preece, 1998). In this study, 44.8 percent of the messages analyzed proved to be empathic. The findings of this study were limited because they explored only one social support online community so the findings might be unique to that particular community.

A more recent study analyzed the content of a representative sample of messages in one hundred communities. It compared fifty-nine support communities for patients with medical conditions such as diabetes, heart disease, or back pain, and forty-one communities of different types including pet owners, religious people, professional scientists, and those discussing social issues such as politics and sports. Although empathic communication was present in eighty-one percent of the communities, it was more common in the patients' and emotional support communities, indicating that the topic of the online community is important. At the same time, the percentage of hostile messages in the patients' and support communities proved low compared with the other communities. Another question explored was if the ratio of male to female in communities influenced the extent of empathy. The findings were that the percentage of females in a community correlated with the number of empathic messages in it (Preece and Ghozatti, 2001). The ability of an online social support community to provide emotional and compassionate understanding seems to be due to the interaction of the community's topic and its gender composition.

A person might be motivated to join an online social support group because he or she suffers from an embarrassing or socially stigmatized condition. Because of their anxiety and uncertainties, individuals are impelled by the force of social comparison to seek out others with the same condition. But they prefer to do it online by virtue of the anonymity provided by participation in Internet groups (Bargh and McKenna, 2004). As to the advantages of participation in online social support communities, McKay et al. (2002) found social support by this means in a group of patients with diabetes led to improvements in dietary control similar to those experienced by members of conventional social support groups.

Others have argued that the motivation for participation in virtual social support communities is the lack of real-world social support. According to this view, finding social support in face-to-face communities is often difficult, particularly when the concern or personal condition is relatively uncommon and culturally devalued (Cummings, J., Sproull, L., and Kiesler, S. 2002). Furthermore, social support is often sought from others with the same condition and who have experienced the difficulties associated with changes in daily life (Loader et al., 2002; Preece and Ghozati, 2001).

Online social support communities resemble self-help groups (see Borkman, Chapter 13 in this *Handbook*). Two issues that have attracted the attention of researchers are the factors that affect the outcome of online self-help (Eysenbach et al., 2004). Apparently positive outcomes are dependent on the topic and the degree of involvement of a professional that moderates the communication (Finfgeld, 2000). Studies show that forums on eating disorders tend to have a negative effect on participants whereas cancer and HIV self-help tend to have a positive effect on the well being of participants. In forums in which the individual is dependent on medication, professional intervention and moderation were found to be related to positive outcomes (Johnsen, Rosenvinge, and Gammon, 2002). It is reasonable to infer that socially isolated individuals engage in online social support.

Contrary to this "pathological" approach, it is individuals immersed in homogeneous networks, those who are linked and even too densely connected, who tend to take advantage of the Internet to facilitate diversification of their social networks. This diversification is needed when one is affected by an uncommon stressful occurrence, and looks for others suffering from the same condition (Mesch and Talmud, 2006). This perspective found support in a study of a

social support group for the hearing impaired with two hundred forty members and a level of activity of thirty messages a day. The most active participants in this community were found to be individuals who were quite effective in coping with their disability. This was indicated by their using real-world professional services; furthermore, the benefits of social support were higher when family and friends were also involved in the online support activities (Cummings, J., Sproull, L., and Kiessler, S., 2002).

Online social support communities very likely provide an opportunity for optimal matching of stress and social support. Turner, Grube, and Myers (2001) studied online communities devoted to cancer support, and compared the levels of social support experienced by their members there and in their face-to-face relationships. Members participated more actively in the online community when they felt that the support in face-to-face relationships was not deep. Online communities apparently offer an opportunity for optimal provision of the patient's specific needs in social support (Turner, Grube, and Myers, 2001). These are diverse: for example, help with job problems and income, advice on side effects of medications, contact with others, and managing physical incapacity. Online communities are more suited to provide support in every domain simply because the presence of a large number of members increases the likelihood of finding others with the same illness and needs.

BARRIERS TO ONLINE COMMUNITY FORMATION

At the same time it is important to acknowledge that community formation online is not free of problems and in the next section some of this issues are discussed.

Computer Mediated Communication

Online social relationships have been extensively studied from a communication perspective, which posits that the technical capabilities of the channel of communication are a determinant of the type and quality of relationships that can be created. Theories in the study of online relationships can broadly be divided into two technological deterministic approaches, "hard" and "soft". The "hard" approach assumes that computer-mediated communication is limited in the amount of personal information that can be transmitted, and this limitation in turn shapes the content and quality of relationships created online. In this view, due to technological limitations online social ties are inherently impersonal, superficial, and limited in the diversity of topics discussed. To this perspective belong the Media Richness, Social Presence, and Lack-of Cues theories (Sproull and Kiesler, 1986).

These differ in some of their assumptions, but they have a common denominator. It is that face-to-face communication is a rich channel because it provides the opportunity to transmit verbal and nonverbal communication, not only words but also voice inflection, body gestures, nonverbal messages, immediacy of feedback, and bi-directional communication. The approach is based on the assumption that the quality of social relationships depends primarily on communication quality, which is influenced by the richness of the information possessed by the communicators. Computer-mediated communication is considered a lean channel, devoid of personalization, namely, the infusion of personal feelings and emotions as well as the ability to tailor messages to the needs of the receiver's current situation (Mantovani, 2001).

The "soft" technological deterministic approach accepts the limitations of technology but asserts that certain characteristics of the channel and the communicators can be instrumental in overcoming them. Under certain conditions and for certain individuals, computer-mediated communication can be conducive to more personal and intimate communication and the establishment of close social relationships. McKenna and Bargh (1998), for example, argued that a central feature of computer-mediated communication, namely, anonymity, could paradoxically be conducive to more, not less, intimate communication for individuals who belong to marginalized social groups. The implications are that relationships on the Internet will develop closeness and intimacy significantly faster than will relationships that began offline. This is due to the greater ease of self-disclosure, as well as the founding of the relationship on a more substantive basis such as shared interests.

Whalther (1996) developed a hyperpersonal model, arguing that social ties created online can be impersonal, personal, and hyperpersonal. Although concurring that computer-mediated communication is light in social cues, the main argument is that the communicators' characteristics and interactions are critical for grasping the quality of the relationship. In particular, Whalther emphasizes the importance of relationship duration. The assumption is that after the initial attraction, time is needed to establish a social relationship and during this time individuals are able to overcome the leanness of the media, through the use of known symbols, impression formation, and developing a common knowledge. After the formation of a shared impression and language, intimacy is possible. This approach expects that the quality of online social ties is partially dependent on the channel of communication, but more dependent on time and individual characteristics. Both approaches suggest that mediated communication might become a barrier to community formation. In the next section I discuss additional barriers.

The "Lurker" Problem

For this topic it is useful to distinguish two types of behaviors: noninteractive and interactive. Most activities in the community involve at least reading texts created by participants, however, they do not contribute equally. A type of noninteractive behavior common in virtual communities is "lurking," the term used to indicate members who limit their participation to the passive role of reading other messages but never post. Lurkers in virtual communities become almost invisible to the other members as they leave no trace of their presence. They may constitute the largest single element in a community population; Smith (1999) in his study of virtual communities reported that fifty percent of the messages were written by only one percent of the total population.

Being passive is a way of participating in the community particularly for information-seeking. But lurkers pose some problems for the community formation. First, because of their large proportion, the community's agenda might be set not by the majority but a few participants. Second, lurkers are a danger to communities based on reciprocity and trust. Although reciprocity is important in all communities, those whose purpose is to exchange resources of mutual interest, such as music, can be ruined by the presence of a large percentage of lurkers (Adar and Huberman, 2000). Some communities address the lurking problem by restricting participation to only known and trusted individuals and many online journals, for example, have a tiered system by which access to general posting is free-for-all but more personal and sensitive material is by invitation only.

Identity Deception

An additional barrier to community formation results from the potential of identity deception. In any community the purpose of the interactivity is the creation of a unique social system founded on shared identity and norms of behavior. These features are problematic in online communities, which are based on anonymity and therefore provide no clues to participants' ascribed and achieved social status. Etzioni and Etzioni (1999) argued that the formation of a community requires access and interactivity, characteristics in which online communities are superior to geographic communities, but also social bonding. In their view, bonding is a core element of the community and requires a high level of wide-ranging knowledge of others with whom one bonds. Knowledge is required for constructing an image of others, and for believing the information provided.

Accordingly, one should not disregard the weakness of nongeographic communities in providing ways to corroborate identities and the reliability of the collective resources. This problem becomes more acute in online communities as their very existence is based on sharing a common interest, hobby, taste, or personal concern, and the motivation for becoming involved in them is to dispose of these resources with reliability at least equivalent to that offline.

Knowing the identity of others with whom one communicates is essential for understanding and evaluating the interactions. Yet in the nongeographic world of virtual communities identity is also ambiguous. Many of the basic cues to personality and social roles that we are accustomed to in the physical world are absent.

Donath (2002) studied the discourse in Usenet newsgroups and maintains that participants in online communities make extensive use of the existence of a vast array of cues in textual communication to validate the identities of their members. The first cue used by community members is the account name, as the e-mail address is information automatically included in the header of a posting. Although the participant's name or nickname may be unfamiliar, the domain name is more known. As with letters, the e-mail account is perceived as a letterhead, and a posting submitted from a known site is associated with a certain reputation. The domain name brings to mind some demographic characteristics of the poster, such the country where he or she is located, or whether he or she is entitled to use the address of an academic, governmental, commercial, or nonprofit organization. In the early days of the Internet most accounts were institutional, but with the rapid growth in the percentage of the population with Internet access it has become more difficult to recognize the organization in which the poster is located. The account name is thus an important, but limited, cue for of online identification.

A second cue to the poster's identity is the content of the posting, which can reveal a great deal about the writer. The writing provides a sense of how the writer interacts with other members of the online community, whether he or she cares about the needs of other members, requires and provides information, accepts other points of view, and conforms to principles of membership; or whether the poster expresses hostility, lack of tolerance, and even aggression (Sproull and Kiessler, 1986).

Although individual identities are sometimes difficult to establish, language is often an important indication of group identity. Language patterns evolve as the participants develop language styles of interaction that rely on the use of abbreviations. New words tend to be coined and ordinary words gain new meaning, creating a language that is unique so that sometimes only community members can understand it (Donath, 2002). Finally, the poster's signature may

be important as well. Often he or she adds to the signature a link to his or her homepage that may contain personal credible and occupational information about the poster. This improves the process of identity creation in which community members are engaged. Yet despite all the cues provided, the given identity is not always trustworthy, and identity deception is possible in online communities. Problems of identity are of such concern that some commercial sites, in particular online dating sites, are developing ways to corroborate members' identity, thereby reducing anonymity and the likelihood of identity deception.

Disruptive Behavior and Norm Formation

The extent to which norms are created in online communities is important theoretically and practically. Early conceptualizations of computer-mediated communication, especially lack-of-cues theory, argued that the absence of social and contextual cues regarding the communicators creates a serious problem of norm formation, and even adherence to normative behavior. When indicators of social status and hierarchy are lacking, nonnormative, and even flaming behavior is likely to occur (Sproull and Kiesler, 1986). Nonnormative behavior, norm violation, and flaming are characteristics of negative interaction that undermine the sense of belonging to an online community. A viable community requires the formation of shared bonds, and these depend on messages that are sent to individuals simultaneously. Established norms that regulate the posting of messages, an accepted language of interaction, and even problem-solving are needed (Etzioni and Etzioni, 1999).

In recent years there has been ever-increasing agreement that social norms are created in online communities. Their formation depends on time, as intensive interaction over time is needed to create a sense of belonging. Online communities need to solve the problem of the creation of a social identity that arises around a shared, sometimes relatively narrow, topic of interest to the individuals that decide to join. This pivotal topic becomes the first element of a shared social identity, which distinguishes members from nonmembers.

As Spears and Lea (1992) argued, social identity develops as that part of the individual's self-concept deriving from the emotional significance attached to participation in a social group sharing his or her interests and concerns. When one joins an online community, one infers its norms from some properties of the group. The community may have published these norms in the form of FAQ (Frequently Asked Questions) or through one of its members who casually informs the new member what behaviors are typical and hence appropriate, desirable, or expected in the group. Postmes, Spears, and Lea (2000) suggest that norms in online communities are formed as a result of a passive perceptual process, but also through active negotiation and controversy within the group. Content analysis of an online learning community showed that despite the students not knowing each other face to face, over time they were able to develop norms regarding appropriate, desirable, or expected behaviors in the group (Postmes, Spears, and Lea, 2000).

The interaction can carry positive behaviors, but negative behaviors have been documented also. Positive behaviors are those in which there is an exchange of information and empathy between the participants (Preece and Ghozati, 2001). As for negative behaviors, flaming is one of the most common forms, and it has received most attention. Flaming is online argumentation with the goal of insulting or cursing the other. It usually happens when two or more members of the community argue about a topic or an approach, and they are transported by their emotions to extremely hostile behavior with the exchange of curses. This behavior has received attention as early theories suggested that this is the result of lack of social presence and communication

cues, which generates a sense of lack of norms. Subsequently others rejected this idea implying that Internet communication can be more social than it is expected (Spears et al., 2002). Yet, in virtual communities an insulted member cannot physically assault or harm others members who may have upset him or her.

Another form of negative behavior is trolling. This means posting obviously inaccurate and misleading information for the explicit purpose of having the others read it and getting community members involved in wasting time and energy discussing and attempting to verify false information sent expressly to generate activity by the community. From time to time messages are posted that are off the community's topic, or unsolicited, usually with commercial contents such as junk mail.

Social Organization

A characteristic of communities in general is that they develop a social structure based on some division of labor and a hierarchical structure. Studies have shown that online communities are no different in the existence of some level of social organization. Studies on person-to-person file-sharing communities, notorious for jeopardizing the structure of the music business, show the existence of a role structure and labor division.

A study of channels devoted to music file exchanges found that the communities are often operated on a long-term basis by a group of individuals who take responsibility for the channel and hold what is known as operator status. Operators control who may access the channel and who gets permission to speak (Cooper and Harrison, 2001). Three roles emerged in the community's activity: leech, trader, or citizen. Files obtained through the leech approach are provided to the receiver free of charge and without social obligation. An agent locates a file that is available free. The user searches for a file and having found it, downloads it and moves on to obtaining the next one he or she wants. When a file is received under the leech sign the person offering it expects no favors in return, or even a word of thanks: he or she is simply doing it for the good of the community as a whole.

The trader's approach is based on a system of pure exchange value. Someone trading files will typically enter a chat channel and request a specific song or album he or she desires, hoping to find someone who has it in their collection. When that person is found a deal is struck to exchange the desired file for another file or a set of files in the collection of the requesting user.

The citizen is the most respected role in the audio piracy community. Someone who exchanges files in the citizen mode is willing to give them away in order to benefit the community as a whole, sometimes trading, sometimes leeching, and sometimes providing files for the leechers to consume. Leeches are at the bottom of the social pile, and are at the mercy of philanthropist citizens who provide them with the files they want. There is some overlap between the roles of trader and citizen. But the main difference is that traders concentrate primarily on their own data acquisition, whereas citizens are more attuned to social interaction and status.

Social status symbols in the audio piracy subculture are large disk storage capacity. Because the dissemination and accumulation of data are the primary activities of the members of the subculture, the ability to store massive amounts of data and to move it rapidly from place to place is necessary to inflate a pirate's status on the scene. Yet the large number and diversity of online communities calls for more studies on their social organization and description of the roles that evolve and serve the objectives of the collective entity.

SUMMARY

The meaning of the concept of community has shifted, focusing less on a shared place and more on networks of social interaction that develops from common interests, concerns and needs (see Hunter, Chapter 1 in this *Handbook*). Online communities can be seen as a continuation in the historical trend transcending the limitations of space.

Instead of place, a shared electronic space becomes a focus of activity in which individuals sharing a common interest, concern, or identity interact. But as in geographical communities, shared space is only one of the characteristics of community and not the only one. The sustainability of an online community requires sustained social interaction and the formation of a shared collective norms and identity. For this reason, only a small part of online groups ultimately develop into online communities.

Online communities are based on shared interests and concerns that bring together individuals with the purpose of sharing sociability, information, and social support. It is true, that at least at the beginning narrow topics and issues bring individuals together, but more and more evidence suggests that through time relationships became more holistic, empathic, and intimate. In this sense, online communities are voluntary, this is, based on the concept of limited liability. Commitment is variable and individuals invest in online communities to the extent that they perceive they are receiving valued benefits from their engagement. The Internet as a channel of communication provides opportunities for and barriers to community formation. Opportunities are the technical properties: a global medium, communication of many to many, storage of information, and availability to anyone at all the hours of the day or night. The anonymity of the medium even provides equal access to individuals suffering from physical disabilities and social shyness.

At the same time, the technology creates difficulties and barriers that community members are obliged to surmount. The same anonymity that provides equal access and supports self-disclosure of intimate information is problematic, as identity deception is not uncommon, undermining the trust needed for community formation and creating serious problems in the formation of a collective identity. Textual communication is not suited to the transmission of nonverbal symbols requiring community members to invest emotional energy in developing a common framework of understanding. The Free Rider problem, namely, individuals who enjoy the public goods without participation, is not absent from online communities and it poses a serious challenge to the very existence of information-sharing communities. Despite these difficulties empirical evidence suggests that under certain conditions and for certain individuals online communities are important.

In the future longitudinal studies on their creation, development, and decline are in order to better understand processes of norm development and collective identity. Longitudinal studies will provide important insights on identifying factors explaining why some communities survive through time and others do not. At the same time, it should be acknowledged that boundaries between online and offline relationships are being blurred. Ties that originated online, through time, tend to migrate to phone and face-to-face communication. As residential mobility is experienced by a large number of individuals, online communication serves more than once to help keep face-to-face ties. In the same vein, geographic communities tend to create shared electronic spaces to interact. As these processes expand, research has to pay more attention to the geographical and nongeographical dimensions of community.

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Alternative or Intentional? Towards a Definition of "Unusual" Communities

AYALA CNAAN AND STEVE BREYMAN

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of interviews Ayala Cnaan recently conducted in Israel, she offered subjects the opportunity to inquire about the background of her research project on intentional communities. One woman at a kibbutz wondered why her community was selected. After a brief explanation, the woman exclaimed, "What makes you think we're 'intentional'?"

Cnaan responded by saying, "This is a community, and you made a choice about being a member."

"There was no choice involved," she snapped, "I was born here, and I don't really have anywhere else to go. The same is true for most people here."

This surprising response challenged our understanding of "unusual communities" and moved us to write this chapter. We view "intentional communities" as a subset of "alternative communities" which are a type of "community" which is itself a unit of the larger "society" in which all communities are embedded. In this way, our work is connected to some of the enduring concerns of the classical social theory of Toennies and Weber. We move from *gesellschaft* to *gemeinschaft* to intentional communities. This conceptualization also permits us to proceed from the general to the specific in elaborating our own working definition of an intentional community.

Although we may have misunderstood—before visiting it—the nature of the kibbutz where our cranky informant lived, we consider choice, the exercise of human volition, the defining distinction for alternative and intentional communities. To consciously and willfully inhabit a particular space among like-minded people for a common purpose is to live intentionally. Choice of this sort, as we see it, distinguishes membership in an intentional community from that of any other living arrangement, including alternative communities.

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Definitions of diverse communities matter because further research, theoretical and empirical, is built upon their foundation. And this research also reflexively informs the work of definition derivation. Our definition builds upon both the earlier work of other theorists of nonmainstream communities, and on our own field research among alternative and intentional communities in Israel.

The dialectic between existing knowledge and ongoing research also informs the structure of this chapter. We begin by reviewing and critiquing several seminal contributions from the community studies literature. The critical review underlies the elaboration of our working definition in the second section. The conclusion summarizes our findings, and suggests some possible directions for further theoretical and empirical research.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CRITIQUE

Cohen (2003, p. 15) defines a "community" as:

> ... that entity to which one belongs, greater than kinship but more immediately than the abstraction we call "society". It is the arena in which people acquire their most fundamental and most substantial experience of social life outside the confines of the home.

Cohen (2003, p. 12) deploys the concept of "boundary" to elaborate his definition:

> [T]he boundary encapsulates the identity of the community and, like the identity of an individual, is called into being by the exigencies of social interaction. Boundaries are marked because communities interact in some way or other with entities from which they are, or wish to be, distinguished (see Barth, 1969). The manner in which they are marked depends entirely upon the specific community in question. Some, like national or administrative boundaries, may be statutory and enshrined in law. Some may be physical, expressed, perhaps, by a mountain range or a sea. Some may be racial or linguistic or religious. But not all boundaries, and not *all* the components of *any* boundary, are so objectively apparent. They may be thought of, rather, as existing in the minds of their beholders.

During one of our research interviews in Israel we came across an interesting case of a boundary. An informant explained a criterion for membership in her community: everyone must practice transcendental meditation. Here we have an example of a chosen or intentional boundary to separate this community from others.

According to Bell and Newby (1978, p. 21), "in considering the concept of community, the sociologist shares an occupational hazard with the architect and the planner: the more he attempts to define it in his own terms, the more elusively does the essence of it seem to escape him." This problem is especially acute when one moves from communities in general, to alternative and intentional communities. Alternative communities, using Cohen's concept of the boundary, have a boundary that is in fact alternative in some manner. It is a boundary that makes a given community more obviously different than their surroundings, such as a youth commune we visited in Tel-Aviv that took over a whole apartment building. Although every apartment building can be considered a community of sorts, this particular building had a more pronounced boundary in that the members of the community actively committed daily activities together and felt that their membership in the commune superseded other roles in their lives in importance.

Geoph Kozeny (1996, p. 1) defines an intentional community as:

> a group of people who have chosen to live together with a common purpose, working cooperatively to create a lifestyle that reflects their shared core values. The people may live together on a piece of rural land, in a suburban home, or in an urban neighborhood, and they may share a single residence or live in a cluster of dwellings

This definition begs at least four questions. First, what is "work"? If Kozeny (1996) means paid employment, this definition ignores the fact that many communities are without business or not-for-profit enterprises on site. Residents must leave the community each and every day to earn a paycheck. If by work, Kozeny means unpaid volunteer labor within the community, this misses the many communities for which the on-site business is the beginning and end of resident participation in community life.

Second, Kozeny's definition overlooks questions of scale. As we argue below, once beyond a certain upper population limit, intentional communities may lose the intimacy, the familiarity, we see as essential ingredients of "living together" and "shar[ing] core values." Third, Kozeny's definition misses the temporal dimension, the question of community duration. Intentional communities tend to disband sooner than their founders hope.

There are numerous examples of communities founded in the United States over the years that fell apart for diverse reasons ranging from poor soil quality to disease epidemics. Consider the case of Icaria (Begos, 1986, pp. 87–88):

> There were many reasons for this failure ... but one was undoubtedly the fact that the Icarians just didn't have enough time. They did not arrive at their site until May 1848. They worked hard against the July 1st deadline, building cabins and clearing land, but there was a limit to what they could accomplish. Their equipment was not suitable, supplies ran short, and the men fell ill with fever. They left Texas in August, abandoning forever their 'million acres on the Red River'.

In other instances where communities endure under severe pressures, the founding ideology evolves or is replaced. Such is the case of Free Acres, a community in New York State that began with anarchist ideals. Yet over the years, due to constraints of weather (which necessitated winterizing homes) and rapid changes in taxation (in large part due to suburban sprawl around New York City) the community lost almost all of its original ideology, save for the concept of mutual aid (Bierbaum, 1986).

Sometimes problems affecting community duration originate from within. There are two kibbutzim with the same name, one marked "A" and the other "B" in the kibbutzim telephone directory. The apparent confusion resulted from an ideological rift in the original single community. Intentional communities fall apart more easily than do other kinds of alternative communities because what holds these communities together is no stronger than human will. If crises occur that challenge intentionality, community existence itself may be called into question. Communities, which are more oriented towards religion and other sorts of tradition, tend to be more durable as the glue of ritual, a mythic past, or an unalterable group identity holds them together. "Several researchers have noted that religious groups (or, as Bestor (1950) proposed to name them, sectarian communities) tended to last much longer, as did those groups which were immigrant communitarians" (Kark, 1995, p. 78). It is not unreasonable to extrapolate from this that groups which have one of the parameters mentioned by Kozeny (1996) as their boundaries tend to last longer.

Fourth, Kozeny's definition misses the centrality of internal and external governance rules to intentional community life. Intentional communities are characterized by more or less rigid rules governing members' lives. For some communities, the rules stem from decades or centuries of tradition, for others from constant deliberation and collective introspection, and for yet others from claims regarding divine intervention. All intentional communities are bounded—enabled or limited—by the polities of which they are part. (Sub)national laws may clash with community ideology. A community's neighbors may be repelled by community practices. In either case, external circumstances matter.

One such case is that of the well-known Oneida community in upstate New York (Foster, 1988). Due to their practice of "complex marriage" (a form of polygamy), Oneidans suffered

both legal and physical attacks from the surrounding society. The uninvited and unwelcome intrusion of external law sparked a generation-long internal controversy over whether to retain complex marriage, which was largely responsible for the eventual demise of the community.

A WORKING DEFINITION

The literature on alternative and intentional communities is of considerable use for the synthesis of our own working definition of the latter. Cohen's notion of the "boundary" enables us to distinguish among communities of diverse types. Employing his concept of the boundary and Kozeny's rich approximation, we put forward our own definition:

> An intentional community is a group of people who *choose to live together* under certain rules for an indefinite period of time at a *human scale* for a *common purpose* with *shared values* and *commitment*.

We further explore the definition's central concepts—the terms in italics—in the next several subsections. We hope as well to tease out some of the sometimes fine distinctions among alternative and intentional communities.

Choice/Membership

Formal voluntary membership is what technically distinguishes intentional from alternative communities. Each and every intentional community has distinct means by which to establish membership. The membership process is perhaps the only clear way by which to definitively differentiate between an intentional community and an alternative community. Intentional community membership must be sought and won, as opposed to membership in a nonintentional alternative community. Our concern here is with the process of choice-making rather than its psychology.

Belonging to an alternative community may be as simple as being born into it, or sharing certain ethnic characteristics with members. The Cherokee define anyone with any ancestors who are Cherokee to be a member of the tribe. The Navajo require a tribe member have at least one Navajo grandparent to count as a Navajo, and the Hopi require that one have a Hopi mother. Communities like Yad Hashmona that are comprised of Messianic Jews in Israel are intentional to the extent that membership needs to be sought after, but it will only be granted to Jews who convert to this particular sect.

In every intentional community there is a selection process for membership. The screening process is the first phase, and may be followed by tests or trial membership. Some communities screen for demographics: Kibbutz Cabri prefers applicants who are more than a few years out of the military, married, and productively employed. The Kingdom of Jah community accepts only people of African descent who they believe to be members of one of the lost tribes of Israel. Shaharut (a self-described anarchist community) screens for political and socioeconomic beliefs that are compatible with those of current members. Other intentional communities screen for political ideology or religious beliefs.

Trial memberships may last a few months, or for as long as two years. A trial membership may be converted into full membership before the end of the trial period if the candidate is deemed especially worthy. Trial members may have limited rights—including restrictions on participation in community decisions or economic activity—during the trial period. Trial

memberships end with rejection of the candidate, or with acceptance through either a formal vote or informal embrace. In many intentional communities the acceptance of a new member is a cause for celebration, with some communities practicing elaborate rituals to mark the occasion.

Once granted, membership in an intentional community is often revocable. This collective community power distinguishes most intentional communities from alternative communities, with some exceptions. For example, in the (alternative) Druze communities of Israel, one is born into the community. Druze law dictates that if a Druze marries a non-Druze he or she is permanently excluded from the community. A cohesive boundary of birthright, religion, and tradition is thus maintained.

Another example of revocable membership comes from the Harmony Hills Mormon Cooperative (Embry and Johnson, 2003, p. 79):

> One had to "be an active member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" and be approved by "a majority vote of the Board of Directors," a decision which had to be "ratified by a majority vote of the membership either in a general meeting or by petition." After meeting these requirements, new members had to purchase a share of stock. Members could be "disfellowshiped" if they committed "a crime as established by the laws of the land . . . [that] require imprisonment" or if they "committed adultery or any other serious offence against the Christian Law of Chastity." Not maintaining their homes, having animals not approved by the corporation, or having a business were also grounds to "disfellowship." These cases required unanimous decision by the board of directors.

There are also more subtle ways in which membership is kept exclusive and the boundary sense reinforced along with the rigid rules of membership seen elsewhere. The Moravians are a good example of how members were kept secluded and contact with the outside world was strictly negotiated (Mainwaring, 1986, p. 140):

> The lease system meant that the Moravians could expel anyone who persistently failed to live up to their expectations of proper Moravian conduct. A host of other arrangements and institutions served to separate the life the Moravians had chosen for themselves from the called "the foolish and sinful ways of the world." No Moravian could marry a non-Moravian and remain within the fold of the community, just as an official greeter who guided them through these villages—and insulated the rest of the community from the influence of visitors met visitors to Bethabara and Salem.

Along with the strict rules regarding marriage and other forms of conduct, the Moravians went as far as to regulate external contact. In this they are an extreme example of how membership was controlled both in the acceptance process and in the actual experience of living as a Moravian.

Living Together

By people "living together," we mean more than just occupation of the same space. In alternative and intentional communities, people live in proximity but also engage in joint activities or share common traits that distinguish them from the outside world. In this subsection we use the examples of cuisine, language, and property to show how these practices and attributes both bind members together into communities, and mark the boundaries between communities and noncommunities.

The preparation and consumption of food is a central part of life in many alternative and intentional communities. In the more traditionally socialist-oriented kibbutzim in Israel, food is prepared by rotating members of the community, consumed in a shared dining hall, and

available three times a day. Members may have the means to prepare a hot beverage or a snack in their dwellings, but the expectation is that they eat together. More privatized and otherwise less traditional kibbutzim have broader cooking capacities in their housing units. There may be one or two communal meals a day, or possibly just during High Holidays. Alternatively, meals may be available at any point during the day cafeteria-style, but the members must pay for the food.

Specific ethnic cuisine may play a role in the cultural background and building of a community. If the community is one that primarily consists of immigrants from one country that are starting a community in another (as in the case of many early communities in the United States, including the Hutterites and Bruderhof (Whitworth, 1974; Youmans, 1995), they often carry with them traditional foods that they continue preparing in the same manner in their new homes. This maintenance of tradition protects the cohesiveness and identity of intentional communities.

Among Castells' (1997, p. 49) criteria for "nationality" is language, thus permitting stateless peoples to constitute nations as in the case of the Catalonians:

> For at least over 1,000 years, a given human community [Catalonia], mainly organized around language, but with a great deal of territorial continuity as well, and with a tradition of indigenous political democracy and self-government, has identified itself as a nation, in different contexts, against different adversaries, being part of different states, having its own state, searching for autonomy without challenging the Spanish state, integrating immigrants, enduring humiliation (indeed, commemorating it every year), and yet existing as *Catalunya*.

Barber (1996) directly contradicts this criterion in his *Jihad vs. McWorld* where he holds that the retention of the Catalonian language in a state that has a different language is actually detrimental (Barber 1996, p. 174):

> Pujol himself is a viperous nationalist who not only helped make Catalan the official language of schools and universities (non-Catalans must use it if they wish to teach in Catalonia) . . . the Catalonian's nominal bow toward Europe and McWorld is accompanied by a withdrawal from nation sovereignty—in this case, Spain's. Far from resisting McWorld's markets, Catalonia seeks a special relationship with them.

Both Castells and Barber refer to the Catalonians to support their claims. For Castells the fact that Catalonian remains a living language within Spain proves that Catalonians do constitute a distinct nationality within the Spanish nation-state. Barber sees the survival of Catalonian as but a reaction to modernization; the language itself is an antiquated form of resistance.

For alternative communities, language can serve as a glue to hold the community together, and help solidify its distinctive identity. Take the case of the Circassians in Israel. Despite having been in Palestine since 1878, the first language that members of the community learn to speak is Circassian (learning Hebrew, Arabic, and English follow later). These communities have a rich body of literature and music that is only available in Circassian, which they jealously guard against translation into other languages. They are also particularly proud of having managed to isolate their community from external cultural influences with greater success than Circassian communities in other parts of the world.

For intentional communities the issue of a shared language may be more complex. A community may be founded by recent immigrants (this happened often in both Israel and in the United States). Over time the community may decide to invite people from the surrounding area to join for ideological reasons. If the new members do not speak the language of the

original members, and the founding members do not make a concerted effort to speak the local language (or at least some common language), factionalization or divisiveness may result.

Shared property is a distinctive feature of living together in many intentional communities. The desire or felt need to share property—agricultural land or business enterprises—is often among the major reasons behind formation of such communities in the first place, spilling over into a common purpose for the members of the community. Shared property provides yet another identity-building boundary. Communities that over time may lose some of their reason for being may be held together by shared property interests, or torn apart by disagreements regarding what to do with that shared property. The shared financial responsibility has been the case for a number of formerly socialist kibbutzim in Israel for still existing as communities. Over the years, the ideological fervor of founding members came to be replaced by a growing desire for material comfort, but the property is still there.

In some cases, communal property was privatized to enable greater individual consumer spending. But these changes need not be absolute. Some of these kibbutzim retain significant factories or lands that produce a variety of goods from aircraft components to avocados. Because members were employed in these enterprises, they remained living in the kibbutz even after it no longer functioned like a traditional egalitarian commune.

HUMAN SCALE

Both the community studies literature and our own ethnographic research lead us to posit upper and lower limits on intentional community size. Interestingly, community studies scholars show greater concern for the minimum number of persons living together necessary to constitute a community, whereas members themselves appear more concerned about the maximum number of residents possible before community breaks down.

Community studies theorists consider an alternative community a group of people larger than a family, or single kinship group that coexists. The assertion that a "commune is here defined as a minimum of three adults who share a common dwelling, household duties, meals, belief system, provide emotional support for one another and identify themselves as a communal household or commune" (Smith, 1986, p. 118) is a good example of how theorists rationalize their choice of an integer.

In regards to an upper limit on membership, the general consensus among scholars is that when a community stops feeling like a "neighborhood," and starts feeling like a "society," it has become too big. Our field research among nonintentional alternative communities did not uncover significant concern about upper limits on membership beyond such pragmatic concerns as waste removal.

Our research among intentional community members in Israel and the United States discovered certain common definitions of feasible size: (1) when all members are able to know each other by name; or (2) when members can all recognize each others' faces. In one Israeli intentional community, informants told us that from their experience eight hundred people was the maximum number that could meet one or both of these recognition-based size limits. We were told that beyond eight hundred individuals, names and faces faded, to say nothing of the practical difficulties of keeping up with gossip and other important developments in members' lives. Yet, we also visited kibbutzim with several thousand members that retained their intentional character and vibrant local economies. We learned that although name and facial recognition was difficult for many members there, they could still more or less readily identify visitors or nonmembers.

Another variable here is community purpose (about which more in the next subsection). It is common for intentional communities to limit their size in order to best achieve collective goals. But overly restrictive membership rules may endanger community survival as we witnessed in the case of Kibbutz Shomrat. After several years of not accepting new members, the aging membership's economic productivity went into decline. In order to attract new members as quickly as possible, the residents changed property ownership rules permitting greater individual accumulation of wealth so that younger persons would be more attracted to the idea of living in the community.

In the case of an ecological commune focused on living in tune with natural cycles that we visited, rapid membership growth endangered the capacity of the community's environment to meet members' physical needs and absorb their wastes. This group addressed the challenge by starting a satellite community elsewhere in the country and shifting some of its membership to the new site. What is significant about this example is that it shows intentionality when addressing community size.

The literal space in which communities exist, the structures, communal areas, and geography reflects much about the community. For instance the city Plat in the late eighteenth century was designed with Mormon ideals of communalism. "Mormon homes were located in town with communal fields located on the periphery. The communitarian ideal was thus promulgated to the Mormon people and was intended to be the blueprint for the population of the earth" (Bradley, 2001, p. 3).

The urban kibbutz of Migvan in the town of Sderot, made very serious efforts to acquire apartments on the same block, so that they could practice a sense of real community. Members of Shaharut, a commune in the desert, literally defined themselves by the fact that they have chosen to live not only in a more isolated human-scale environment, but that the actual housing structures they occupy are built by their own hands. The goal of human-scale spatial self-sufficiency is the most distinct of the aims holding the group together.

Common Purpose

Why do intentional communities come into being? There is no doubt that intentional communities are on the rise. Oved (1999, pp. 67–68), for example, stated that:

> In the present century there has been an interrupted series of emergences of communes. Not a decade has gone by without the appearance of new communes. While in previous centuries, new communes were mostly isolated communities, and mainly in the United States, in the present century we have witnessed the extensive establishment of communes in numerous countries on different continents.

Given the practical difficulties in forming such communities—persecution by outsiders, harsh natural environments, ideological conflicts—it's perhaps surprising that so many have cohered over recent centuries, and that people continue to voluntarily form such communities to the present day. What unites the diverse communities we have studied and visited, their very reason for being, is that intentional communities enable their members to pursue common goals, aims, and futures.

The history of artists' communes provides an interesting example of common purpose in action. Studying the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century artist and craftsperson communities of Roycroft, Rose Valley, New Clairvaux, Byrdcliffe, and others, Miller (1996) explained their success and attractiveness as partly a function of the common purpose the

communities provided. The history of these communities also reveals that common purpose is not by itself a sufficient condition for long-term success of intentional communities as personality and leadership conflicts, ideological schisms, and resource troubles led to the decline and fall of them all (Miller, 1996).

Some intentional communities formed as responses to social crisis or other threatening or promising social changes. According to Stockwell (1998, pp. 5–6):

> Each religious revival, for example, produced new members for the many communitarian experiments, despite the fact that most of these revivals emphasized individual religious experience rather than collective doctrines in theology.

> The same was true of every economic crisis. Each brought converts to communalism. The panic and depression of 1837 provided recruits for the many Fourierist communities. The 1857, 1893, and 1907 panics provided converts for many other communes. Again and again the individual histories of these settlements, particularly those that lasted more than a decade, report the sudden influx of unemployed people in times of crisis.

But prospective community members need not be unemployed, nor are times of economic crisis the only periods in which intentional communities bloom. Indeed, the period since the 1960s may be the most fertile ever for the founding of new intentional communities as shown by the Intentional Communities Web site. We found listings for 1326 communities on the site (http://ic.org, 2005). They are located around the world, although most are in the United States. Of the 1326 communities, 455 are listed as in the process of formation, and another 32 are in the process of re-forming.

Current interest in intentional communities might be seen as a response to (corporate) globalization. Globalization's socioeconomic and political effects are varied and profound, ranging from the shift of manufacturing to the global South to complex multiborder environmental threats to rapid fluctuation in currency values. Barber (1996) argued that the homogenizing pressure of global popular culture ("McDonaldization") causes a reaction among peoples whose cultures may be threatened by the advance of American English, Hollywood's sex and violence, bland pop music, and Coca-Cola. For Barber these sometimes desperate cultural responses are reactionary; he does not allow that cultural resurgence might be beneficial and provide a common purpose around which people might rally.

This belief that intentional communities are a result of globalization and modernization is reinforced by the work of Bauman (2001) and Weeks (2000). Both theorists view the rise of intentional communities as reactionary. Bauman (2001, p. 115) describes community building as a result of fear:

> ...community means *sameness*, while "sameness" means the absence of the Other, especially a stubbornly *different* other capable of a nasty surprise and mischief precisely by reason of their difference. In the figure of the stranger...the fears of uncertainty, founded in the totality of life experience, find their early sought, and so welcomed, embodiment.

This fear-based explanation does not square with our own research. Although fear of threatening social change may play a role in the formation of some communities, fear alone cannot explain the common purpose at the core of intentional communities.

We believe that intentional communities could be rational and progressive responses to cultural sameness, environmentally destructive consumerism, and disappearing small-town values. Rather than a form of escapism from unpleasant social realities, intentional communities may constitute healthy adaptive responses to the problems of globalization and modernization.

Although intentional communities may be reasonable responses to jarring and painful social changes associated with modernization and globalization, they are also more than mere

negations, or exits from disintegrating societies. Many share progressive common purposes centered on nonviolence, ecological sustainability, equality, and social and economic justice. They provide members opportunities often hard to come by elsewhere: a slower pace to everyday life, the chance to experiment with different occupations or lifestyles, religious solace, and fellowship with like-minded people. "The real essence of a community is undoubtedly to be found in the fact—manifest or hidden—that it has a center. The real origin of community is undoubtedly only understood by the fact that its members have a common relationship to the center, superior to all other relations..." (Buber, 1931, p. 244).

Shared Values

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many intentional communities in the United States were based on the shared values of socialism, communitarianism, and related political ideologies. Most of these faded away, or in time became less socialist and more oriented towards survival. Shared religious and spiritual beliefs are also common values among many intentional communities historically and at present. Our focus in this subsection is primarily on religious communities. We look especially closely at clothing in these communities as a manifestation of shared values.

Among the best-known and most studied intentional communities are those that share religious beliefs. These include the Shakers, the Amish, the Bruderhof, Jewish Orthodox neighborhoods, and many more. What makes a community "religious," however, is not always a simple matter As Stockwell (1998, p. 7) found in his study of American communes:

> Historians and sociologists often classify the communes as either religious or secular, but this distinction is hardly clear. No single theological principle united all the religious ones, and no single belief motivated all the secular ones. Both the religious and secular communes had common social origins in the revolt of the discontented groups from the pressures and dislocations of existing society.

Although precise figures are not available, Stockwell (1998) estimates that more than half the intentional communities in his *Encyclopedia* were religious.

Religion-as-shared-value works as a useful boundary for intentional communities when it is distinct from mainstream sects. It is hard for us to imagine a group of Methodists from Baltimore departing for a remote part of Wyoming simply to live together as Methodists. Instead, religious communities more commonly arise around charismatic leaders with nontraditional belief systems (e.g., David Koresh and the Branch Davidians).

Religion offers a clear-cut boundary for intentional communities. For instance, in order to join an Orthodox Jewish community, one must become a believer and live by the rules that are dictated by that community; that is the only significant criterion for membership. Other communities may require more stringent requirements such as "profitable" occupations or certain age ranges.

Some of our interviewees in Israeli religious communities claimed that they were more successful in surviving the hardships facing communities because of their faith. They did not claim divine intervention on their behalf, but rather that their faith itself saw them through the tough times. It is difficult for us to assess the validity of such claims. But a number of centuries-old religious communities—including the Hutterites, the Amish, and the Bruderhof in the United States—survive to this day.

Clothing is a common symbol of shared values in religious communities. Scholars of subcultures and students of remote indigenous communities often pay close attention to the clothing of their subjects. Amish communities frequently have strict rules regarding apparel. Their shared value of nonviolence is reflected in their rejection of buttons on their clothing, a device once associated with military uniforms. Their pacifist values carry over into other facets of their physical appearance, including the rejection of mustaches, also traditionally associated with soldiers.

Amish rules regarding clothing are relatively extreme and rigid. Other communities have more subtle clothing styles not backed by formal precepts. Ecological communities that tend towards earth-based spirituality appear to favor loose-fitting, more comfortable, frequently homemade outfits crafted from natural fibers. Conservative religious communities often encourage or require severe modesty in attire including head coverings for women. Even in completely secular communities, such as the urban kibbutzim, shared values tend to manifest themselves in a mutual clothing aesthetic.

Religious strictures regarding clothing may lead to surprising results that create a very distinct identity for members of the community. Even the Mormons did not reject late nineteenth century reforms in women's clothing. Brigham Young surprised many with the statement "that he did not mind seeing women adorned, nor did it bother him the women liked to adorn themselves, but he wanted the adornments to be the workmanship of Mormon hands" (Fischer, 1995, p. 59). The Oneida community's choice for women to wear pants and short skirts was the result of careful analysis of what would be practical and healthy while maintaining gender roles.

Some of the settlers in the West Bank have what can be described as a signature "look". The women settlers' clothing is conservative; it covers most of their body and their hair. The women tend to wear fabrics with distinctive Far Eastern patterns. There is a peculiar mix between a New Age and conservative type of style that reflects the hybrid identity of the settlers' ideology and shared values.

In her study of the American-Swedish Colony in Israel, Kark (1995) noticed that their clothing was highly uniform; the beautiful costumes brought from Sweden were forgotten when the community started producing homespun clothing. The rougher clothing came to represent the values of the community: equality, hard manual labor, and self-sufficiency.

Commitment

Intentional communities require varying levels of personal commitment from their members to thrive and survive. How much commitment they require from their members depends on the shared values and common purpose that underlie the community. If a community is an experiment in utopian socialism or millenarian religion, relatively high levels of participation, enthusiasm, and commitment are required of the members. If a community is primarily an exercise in forest conservation, members need not have extensive or deep commitments beyond the practice of sustainable stewardship. Intense member commitment itself may not be enough to ensure community survival, but loss of commitment over time is identified by numerous histories of intentional communities as perhaps the single most important factor in community demise (Kanter, 1972).

With the development of the Internet and the evolution of cyberspace, "virtual communities" have arisen. Virtual communities—online interest-based chat rooms, Web sites and

forums—represent an interesting challenge for the theorist of alternative and intentional communities (see Mesch's Chapter 14, in this *Handbook*). Some members appear to structure their "real" lives around intense levels of commitment to their virtual communities, however, defection from the virtual commune is as easy as a mouse click. Similarly, virtual community membership need not require use of a member's real name, or other signs of commitment. Anonymity permits rude and abusive behavior that would likely result in prompt disciplinary action in a physical intentional community. Not every newsgroup or livejournal cluster should count as an intentional community, especially those that provide information only rather than ongoing community discussion or other activities.

Another unusual community for which a claim of intentionality is sometimes made is the drug or alcohol rehabilitation centers. Technically, a rehabilitation center meets our definition of an intentional community. We distinguish them, however, from the sorts of communities discussed elsewhere in this chapter because of their (hoped for) short-lived duration. The preference underlying every visit to a detox clinic is that it be for as brief a period as possible (often determined by the robustness of the patient's insurance; four weeks is a common stay). The physical center endures but the patients change frequently. This is not to say there is not sometimes rapid turnover in the membership of other intentional communities, only that were it up to the patients, they would avoid the place altogether. Intentionality in this case is thus strained such that it is of a variety not covered by our analysis.

CONCLUSION

The primary difference between intentional and alternative communities is the level of intentionality that is most clearly defined by membership. Where membership is a choice in an alternative community, and it meets the other criteria of our working definition, a community becomes intentional. We see intentional communities as a subset of alternative communities; an intentional community is always an alternative community.

What of the complexity evinced by our opening anecdote? Again, choice is the key parameter in determining whether a community is in fact intentional. Some alternative communities' membership is based upon birth. This leads to the question of whether they truly have a choice about membership. It could be argued, for instance, that many Bedouins do not have a choice about membership and clustering in their nomadic communities due to financial and public policy constraints. With the lack of supportive infrastructures, there is a certain inevitability to remaining within previously established social roles. Continuing with our example of the Bedouin communities of Israel, it would be quite difficult for someone not born Bedouin to become a member of a tribe. It is possible for an outsider to join a Bedouin community through marriage, but the rareness of this event has us discount it, to see it as the exception that proves the rule.

A word of caution about the concept of intentionality: it is sometimes very difficult to determine what is and what is not a choice. Drawing on the Circassians, they have made a significant effort to maintain a sense of community over the decades that they have been in Israel. This is in fact a choice, despite the sort of gravitational pull that inevitably occurs in such communities, and it would be wrong to dismiss it as simply a matter of convenience that so many of the children born into the community choose to remain in it.

For a community to be considered intentional, it is important, again, that the boundary be one of voluntary choice. Be it transcendental meditation, or socialist zeal, there needs to be an active choice to live together at a human-scale with shared values, common purpose, and some reasonable level of commitment. Rather than being only the result of historical circumstance,

like the Circassians, the group as a whole has to be able to say "we are together because we choose to be." In intentional communities, the requirements of our working definition are the result of deliberative processes rather than tradition, coercion, or simple inertia.

Our research and theorizing by no means exhaust the need to further elaborate a working definition of intentional communities. Rich opportunities exist for further conceptualization and empirical research. For instance, what exactly constitutes a religious or sectarian community, versus a secular community? Some cases appear obvious, such as that of Kibbutz Lavi, a Modern Orthodox community. Other cases are less clear, such as Kibbutz Qetura, which is a Reform community, yet seemingly more concerned with its projects involving desert ecology than with religious practices or values.

We hope that others will pick up these pursuits where we leave off. Definitional work of this sort is important as it informs research and theorizing on alternative and intentional communities. These communities, rising and falling over the centuries of the modern era, appear to be as real and attractive, if not even more so, than they were in the sixteenth century. Intentional communities are both reactions to the pressures of an ever-changing world, and living laboratories for the development of new modes of living together. Given the current state of the world, we predict they will grow in importance as valuable and instructive alternative modes of social life.

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CHAPTER 16

Frayed Community: The Gated Community Movement

EDWARD J. BLAKELY

HISTORY OF GATING: SEPARATING AND
CONTROLLING COMMUNITY

Gated and walled cities or residential areas are as old as community building itself. There is little doubt from archeological evidence that early human settlements in the Nile River valleys were walled against the hunter–gather tribes that roamed the deserts foraging for food. Early kingdoms in the Mesopotamian region were known by their walls, and many Greek cites were walled.

It was the Romans who were the masterminds of the walled personal enclave. Early Rome was a sea of humanity from various conquered territories. The wealthiest Romans built compounds for their families and entourages outside the smelly polyglot city. Their walls protected "real" Romans from the potential dangers of the lower classes who inhabited the city and who kidnapped and stole from the wealthy. As the Roman government deployed its armies ever farther afield, it later could no longer afford to bring its entire army home after a campaign. Moreover, many soldiers did not want to return to Rome, where they had been slaves or members of the lowest classes; they preferred remaining in the conquered territories as occupying settlers. As occupiers, the early Roman soldiers were rewarded with local land with a few other resources, including slaves. Because the occupiers were in a minority, they had to fortify themselves against their external wards, so they built compounds similar to the walled villas of suburban Rome.

In England, retired Roman soldiers built gated or walled communities as early as 300 BC. This system of fortifying the landed estates of the royal and wealthy became the pattern of development in England even after the Romans left. As a result, a system of walls and class divisions was deeply ingrained in English settlement patterns from early on in the country's history. In continental Europe a similar pattern was evident. The early Church was based on abbeys supported by walled settlements of believers who lived and worked for the Church

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behind walls that protected them against the heathens who occupied the hinterlands. This system of walled compounds with gates can still be seen throughout England, France, and Germany in the walled abbeys, manor houses, and castles.

In the New World, walled settlements were built by the Spaniards almost immediately on arrival in the Caribbean for protection against the local Indian/Native American population. But, not until the late nineteenth century did the notion of creating walled compounds for the merely well-to-do (as opposed to for the nobility) come in vogue.

Gated communities as a residential settlement type date to the 1870s in the United States. Gates were part of the robber baron era, when the very rich built private streets to insulate themselves from the less fortunate masses. Later, in the early twentieth century, more gated, fenced compounds emerged to serve the needs of the East Coast and Hollywood movie and auto aristocracies. These early gated twentieth-century communities were different from the gated subdivisions of today. They were uncommon places for uncommon people. The first gated communities available to the wider population were gated retirement developments dating to the late 1960s and the 1970s.

Gated middle-class communities in their contemporary form emerged first in the southeastern and southwestern parts of the country and they remain most dense in these same states of origin. Since the 1980s they have spread like a contagion to the nation's largest metropolitan areas, because gates are a new signal of urban agglomerations and racial and ethnic diversity. They are rarities in rural areas except in resort settlements. Increasingly, gated areas are also cropping up in metropolitan Australia and the coastal areas of Spain, Portugal, and France. They have always been common in Latin America, with its entrenched income disparities.

DEFINING AND DESCRIBING RESIDENTIAL GATED COMMUNITIES IN MODERN AMERICA

Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access such that normally public spaces have been privatized. Physical barriers, walled or fenced perimeters, and gated or guarded entrances control access. They include new housing developments and older residential areas retrofitted with barricades and fences.

Gates are the latest drive to redefine community by territory and protect the neighborhood boundaries by income and social standing. In the last twenty years, gated communities, one of the more dramatic forms of residential boundaries, have been springing up around the United States and across the developed world. In an era of dramatic demographic, economic, and social changes, there is a growing crisis of future expectation in American civic life. Since September 11, 2001 many more people feel vulnerable in the face of rapid change and the real or imagined threats of urban terrorism.

Gated communities represent a different phenomenon from apartment or condominium buildings with security systems or doormen. There, a doorman precludes public access only to a lobby or hallways, private space within a building is accessible only with owner permission. Gated communities preclude public access to roads, sidewalks, parks, open space, and playgrounds, all resources that in earlier eras would have been open and accessible to all citizens. The best estimate is that there are over three and a half million American families or eight million people who have already sought out this new refuge from the problems of urbanization [American Housing Survey (AHS), 2002].

TABLE 16.1. Income, Race, and Gates

Income	%Walled	%Control Access	%White	% Black	%Hispanic
<$20,000	7.5	4.1	73	19.4	10.7
$20–40,000	7.1	4.1	78.4	14.1	11.2
$40,001–71,768	5.8	3.1	83.4	9.5	9.1
>$71,768	6.1	3.8	86.6	6.7	5.8

Source: Sanchez: Metropolitan Institute, 2003.

Locations of American Gates

For the first time, through data in the American Housing Survey (AHS), we are able to look at the choices of an increasingly frightened middle class as it moves to escape school integration and to gain or secure the economic advantages of home appreciation (AHS, 2002).

Gates range from elaborate two-story guardhouses that are manned twenty-four hours a day to rollback, wrought-iron gates, to simple electronic arms. Entrances are usually built with one lane for guests and visitors and a second lane for residents, who open the gates with an electronic card, a punched-in code, or a remote control. Some gates with round-the-clock security require all cars to pass the guard, issuing identification stickers for residents' cars. Unmanned entrances often have intercom systems, some with video monitors, for visitors asking for clearance.

Security mechanisms are intended to do more than just deter crime. They are security from the shared life of the city and from such annoyances as solicitors and canvassers, mischievous teenagers, and strangers of any kind, malicious or not. The gates provide sheltered common space, open space not penetrable by outsiders. For the residents of upper-end gated communities, who already can afford to live in low-crime environments, with greater protection from crime the gates by size and depth protection signal affluence as well as increased social status (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

Gated areas and controlled access developments are not evenly distributed across the nation. Households with gated communities are distributed as follows: in the West 11.1 percent, the South 6.8 percent, the Northeast 3.1 percent, and Midwest 2.1 percent. Incomes are a determining factor in who lives in gated communities. The AHS covered 119,116,517 housing units, 106,406,951 occupied year round with 7,058,427 units or 5.9 percent indicating that they were surrounded by walls or fences and 4,013,665 units (3.4 percent) with controlled or guarded access. The largest, most racially volatile areas have the highest concentrations of walled communities. These metropolitan areas are usually entry points for new immigrants and places of high mobility for Blacks and other minorities (AHS, 2001).

As Table 16.1 shows, the gated community residents are high-income Whites and some lower-income minorities who live in walled and controlled compounds. For Whites this shows locking out the poor and crime but for non-Whites it reflects locking themselves in or being locked in by fear of their surroundings.

TYPOLOGY OF GATED COMMUNITIES

Gated communities are a response to the rising tide of fear. They can be classified in the following main categories.

FIGURE 16.1. Author photo. Gated Neighborhood in Orange County, California, October 2005.

1. *Lifestyle communities*, where the gates provide security and separation for the leisure activities and amenities within. Lifestyle communities include retirement communities such as golf and country clubs and resort developments. In these places community is associated with the social status and the club feeling that a sport or common space provides. In a sense these are the kids' tree house, club house, or pub or other ways of marking a common social heritage as the descriptor of community.
2. *Prestige communities*, where gates symbolize distinction and prestige and attempt to create and protect a secure place on the social ladder. These include enclaves for the rich and famous, developments for the top fifth of national incomes, and middle-income executive subdivisions. Here community is defined by what the home behind the gate looks like and the car and other signs of affluence that are central to showing wealth.
3. *Security zones*, where community safety is the primary goal. These are inner suburban or central city areas where crime is high and the gates are designed to thwart criminality. Community is usually defined in these places by strong social cohesion against the outside world.

In the first two categories, the developer as an amenity builds gates and an image that helps sell houses. In the last form residents build the gates or retrofit their low-income neighborhoods to shield themselves from the surrounding outside world.

Community in all categories is defined inside the walls which are a sign of common or community by the residents. But the residents of gated areas engage in real community that moves well beyond their walled territories to work, play, and shop and to engage in the wider world. So, in a sense, this artificial boundary is a way of controlling a part of life, the home ground, which for many is a sacred space of personal privacy and privilege as I discuss below.

Community of Fear

Fear of crime has become an influential factor in nearly every aspect of our daily lives. Besides the constant calls for more public monies and new public initiatives to combat crime, the private sector's role in crime prevention and control is booming. Gated communities are only one part of this trend. A National Institute of Justice study found that three times as many people work in the security field, from equipment manufacturers to armored car drivers, as are employed by official law enforcement agencies. Security guards have doubled in the last decade and now surpass police. Private security outspends public law enforcement by 73 percent, and is now "clearly the nation's primary protective resource" (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000).

The national reach of the media, and its insatiable appetite for dramatic human interest stories, means that a crime committed in a small Northwestern town is reported from Seattle to Miami. This dynamic fuels the fear of crime and the constant perception that crime is worsening, even in periods such as the early 1990s, when crime rates were dropping. Almost 90 percent of Americans think crime has gotten worse, but the violent crime rate in cities dropped 25 percent between 1981 and 1989. And although 55 percent worry about being a victim of crime and the same percent feel inadequately protected by the police only 7.4 percent mention crime when asked what bothers them in their neighborhoods.

The seeming randomness of crime is also responsible for this heightened fear. Cities are viewed as the core area of crime, but no one can be certain they are safe. Youth and crime are synonymous, and minority youth bear a disproportionate burden of this rising fear. Strangers of any description are an automatic inducement to fear and distrust. This is one reason that traffic is of equal or even greater concern to many neighborhoods that close themselves off: in the new equation of social trust, traffic equals strangers, strangers are bad, and bad means crime.

Realistically, crime is a far greater problem for lower-income people than for the upper middle classes. Data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2000) National Crime Victimization Survey show crime is also a greater problem in cities than in suburbs or rural areas. The rates for violent crime and household crime such as burglary are about 35 percent lower in the suburbs than in cities. City residents are one and a half times more likely than suburbanites to be a victim of a violent crime or a household burglary. Yet gates are mainly suburban phenomena. The real danger of crime bears no relationship to the fear of crime. In places with high crime rates, places with low crime rates, places where crime is rising, and places where crime is dropping, fear can spur the gating of neighborhoods that were once open to their surroundings.

There is little real evidence that crime is thwarted by gates. The data show that location or neighborhood is the largest predictor of crime. Good neighborhoods with high income experience little crime. In part this is because criminals stick close to home where they know the territory (Interview, Fort Lauderdale Police, 1995). But the ambiguous and spotty successes and failures of gates and barricades as crime control measures show that although people may feel safer, they probably are not significantly safer. This fear and anxiety feeds on itself. Gates and walls reflect fear and serve as daily reminders of the perceived dangers on the other side, and suggest that they do little to improve the reality.

But there is more than the fear of crime behind the wave of gating. Gates are reassuring in the face of anxiety levels heightened by economic, demographic, and social change. They exclude a world where one feels vulnerable. Even if crime may be reduced in the gated developments, the city or suburban streets outside are unchanged and the metropolitan area is unchanged. Some proponents of gated communities argue that by providing private security,

these developments are relieving the public policing burden, freeing resources to be used elsewhere. In most cases, however, they augment rather than replace police services. This is especially the case where residential street patrols are not a significant part of police activities, as in the lowcrime suburbs where gated communities are most common.

The results of our survey of homeowner association boards in gated communities for the book *Fortress America* (Blakely and Snyder, 1997) show that security is a primary concern for those who buy in gated communities. The respondents thought that they and their neighbors were drawn to fortifications around their subdivisions; nearly seventy percent of respondents said that security was a very important issue in the ultimate decision of residents to live in their gated communities. Only one percent thought that security was not an important drive (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). There is ample evidence that crime in gated community areas is the same as the surrounding communities with similar demographics.

Gates as Separation and Segregation Patterns

Economic segregation is scarcely new. Zoning and city planning were designed in part to preserve the position of the privileged by subtle variances in building and density codes. But the gated communities go further in several respects. They create physical barriers to access and they privatize community space, not merely individual space. Many of these communities also privatize previous public responsibilities such as police protection, parks, recreation, and a range of mundane civic operations from trash collection to street maintenance, leaving the poor and less well off to depend on the ever reduced services of city and county governments.

This privatization is one of the more serious effects that gated communities may have for social equity and the broader community. Within metropolitan areas, poverty and economic inequality are no longer limited to the inner cities. Even formerly well-established good suburbs have their share of social and physical structural problems. The suburbs are becoming urbanized, such that many might be termed "edge cities," places with many problems and pathologies traditionally thought to be restricted to big cities (Lang, Blakely, and Gough, 2005).

The need for gates and walls is created and encouraged by widespread changes in the social and physical structure of the suburbs. United States suburbs are becoming urbanized, such that many might be called in Mike Davis' term, "outer cities," places with problems and pathologies traditionally thought to be restricted to big cities (Davis, 1990).

Gates show separation by income, race, and economic opportunity. For example, the largest metropolitan areas were only slightly less segregated in 2000 than in 1990 (U.S. Census, 2002). Suburbanization has not meant a lessening of segregation, but only a redistribution of the urban patterns of discrimination. Minority suburbanization is concentrated in the inner ring and old manufacturing suburbs (Massey and Denton, 1993). In Chicago, as in many metropolitan areas, the inner-ring suburbs are attracting increasing numbers of minorities and immigrants. During the 1980s, nearly as many Whites moved out of suburban Cook County as moved out of the city of Chicago, with African Americans and Hispanics moving in (Hinz, 1994, p. 21). The Los Angeles area is the new archetype of metropolitan spatial segregation, in which poverty is no longer concentrated in the central city, but is suburbanizing, racing farther and farther out in the metropolitan fringe; the extension of gating and walling becomes a new way of maintaining race and class across our largest metropolitan areas.

So, we can view gated and barricaded communities themselves as a microcosm of the larger spatial segmentation and separation. The growing divisions between city and suburb and

rich and poor are creating new patterns that reinforce the costs that isolation and exclusions impose on some, while they benefit others. These "turf wars," although most dramatically manifested by the gated community, is a troubling trend for land use planning. As citizens separate themselves into homogeneous independent cells, their ties to the greater polity and society become attenuated, with resistance to efforts to resolve municipal, let alone regional, problems (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

Protecting Who's Rights Behind Gates

Gated communities are not merely places to live; they form a social enclave as well. These communities have their own internal government in the form of a community association. The community associations' official responsibilities are to maintain the physical appearance of the community and to help with social gatherings. But, in many cases the community association becomes a government and a promoter of political thought. For example, the *Palm Beach Post* in Florida headlines "The Growing Clout of Gated Communities: Some Enclaves Close Gates to Candidates They Dislike" (Collins, 2002). It would be interesting and maybe shocking if Palm Beach were the only gated community where the homeowners' association practice political access control, but it is not. Increasingly candidates for political office and advocates for public vote issues find gated communities thwart their fundamental rights of free speech. As one candidate put it, "restricting access to those residents (in gated areas) restricts their ability to make their own decisions" (ibid. p. AI,14). Political and religious decision accesses are similarly controlled in these developments.

Gated communities also restrict the rights of other citizens to use public access areas such as passageways to beaches or public walkways that bisect them. In many cases gated communities have restricted access to the public-to-public right of ways. "Gated communities are antithetical to connectivity," says David Goodman, an urban designer trying to set up connections across communities to public facilities (Collins, 2002, p. 1B). On the opposite side of the coin, city school buses cannot serve gated areas because those streets are private thus preventing young children from using the public bus as "...an issue of fairness to all taxpayers" (Pinellas, 2000, p. 7).

Gated communities view themselves as double taxed. On one hand they pay local property taxes for roads and other public amenities and they must also pay for their own internal streets and other common facilities. But, as the County District Attorney in Palm Beach says, "What public purpose would it be to use public dollars in a private gated community.... Indeed what is the public purpose when the public cannot use the private roads of the gated community?" Finally, the issues of access extend to public service vehicles which find it difficult to gain access to gated communities because the access gates have not standard access codes for emergency vehicles.

As Gerald Frug of the Harvard Law School argues, "the walls that surround privatized areas do more than relocate those identified as potential criminals...they have an important psychological impact on insiders as well.... They enable the property owners to assert more extensive property rights against outsiders than those that the legal system actually authorizes" (Frug, 2003, p. 1). This seems to be the central issue: can the insiders assert greater rights than those left outside the gates?

But some public streets have been partly closed to slow traffic or reroute it to protect themselves from heavy vehicular use and crime in their neighborhoods. Some communities have hired guards who act like concierges who may direct but not limit access. In many cases

gated communities limit access to most normal middle-class suburbs. This has led to heated debates over what is communal and what is public. As Frug says,

> I think that these walled enclaves should be treated like public spaces. ... Beginning in the nineteenth century, property law in the United States required businesses that held themselves open to the public—such as innkeepers and common carriers—to serve the public as a whole without discrimination. Railroads and inns, it was decided should not be able to favor some customers at the expense of others. In more recent times, hotels, theaters and restaurants have been required to be open without discrimination on the grounds of race, color, *religion*, or national origin. This history suggests that a similar kind of openness can be required of shopping centers and office parks... individual exercising rights of free speech (*religious evangelists*, war protestors) and representative organizations seeking to reach employees...could form the beginning of a list of uninvited strangers (to gated areas) that would be free to enter these kinds of spaces [emphasis added].

In a sense, gates extended the public realm that protects the home well beyond the intention of safety zone of the house to encompass the common public space granted to all of us for the practice of our civic rights to social, religious, and political engagement.

These "turf wars," although most dramatically manifested by the gated communities are a troubling trend for the re-emergence of racially inspired land use planning. As citizens separate themselves into homogeneous independent cells, their ties to the greater polity and society become attenuated, increasing resistance to efforts to resolve municipal, let alone regional, problems. Today, with a new set of problems pressing on our metropolitan areas, separation is still the solution to which Americans turn. In the suburbs, gates are the logical extension of the original suburban drive. In the city, gates and barricades are sometimes called "cul-de-sac-ization," a term that clearly shows the design goal to create out of the existing urban grid a street pattern close to that of suburbs. Gates and walls are an attempt to suburbanize our cities. Neighborhoods have always been able to exclude some potential residents through discrimination and housing costs. Gates and walls exclude not only undesirable new residents, but also even casual passersby and the people from the neighborhood next door.

The exclusivity of these communities goes beyond questions of public access to their streets. They are yet another manifestation of the trend toward privatization of public services: the private provision of recreational facilities, open space and common space, security, infrastructure, and even social services and schools. Gated communities are substituting for or augmenting public services with services provided by the homeowners' association. The same is true of all the private-street subdivisions that are now the dominant form of new residential development. But in gated communities, this privatization is enhanced by the physical control of access to the development.

The trend toward privatized government and communities is part of the more general trend of fragmentation, and the resulting loss of connection and social contact is weakening the bonds of mutual responsibility and the social contract. The weakening social contract is illustrated by the self-interested nature of gated community residents who increasingly act as a group to vote against public expenditures for the total community because they can privatize their interests.

The problem is that in gated communities and other privatized enclaves, the local community that many residents identify with is the one only within the gates. Their homeowner association dues are like taxes; and their responsibility to their community, such as it is, ends at that gate. One city official in Plano, Texas summed up his view of the attitude of the gated community residents in his town: "'I took care of my responsibility, I'm safe in here, I've got my guard gate; I've paid my (homeowner association) dues, and I'm responsible for my streets. Therefore, I have no responsibility for the commonweal, because you take care of your own" (Focus Group *Fortress*

America interview, Plano, TX, 1995). In the New Orleans tragedy, after Hurricane Katrina, this attitude was manifested as some communities barred residents of other communities from traversing their areas to escape the storm and almost certain death (CNN, September 4, 2005).

The new developments create a private world that need share little with its neighbors or the larger political system. This fragmentation undermines the concept of *civitas*, organized community life. We no longer speak of citizens, but of taxpayers, who take no active role in governance, but merely exchange money for services. In the privatized gated communities, many say they're taking care of themselves and have no desire to contribute to the common pool serving their neighbors in the rest of the city. In areas where gated communities are the norm, and not the exception, this perspective that we can privatize our resources and not give to the public good as members of the same larger community has the potential for severe impacts on the common welfare. Failed cities and gated communities are a dramatic manifestation of the fortress mentality growing in America.

Residents of gated communities, like other people in cities and suburbs across the country, vary in the degree they personally feel the connections and duties of community within and outside their developments. The difference is that in gated communities, with their privatized streets, recreation, local governance, and security, residents have less need of the public realm outside their gates than those living in traditional open neighborhoods. If they choose to withdraw, there are fewer ties to break, less daily dependence on the greater community.

As one resident of a gated country club development in Blackhawk outside of Oakland, California, a majority high-income community, told us in a focus group for our research on gated communities,

> People are tired of the way the government has managed issues. . . . Because you don't really have control over how the money is spent. . . . I feel disenfranchised. . . . If the courts are going to release criminals, and we're going to continue not to prosecute people and continue to spend money the way we've been spending it, and I can't impact it (at least here), in Blackhawk . . . I have a little control over how I live my life" (Interview with Resident, *Fortress America*, 1995).

This Blackhawk resident speaks for millions of white Americans who are using public policy to fort up. This phenomenon has enormous policy consequences. By allowing some citizens to secede from public contact by internalizing and excluding others from sharing in their economic and social privilege, it aims directly at the conceptual base of community and citizenship in America. The old notions of community mobility and mutual responsibility are loosened by these new community patterns. What is the measure of nationhood when the divisions between neighborhoods need armed patrols and electric fencing to keep out other citizens? When public services and even local government is privatized; when the community of responsibility stops at the subdivision gates; what happens to the function of a social and political democracy? In short, can this nation fulfill its social contract to create community for everyone without building communities with social contact across all communities?

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CHAPTER 17

Congregations and Communities

JOY CHARLTON

Week after week, in cities, suburbs, small towns, and countryside byways, more Americans gather in religious congregations than in any other voluntary association or local organization. In mosques, synagogues, ashrams, temples, and sanctuaries, in small house meetings and in large arena-style auditoriums, about 60 percent of American adults attend a service within a religious congregation in a given year. About 25 percent of adults attend a service in any given week (Chaves, 2004). Fully half of Americans hold memberships in a local religious congregation (Finke & Stark, 1992).

Religious congregations are vibrant, powerful, and culturally ubiquitous. More than 350,000 religious congregations are active in the United States (Cnaan, 2002), and they are far from being replaced by other voluntary associations such as civic clubs and schools in the way that secularization theories predicted in earlier decades (see, e.g., Berger, 1969). America's religious congregations at the beginning of the 21st century are found in every locality, and much of the money circulating in the non-profit sector flows either from or to religious groups of various kinds (Bane, Coffin, & Higgins, 2005). Robert Putnam, well-known for drawing attention to worries about the loss of community in his "bowling alone" investigations, and whose concepts of "bonding and bridging social capital" have both become and helped stimulate the latest incarnations of community theory, suggests that congregations are exceptionally important in American life: "... faith communities in which people worship together are arguably the single most important repository of social capital in America" (Putnam, 2000, p. 66.)

Despite and perhaps because of the increasingly diverse and pluralistic nature of the religious landscape in the United States, religious groups—no matter their national or international affiliation, whether Christian or non-Christian—have typically taken on a congregational model for organizing themselves. R. Stephen Warner (1993, 1994) calls this dynamic "de facto congregationalism." While we are most likely to associate the term "congregation" with Protestant churches, Catholics have been slowly moving away from their geographical "parish" concept, Judaism has long since been normatively congregational, and non-Christian religious groups are meeting together for worship in local gatherings under lay control.

A religious "congregation" has been variously defined—and sometimes left undefined—but for present purposes the term will be used to refer to recognized and stable gatherings

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for religious purposes. There are more specific and even technical definitions for the purpose of creating an operational definition for research. For example, for the National Congregation Survey, Mark Chaves (2004, p. 1) articulated the following careful and boundary-setting definition. A congregation is a

> social institution in which individuals who are not all religious specialists gather in physical prox-
> imity to one another, frequently and at regularly scheduled intervals, for activities and events with
> explicitly religious content and purpose, and in which there is continuity over time in the individuals
> who gather, the location of the gathering, and the nature of the activities and events at each gathering.

"Congregation" thus broadly understood encompasses churches, synagogues, mosques, temples, and more, both small and large.

Religious congregations are extraordinarily successful local organizations. Religious congregations also create and constitute community in American culture, and they both relate and contribute critically to communities that surround them, both as organizational models and as social connectors. To understand community and how it works, to understand local organizations and how they can be successful, religious congregations, then, are important to explore.

This chapter will focus on two aspects of this exploration. One is to look at congregations *as* communities. Congregations create community by, among other things, providing physical spaces and regular times for gatherings, by a consistent focus on a set of shared symbols and beliefs, and by elevating the importance of whole person, face-to-face interactions. These elements, especially including the very nature of worship itself, also lend insight into why systematic analyses of local organizations are hard to capture.

The second focus of this chapter will be to look at the relationships of congregations *to* and *within* communities. The very form of voluntary associations in America owes its shape to the development of the relationship between churches and the state. While congregational relationships to external communities can span the full range of positive to neutral to negative valences, the contributions of congregations to surrounding communities in the form of social service and to the development of skills and motivations for civic engagement spread outward in vital, complicated dynamics. This discussion will limit itself largely to the American experience, as it is distinctive, and to the present and recent past.

CONGREGATIONS AS COMMUNITIES

Understanding how congregations work as communities and how they work as organizations are separate as well as related enterprises. When scholars have applied organizational perspectives to the understanding of religion, or vice versa, they have typically attended to the bigger and more bureaucratic aspects of religious groupings, such as the larger-scale organizations of denominations or of theological schools, or to the professionalization of religious workers. (See, for example, Chaves, 1997, 1998; Williams, 1998; Carroll *et al.*, 1997; Lehman, 1993. See also the introduction to this Handbook.) On the whole, however, little organizational theory has found its way to the study of religion, at any level, nor has the study of religion influenced organizational theory very much in return (DiMaggio, 1998; for a notable exception, see Harris 1998). Fortunately, a resurgence of scholarly interest in local religious congregations has produced a substantial body of fresh insight and research, both quantitative and ethnographic, which illuminates elements both of community and organizational creation and maintenance (e.g., Ammerman, 1987; Cadge, 2004; Edgell, 2006; Warner, 1988).

How do congregations work as communities? What might other kinds of voluntary as-
sociations and local organizations learn from what has developed into such a successful or-
ganizational form? Congregations are social places. While obvious once said, religious belief
and practice are sometimes considered more immediately to be matters of deeply individual
and personal choices. The conversation and confusion about the statement "I'm spiritual but
not religious" reflects the distinction made between what's thought to be personal and what's
organizational. But religion is inherently social: religious beliefs and practices are historically
and culturally produced and collectively enacted. People worship together.

The fact that congregations have physical places for gathering may also seem obvious
once said, but the extraordinary attention to space is not to be taken for granted. Congre-
gations are located in physical space, which becomes significant symbolic and social space
as well. That congregations go to great lengths and costs to construct and maintain physical
places for their sole use, even if it means deep and long-term financial over-commitment,
and even if the space will be used during a small fraction of a week's time, is testament
to this. That beliefs and values are tangibly understood to be embedded in visual details—
minarets and steeples, stained glass and domes—is testament to their symbolic importance.
More practically, the physicality of a congregation gives it permanence and a sustained point of
focus.

That congregations also locate themselves in time—that they gather *regularly*—for wor-
ship and for other activities also sustains them. Gathering together systematically and routinely
gives relationships the opportunity to develop, and for commitment to the group to grow. The
"Organizing Religious Work" project—a large-scale questionnaire and interview-based study
of congregations from ninety-one different religious traditions and congregations varying in
size from four attenders to seventeen thousand (Ammerman, 2005a, p. 17)—found that nearly
three-quarters of the congregations studied organize at least one type of regular social gathering
each week beyond a worship service, either for the congregation as a whole or for a particular
kind of smaller group.

Most prominent among these smaller regular gatherings are "life-stage groups," such as
youth groups, women's groups, couples groups, groups for seniors. Congregations as wholes
or smaller groups also gather to share meals and to share purely social activities such as athletic
games or ballroom dances. Size of the congregation is the most reliable predictor of the extent
to which small groups are utilized, as large congregations find them more necessary as well
as effective, whereas in smaller churches the entire congregation can meet for dinner in the
fellowship hall. At the level of large and mega churches, the organization of the congregation
into "cell groups" or teams is a well-known organizing and potentially evangelizing strategy
(Marti, 2005).

As important as the social gatherings to the creation of community are the ways congrega-
tion members support each other in times of need. Congregation participants provide tangible
assistance to each other in the forms of funds, food, transportation, childcare and presence, and
the less tangible assistance of counseling and prayer. Often offered and received informally, in
some religious traditions this sort of help may be organized, such as the way African-American
congregations send "missionaries" from the congregation to care for members who are ill or
grieving, or the way some members of mainline Protestant churches are trained by and orga-
nized into "Stephen Ministries" for non-professional but trained lay involvement in the care
of congregation members.

Congregations are typically explicit in their understanding of themselves as communities
of faith. They speak the rhetoric of community. They are purposeful in this way and differ
from groups associated only by proximity or aggregation. For some persons, we might think of

congregations, or portions of congregations, as serving as "primary groups," those emotionally important small groups—like families—in which members develop close relationships, to which they attach, and with which they identify. For some the attachment may not be as intense, may be one level up, one might say, in which communication may be less routine or personal or regular but the group may nonetheless be an anchor in an individual's social life.

The extent to which religious groups care explicitly about community building is patterned. Congregations in minority communities—e.g., African American, Jewish, new immigrant—are especially conscious of the importance of the communities their congregations create, as a source of support within a larger society (Ammerman, 2005a). Urban and suburban congregations are more likely to report community building as a concern, compared to their rural counterparts, in part, presumably, because rural residents already find themselves in more locally intersecting and overlapping communities. For less immediately discernible reasons, but interestingly, congregations in the Northeast are also more likely to report community building as a concern (Ammerman, 2005a).

At the center of congregational gatherings, of course, are the focused, ritualized services for worship. Practiced, organized and theologized in many ways, spirituality gives congregations their guiding focus and their legitimacy. Many participants in congregations are drawn to congregations in pursuit of greater spiritual understanding; some participants find a spiritual path after having been drawn to a congregation for other, perhaps more social, reasons; for still other participants, those social or other reasons remain predominant but the approach to spiritual issues is reflected in their experience nonetheless. In some cases, in some places, attending a congregation is a given, an expectation that goes without saying and without question, an activity into which a child is born. Others are drawn to congregations precisely out of a search for community, a need often not fully understood, and the spiritual understandings and commitments come later. The point is that religious congregations have a higher purpose in focus, for them something transcendent always in context.

That congregational participants believe a guiding focus on the spiritual and a ritualizing of community is at the heart of what they do has been confirmed by two recent, large-scale studies. The "Organizing Religious Work" project found that congregational leaders ranked "spiritual work"—fostering members' spiritual growth, via worship services and other means—at the top of the list of items about "what really matters most" to congregations (Ammerman, 2005a, p. 23). Congregants, meanwhile, rated "the style and quality of worship" and "the preaching" as highest on their list of what attracted them to their congregation. The National Congregations Study, a large-scale, national, representative-sample survey of American congregations, elicited a similar finding (Chaves, 2004).

Those who are committed to congregations will tell you that worship is the heart of what they do, the very reason for community, the reason they work as a community. Participants share symbols, embodied in communal practices, and they work toward sharing beliefs. Certainly the focus on the mysteries of life—the scientifically unanswerable questions, the answers available to those in the midst of despair or crisis, the socially acceptable site for emotional exchange— explains, in part, how congregations work as communities. These are powerful processes, not easily found elsewhere. Being a religious gathering, rather than a secular gathering, means that congregations deal at some level simultaneously with the transcendent and with the deeply personal. They are simultaneously about the routine and about the crisis moments. Even those who attend congregations minimally are most likely to turn to the local church at highly communal and symbolic moments (holidays, holy days), or at moments of personal emotional intensity or life transitions (grief, loss, birth, marriages, death), or public crises (9/11).

The face-to-face and embodied nature of ritual deserves emphasis in understanding how congregations work as communities and to understanding what's distinctive about local organizations. Worship services are the enactment of repeatedly shared though not fully defined symbolic acts that involve the whole person joining with others in the sharing of meaning condensed within those symbols. Worship services are highly sensory events—they typically involve combinations of art, music, singing, spoken word, stories, silence, flowers, incense, out-of-the-ordinary clothing, and a range of bodily movements from standing, sitting, kneeling, bowing, hand-raising, hand-shaking, hugging, processing in, recessing out, dancing. Emotions are evoked, deliberately so, and allowed expression to various normative degrees in different traditions. The "emotional power of doing things together" in active and collective sharing of symbols and ritual in itself creates community (Warner, 1997, p. 224).

The face-to-face aspect of interaction, the involvement of the whole person, and the emotional content are distinctive elements of congregations, as they can be of local organizations more generally. They are also the elements that make it harder to distill examples of local organizations into easily analyzable or predictable models. Just as everyday life is "messy," so, too, local congregations are "messy" in an organizational sense. In the Parsonian terms outlined in the introduction to this volume, relationships or interactions within congregations—as in many local organizations—can be described as diffuse, affective, and particularistic (Warner, 1994). Because interactions are face-to-face (inviting diffuse understandings), the content is emotional (affective), and the relationships personal (particularistic), the effects of individual and ideological differences, personalities, and personal agendas are always intervening in ways that are not structured or rule-bound or subject to authority. There are ways in which congregations in action, as in some other local organizations, are akin to how we might understand pure democracies to be—in which there are multiple voices, all believing they have the right to be heard, and in which alliances shift, tensions rise and fall, subsequent action is negotiated, even as the scene revolves around shared symbolic texts and rituals.

The more complicated nature of congregations as organizations is more clearly seen when struggle is visible. As important as the positive elements of religious congregations are, congregations must also contend with the attendant difficulties associated with the processes of creating and sustaining community while remaining organizationally stable. Religious groups are often sites of intense conflict, division, and even ultimately schism. Religious leaders come and are pressured out, congregants join congregations and they leave, congregations die out and others evolve into different shapes. While many enduring relationships are established within religious congregations, others are lost along the way in anger and disillusionment.

This aspect of congregational life receives less scholarly, or even popular, attention. Perhaps precisely because they are religious in orientation, congregational life can be romanticized, or protected as one protects the vulnerable or the sacred. Loyal participants do not wish to have their troubles announced or analyzed. But understanding the difficulties faced by local organizations such as congregations helps us understand "community" just the same.

Elements working against harmony in congregations include tensions between various locations of authority: national, international, or regional religious hierarchies within which congregations are located; religious professionals; boards or other governing bodies within congregations; congregants themselves. At levels of organization broader than individual congregations, some of these tensions are anticipated and even regulated. Unresolved tensions at the national levels can lead to schism as well as congregational shifts and withdrawals. Nancy Ammerman (1990) has, for example, described with particular clarity and detail schism at this level in the Southern Baptist Convention.

At the level of local organizations, more immediately disruptive are the tensions between congregants and their leaders and between congregants themselves. One source of detailed if not entirely systematic evidence about this comes from the accounts of the clergy and other congregational leaders as they describe congregational experiences. Some of these accounts are emotionally searing, as we might expect accounts of "dysfunctional families" to be, and they are particularly poignant in the accounts of clergy who have chosen to leave their congregations and even ministries, at least in part propelled by interpersonal and inter-group difficulties within the congregation itself (Charlton, 1994, 1997; Hoge & Wenger, 2005). The behavior of "pastor-eating congregations" (Zikmund, Lummis, & Chang, 1998) is instructive.

Phil Zuckerman (1999) describes in full sequence the eruption and trajectory of such a conflict as it occurred within a Jewish community, a conflict that changed individual relationships, the nature of the congregation, and the local Jewish community as a whole. From the lone synagogue in a single town in the Pacific Northwest, affiliated with the Conservative movement, the Jewish community was broken into two parts existing in tension right across the street from each other—one represented by the original synagogue that ultimately transferred its affiliation to the progressive, more liberal Reconstructionists and, second, a newly-created more-conservative-than-conservative Orthodox synagogue. Congregants differed ideologically—on styles of worship, the wording of prayers, the support of Israel and gay rights, and the regulation of gender. Zuckerman argues that while he looked hard for pre-existing differences that would explain the rift, purely ideological differences accounted for who took which side. The rift eventually turned "ugly," "bitter," and "tragic," as described by those on all sides. Zuckerman acknowledges that, at the immediate or local level of organization, the interplay of personalities creates the drama, of various genres, including tragedy, and sometimes has permanent consequences.

Not all congregational conflicts end in schism within the community, of course. The range of possible outcomes to congregational conflict is extensive, and affected by history, composition, size, identity and a host of other variables. Penny Edgell Becker (1999) studied twenty-three congregations, including Jewish synagogues, Catholic parishes, and Protestant churches, and outlines those issues most likely to elicit conflict: staff/money/programs, worship/ritual, gender/sexuality, and the pastor—in that order. Understanding which conflicts were likely to occur and which responses were utilized led her to delineate four models of local religious "cultures" which emphasize to varying degrees different missions to which congregants are committed: houses of worship, family congregations, community congregations, and social issue leadership congregations. Some conflicts were resolved by routinized mechanisms, others moved beyond standard boundaries, and, with a price, change occurred. Very few congregations fell into the "social issue leadership" category, however, indicating that what matters most often are the emphases on the ritual and the social relationships, the face-to-face and the communal.

Ethnographic case studies of congregations like these are especially rich and instructive about the dynamics of congregations as organizations and the creation of community, with the potential to highlight changes in both the times and the society. In *New Wine in Old Wineskins: Evangelicals and Liberals in a Small-Town Church* (1988), R. Stephen Warner describes and theorizes the tensions and changes in organizational relationships as a Presbyterian congregation in California evolved from a mainline, traditional stance in the 1950s, to progressive church politics and practice of the 1960s, to an evangelical 1970s, and a more conservative future—paralleling, as it was constituting, the simultaneous changes in American religion more broadly. Warner's account focuses keenly on individual and ideological differences as congregants and leaders over time created and re-created the organization that continued to be

called the Presbyterian Church of Mendocino, California. Nancy Ammerman's (1987) inten-
sive examination of a fundamentalist Baptist church in New England gives a revealing account
of the particular ways a fundamentalist orientation—believing in biblical inerrancy and an
authoritarian power structure—affects a congregation's beliefs and practices and supports its
community of believers. Seldom-questioned support for the legitimacy of leaders—from God
to pastors to husbands—contributes to strict demands for adherence, which, other scholars
suggest, contributes to the vitality of those kinds of congregational communities (see also
Stevens, 2001, as well as Finke & Stark, 1992).

Megachurches face different challenges with regard to the creation of community. Gerardo
Marti (2005) reports on "Mosaic," an evangelical church in Los Angeles near Hollywood that
has about 2,000 members in attendance on any given Sunday. Its attendees come from different
ethnic groups—dominantly Caucasian, Hispanic, and Asian—which, in other circumstances
and other churches, have been segregated from each other. Marti demonstrates the ways that
Mosaic church creates community across traditionally divided ethnic lines by constructing
multiethnic spaces of interaction and inclusion—which Marti describes as "havens"—that
sometimes emphasize and sometimes transcend ethnic affiliations, providing opportunities
for multiethnic companionship, cooperation, and camaraderie. By focusing attention on its
mission and on overlapping small groups, rendering other identities less relevant in context,
this church creates a kind of community across boundaries otherwise difficult to achieve.

Immigrant Muslims, as they gather in numbers and strength in America, constitute a
contemporary example of how the development of local organizations, and the mosque itself *as*
a local organization, provide the foci for community. Garbi Schmidt (2004) ethnographically
describes immigrant Sunni Muslims in Chicago and the remarkable extent to which they
have created mosques and even paramosques, Sunday schools, community centers, lobbying
organizations, after-school projects, Qur'anic schools, student organizations, and colleges.
She reminds us that while faith can be practiced at home, it is enacted in participation with
others—and that as Islam does so in the American context, it becomes an American religion.

As the examples above make clear, "congregation" as an organizational form is found in
many religious traditions, in a range of sizes, and with regional and cultural differences. The
regularity of congregational relationships to physical and symbolic spaces, to time, to shared
beliefs and ritual practices, and to interpersonal interaction help explain how congregations
are so successful as local organizations, while the volatility and variability in the face-to-face
aspect of interaction, the involvement of the whole person, and the emotional content make
understanding organizational dynamics systematically a challenge.

Congregations and the communities they create are multi-faceted, and they are, with their
surrounding communities and society, always, at some level, in the process of change, as the
above examples also make clear. The communities that congregations create are typically a form
of social capital of the "bonding" sort, as Putnam would term it, the kind of interrelationships
that connect people to each other, and which are essential to the survival of individuals and the
societies in which they live.

CONGREGATIONS WITHIN COMMUNITY

While religious congregations serve as primary communities for their participants, they
are embedded *within* and *related to* other communities. How they relate to other groups and with
what effect, as well as how they contribute to the creation and sustenance of other communities,
is equally important to the better understanding of local organizations and community. We
could think of this in terms of Putnam's (2000, p. 66) concept of "bridging social capital,"

referring to networks that "are outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages."

Congregations are enmeshed in multiple organizational networks, most importantly, perhaps, those larger groups within their religious traditions to which they belong. Protestant denominations, Jewish movements, the Vatican and other bodies of authority in religious traditions in which local congregations are embedded are of essential importance—the larger bodies of authority affect, support, and sometimes undermine the ways that local congregations work. Sometimes and in some ways these larger bodies of authority offer resources, and in other times and ways they require resources. These broader organizations connect congregations, and their participants, to each other in varying ways, creating networks of people of faiths. Congregations are additionally related in broadly contextual ways to supporting entities such as publishers, music providers, consulting organizations, seminaries, and schools.

The focus here, however, is on the relationship of local congregations to their local communities—to their neighborhoods, their towns and cities, and to the people and groups who constitute those external, and often overlapping, communities. The relationship of congregations to the local communities of which they are a part has varied historically, ranging from the functional equivalence of church and state in the first New England towns, to religiously-motivated social involvement channeled through non-overtly religious voluntary associations, to downright aversive relationships of congregations to their communities—with much variation in between. Congregational relationships to communities also vary contemporaneously in patterned ways, patterns thought sometimes to be theological, sometimes political, sometimes organizational. The nature of the local relationship of congregations to community has received renewed attention more recently since the discussion of "faith-based social service" gained political traction during the administration of President George H.W. Bush, especially regarding the extent to which churches provide material and social support to local communities and the extent to which they contribute directly and indirectly to civic engagement.

In their earliest history in America, churches were at the very center of community life, physically and otherwise (Hall, 1998; 2005). As local organizations, they were the primary means through which people regularly met each other, created networks, established normative understandings, and focused their social lives. Churches were then also nearly synonymous and coterminous with government. This part of American religious history is widely known.

Less widely known are the consequences of the subsequent disestablishment for creating the organizational model for secular voluntary associations. Protestant churches were disestablished by law early in the nineteenth century, state by state, and subsequently were no longer able to compel participation. In response, churches changed strategies for success to those that worked by persuasion. The Methodists had been leading the way in this direction since the eighteenth century (Warner, 1993). Churches in themselves became highly successful voluntary organizations. In the process they also importantly helped create secular organizations through which religiously-minded citizens could work toward the public good. In other words, local, voluntary associations owe their form and in some cases function to churches. As Peter Dobkin Hall (1998, 2005) has described, it was the efforts of northern, now "mainline," Protestant churches in the nineteenth century that created the templates of organizational form and strategy for voluntary associations in America, a template that continues to define the nonprofit territory.

Contemporary congregations as congregations, apart from religiously-associated organizations, differ in their stances toward the broader communities in which they live. One framework for understanding this variation—developed primarily for Christian congregations,

but extendable—is to say that a congregation's identifiable approaches to their broader communities could be characterized as "activist," "golden rule," or "evangelical" (Ammerman, 1997). "Activist" congregations take a stronger corporate stance toward involvement outside congregational boundaries, emphasizing that churches should give high priority to supporting social goals. "Golden rule" congregations take a more personal approach, encouraging members to take personal responsibility in everyday life for the public good. "Evangelical" congregations are more inwardly focused, taking as their primary goal to bring others to faith in Christ, also believing it important to have others outside their congregations make the same moral choices. The different types of approaches might describe different congregations in close proximity, describe the same congregation at different points in its history (see Warner 1988), or describe congregations to different degrees. The types are useful for helping us remember both that congregations do not approach relationships with external communities in the same ways and that some of those ways are patterned.

Different relationships within broader communities have been identified as relating to theological or political differences. Hall (2005) reminds us that in an early study of a New England "Yankee City," researchers W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt (1941) identified differences between congregations labeled theologically liberal (Congregationalist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Unitarian Universalist) and those called more theologically conservative (Baptists, Methodist, Roman Catholic). The conservative churches were least likely to have either formalized or informal membership ties to other groups, and the second largest faith community, the Roman Catholics, were associationally active, but only within organizations identified as Catholic. The liberal Protestant congregations were those most likely to have both serious and multiple ties to local organizations, and were the congregations willing to support with space, funds, and time non-congregational groups such as Scout troops and the YMCA that served the broader communities rather than just their own members.

Mary Jo Bane (2005) has noted more recently that members of the more theologically liberal bodies are more likely to donate to and participate in secular organizations than their conservative counterparts, and that liberal Protestants are over-represented on boards of service organizations. The more theologically conservative churches are more likely to focus energy within their congregations.

Organizational differences may explain as much if not more than theology or politics. The Catholic case is especially interesting in this regard, in what Bane (2005) describes the "Catholic puzzle." She argues that Catholic theology can as easily be interpreted as supporting a broad understanding and commitment to service as other theologies can. And yet the data indicate that Catholics are less involved than Protestants in both religious and civic activities. A number of studies have found relatively low levels of volunteering, political or social activism, engagement in civic activities, and financial donations among Catholic respondents (Bane, 2005; Smith, 1998; Wuthnow & Evans, 2002). Catholics report less participation than those describing themselves as members of other religions (though higher than that for those who reported no religion). While Catholics organize more worship services than other religious groups, they offer and participate in fewer activities in every other category. What seems to make the difference is organizational, not theological. Bane argues that the principle of organizing Catholics into parishes by geography rather than by choice, as well as the operation of an authoritarian hierarchy and bureaucracy that has organized congregants more often from a very high top down, rather than including parish participants in governance and decision-making, has had the consequence of limiting the community involvement of its members. Ammerman (2005b) makes a similar argument.

Evidence for the importance of how authority is organized has also been demonstrated by others. A study by Verba, Scholozman and Brady reported in *Voice and Equality* (1994) indicates that in general, congregants who come from religious bodies that encourage members to participate in worship and in the business of the congregation are more likely to be also highly engaged in civic activities compared to those from religious bodies that are more authoritarian and hierarchical. They found importantly that religious affiliation trumps education, wealth, and status as determinants of the level of civic engagement.

Civic engagement—participating in contributory ways to issues of public concern—can be enhanced and stimulated by participation in congregational activities. The skills of public speaking, working in teams, interacting in small groups, organizing activities, raising money, as well as the skills of teaching, leading, and persuading are given opportunity for expression and practice. In congregations, citizens can develop and enhance their sense of responsibility, the understanding of the importance of contribution, and the pleasures of commitment, trust, and reciprocity. This relationship of congregations and their participants to activities of civic engagement is significant. It is another way that "bridging social capital" is expanded, to again use the Putnam term; in these ways congregations promote the connections between people and different groups across boundaries and in so doing help hold a broader society together.

This is not to say that the relationships between congregations and their surrounding communities are always positive or integrative. For example, membership in a congregation can create in-group dynamics that excludes others. The earlier example of discord in a Jewish synagogue (Zuckerman, 1999) illustrates this, as do other accounts of congregational and community conflict (e.g., Becker, 1999). Race and ethnicity, as well as social class, in particular, have been bases on which exclusiveness has operated (Emerson & Smith, 2000); Sunday morning has been described as the most racially segregated time of the week. More recently, however, dynamics of intolerance have been positively affected by the reduction in denominational and congregational loyalty, by the practice of attending multiple congregations especially by young people, as well as by deliberate efforts on the parts of particular congregations to be inclusive (see Marti, 2005).

Omar McRoberts' (2003) ethnographic research has shown that relationships of a congregation to a local community can also be aversive, never mind positive or even neutral. McRoberts studied a "religious district" in the Four Corners area of Boston, a collection of 29 congregations, primarily African American and immigrant, all existing within a few city-blocks of a mostly commercial, low-rent area. He argues that a congregation could think of people in the immediately surrounding neighborhood as people to be served, as potential recruits for their congregation, or as an "evil other" to be avoided. Congregations in this district tended to be small, storefront operations, and in general kept to themselves. According to McRoberts, the self-imposed relative isolation of congregations could be explained in part by lack of capacity (size and connections matter) but also by a theology of the world as evil and an understanding of the street as inherently violent. As for their counterparts, residents and business-owners in the surrounding neighborhood were not thrilled by the presence of so many storefront congregations either. The congregations took up potentially commercial space that would otherwise increase the vitality of the failing business district, and congregation participants took up valuable parking spaces—in addition to being outsiders with accompanying expressions of disapproval. (See also Nelson, 2004.)

While congregations can regard their surrounding neighborhoods as an "evil other" or simply there, McRoberts also notes the ways that congregations can view those in surrounding communities as people to be served, to be recruited, or both simultaneously. Congregations

and their related organizations have become especially important in the arena of social service. The sometimes highly-politicized discussion of the involvement of "faith-based organizations" in social service has been about the direct provision of food, shelter, goods and services to others, and in what ways and under what circumstances it can be supported by governments at local and federal levels. Concerns about the provision of services by faith-based organizations have come from several vantage points. Some concerns arise because of the possible appearance of, and possible reliance on, religious coercion in the delivery of services; some concerns are more legal and philosophical, considerations about what should be the acceptable boundaries between church and state; finally, some worry that congregations and their associated religious agencies simply do not have the capacity to provide direct support in the manner or to the extent that might become expected (Ammerman, 2005a; Chaves, 2004).

A recent report from the National Congregations Survey—having collected data from congregations in a nationally representative sample—argues that direct social service is, in fact, a very small part of what congregations do, and what congregations accomplish in this area most successfully they accomplish in partnership with other agencies and groups. From this perspective what congregations contribute to the communities of which they are a part, and which we take for granted more than we conventionally recognize, are quite distinctively in the cultural arenas—especially via the music and art incorporated into, even composed or created specifically for, worship and devotional practices (Chaves, 2004; see also Wuthnow, 2003). This is important to acknowledge.

Still, the enormous extent to which congregations and their associated groups have contributed in material and non-material ways to their surrounding communities in the form of direct service is equally important to recognize and has until recently been something of a hidden story (Cnaan, 1999; 2002; Dionne & DiIulio, 2000). A significant proportion of congregations are in fact engaged in direct social service in some form and communities, cities, and the nation depend on it (Cnaan, 1999; 2002; Dionne & DiIulio, 2000). Even if a small percentage of congregation members are engaged in direct service in some way, that is a high absolute number given the high number of congregational members overall.

Large religious service organizations like The Salvation Army and Catholic Charities we more likely know about. Less visible or acknowledged has been the effectiveness and constancy of the local religiously-affiliated organizations and congregations, which year after year, with little funding, visibility, or publicity, continue to singularly or in partnership help provide food, shelter and support services for large numbers of individuals and families in their local communities. In some areas and times, religiously-affiliated groups and congregations are the sole providers of such services, or they offer an essential supplement to inadequate government-funded services. In one major American city alone, Philadelphia, Ram Cnaan and his colleagues conservatively estimate that congregations and associated organizations provide a quarter million dollars worth of direct social service to local communities a year (Cnaan, 2000). These services and material goods include, for examples, food distributed through church-organized or supported food banks and soup kitchens, temporary housing, clothing, school supplies and toys for children, as well as training for new parents and counseling for the addicted or unemployed. As other local organizations leave declining neighborhoods, it is often the religious congregation or their associated groups that remain. No other organization whose primary purpose is not social service contributes as much (Ammerman 2005; Cnaan 2002; Cnaan, Boddie, and Yancey, 2003). Cnaan (2002, p. 298) summarizes: "A unique American institution—the local religious congregation—is serving as the nation's social safety net for those most in need." The contributions of congregations are often essential to the very survival

of groups of people, and the connections so provided constitute an important element of the glue that holds local communities together.

The concepts of bonding and bridging social capital parallel the two emphases of this chapter. They provide a means by which to point to ways that congregations work both *as* and *within* communities. The concepts are imperfect; they emphasize the static and accumulated rather than the changing and processual, for example (see Lichterman, 2005). Congregations and the relationships they create are imperfect as well. But the concepts highlight the fact that congregations, to return to the earliest points of this chapter, provide experiences for participants to generate relationships of mutual communication, trust, and commitment that connect people together. Congregations also generate both personal and organizational relationships that help form bridges from one community to others, whether by direct points of contact or by skill building and education. The religious congregation has been historically, and is currently, hugely successful as an organizational form, and congregations from all religious traditions provide rich opportunities for us to better understand how both local organizations and communities work.

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Ethnicity and Race as Resource Mobilization in American Community Civic Life and Participation: Traditional and Emerging Concerns

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As pressing issues of growing importance in American civic life and participation, ethnicity and race as sources of mobilization in communities and resource mobilization in ethnic and racial communities are some of the most fascinating though least understood topics in American social sciences and in western social sciences in general. Even though we have rich bodies of literature on American civic participation, on ethnic and racial issues, and on ethnic and racial communities, rarely does such literature adequately intertwine. Thus, we continue to have an American civic participation literature that largely speaks in terms of generality focusing on the white, usually middle-class, citizenry, with some, but much less, attention paid to immigrants, with only marginal or otherwise in passing attention paid to the civic participation traditions, values, and strategies of citizens and immigrants of color (Putnam, 2001).

The American race and ethnic issues literature for the most part emphasizes intergroup interaction patterns and styles reified from questions of civic participation in institutions, communities, and in society (Lieberson, 1980). The best we have are the racial and ethnic issues literature that address issues having to do with civil rights movements. But even there, it is the political process that is the focus rather than a firm sophisticated look at, shall we say, the social organization and the culture of civic life and behavior. Oddly enough, although there is a massive literature on past and present ethnic and racial communities in the United States, rarely do the authors of such studies intentionally detail the nature of civic life and behavior.

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In this essay, I first define ethnicity and race, and relate them to other definitions, such as resources like social capital and to traditional and changing conceptions of community. I then suggest some ways in which emerging, sociologically oriented research points us in some interesting directions in this still understudied area of race and ethnicity as resource mobilization in American civic life and participation.

ETHNICITY AND RACE, MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE AND OVERLAPPING HUMAN EXPERIENCES

Ethnicity in this essay is ancestry that culturally determines the identity of a population as manifested through the intergenerational passing down of verbal and nonverbal language, customs that dictate routine and extraordinary daily principles of human conduct, values such as moral codes and creeds, beliefs about the unknown, subsistence strategies and traditions, and definitions of self and of others. Ethnic ancestry is something that occurs through the demographic natural history of population formation and which occurs when peoples, over long periods of time, migrate into the same spatial area, cyberspace as well as geographical space. Over time, they create what becomes a culture with ancestry roots. Ethnic ancestry, as we have seen in the formation of multiracial states such as the United States, Brazil, and South Africa, can be something that is forced through populations with similar phenotypical characteristics. They may be made into superior or inferior populations through the state grouping together peoples for political and economic reasons. Whether it is forced or not, the outcome is the same in that, over time, ethnicity is made as people develop a culture which can be traced back to the same ancestry roots. even if such roots are fictive.

Race is the false prejudgment that there is a perfect correlation between real or imagined phenotypical characteristics and human propensities such as language, intellectual abilities, moral fiber, residence, athletic abilities, aesthetic tastes, and so on. Race is a political and an economic means to justify the mass exploitation and suffering of a population that has been enslaved, conquered, and in other ways oppressed and dehumanized. In the process of making race, the makers as well as the made are actually dehumanized because by its very nature race encourages noncommunication between dominant and oppressed populations. Provincial fearful people among both the dominant and the oppressed impose major impediments to talent development and use and they limit choices such as mate selection, housing, and the recruitment and retention of civic, economic, social, and political leaders.

It is possible for race to become ethnicity, as a source of identity formation and social organization, in at least two ways. First, when an ethnic population is conquered, enslaved, colonized, and in other ways subordinated by force, it is possible for it to be made into a race and for the makers to come to view themselves as the superior race. Virtually every population in the United States distinctly different in phenotype and culture from the dominant White Anglo-Saxon somatic norm image (Latinos, Native Americans, Asians, Africans) went through this process of being made into inferior races with different forms of whiteness becoming prescribed as dominant races (Takaki, 1993). Second, the creation of racialized ethnicity can occur when segregative conditions occur and are institutionalized through public policies, which facilitate long periods of geographical isolation. It is through such geographical segregation that we find racialized populations developing an ethnic culture such as those seen on Native American reservations, Latino barrios, African descent[1] ghettos and in heavily populated Asian and Jewish communities.

During the past forty years due to the liberalization of U.S. immigration policies, we have observed the enrichment of culture in ecologically segregated ethnic communities as well as through the formation of new immigrant segregated communities through the significant influx of White and non-White European immigrants and immigrants from the Caribbean, Central America, Latin America, Africa, and Asia (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996).

Other Definitions

In this essay when we refer to community, we are referring to geographically, symbolically, and cyberspace-specific location of a constellation of sustained patterns of human experiences such as institutions, rituals, norms, and means of subsistence, that provide the source for a collective identity grounded in a sense of communalism (Durkheim, 1995). Although the most traditional sense of racial and ethnic community is a residential community, we know that increasingly symbolic (Suttles, 1973), network (Di Leonardo, 1984), and cyberspace basis of community identity (see Mesch, Chapter 14 in this *Handbook*) are becoming increasingly more important in the twenty-first century.

The growing importance of symbolic community among racial and ethnic "minorities" in the United States has much to do with the growing geographical scattering of such populations outside the walls of traditional segregated residential communities. In such scatterings, we are finding people who may embrace aspects of the culture of the dominant group but do not necessarily assimilate or at least not fully as predicted by the conventional race and ethnic relations sociological literature. They are picking and choosing what they adopt and internalize and in many cases still hold on to the symbolic aspects of their cultural identity. There are, for instance, thousands of people of African descent who may live in desegregated communities around the country, sometimes being the token few, but still embracing and sustaining their blackness as they maintain membership in historically Black churches, fraternities and sororities, civic organizations such as Jack and Jill, send their kids to historically Black colleges and universities, celebrate Kwanza, and are very much into Black ethnic music, theatre, and cuisine.

Resources are social capital, which are, in the Weberian sense, sources of power, prestige, and buying and selling potential in consumer and in other political, economic, and cultural market places. Resources are either material such as money, degrees, land, technology, and minerals, or nonmaterials such as social networks, rituals, emotional intelligence, and spirituality.

ETHNIC AND RACIAL RESOURCE MOBILIZATION IN AMERICAN PLURAL COMMUNITIES: A GROWING TREND

In a most indirect way, for years, sociologists of ethnic and racial communities have explored resource mobilization issues within more or less segregated and otherwise homogeneous communities. For instance, without labeling practices and traditions as "resources," in the historical literature about African American communities, there has been much attention paid to the role of practices and traditions, such as the spiritual and institutional role of African descent churches, and material resources, such as African descent banks, philanthropists, and businesses and business organizations (such as the Negro Business League), entertainment, athletic, and other segregated cultural organizations, community-based schools, newspapers (such as *The Chicago Defender*), and civic associations, such as the NAACP, in mobilizing

communities to address some public good such as southern Black migration north, race riots, housing discrimination, lynching, and voting rights (Blassingame 1974; Clark, 1965; DuBois, 1992; DuBois and Eaton, 1899; Davis et al., 1941; Dollard, 1949; Drake and Cayton, 1993; Fields, 1985; Fields and Fields, 1985; Hurston,1986, 1987, 1990; James, 1998; Johnson, 1934, 1967; Ladner, 1995, 1998; Lewis 1955; Myrdal, 1944; Powdermaker, 1993; Trotter, 1985; Weaver, 1948; Wilhelm 1970). This indirect reference to nonmaterial and material resources that point to the civic dimensions of a community is actually a long-standing mainstay in ethnic and racial community sociological studies because it is impossible to discuss a community without some reference to the nonmaterial and material "things" which give the community its formation, culture, and social and cultural processes and structures.

In the 1980s and 1990s there have been significant attempts to explicitly apply resource mobilization and resource depletion models to explore the mobilization of local civil rights movements in the South and for explaining the decline of Black inner cities (Morris, 1980; Wilson, 1980, 1987, 1996). The basic problem with this resource mobilization and resource decline perspective on African descent communities in the United States is that it shares a fundamental flaw with the conventional sociology of community literature, namely, the stress on examining communities divorced from external ecological, societal, and global contexts that create a reified closed system and an organic perspective on community processes and structures. One of the consequences of such reification is that too often African descent community researchers essentialize such racialized communities as homogeneous collective identities without adequate inquiries into the political, economic, cultural, and emotional relationships a community has with other communities in the ecological mosaic, communities elsewhere in the United States, and transnational linkages (see Milofsky, Chapter 3 in this *Handbook*).

The more direct ethnic and racial mobilization literature actually began to be articulated in the 1960s and 1970s through the work of comparative sociologists of ethnicity and by sociologists in the 1980s that began to define ethnicity in social capital and rational choice terms (Despres, 1975; Morris, 1980; Smith, 1974; Smith and Kuper, 1971, Wilson, 1980, 1987, 1996). With very few exceptions, the United States was left out of this discussion as sociologists grappled with the meaning of resource competition in plural societies elsewhere. This is because the dominant view about America by both American and non-American sociologists alike is that assimilation prevails over pluralism in the formation of American communities and American society in general. Although the assimilationist view has been chipped away somewhat by sociological observers of American race and ethnic relations, it is still very much of an embraced lens through which sociologists view American communities and society (Glazer, 1978, 1988, 1997; Glazer and Moynihan, 1976; Gold, 1992, 1995; Kitano, 1987; Lieberson, 1980; Moore and Pachon, 1976; Pattillo-McCoy, 1999; Waldinger, 1996; Wax, 1971).

There are strong well-documented empirical indicators that, although America is far from being a desegregated integrated society, it is still, nonetheless, making a shift to becoming much more pluralistic in community formation and in demographic shifts on the national level (Nyden, Chapter 19 in this *Handbook*; Massey, Durand, and Malone, 2002; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). What this means is that there is a need to begin to dramatically shift sociological paradigms that have been designed to examine community civic culture and resource mobilization. Most of the present sociological literature tends to only consider the civic culture of communities and community-based resource competition in homogeneous ethnic or racial terms. Post-1970s perspectives such as the popular ethnic enclave concept and the civil rights mobilization of rural Black communities in the 1950s and 1960s speaks also to this tendency to consider resource mobilization in American ethnic and racial communities as a product of homogeneous ethnic and racial processes. And of course, the much older literature on ethnic

and racial community studies cited earlier is grounded and premised on such homogeneous reasoning, reflecting an obsolete conception of "American society" that today is radically transforming.

This is not to say that we should totally abandon examination of resource mobilization in relatively homogeneous racial and ethnic communities. Much of the United States is still composed of highly segregated communities of older racial and ethnic groups (Massey and Denton, 1993) and meanwhile there is a growing presence of immigrant communities that are not blending in as did immigrants of previous generations (this is not to say that previous generations as a whole assimilated as much as sociologists and commentators have claimed or hoped). But in some very important ecological areas of American life, such as in large cities in all regions of the country and in small communities that have received non-White refugees as their first people of color residents, there is a growing need to begin to grasp what is happening to civic participation and to civic community as more and more culturally different people are living together, going to the same schools, and working, shopping, worshipping, being married, and being buried in the same places.

THE ABSENCE OF A NATIONAL ANTI-RACISM AGENDA

The challenges and prospects of living together in a plural society in which resource mobilization is for the good of the many constituents of that community and society is a frustrating issue in a country that, even in the midst of important demographic shifts, still has national and local leadership which refuses to acknowledge the importance of developing anti-racist public policies that would do much to develop viable civic participation in growing plural communities as well as in the deepening plural society.

Indeed, one of the greatest tragedies today that we inherit from the 1960s is that political support for Martin Luther King Jr.'s dream of an anti-racist society disintegrated soon after his untimely death as this nation-state became preoccupied with the VietNam War, Watergate, the 1970s recession, and as it began to shift politically to the right with a Southern Republican strategy beginning with the administration of President Richard Millhouse Nixon. Even though we should be appreciative of the federal government establishing affirmative action policies in the 1970s, we have to understand that there is much more the federal government could have done in establishing anti-racism public policies in education, law, social services, health, media, and in other areas in American life. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was supposed to be the beginning, not the end of the effort to have the federal government be aggressively proactive in dismantling racism in American institutions.

Such an initiative might possibly come to the point where racism is defined as a felony rather than a civil offense. This has happened with offenses related to efforts to protect our environment, the rights of our pets, and our stocks, bonds, and other financial investments by having them controlled under criminal rather than civil law. We might also establish anti-racial discrimination and race hate laws which would offer legal support to victims and surround racism with a chilly/hostile environment issue as seen in the evolution of sexual harassment laws and policies. Such an initiative could provide victims filing racial discrimination claims financial relief on the part of the government and the employer. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was supposed to eventually become a permanent policy not a policy subject to the future whims of presidents. Giving such anti-racism policies teeth died with King as did a more fundamental need. The most important matter that failed to come out of the 1960s was a governmental effort

to establish anti-racism policies in schools, media, businesses, and elsewhere in American life. Such initiatives would promote mass level civic understanding about the destructive and dysfunctional nature of thinking and living in racialized institutions, communities, and in a racist society.

Instead, as earlier alluded to, over the past three decades, it has become more advantageous for many of those in political, media, and, I am afraid, even educational power, to keep the American public ill-informed about racial injustices. But in fairness, it is important to say that even when post-1960s leaders across the spectrum of American power and authority have tried their best to design and implement effective policies of racial equity they have not been effective because there remain few homes, communities, educational institutions, or media outlets in the United States where people can develop a sophisticated understanding about what race is and how to disable it in the daily routines of our lives. They also do not accurately inform us about how our communities and institutions are organized, status ranked, and arranged to create and sustain cultures of racial inclusion and exclusion.

In other words, we reside in a nation-state with poor literacy when it comes to understanding what it truly means to be anti-racist which is why it is so easy for a president of the United States, George W. Bush, and many others in America regardless of their racialized status to not understand that you can't have it both ways. You cannot have a racially just society without having policies that allow those who have been left behind, having been penalized due to social meanings attached to their skin color, to enter the playing field and to have the opportunity to win just as much if not more than those who have enjoyed privileged status while the dispossessed were confined to the chains of slavery, farm migrant worker camps, peonage, ghettos, barrios, Chinatowns, housing projects, reservations or, increasingly, prisons. And it is equally unfortunate when we see another president of the United States, Bill Clinton, who meant well in his liberal Southern paradigm of race relations but like many of us reduced racial injustice issues down to the interpersonal level and down to the level of diversifying institutions without assuring equity in who had power. This included in his own White House inner circle (which included few people of color as well as strong, independent Black leaders such as Lonnie Grunier and Colin Powell) experiencing difficulties during the Clinton administration.

Whether we consider Democrats or Republicans, liberals or conservatives or moderates, whites, Blacks, Latinos, Asians, or Native Americans, the rich or the poor, children, adolescents, or adults from young to old, and irrespective of our faith community or the faith we have in ourselves, every where we turn in post-1970s America, we lack firm and committed moral leaders who have a clear understanding and vision regarding the dehumanizing effects of race, the injuries it causes all of us, and what we can do to kick the beast out of our minds and lives.

We thus continue to live in a nation-state in which race is used as a mobilization chip to keep people at bay or at odds with each other. The Hurricane Katrina issue is a case in point. Rather than the disaster being used by political leaders of all racialized ethnic backgrounds to develop a platform to encourage a plural sense of community civic participation on local and national levels, the issue was used to blame and counterblame along racialized lines. It speaks of a society that continues to be deeply racially divided and for resource mobilization used on the national and local levels only to leverage political support even if such leveraging continues to balkanize and breed suspicion.

This makes the recent University of Michigan affirmative action case quite paradoxical. Even though the Supreme Court ruled that the spirit of affirmative action was good for this nation due to its changing demographic character, as usual, such as in the aftermath of the Brown decision, nothing has been done on the national and little on local levels to build the kind of anti-racism infrastructure in communities as civic participation policies and practices and in

government agencies to assure the creation of civic participation and leadership conditions that would sustain civically viable plural communities.

At best what has occurred in post-1980s public education and in public life in general is the acknowledgment of the suffering of people of color, say in textbooks, through the acknowledgment of ethnic national holidays, and through symbolic acts such as celebrating the life of racialized heroes and heroines by having them lie in state in the Capital Rotunda. What this does is that it may raise sympathy for the oppressed in some progressive quarters but it does little to give people on a massive civic level a needed awareness that we are all in this together and that we must find ways to become interculturally competent in our values, life styles, and how we view each other as residents in the same community, students in the same university, and workers in the same office, court, hospital, or plant.

This observation is not only in reference to the White population and its pervasive historical and contemporary problems in accepting Blacks and other people of color as family members, faith community members, neighbors, coworkers, and supervisors due to the cultural discomfort that comes with being reared in culturally balkanized worlds. I am also referring to the problems that African descent people and other people of color who insist on remaining socially apart from Whites and others and who therefore actually agree with White segregationists, perhaps inadvertently, that each group should take care of its own people. This speaks to the prophecy of E. Franklin Frazier (1957) who on the heels of the 1954 Brown decision predicted that middle-class Blacks who had benefited economically from segregation would be resistant to integration due to the obvious threat to their economic interests. I would add to this that it is not only due to the economic threat but due to the fear of losing social status which results in many African descent community leaders resisting the integration of their civic institutions such as churches, fraternities and sororities, and so on.

The cultural discomforts among Whites and the economic, social status, and haunting memories of the past fears of Blacks as well as the basic, long-standing American tradition of racial prejudice on all sides of the street is exacerbated by what other people of color have learned from observing the White on Black paradigm in American ethnic and race relations as they achieve demographic dominance and political and economic power. The signal is that the best way to get what you need from "the system" is to use your racialized ethnic identity as a bargaining chip to pressure, to embarrass, and then to go back to your segregated enclave once you get what you want. Cooperation and collaboration across racialized lines is seen as convenience only to get what one wants for one's people and then once the goal is achieved, go back to one's segregated home, life style, and value system.

MODELS OF COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION

The long balkanized history of American ethnic and race relations has, not surprisingly, served as the socialization context of generations of American-birthed and trained sociologists who have mostly focused on the conflict and discord dimensions of ethnicity and race as resource mobilization issues in communities [e.g., Olzak (1992); Olzak and Nagel (1986)]. It has generated a well-institutionalized pessimism in American sociological literature that creates nearly a naturalistic impression that culturally different people simply cannot get along. But, this is far from the case.

For instance, in the 1970s and beyond, the media and social observers have cultivated an imagery of the civic community practice of busing for school desegregation, as a practice

prone to violence. Yet if we look at those places where busing has occurred, more peaceful than violent busing actions have taken place. Also, with every example of an integrated school having racial problems, there are many more "good multiracial/ethnic high school" examples where people have worked together peacefully.

Hundreds of corporate, education, and government agency friends of the University of Michigan's affirmative action case gave testimony as to how much pluralism in their institutions and communities worked and was beneficial for all concerned. Charles C. Moskos (Moskos and Butler, 1996) has written extensively on the success of the military in becoming a model desegregated institutional sector and on the lessons civilian institutional sectors can learn from particularly the army's success. Historian Richard Thomas has documented scores of examples of Whites, Blacks, and other people of color organizing community coalitions to fight for some common good (Thomas, 1992,1993). Robert Putman's(2003) recent book, *Better Together*, Studs Terkel's *Hope Dies Last* (Terkel, 2003), and Robert Coles' (1993,2000) numerous studies on moral character development in young people and the human development context of civic engagement commitments are all recent examples of plural civic participation in American communities.

What do these studies have in common? In other words, what do these authors of cooperative and collaborative plural communities and society have in common? First, there is the issue of nonmaterial resources such as social networks, emotional intelligence, and spirituality. In some way, shape or form, all of these scholars have found that people who become cooperative and collaborative across, say, racialized lines, are those who have entered in intercultural networks early in their lives or as adults in which they have learned over time the advantages of living with different kinds of people who they come to view as individuals rather than as a group based on caricature. It is in such networks that people gradually begin to communicate on a human rather than on a caricature level, thus to the point of not only agreeing but disagreeing with respect. In fact, in Amy Gutman's (2003) scholarship on multicultural deliberative democracy, the key for the development of plural civic participation and community living is learning mutual respect. I would add commitment (Daloz, 1997) as well, which becomes the basis of loyalty as well as respect, which then facilitates essential communalism. How all of this is learned is through a network's mentors who guide participants though a journey of self-conviction, self-awareness, and personal transformation.

This importance of social networks as change-oriented social capital that works to transform American society and communities into racially integrated social organizations is more than apparent in the historical literature. We see how it is that, through participating in integrated social circles, certain elites such as White foundation administrators and Black education leaders during the 1930s and 1940s shifted from being mundane Jim Crowists to becoming racial integrationists who would pave the way for the coming desegregation of American society advanced by Martin Luther King's movement and the 1954 Brown decision (Stanfield, 1985). This importance is also apparent in Robin Williams' (1964) classical study of integrated housing in the 1950s which became the source of grassroots networks of segregated racial attitude changes.

The issues of emotional intelligence and spirituality are both old and new concepts in coming to understand how it is that plural community is possible and is being achieved. These are old issues because at a common-sense level, people who have the gift of getting along with different kinds of people would be the ones usually paving the way for crossing racialized cultural boundaries. If we broadly defined spirituality as the concern for all humanity and for the dignity of all human beings, it makes sense that those individuals who view all humans in this way would be the most prone to be receptive to becoming interculturally competent.

But, in recent years there have begun to emerge empirical studies to demonstrate just how skills such as empathy, altruism, sacrifice, and commitment actually develop persons who are indeed effective boundary crossers and how it is that they learn such practices in their daily lives which come to impact civic participation and leadership (Coles, 1993,2000; Daloz, 1997; Putnam 2003; Terkel, 2003).

Another common observation is that when commitment is organized around a common good such as winning a war, quality education, crime reduction, public health assistance, or response to natural disaster rather than around racialized ethnic or ethnic interest, over time people effectively cross boundaries in their efforts to pool together resources to respond collectively. And still another finding has been that when the norms of access, promotion, and community conduct are clear and apply fairly to everyone irrespective of racialized or ethnic status, perceptions of fairness are realities that become embraced and practiced by all concerned. As well, it has been found that when positive incentives are given for crossing boundaries and disincentives are swiftly and clearly given to those who refuse to do so, it creates a wholesome environment for plural civic participation.

Finally, the most effective pluralism in civic participation occurs when leaders reflective of the demographic diversity of the institution, the community, and the society occupy not only the rank and file but also the key decision-making roles. About this final point, studies have demonstrated the historical failure of multiracial coalitions for institutional, community, or societal change such as the African American civil rights movements and Socialist efforts in Black communities, when the dominant or subordinated coalition members struggle for power over who should be in charge rather than developing and implementing genuine collaborative leadership efforts.

FUTURE AREAS OF RESEARCH

Civic participation and leadership in plural America as well as in traditional conceptions of civic participation and leadership in homogeneous ethnic and racial communities is a greatly untapped research area. Besides the issues addressed in this essay, there are as well the following areas in need of more serious research: studies of resource mobilization in daily life in ethnic and racial communities; transnational studies of resource mobilization in ethnic and racial communities; and applications of international studies of peace, justice, and conflict transformation.

The focus on the political basis of resource mobilization in communities of non-White citizens and immigrants and in White immigrant communities creates a "big political event" bias. There is a great need for studies that explore the nonmaterial and material resource mobilization which occurs in the daily lives of ordinary community residents. This is important because so much of such activity has to do with impoverished people pooling together intensely sparse resources that hardly get noticed by scholars who assume that such communities have no significant resources to speak of, let alone to study. This speaks of the contributions of the research of sociologist Elijah Anderson about Black street men (Anderson, 1978,1992,1999) which is really about how it is that a population with such meager resources manage to construct lives which are quite viable in the sense of community definition. It also points to the importance of the early housing projects research conducted by Joyce Ladner (1995) and the more recent research by Reginald Clark (1984) about how it is that poor Black parents still manage to get their kids to school and educated despite their desperate poverty. Just how it is that poor people pool together and use resources to take care of abandoned children or the children

of the working poor and to find informal economy employment for the ex-incarcerated and chronically ill and the elderly is another important line of research that needs to be done in communities in which by definition people have very, very little.

The emerging literature that attempts to reconstruct the folk religious beliefs of rank and file civil rights activists in Southern African descent and White communities in the 1950s and 1960s as well as much earlier generations of African descent people in the United States (Sobel, 1988; Chappell, 2004; Harvey, 2005) further demonstrates the need to explore the Schutzian (Schutz, 1999), everyday reality construction of resource mobilization, some of which may sooner or later facilitate the big political events that social scientists tend to focus on in their resource mobilization studies of communities engulfed in civil rights struggles. And the same goes for primary materials such as slave narratives, oral histories, personal correspondence, folk songs (from Negro hymns to hip hop), folklore, church bulletins, and segregated school and business records that can be useful for getting at the daily resource mobilization experiences which sustain and change communities that are usually not reconstructed with sophisticated and comprehensive grasp of the daily experiences of the nonaffluent and otherwise invisible ordinary folks.

The historical sociological work of Vanessa Siddell Walker (1996) which reconstructs the "organizational behavior" of Jim Crow Southern Black community schools as moral character-shaping institutions, acting as critical modes of social capital production, points to the need to reconstruct our understandings of other local institutions, movements, and communities. Such work would shed light on how it is that common African descent people develop and use nonmaterial and material resources to carry out their daily lives while perhaps also becoming the sources for engaging in highly visible, big political actions.

Even though William I. Thomas' and Florian Znaniecki's (1996) *The Polish Peasant in Europe and in America* was a transnational sociological study of a major White European community in America and in Europe was first published in 1918, it would be decades before sociologists would begin to take transnationality seriously in ethnic and racial community studies. This is because for decades, organic and functional conceptions of society reigned in sociological thought which impeded more porous conceptions of society making room for among other things, more transnational network definitions of society.

During the past two decades, it has become more acceptable to understand the need to move beyond the closed-system, organic model of American society and to start looking at the complex mosaic of tentacles that extend from the shores of the United States to numerous external homelands. Sociologists and other social scientists and commentators are beginning to document the ways in which such socially constructed tentacles are flows of immigrant nonmaterial and material resources that can be used for mobilizing both in the host society and in the home society and certainly in between in other societies and global regions along the way. In terms of the big political event, transnational community literature, there is still much work that needs to be done on the emerging interest in how immigrant communities and populations act as lobbies for the United States government to resolve some issue "back home."

For instance, we know much about the historical transnational influence of the South Florida Cuban community leadership in shaping American foreign policy towards Cuba. Winston James (1998) has written extensively on the historical contributions of Caribbean communities in New York City influencing American foreign policy in the Caribbean region. Gold (2002) has pointed out the profound influence of the Israeli Diaspora in influencing American foreign policy in the Middle East.

Francis Bok's (2003) story about his escape from slavery in the Sudan to the United States is also a narrative of the international network of countrymen and women who assisted him to

make his way from bondage in his country to Egypt to settlement in the United States and the political role his network and he played in influencing American foreign affairs posture towards his home country. As a final example, even though it has not been studied systematically, communities of color and institutions such as historically Black colleges and universities in the United States have a long history of being places where leadership for back home in the non-West develops.

Often, immigrant entrepreneurship, such as among the Chinese and Koreans in the United States are premised on informal international banking and investment systems that circulate capital from country to country and from community to community in the countries of their settlement (Waldinger, 1986; Waldinger, Aldrich, and Ward, 1990). The ethnic businesses in the host country become waystations for kinsmen and other new arrivals from the homeland to exchange labor for learning the language and other cultural aspects of the dominant society.

In sum, the growing interest in transnational resource mobilization of ethnic and racial communities is not only a matter of responding to the contemporaneous globalization of American populations but as well the need to go back and reconstruct historical societal trends that have been assumed to be local or national at best when in actual fact they were transnational in character. This is particularly the case when it comes to reconsidering primary social ties (families), political movements (such as Pan-Africanism), economic trends (such as formal businesses and underground economies), and cultural patterns (such as music) germinating in African descent communities in the United States that have usually been viewed as American societal issues due to the assimilation bias in interpreting African descent experiences in the United States.

On the international level, peace, justice, and conflict transformation studies have been spawning richly over the past decades with fascinating recent turns to exploring the moral obligations of nations theologically as well as politically and economically (Eizenstat, 2003; Helmick and Petersen, 2001; Redekop, 2002: Tutu, 1999; Volf, 1996). Unfortunately, little effort has been made to apply concepts and strategies of this literature to resolving the conflicts and inequities that so deeply divide so many American communities along racial, ethnic, and religious lines. This also speaks to the dismal failure of the King movement to become an institutionalized instrument of peace and justice building, and most other peace and justice efforts in this country are piecemeal local efforts with little coordination and no impact on the national level. It is for this reason whenever a national problem occurs such as the race riots of the 1960s (United States. Kerner Commission, 1988) and 1990s and the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, national leadership has to reinvent the wheel, usually through organizing task forces that end up doing nothing to develop viable peace and justice plans for conflict ridden and destroyed communities (Erikson, 1976).

The reason why there is so little interest in developing a national peace and justice policy for this country's rampantly divided racial and ethnic communities and for the deep and deepening racial disparities in areas such as health, education, incarceration, and housing is because of the large reservoir of denial about past massive wrongs done to people of color. The refusal of the federal government to apologize for the enslavement of Africans, for stealing native and Hispanic land, and for not doing more to compensate the Japanese for their World War II internment are blistering sores in a nation that refuses to come to grips with the realities of its tainted past which makes present "diversity celebrations" an unkind joke and perpetuates a future of excuse making, denial, and perpetual anger and suspicion rather than one of hopeful vision for a more just society.

As I earlier alluded to, it has thus been much more advantageous for national and local leaders to exploit race, to make it into a political football game of fear and blame than to develop

the policies for exposure, conviction, apology, reparations, and reconciliation that are sorely needed if the country is to develop into a vibrant, constructive plural democracy. But, we are a long way from the day in which we will have national leadership that will be competent and proactive enough to take care of the peace and justice needs of a highly diversified America as well as playing peace and justice cop for the rest of the world. But, the day must come if we are going to move towards the kind of society this nation proclaims to be and deserves to become.

To conclude, we should loop back to the sociology of knowledge concern about community sociology as a field of study discussed at the beginning of this chapter. It is more than apparent that our conceptions of what communities are in the United States and elsewhere in the world must be conceptually revised to meet the empirical realities of the twenty-first century. In that revision work there need to be much more sophisticated theories empirically tested with much more adequate methods that capture issues such as resource mobilization as everyday and big political event practices. These cannot be divorced from the internal and external stratified layers and ecologies that constitute what a community is as a localized portion of a complex web of tentacles reaching outwardly nationally and internationally. The community as a local world void of external societal and international influences is a fiction. Community sociologists concerned with how it is that people who constitute communities create, sustain, and transform their realities through the development and utilization of social capital (also called resources) would be better off leaving the utopian tier of twentieth-century thinking, a mode of thought that is rapidly drifting into the sunset of another passing day.

NOTE

1. Throughout this chapter, the interculturally appropriate term African descent or Blacks in the United States refers to both African Americans as citizens and African descent immigrants. African American is only used when referring to African descent people who are indeed American citizens.

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CHAPTER 19

Sustaining Racially, Ethnically, and Economically Diverse Communities

PHIL NYDEN

As the United States and other highly industrialized nations become increasingly diverse, a key question is whether they will be societies of diverse communities or contested lands of unequal and competing segregated communities. In 2000, the United States was 69.1 percent non-Hispanic white, 12.5 percent Hispanic, 12.1 percent non-Hispanic African American, 3.6 percent Asian, 0.7 percent Native American, and 1.8 percent non-Hispanic other or multiracial (Grieco and Cassidy, 2001, p. 10).[1] The U.S. Bureau of the Census projects that by the year 2050 over half of the U.S. population will be "minority," (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004) calling into question the use of the term itself. Indeed, four states are already classified as "majority minority" states—states where no one racial or ethnic group represents a majority.[2] The growth of diversity has been fueled by increased immigration from Latin America and Asia, as well as by the fact that many immigrant families are young families that contribute to natural population increases.

Although the United States has historically been a diverse nation, the relatively more racially and ethnically homogeneous European nations are now experiencing social, political, and economic strains related to increased immigration, immigration needed to fill unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in aging societies. For example, Sweden's progressive, tolerant political culture has become tarnished in recent years as signs of racial and ethnic exclusion in that country have emerged in the form of segregated immigrant communities. In 1998, a *New York Times* reporter (Hoge, 1998) described Rinkeby, Sweden as a city that

> would appear to be somewhere near the Mediterranean, . . . [rather than] a suburb of Stockholm, only a 15-minute subway ride from the center of the capital. But it is far more distant than that from the expectations that Sweden held out to newcomers of different colors and cultures who began coming here in greater numbers in recent decades. With immigrants making up more than 80 percent of its 14,000 residents, Rinkeby is a virtually segregated community in the country of Gunnar Myrdal that once preached racial and ethnic tolerance to the rest of the world. Over the last 25 years, Sweden has seen its centuries-old homogenous population become 10 percent non-Nordic, and the assimilation and acceptance of diversity that the country loudly wished to see in other mixed societies has not occurred here.

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In the middle of the twentieth century, Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal in his book, *The American Dilemma* (1944), looked across the Atlantic at troubled race relations and denial of opportunities denied to African Americans. Today a new chapter could be written about the Swedish dilemma as a formerly homogeneous population addresses the strains of a more diverse society. Racial and ethnic tensions have also emerged in many other European countries as traditionally homogeneous societies experienced increase immigration from Africa and Asia (Boal, 2000; Khakee, Somma, and Thomas, 1999).

Given the realities of more diverse populations in highly industrialized nations, the focus of this chapter is on the potential for creating and sustaining stable racially and ethnically diverse communities in these societies. Studies of factors producing stable diverse communities in the U.S., particularly a 1998 national study of fourteen diverse neighborhoods in nine cities (Nyden et al., 1998a), provide the foundation for this chapter.[3] This includes discussion of two ideal types[4] of diverse communities along with a more extended analysis of how various social institutions, for example, community-based organizations, religious congregations, local businesses, ethnic mutual aid societies, housing developers, and government, have contributed to the social and physical construction of stable diverse communities. Additional attention is paid to community institutions resisting diversity, and the future of stable diversity in highly industrialized nations.

TWO TYPES OF DIVERSITY

Based on the 1998 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) funded study of fourteen stable diverse communities in nine U.S. cities, two types of diverse communities in the United States were identified. Using the collaborative university-community research approach of the Loyola University Center for Urban Research and Learning and the Chicago-based Policy Research Action Group,[5] the research project itself grew out of discussions among researchers and community activists about how to confront persistent segregation in U.S. cities. This entrenched segregation is described and analyzed in a number of books, including *American Apartheid* (Massey and Denton, 1993). After a series of meetings among community-based activists and researchers, it was decided that a focus on social solutions rather than the indicators of the persistent social problems would be a more productive avenue. This meant studying those communities that were successfully resisting the dominant segregated community trend in American cities and were instead stable and diverse. The research team recognized that within these stable and diverse communities building blocks of stable diversity could be found. These solutions could potentially be transferred to other communities seeking to create or sustain diversity.

The two community types that emerged from the research were *diverse-by-design* and *diverse-by-circumstance* communities. Diverse-by-design communities emerged during the civil rights movement as intentional outcomes of interventions by a variety of community organizations and leaders. These leaders and organizations sought to promote long-term stability and challenged institutions, such as local government, real estate agents, insurance companies, and banks that were responsible for policies that perpetuated segregated communities. These communities are more likely to be middle-class and more likely to include only two racial or ethnic groups. Diverse-by-circumstance communities have emerged more recently and reflect the less intentional development of diverse communities that have been feed by new immigration. These communities are more likely to be multiracial, multiethnic, and economically diverse. Where these communities are stable, this equilibrium grows out of interracial and

interethnic accommodations, as well as from coalition building among different ethnic, racial, and economic groups. Typically there was no intentional effort to create diversity in the early years of such neighborhoods. Given the growing diversity in the United States and other highly industrialized nations, this type of diverse community represents the face of the new diverse urban community.[6]

WHAT CREATES AND SUSTAINS STABLE DIVERSITY?

A variety of social institutions, physical community characteristics, along with economic, political, and cultural factors interact either to create and sustain stable diverse communities or to resist and undermine them. These serve a variety of stability maintaining functions: (1) marketing the community and shaping a positive image; (2) promoting business development and diversity; (3) building community-based organizations and leadership; (4) sustaining a mixture of housing affordability; and (5) linking different ethnic and racial groups to the broader diverse community. Local, state, and national governments are also factors that may strengthen or limit stable residential diversity. Finally, in addition to the broader political and social environment that assumes that diverse communities are unstable communities, there are social institutions that explicitly resist the development of stable neighborhood diversity. However, factors supportive of creating stable diversity will be examined first.

MARKETING THE COMMUNITY AND SHAPING A POSITIVE IMAGE

Race and ethnicity themselves are social constructions. Add to this the fact that in capitalist societies marketing shapes our wants and desires; it is not surprising that image management is at the core of creating and sustaining racially and ethnically diverse communities. Real estate agents work to paint a positive picture of the house they are trying to sell: "lovely, quaint, three-bedroom house, in child-friendly neighborhood on a quiet street." Community organizations in diverse communities engage in similar public relations work, only they focus on the benefits of diversity. In Chicago's diverse Rogers Park neighborhood on the northern lakefront, the Builder's Group promotes house sales and development calling the neighborhood "vibrant," "surprising, welcoming, interesting," "a global village on Chicago's north shore" (Rogers Park Builders Group, 2003).

Stable racially and ethnically diverse communities are bucking the dominant trend in U.S. society where racially or ethnically identifiable neighborhoods are the norm. Where neighborhoods are diverse it is often assumed that these are merely changing neighborhoods. For example, to a white, non-Hispanic home buyer, a racially and ethnically diverse neighborhood might be seen as an unstable neighborhood that is in the process of economic decline and resegregation. To a low-income, African American renter, a diverse neighborhood might be viewed as a community about to experience gentrification, a community that will see increased rents and displacement of low-income residents. One can borrow from the criminology "measures of incivility" theory (Skogan, 1990) that posits that the visible signs in deteriorating neighborhood environments can serve as red flags, warning casual visitors that they are entering a high crime area. In neighborhoods where metal grates are pulled across store fronts, glass blocks have replaced pane glass store windows, graffiti is scrawled on walls, trash is left on the street,

and youth congregate at street corners casual observers pick up on these as warning signals of a crime-ridden and unstable neighborhood. Similarly, one could argue that in a world where racial homogenous neighborhoods are the norm and the public is generally not aware of the existence of stable diverse neighborhoods, racial and ethnic diversity among residents can be seen as a "warning sign" to prospective residents that this is an unstable neighborhood.

Consequently, all stable diverse communities find themselves in the business of marketing themselves. This is typically done through a variety of community-based organizations. In diverse-by-design communities, pro-diversity organizations are consciously formed to protect the interests of the community. In some cases these organizations go after institutions that have policies that serve to undermine stable diversity. At the core of these activities was an effort to end business practices that defined diverse communities as communities that were economically risky. Real estate agent practices of "steering" white clients away from minority or diverse communities sent a message that these represented shaky investments. Banks refusing to give mortgages to homeowners buying in certain "red-lined" neighborhoods was based on a view, albeit false, that such loans were more likely to end in default. Insurance companies refusing to provide homeowners insurance or charging higher rates in certain "red-lined" communities was another institutional measure of no-confidence in diverse communities.

Although much of this activity is now illegal under various federal, state, and local laws, in the early years of diverse-by-design communities, these represented formidable economic obstacles to maintaining both a positive image of stable communities and attracting economic investment in the form of homebuyers and new mortgage money. In the 1960s when discrim-inatory practices of real estate, banking, and home insurance companies had not been elimi-nated by new legislation and enforcement, community-based organizations (CBOs) served as protectors of diverse community interests. Strategies ranging from picket lines and letter-to-the-editor campaigns to legal suits and boycotts were used by CBOs to confront and eliminate discrimination and other practices that undermined their community's stable diversity.

Diverse-by-circumstance communities typically do not have the same prominent community-based organizations with the primary purpose of promoting and sustaining diver-sity, or various community institutions to promote diversity directly and indirectly. However, they do have other organizational resources. Most diverse-by-circumstance communities have significant new immigrant formal and informal networks that serve to link individuals to the larger community. Mutual aid associations—groups formed to provide services to specific immigrant groups—often have coalesced to support diversity. Small businesses also join local chambers of commerce or have worked with community development corporations in pro-tecting their interests. Recognizing that they have common interests, these organizations have played up the positive image of diversity. Diversity in urban neighborhoods is held up as an environment in which children come in contact with other people to better prepare themselves for functioning in a "global society." The interpersonal skills learned in such diverse com-munities and the ability to adapt comfortably to different social environments are described as a positive by organizations promoting diversity. For example, along the diverse northern lakefront communities in Chicago, the Organization of the NorthEast (ONE) serves as an umbrella organization for mutual aid societies, religious congregations, schools, universities, and business groups in protecting and promoting communitywide interests among the 180,000 residents in three community areas. The organization's logo is "We are ONE, we are many."

Because businesses, particularly restaurants, are among the most visible components of any community and are the places where most neighborhood insiders and outsiders interact, retail diversity factors strongly in the marketing of diverse-by-circumstance communities. The subway line running through Jackson Heights, Queens, one of the more diverse New York City

neighborhoods, is sometimes referred to as the "ethnic express." Sociologists Phil Kasinitz, Bazzi, and Doane (1998, p. 161) describe how ethnicity and business and are intertwined in this community:

> The ethnic variety that one can see, hear, smell, and taste on the streets of Jackson Heights is truly stunning. At 74th Street, north of Roosevelt Avenue, lies Little India, where visitors find some of the finest subcontinental cuisine in all of New York City. Along 37th Avenue, trattorias share walls with cantinas. Elsewhere, Colombian bodegas share a dumpster with pizza and doughnut shops. At times even ethnic foods, the form of multiculturalism New Yorkers embrace most enthusiastically, seem to test the limits of all but the most cosmopolitan palates. Those who complain about the preponderance of non-English language signage might well be thankful not to be able to understand the message *Cuy Ahora!*—Roast Guinea Pig Today!—in the window of an Ecuadorian restaurant. Yet for the most part, Koreans and Chinese, Peruvians and Hondurans, Dominicans and Jews all have developed pieces of Jackson Heights as their own and fused them together to form a new and dynamic whole.

In promoting local tourism city governments do market this cultural and culinary diversity of their neighborhoods. Neighborhood parades and ethnic festival are the substance of many mayor's offices of cultural affairs. For example, the Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs publishes a biannual 70-page booklet promoting restaurants representing the city's diversity. In *Stirring Things Up in Chicago*, the Mayor invites residents and tourists alike to take advantage of the "delicious, exotic, eclectic mixture of the culinary, visual, literary and performing arts for your enjoyment." (City of Chicago, 2005) Cultural diversity is spun into good business at community and citywide levels.[7]

PROMOTING BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT AND DIVERSITY

Although the marketing of residential diversity is promoted by community-based organizations, the connection between diversity and local economic institutions, for example, retail businesses, is an important factor in sustaining diversity. Finding a neighborhood desirable and remaining in that neighborhood is not only related to the availability of different sizes, shapes, and costs of housing. Desirability is also defined by the comfort-level that residents have with the broader economic environment of a community. This includes what kinds of local businesses exist to meet their divergent needs and tastes.

Just as Americans have difficulty in picturing a stable diverse residential community, many regional retail planners have difficulty envisioning diverse truly business developments. Retail markets are often separated into "upscale" or more mass-market big-box stores. However, there is a different retail reality in many diverse communities. Particularly in diverse-by-circumstance communities, one sees the emergence of retail stores that reflect the diverse population base. This can be an ethnic, racial, and/or economic mixture. Clothing resale shops, "five and ten" stores, storefront restaurants, and, of course, supermarkets serve multiple income and ethnic markets. In other cases small grocery stores, specialized ethnic clothing shops, or travel agencies catering to specific nationality groups also emerge along older urban retail strips. In Houston during the 1990s a chain of supermarkets emerged that marketed to both general and specific residential groups. The central area of the supermarket included "mainstream" products as well as a very diverse line of ethnic foods. All under one roof, the supermarket aisles were encircled by a perimeter of small business kiosks that sold everything from foreign-language magazines to bus tickets to Mexico.

Consistent with the goals of a growing "Buy Local" movement, both types of diverse communities are seeking to gain control of the mix local businesses and make sure business is responsive to local needs (Shuman, 1998). In Boston, the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative has developed a "village economics" approach. Informed by Harvard Economics Professor Michael Porter, economic development emphasizes small, locally owned businesses that serve the ethnic and economic diversity of the community. The Ford Foundation has collected case studies showing that marketing in low-income communities, often home to diverse racial, ethnic, and immigrant groups, can be profitable for businesses (Ford Foundation, 2002). Similarly, a $100,000,000 business development in the stable, diverse Fruitvale community of Oakland California, has demonstrated the successful integration of an ethnically and racially diverse residential community with a new business development serving multiple sectors of the community (Hughes, 2004; Maly, 2005, pp. 161–213).

Just like the connection between a diverse residential base and a varied range of retailers, employers in need of diverse workforces to fill everything from semi-skilled service positions to highly-educated professional positions, can also shape the face of local communities. Large universities, hospital complexes, and military bases are anchors that produce and stabilize racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods in adjacent communities (Ellen, 2000, pp. 153–154). In other areas, employers have themselves exerted pressure to create economically diverse communities, which indirectly support racial and ethnic diversity. In growing suburban areas, where nearby affordable housing is not available, the difficulty of recruiting service workers, the increased wage costs related to the labor shortage, and workforce instability caused by difficult commutes, has become a significant concern to larger employers and employer associations. This has placed pressure on many suburban municipalities to create a more economically diverse housing market, which in turn, creates more racially and ethnically diverse communities. "Employer assisted housing" programs have sprouted up in many suburban communities throughout the country; these programs combine local government affordable housing initiatives with monetary support to workers from their employers to buy homes or rent apartments (Fannie Mae, 2003; Schwartz et al., 1992).

Building Organizations and Leadership

Directly related to the role of community-based organizations in shaping positive images of diverse communities is the development of community and organizational leadership. It does not take a large group of initial leaders to effectively promote diversity. To preserve diverse communities, initial efforts have been launched by as few as three or four key individuals. In the case of the diverse-by-design communities, leadership often came from activists in the broader civil rights movement. In other cases leaders in the broader national movement in the United States brought civil rights "home" to their own communities. These local efforts and confrontations promoting fair housing and diversity also became the building blocks of the larger civil rights movement itself. Activists in local public school, parent–teacher associations as well as leaders of religious congregations have been prominent among these leaders.

In contrast, leadership development in the newer diverse-by-circumstance communities has not had the benefit of a national movement or long-standing religious organizations. Although such stable multiracial, multiracial, and multiclass communities are recent phenomena, there is no clear history of leadership development processes in these communities. However, coalition building is a more prominent component in these communities. Leaders heading ethnic mutual aid organizations, ethnic-based religious congregations, ethnic businesses, and

informal ethnic networks are the agents in coalition building and, ultimately, community build-ing. Unlike leadership development in the context of the civil rights movement, where there was considerable national attention to leadership styles, White–Black race relations, and issue areas, leadership development in these new multiethnic multirace communities has taken place in the absence of a larger, visible, overarching movement. The absence of a dominant racial or ethnic group and the absence of a single racial or ethnic "fault" line has produced a different kind of leadership development. What racial and ethnic groups have in common are their *differences*. In contrast to the 1960s-based communities where the language of "integration" was common, today's multirace, multiethnic, and, often multiclass, communities eschew the language of the 1960s are more likely to talk about "diversity," "multiculturalism," or "globalization."

MAINTAINING A MIXTURE OF HOUSING
AND AFFORDABILITY

Racial and ethnic diversity is intertwined with economic diversity. The existence of a mixture of housing options that are affordable to a broad range of income groups is another character of diverse neighborhoods. For diverse-by-circumstance communities, this "mixture" is typically a mixture of low-, middle-, and upper-income housing. Within diverse-by-design communities, the housing price range is generally narrower, but does provide a choice within a mid-priced range.

In newer diverse-by-circumstance communities, it is the availability of housing affordable to new immigrants along with stable middle-income market housing that provides a foundation for economic diversity and racial/ethnic diversity. This can include either affordable govern-ment subsidized housing or affordable housing developed on the private market. It may also include both home ownership and rental options; however, affordable rental is the more dom-inant option that provides the economic diversity that sustains racial and ethnic diversity in these newer communities. For example, in Chicago's northern lakefront Uptown community of 60,000 residents, a diverse-by-circumstance community for more than thirty years, housing options range from million-dollar-plus single-family homes occupied by residents, such as a former Illinois Governor and a prominent author and radio personality, to ten federally subsi-dized high-rise housing buildings containing over 11,000 low-income residents. Although some of the initially subsidized affordable high rises have been converted to market-rate housing, protracted organizing campaigns by community-based organizations have successful protected the other buildings. Through new federal rehab grants, the involvement of community devel-opment corporations, and the packaging of other ongoing federal, state, and local housing support funds, the community has been able to preserve or "lock in" hundred of affordable units as the community experiences a new waive of reinvestment and gentrification.[8]

In the middle-income diverse-by-design communities, the affordability of older single family homes to a broad range of middle-income home buyers means that residents and prospec-tive residents can "get good house value for the dollar." This "good value" can help to retain existing residents and attract new residents at critical moments when other neighborhoods may be susceptible to rapid re-segregation. For example, in the West Mount Airy community of Philadelphia, which has been diverse middle-income community (African American and White) for more than forty years, the good-house-value market helped to promote and sustain racial diversity. Nevertheless, there is a fine line between "good value" and a "deteriorating" housing market. In the case of West Mount Airy, bargain prices for large single-family homes, followed by an increase in home values a few years later, helped to attract and retain a diverse

homeowner base (Ferman et al., 1998). Moreover, this local real estate market was significantly influenced by local community organization intervention. An array of community institutions, particularly the activist West Mount Airy Neighbors, played a pivotal role in preserving a positive community image and challenging practices that would have undermined stable diversity, for example, real estate agent steering.

Thus, the "physical environment" of a particular community is not a given environmental factor, but rather something formed by past and present social forces. The housing market in older urban communities is shaped by private and public development decisions decades earlier. This market is further affected by newly adapted uses of the physical environment, for example, decisions to rehab older multifamily units into affordable housing units, decisions to tear down affordable housing to make way for upper-middle income housing, or decisions by local government to improve local parks, schools, and public libraries.

In recent years, the interplay between existing physical environment and social forces working to reshape that environment have taken the form of attempted interventions to halt the cycle of reinvestment and displacement experienced in older communities in many highly industrialized countries. These battles are related to the maintenance of racial and ethnic diversity insofar as the gentrification process displaces low-income residents who are more likely to be African American, Hispanic, Asian, and/or immigrants. More often than not gentrification represents a racial and ethnic homogenization of a community (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, 2004; Hartman et al., 1982; Marcuse, 1985; Williams, 1988).

Where community-based organizations promoting diversity have successfully held off or slowed down the displacement process, the resulting stable, diverse communities effectively represent current "truce lines" in the give and take between diversity/affordable housing advocates and developers of new upscale market housing, seeking reshape the community. Some of these battles result in temporary victories for the pro-diversity forces, for example, agreement of a landlord not to evict minority tenants immediately, or more permanent victories, for example, local government passage of inclusionary zoning ordinances that require a certain percentage of all new private development to be affordable. Nevertheless the "truce line" nature of this process and ongoing give and take of forces promoting versus forces undermining diversity, underscores that the term *stable* diverse neighborhood is a relative term. It may refer to twenty or thirty years of diversity, more stable than diverse neighborhoods that are just transitioning through diversity as they resegregate. The social structure of any neighborhood is dynamic and not permanent by most measures. In reflecting on stable diversity in suburban communities, urban planner Dennis Keating (1994, p. 254) points out that

> The goal of racial diversity in housing and neighborhoods can be achieved. But it must be remembered that there is no end to this struggle. With the mobility of Americans and the resultant turnover of houses, their owner-occupants, and residential neighborhoods, there most be a constant education process reminding suburbanites of the benefits of living in a racially diverse society.

ESTABLISHING ROOTS IN DIVERSE COMMUNITIES: ETHNIC AND RACIAL DIFFERENCES

It would be incorrect to assume that the social structure of neighborhood diversity is the same regardless of what racial and ethnic groups make up that diversity. Social, political, and cultural differences among various groups influence integration patterns and intergroup

relations. Differences among social classes within and among racial and ethnic groups also contribute to how different groups connect to diverse communities.

For example, Black–White relations in the United States occupy a place in history with no other parallels in American history. The deep roots of racism in American society have produced a historical Black–White fault line that has persisted as other divides have faded. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century new immigrants displaced free black skilled tradesmen in eastern U.S. cities. Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, there are signs that Latinos are experiencing improved opportunities and "leap-frogging" over African Americans in accessing housing and employment opportunities (Perlman, 2005). Although there have been gains in housing access for both African Americans and Hispanics in recent decades, segregation measures show continuing barriers for African Americans, particularly low-income African Americans, relative to other racial and ethnic groups (Logan, 2001). The small but rapidly growing Asian and Asian American communities have had great success in moving into previously non-Asian urban and suburban communities.

Overgeneralizing about the experience of a broad "ethnic group," such as "Hispanics," or "Asian Americans" can cause one to miss differences related to nationality groups, language, time of migration, and social class. For example, among Asians and Asian Americans there are substantial differences between Indo-Americans and Southeast Asians. Language is a clear demarcation that separates these nationality groups (Farr, 2004). There are significant social class differences. Recent immigrants from India or individuals of Indo-American heritage have higher educational attainment, higher income, and are much more likely to be integrated into suburban communities. In contrast, Cambodian, Thai, Laotian, or Vietnamese immigrants have higher rates of poverty and continue to live in ethnic enclaves (sometimes as part of the new diverse-by-circumstance communities). These first- and second-generation Southeast Asian communities are more likely to have retained language-based communities and rely on mutual aid societies.

Within the broader "Hispanic community," there are both substantial class differences and differences related to when individuals immigrated to the United States. These heavily influence the likelihood that families are integrated into non-Hispanic communities or live in predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods. Clearly an Hispanic family living in the American Southwest prior to its annexation to the United States is in a different category than a recent immigrant from Mexico. Similarly Midwestern Mexican American families who can trace ancestry to immigrants recruited by basic industries in the early part of the twentieth century has deeper roots, more education, and more wealth than a recent Central American immigrants. More restricted opportunity structures today compared to ninety years ago, or even forty years ago, have created distinctly different, immigration date-based subgroups within the broader Hispanic community (Perlman, 2005; Wessel, 2005).

In understanding who makes up diverse-by-design and diverse-by-circumstance communities, these intraethnic or intrarace class differences play a role. Although recent, lower-income immigrants are likely to be members of diverse-by-circumstance communities, second- and third- generation middle-income family members are more likely to be residents of either diverse-by-design communities or be integrated into communities that generally would be characterized as "White" communities.

When there are diverse communities, the social institutions that integrate different racial and ethnic groups into the social fabric of the community are different. As mentioned earlier, ethnic-based mutual aid societies historically have provided the intermediary link connecting recent immigrant families to the larger community. In the first decades of the twentieth century such organizations helped to provide employment assistance, home-seeking support,

skill training, as well as health and life insurance for new immigrant groups [e.g., see Beito (2000)]. In recent decades organizations, such as those functioning in Chicago's diverse-by-circumstance communities (e.g., the Ethiopian Association, Chinese Mutual Aid, South East Asian Center, Asian Human Services, the Cambodian Association, and the Vietnamese Association of Illinois), have been present in many cities in the United States. In the 1980s and 1990s, the U.S. government was also generous with funding support for such organizations as a way of encouraging immigrant assimilation. Although these mutual aid societies have been primarily established to serve particular ethnic or nationality communities, they also can serve as the organizational link between individual immigrants and the broader community. They are the effective intermediary unit in a pluralist society, or at least the intermediary unit in pluralist diverse-by-circumstance communities.

Ethnic-based churches also provide such linkages. In diverse communities it is common to see signs in front of churches that list three or more different ethnic congregations sharing the same building. Formerly mainline Protestant churches now share their sanctuaries with Ethiopian and Korean congregations. In diverse communities religious congregations represent a social network relevant to day-to-day life, but they also represent a place where racial, ethnic, class, and religious identities are explicitly discussed and consciously integrated into the world outside the congregation. Analyzing data from a national survey of almost 3000 clergy and extensive interviews with 300 others, sociologist Robert Wuthnow (2005, p. 308) concludes that religious leaders

> who had thought the most about interreligious relationships had also focused the most attention on racial and ethnic diversity. The two went hand in hand. Leaders who thought it important to reach out to their communities to other religious groups could scarcely ignore the fact that some of these groups were composed of people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds than their own. They were forced to think about prejudice, discrimination, and inequality, and to identify ways of addressing these problems.

INTERACTIONS WITH GOVERNMENT

The government role in promoting and sustaining diverse communities has been a mixed bag. Local political leaders often are not willing to go out on a limb and support initiatives promoting racial and ethnic diversity. In a recent national survey, community leaders in racially and ethnically diverse communities reported that local political leaders were not generally on the front line of pro-diversity forces (Nyden et al., 2003). Just as there is a perception among home buyers in the general real estate market that a diverse neighborhood is a changing neighborhood, many political leaders see diverse communities as a fleeting political base. From their perspective, any political investment in supporting diversity will not provide positive returns in the next election. Moreover, in many American cities, urban politics is organized through racially and ethnically identified constituencies. Particularly in older Northeastern and Midwestern cities, these constituencies live in racially or ethnically segregated neighborhoods. Hence, there is a political conundrum: policies promoting diversity, although potentially enhancing opportunities for residents, may also undermine a politician's political base.

Despite this softness in government support there are instances in which government has played a pro-diversity role. First, there have been suburbs and smaller cities that have embraced diversity and distinguished themselves as long-term diverse communities. Second, there have been local governments that, under pressure from local advocacy organizations,

adopt legislation that either directly promotes racial and ethnic diversity or indirectly facilitates racial and ethnic diversity through support of economic diversity initiatives. Third, state and federal anti-discrimination laws have been helpful tools for local governments working to sustain racial and ethnic diversity.

A number of studies have documented the achievements of a relatively small group of suburban communities that have adopted "integration maintenance" or pro-diversity ordinances and programs (Goodwin, 1979; Keating, 1994; Saltman, 1990). Prominent among these is Oak Park, Illinois, a suburb immediately west of Chicago. In the 1960s when a Chicago community area of 120,000 residents immediately east of the suburb changed from nearly one hundred percent White to over ninetyz percent African American in a five-year period, Oak Park adopted aggressive pro-diversity programs. These ranged from housing counseling and home equity insurance programs to investment in local government infrastructure in neighborhoods with higher proportions of minority residents. Juliet Saltman, in her book, *A Fragile Movement* (1990), provides other examples of regional government, local government, and community-based organization initiated programs to promote stable racial and ethnic diversity in Indianapolis, Milwaukee, and Rochester (New York).

Local governments have been responsive to community-based organizations, albeit with initial resistance, when the grassroots activists have put pressure on them to adopt more proactive diversity programs. In large cities where diverse communities are the exception rather than the rule among primarily racially and ethnically segregated communities, pro-diversity advocates have often banded together to promote their agenda. For example, the Balanced Growth Coalition formed in Chicago in 2002 to promote passage of an inclusionary zoning ordinance that would require new multifamily housing developments—publicly-subsidized as well as private—to include either a fifteen to twenty percent proportion of "affordable" units in the development or pay into a housing trust fund that would support affordable housing in other neighborhoods. The coalition, headed by two community-based organizations that had already been working to preserve the racial, ethnic, and economic diversity in their own gentrifying communities, also includes community-based organizations in predominantly African American and Latino neighborhoods. These organizations also see such programs as being in their best interest as well. The coalition did succeed in winning an ordinance that sets such standards for multifamily developments that include any type of local government subsidy (Aardema and Knoy, 2004).

Federal and state anti-discrimination laws have been significant tools of local advocates seeking to open up segregated housing markets. Fair housing legislation has enabled local and regional groups to open the doors for minority families seeking to move into predominantly White, Anglo suburban, middle-income communities. In some cases the advocates using the laws are local government human relations or housing commissions; in other cases they are regional nongovernmental fair housing organizations. These tools have been of more use in opening doors in segregated suburban communities or stopping past "block-busting" tactics of real estate agents than in actually creating stable diverse communities.[9] For diverse-by-design communities, these laws facilitated initial integration of the community, but were not the sufficient condition needed to sustain long-term diversity. The other factors discussed above are more relevant to these ongoing efforts. Similarly fair housing laws are of less relevance to the newer diverse-by-circumstance communities, which already have seen their diverse ethnic and racial populations grow as a result of factors such as housing mix and an ongoing immigrant "port-of-entry" status.

Separate from fair housing and anti-discrimination laws, there have been a limited number of state government programs or federal court decisions that promote diverse communities.

Programs that encourage "affirmative" moves, that is, home purchases or residential movement by an individual whose race or ethnicity will promote diversity in his or her new community, have been implemented in some states. For example, the Ohio Housing Finance Agency adopted pro-integrative policies in its state-supported lending programs. These helped to support more substantial local community pro-diversity efforts, such as those in Shaker Heights, a Cleveland suburb (Keating, 1994, pp. 112–113). In 1999, the U.S. Supreme Court let stand an Illinois state court decision allowing affirmative marketing practices to continue. This has been interpreted as effectively supporting "integration maintenance" programs that actively market to white home buyers or renters in markets experiencing re-segregation from predominantly White to predominantly Black populations.

In other instances local activism has successfully challenged local zoning laws that restrict the amount of affordable housing or multiple family housing as a way of excluding low-income families, families with young children, or minority families. Most notable among these challenges is the Mt. Laurel decision by the New Jersey Supreme Court. Initiated by a group of low-income African American residents in a suburb of Camden, New Jersey, a small city experiencing severe disinvestment and re-segregation, the legal action resulted in a high court decision and the development of a statewide program (shaped by later state legislation) which set a standard for local community obligation to either provide affordable housing within their jurisdictions or provide resources to support regional affordable housing efforts (Kirp, Dwyer, and Rosenthal, 1995). In many other states, such as New York, California, Massachusetts, and Illinois, similar anti-discrimination and open-housing court decisions, as well as state legislation, have provided tools to local activists in preserving or promoting diversity.

COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS RESISTING DIVERSITY

Although this chapter has focused on factors contributing to stable diversity, the reality remains that most American communities are not diverse. As noted earlier, stable diverse communities find themselves swimming against the dominant current in American society, where only racially or ethnically homogeneous communities are equated with stable communities.[10] In addition to these general attitudes, other forces have directly hindered the development of stable diverse communities. These have taken different forms depending on the level of power and privilege of a particular group.

Suburban development has largely been a history of exclusivity. Until the civil rights legislation of the 1960s, outright discrimination against African Americans and other immigrant groups had been supported by real estate agents, banks, and even local government (Squires, 1994). White flight from urban communities in post-World War II years, along with suburban unwillingness to build affordable housing were major contributing factors in the growth of middle-class exclusive suburban communities (Jackson 1985, pp. 219–230). Even with the recent growth of the suburban minority population in the United States—from eighteen percent in 1990 to twenty-seven percent in 2000 (Frey, 2003)—there are indicators that this minority population has been concentrated in a few suburbs (Logan, 2003). In many cases, inner-ring, older suburbs have now grown more diverse or have experienced re-segregation. Zoning laws in other newer growing suburbs requiring minimum lot sizes as a way of increasing the cost of housing have served to keep out lower-income families, and indirectly many African American and Latino families.[11]

In addition to continued suburban growth—part of which can be explained by continued White-flight, now from other more diverse suburbs to farther out on the suburban fringe—the emergence of "gated communities" represents a form of privileged resistance to diversity. These communities use fences, security guards, and residents-only rules in use of public spaces to restrict access to residential communities. As Edward Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder, authors of *Fortress America* (1997b), explain in *Putting Up the Gates* (1997a),

> Social distance has long been a goal of American settlement patterns; the suburbs were built on separation and segregation. Today, with a new set of problems pressing on our metropolitan areas, Americans still turn to separation as a solution. Suburbanization has not meant a lessening of segregation, but only a redistribution of the urban patterns of discrimination. Gated communities are a microcosm of the larger spatial pattern of segmentation and separation. In the suburbs, gates are the logical extension of the original suburban drive.

Resistance of less-privileged groups to racial and ethnic diversity has taken different, often more public, forms. Cross-burnings on lawns of new minority residents who have moved into predominantly White neighborhoods, throwing rocks at open-housing marchers, or violent public demonstrations resisting school integration have all been very public images of resistance to integration in low-income and working-class White communities [see, e.g., Ralph (1993); Seligman (2005); Useem (1981)]. Although some of this activity has been moderated through intervention of city human relations commissions and enforcement of anti-hate crime legislation at local and state levels, it serves as an initial form of resistance to the creation of diverse communities in the first place. Many of the currently stable diverse communities did see such resistance early in their formation. The intervention of both local government and local institutions, for example, religious congregations and pro-diversity neighborhood associations, has ultimately helped to counter such initial resistance.[12]

Political institutions themselves represent formidable barriers. Particularly in older Northeast and Midwest cities, the development of geographically defined, ethnic and racial constituencies has also created resistance to the development of stable diverse communities. Political fortunes of race- or ethnic-based elected officials depend on the stability of their districts and voting base. Efforts to create diverse communities are viewed by some political leaders as threatening. Although the increasing diversity in American cities is producing a political reality where the building of interracial and interethnic coalitions is a needed skill in the twenty-first century, the inertia of old ethnic-based practices still dominates in many communities.

CONCLUSIONS

Although stable diverse communities remain the exception rather than the rule, and formidable social forces continue to resist the development of racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods, the success of stable diverse communities in sustaining diversity and the reality of a changing ethnic and racial landscape in the United States point to a future with more diverse communities. Similar challenges are facing many other highly industrialized nations, particularly those of Western Europe, as well.

A look to the United States and its struggles in creating stable diversity will serve policy makers well. This includes the sharing of experiences and information among local community organizations and grassroots leaders themselves. Particular attention can be paid to the role of community-based organizations in building positive perceptions of diversity. At the same time there is a need for greater awareness that neighborhood diversity does not have to be a fleeting

moment in neighborhood history in between two segregated communities. In a society with deep expertise in marketing and shaping the attitudes and consumer desires of large sectors of the population, positively marketing stable residential diversity should not be a challenge. A new understanding of leadership development, especially in new multiracial, multiethnic, and multiclass communities, is critical in understanding possible diverse community futures in highly industrialized nations. We have a choice between a world of gated communities or welcoming neighborhoods. In nations experiencing significant new diversity, how we build healthy and functional neighborhoods will have long-term implications for the overall vitality of our societies.

NOTES

1. Hispanic (or Latino) is an ethnic category distinct from race.
2. The states are California, Texas, New Mexico, and Hawaii (Pear, 2005).
3. For the purposes of the 1998 study, "stable diversity" was defined as communities where the majority of the census tracts were among the ten percent of the city's census tracts coming closest to the city's racial and ethnic mix as a whole. "Stable" was defined as a community area that met this diversity measure for two consecutive decentennial census years, although the typical community studied had been stable and diverse for more than twenty years.
4. The term "ideal type" does not refer to a desired type of community; rather it refers to a heuristic approach used by Max Weber and other sociologists that distills key elements of a phenomenon into types that can be used as theoretical guides in placing actual communities along a continuum of community types.
5. The Center for Urban Research and Learning (CURL) and the Policy Research Action Group (PRAG) are not traditional centers or networks that only engage in research where community-based organization partners are involved in all phases of the research process from conceptualization and research design to analysis, report writing, and dissemination. More information on CURL and PRAG are available on their respective web sites: www.luc.edu/curl and www.luc.edu/curl/prag as well as in Nyden et al. (1997) and Nyden (forthcoming).
6. There are no firm numbers on the proportion of the U.S. population living in stable diverse communities. Using the measure of diversity established in the nine-city study, a conservative estimate of the proportion of the U.S. population living in stable diverse neighborhoods is five percent. There are other neighborhoods that are temporarily diverse as they experience disinvestment or reinvestment, but these would not be considered stable and diverse. Discussions of different approaches to measuring and conceptualizing stable diversity are available in Cashin (2004); Ellen (2000); Galster (1998); Maly (2005); Smith (1998).
7. See also Hoffman (2003).
8. Other mechanisms to ensure a longer-term affordable housing supply have included the creation of community land trusts, municipal inclusionary zoning ordinances, and low-income housing trusts (Business and Professional People for the Public Interest, 2005).
9. Prior to the passage of fair housing legislation in the 1960s and after, a number of discriminatory practices were present in local housing markets. Local governments often allowed "restrictive covenants" to exist forbidding the sale of property of individuals of a particular race, religion, or ethnicity. Unscrupulous real estate sales persons used block busting (e.g., a sale of one home in an all-White community to a minority family) or scare tactics to fuel "White flight" (e.g., sales calls telling homeowners that they "better sell now before housing prices drop when minority families move into their neighborhood"). However, one should point out that these unethical sales practices were effective in an environment including some level of racism or racial intolerance in the existing White community.
10. According to *Business Week*, approximately 30 percent of homebuyers express interest in buying in diverse communities whereas less than 10 percent of the market is considered diverse (Ellis, 1988)
11. Racial discrimination also still functions independently of social class. One study of Chicago's suburbs concluded that African American and Latino suburban settlement patterns cannot be explained by income and are still heavily based on racial and ethnic discrimination and self-selection, avoidance of environments in which prospective residents perceive they might experience discrimination (Nyden et al., 1998b).
12. However, as noted earlier ethnic- and race-based political constituencies have sometimes caused some politicians to be more cautious before engaging in pro-diversity initiatives.

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Community Responses to Disaster: Northern Ireland 1969 as a Case Study

CHRIS GILLIGAN

> ... the standard way of dealing with disaster is one that prioritizes pushing the public out, beyond the yellow perimeter-tape, and subsuming their initial actions to those of professionally trained emergency responders. This is despite the fact that the public themselves are the true first responders in such situations ... People tend to be at their most cooperative and focused in a crisis. This should be encouraged and developed rather than discouraged and undermined
>
> —Durodie, 2005, p. 2

Disasters are moments when the social fabric is torn. When lives are turned upside-down, when expectations about how life works are confounded; routines are disrupted; everything is thrown into turmoil. Although disasters have personal implications they are always communal or even national. Disasters bring disorder, chaos, disruption. They are moments of breakdown, catastrophe, destruction, devastation, tragedy, and trauma. In a disaster nothing is normal. Norms are ruptured, and there is a breakdown in the order of things. The patterns of normal everyday life are dislocated, ruptured, corrupted, and even destroyed. Disasters, whatever else they might be, are not ordinary events.

In their disruption of the social fabric disasters often reveal the structures of society. They often throw the ordinary and everyday into stark relief. One of the most common observations made about the destruction brought by Hurricane Katrina to New Orleans in September 2005, for example, was the extent of the racial and class divisions in the city. Affluent people, disproportionately White, left the city in advance of the hurricane. The less fortunate, disproportionately black and working-class, had to cope with the destruction and disruption (Reed, 2005). These racial and class divisions existed before the hurricane, they were woven into the fabric of everyday life, but in the disaster they were shorn from their everyday settings and revealed to the world in a different light.

If disasters reveal aspects of the institutionalized structures of community they also reveal dimensions of humanity that are stifled by the formal routines of everyday life. Disasters do not usually lead to a complete breakdown in the social order. In fact disasters, more often than

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not, seem to make people more aware of their common humanity. It makes people aware of their shared fate, of the things that they have in common with others. Disasters can generate a sense of "us," of being in it together, of shared misfortune and fortitude in numbers. As one London journalist noted after the terrorist bombings on the London transport system in July 2005, "Danger brought people's inner resilience to the fore. 'We have to keep going', one retired teacher told me, 'otherwise they've won'" (Appleton, 2005). The distinction between "we" and "they" may appear divisive, but it is also unifying. It may appear to be tinged with hatred, but often is motivated by a desire to defend some positive core to humanity.

The human response to disasters also suggests that there is a basic altruistic core to most human beings. People recognize that their own fate is intimately bound up with the fate of others in their community. When put to the test social bonds strengthen more often than they break. People pull together, sometimes under the most difficult circumstances imaginable, to help out family, neighbors, and strangers. In this sense disasters, perhaps more than any other kind of event, reveal that elusive phenomenon that Etzioni refers to as a "spirit of community" (Etzioni, 1995). If disasters demonstrate a spirit of community they are also community events in the sense that they are spatially located events. For most of us disasters are things which happen "over there;" for the people affected it is happening "here."

Although there are common features of disaster events, each one is unique. They can come in the form of natural disasters, industrial disasters, wars, famine, terrorist incidents, or a host of other forms. They also vary in terms of location, magnitude, and intensity. And they have their own sequence: there are phases to disasters and the duration of these phases varies in different locations or with different types of disaster. Action, or inaction, in one phase can significantly affect subsequent phases. It is worth remembering that it was not the hurricane itself which had the most destructive impact on New Orleans, but the collapse of the levees days later. In this respect inaction in the pre-disaster phase was a more significant factor in dictating the scale of devastation than the hurricane itself. This points us to another factor shaping disasters, what we might call the politics of disasters. The mobilization of resources in each phase of a disaster depends on political will, on the priorities of society, the ideological frameworks that shape these priorities, and the structures of power through which decisions are made.

This chapter examines these themes in more detail through looking at the outbreak of street violence in Northern Ireland in mid-August 1969, a moment which is often referred to as the "birth of the Troubles"[1] in Northern Ireland, as an example of a disaster. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section briefly outlines five different phases of disaster; the second examines disaster in Northern Ireland in mid-August 1969 through the framework provided by these five phases. In the conclusion I reflect on disasters today from the perspective of the insights gained from looking at the events in Northern Ireland in 1969. The chapter focuses specifically on the impact of disaster on Catholic working-class communities (where the greatest impact was felt) and only in the two main urban centers in Northern Ireland: Derry/Londonderry and Belfast (these are the best documented areas).[2]

COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO DISASTER

Barton (1969), in one of the earliest attempts to develop a systematic analysis of community responses to disaster, made a distinction between these phases of disaster:

1. The pre-disaster period
2. The period of detection and communication of a specified threat (which is absent or truncated in sudden disasters)

3. The period of immediate, relatively unorganized response (which is a very important phase in sudden disasters, but less so in the gradual or long-term impacts)
4. The period of organized response (which may cover days or weeks of organized relief and rehabilitation in disasters of lesser intensity and scope, and may require years in the case of very heavy impacts or long-continuing stresses)
5. The long-run post-disaster equilibrium, when the system has completed such reconstruction as it can achieve (Barton, 1969, p. 49).

This categorization helps to make some sense of the disaster in Northern Ireland in August, 1969. Events in Northern Ireland, however, also indicate some of the limits to this categorization. It is difficult to distinguish between these phases in practice as the disaster had different impacts in Belfast and in Derry/Londonderry. The organized response varied between the two locations and between official bodies and community-based ones. It is difficult to decide how to characterize the events subsequent to August, 1969 and how these influence our understanding of the nature and significance of the events of August 1969. In each of the phases we can see significant developments in local community organization.

There is, for example, the dynamic relationship between community leadership and the pressure on those leaders from those who they "led." There is the growing density of community networks as wider and wider circles of people were drawn in to street protests. There is the question of resource mobilization, particularly the mobilization of personnel: initially for street protests, later for defense of local areas. We elaborate on these points in more detail through looking at the first three phases: the pre-disaster period; the period of detection and communication, and; the period of immediate, relatively unorganized response. We then briefly make a few points about the difficulty of delineating between phases three, four, and five in the Northern Irish context.

THE PRE-DISASTER PERIOD

Northern Ireland is sometimes characterized as a "divided society" (Rea, 1982). It is not difficult to see what is meant by this term. Northern Ireland is a highly segregated society. The majority of the region's schoolchildren attend schools segregated along religious lines, most of its population, particularly the lower socioeconomic groups, live in residential areas that are segregated along religious lines, voting patterns also tend to follow denominational lines, and in a host of informal settings people prefer to mix with coreligionists (Whyte, 1990). When it comes to characterizing the nature of this divide, however, academics are themselves divided. Bruce (1989) characterizes the divide as a religious one. Among academics Bruce is in a minority. A more common view is that religion is a marker of ethnicity and the conflict is an ethnic one (Darby, 1997), an ethno-national one (McGarry and O'Leary, 2004), or a colonial one (Clayton, 1996).[3] Critics of those who characterize the conflict as an ethnic one point to the need to place the state at the center of any analysis (Rolston, 1998). They also warn of the dangers of confusing cause and effect: in the words of one such analysis "the roots of intense ethnic conflict may not in fact be ethnic" (Ruane and Todd 2004). These critics warn of the dangers of reifying groups. It is not difficult to see what they mean. The party that currently receives most votes from Catholics in Northern Ireland, Sinn Fein, lays claim to a Republican tradition that was initiated at the end of the eighteenth century by Presbyterians. The current president of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams (a practicing Catholic), has a surname that originates from Scotland; somewhere in his blood ancestry

there is likely to be intermarriage between native Irish Catholics and Scottish Presbyterian colonizers.

Ruane and Todd (2004) identify five dimensions of difference in Northern Ireland: religion, ethnicity, colonialism, ideological articulations (most significantly "progressiveness" and "backwardness") and political [Irish nationalism and (Ulster or British) unionism]. These dimensions have tended to overlap in ways that were mutually reinforcing. So that Protestants, in contrast to Catholics, were largely English or Scottish colonial settlers who considered themselves as progressives compared to the relatively less-developed Catholic Irish peasantry. With the extension of the franchise, and the development of mass-based political parties, towards the end of the nineteenth century Protestants formed and provided the voter base for Unionist parties that grew in opposition to Irish nationalist parties, with a voter base in the Catholic population.

Ruane and Todd (1996, p. 10), however, "stress the relative autonomy of [these] five dimensions of difference." There was "never total coincidence between the dimensions ... [and there has always been] a degree of socio-cultural and ideological heterogeneity within each community" (Ruane and Todd, 1996, p. 11). The five dimensions operate on different logics, but in times of social stress they have tended to operate in ways that reinforce the sectarian divide.

The founding of Northern Ireland in 1920 was one such period of particular social stress. Northern Ireland came into being as part of a compromise resolution of the War of Independence led by Irish nationalists. In 1920 Ireland was partitioned to form Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State (which later became the Republic of Ireland). Fearing that its very existence was threatened by a disloyal Catholic and Irish nationalist minority within its territorial boundaries the Northern Ireland government constructed what became known as the "Orange State," a cross-class alliance of the Protestant population that controlled access to political, legal, military, and economic power in the region. Voting regulations were engineered to help concentrate political power in the hands of Unionist politicians, the police force was almost exclusively Protestant, the state awarded itself emergency powers to act against insurgents and major employers, most notably in state employment and in the shipbuilding industry, gave Protestants preferential employment treatment compared to Catholics (Bew et al., 1996; Farrell, 1980,1983; O'Leary and McGarry, 1993; Whyte 1983). These measures, unsurprisingly, helped to cement the sectarian divide.

The relative autonomy of the five dimensions of difference became more evident in the 1960s with social changes that led to some blurring of the distinction between the two groups. The blurring, and it was only a blurring rather than an eradication of the distinction between the two groups in Northern Ireland, can be seen in a number of ways. Spatially there was development of some religiously mixed working-class residential areas (Boal, 1969). These mixed areas were later to become sites in which the most intense civil disturbances were located. In the mid-1960s, however, these areas seemed to presage a decline in sectarian affiliations. In the political sphere the Unionist Government attempted to promote a reform agenda as part of a strategy to attract industrial investment from abroad. The decline of the state's traditional manufacturing base in textiles and clothing and in shipbuilding provided the impetus to these reforms, but they did have some effect on the significance of group differences.

The Prime Minister, Terence O'Neill, for example, made important symbolic gestures towards Irish Catholics (Bew et al., 1996, Loughlin, 1995, O'Dowd, Rolston, and Tomlinson, 1980).[4] In the sphere of civil society an influential new cohort of young people rejected what they saw as the staid politics of traditional Irish Nationalism and Ulster Unionism and agitated for reforms. The political reference points that inspired them tended to be outside Northern Ireland, in the Black civil rights movement in the United States and in the New Left

politics of their student contemporaries in Europe and the United States. The most significant organization established by this new cohort, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) managed to attract members from across the sectarian divide. Although the focus of its demands for rights was for an end to discrimination against Catholics, and the bulk of its support was from Catholics, it did also enjoy the support of some liberal and left-wing Protestants. In terms of its objectives NICRA marked a departure from the kind of Irish nationalist politics Catholics had traditionally supported. It sought to reform the state in Northern Ireland rather than to bring about a united Ireland (epitomized in the slogan "British rights for British people") (Purdie, 1990). In a parallel development the IRA had taken a "Marxist turn" in which it sought, as a first step, to democratize Northern Ireland. This meant playing down the issue of Irish national unification and tactically it led them to become involved in agitation around social issues, including in civil rights issues (Kelley, 1982).

It was in Northern Ireland's second city, Derry/Londonderry, that civil rights agitation was to become concentrated.[5] It was local activists who were key to bringing NICRA to the city. A loose coalition of young radical socialists and republicans formed the Derry Housing Action Committee (DHAC) and the Derry Unemployed Action Committee (DUAC) in early 1968. There was significant urban deprivation in Derry/Londonderry, particularly in the Catholic working-class district of the Bogside (see Figure 20.1, a map of Derry/Londonderry). Residents
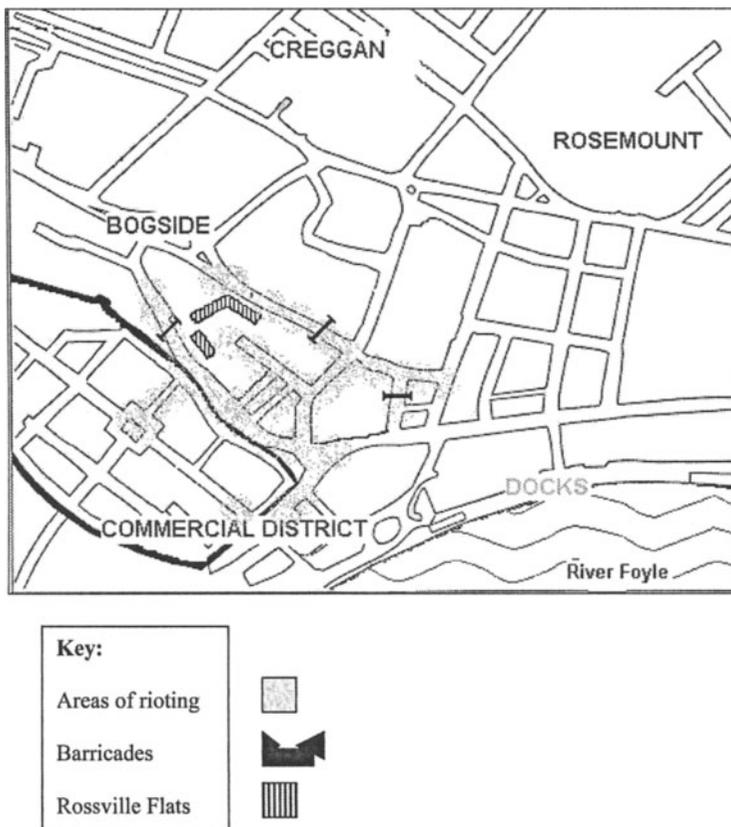
FIGURE 20.1. Map of Derry/Londonderry showing areas of rioting.

suffered high unemployment and there was widespread overcrowding in houses, many of which were in a very poor state of repair. The DHAC and DUAC operated more like pressure groups than community associations. They had no membership base in the community, an ad hoc organizational structure and an approach to agitation that was driven more by enthusiasm than by any thought-out strategy. In the words of one of the key activists, what held them together was "not a common programme but a general contempt for the type of politics which prevailed in the city" (McCann, 1980, p. 30).

The group organized a range of direct action initiatives that stirred up some interest and support from local working-class people in the, exclusively Catholic, Bogside and hostility and suspicion from established leaders, both Unionist and Nationalist, in the city. The big breakthrough for these activists came when they persuaded NICRA to hold a march in Derry/Londonderry to protest at the discriminatory practices of the Londonderry Corporation (the locally elected government body). Organizationally the preparations for the march were a fiasco. "The Ad-hoc Committee never functioned. It was not clear who was to convene it, and less clear what authority it had, if any, to make decisions without reference to the [NI]CRA in Belfast" (McCann, 1980, p. 38). Local activists assumed control and began issuing press statements and creating publicity leaflets promoting socialist, not civil rights, slogans "on a duplicator owned by the Derry Canine Club" (p. 38).

In the pre-disaster period there were signs of a brighter future for Northern Ireland. The reforms initiated under O'Neill, however, upset the existing institutional arrangements through which Northern Ireland was governed. It provided a context that encouraged civil rights protestors to push for reforms. It also, however, alarmed significant sections of the Protestant population who feared that they were being displaced in favor of their traditional enemy. An attempt to inhibit the process of reform, limited as it was, developed in parallel with the program of reform. Protestant militants started a bombing campaign against utilities in an attempt to play on traditional Unionist fears by suggesting that the IRA were trying to militarily destroy the country, while civil rights activists were trying to undermine it politically. The most significant challenge to the reform program, however, came from within the Government itself. O'Neill's main rival, Craig, was the minister with responsibility for law and order and he used his powers to block the civil rights protests on the streets.

Craig banned the civil rights march that had been organized for Derry/Londonderry in October 1968. The organizers went ahead, and a few hundred people gathered to march. The RUC attacked the gathering, which included some MPs from London, in full view of TV cameras. The event was an important turning point. It had brought together NICRA and the concerns of local Catholics in Derry/Londonderry and the police response had indicated that the state was hostile to those concerns. Instead of promoting the traditional Catholic response of quiescence to the exercise of RUC powers, however, this time a defiant response began to stir. The RUC actions provoked "three days of rioting as flimsy barricades were erected and crowds of up to 1,000 people armed with bricks and the occasional petrol-bomb fought running street battles with the RUC" (Ó Dochartaigh 1997, p. 21).

People had begun to stir, but there was as yet no organization that could give direction to this developing movement. As Eammon McCann, one of the socialist activists in the city, put it at this point "[w]e had a mass movement, but no organization" (McCann, 1980, p. 43). This organization came with the formation of the Derry Citizens Action Committee (DCAC), a cross-class, cross-denominational body that was immediately dominated by respectable local businessmen. The DCAC's "first action was to call off the march scheduled for the following Saturday" (McCann, 1980, p. 45). The formation of DCAC marked a shift from a situation where the young radical socialists were "making the running" to one where they were only

one of a whole cohort of new leaders in the city (Doherty & Hegarty, 2001, p. 53). The DCAC attracted a wider range of activists than the DHAC or DUAC had been able to manage. Some of this new layer of activists helped to connect local community associations with the DCAC. Three of the sixteen elected to serve as the executive committee of the DCAC were active in the Credit Union; other members toured the local sports associations, particularly the boxing clubs, to recruit burly men who would be able to act as stewards on any future marches or other forms of street protest.

THE PERIOD OF DETECTION
AND COMMUNICATION[6]

There were warning signs of pending disaster prior to mid-August, 1969. The three days of rioting after the RUC attacked the march in Derry/Londonderry in October, 1968 was one of the earliest indications. There were sporadic clashes between the RUC and civil rights protestors in other parts of Northern Ireland, but it was in Derry/Londonderry that the clashes were most sustained and intense.

The DCAC pushed for Government reforms. They demanded changes to state practices at both local and Northern Ireland-wide level. The DCAC were themselves also being pushed, from below. The DCAC had to organize street protests in order to both keep the pressure on Government and to help provide some direction to the militancy that was growing among the Catholic working-class in Derry/Londonderry. The activities of the DCAC played a role in both increasing the tensions (by bringing people onto the streets in protest) and in trying to contain and diffuse violent clashes (through better organized stewarding of the protestors). By the end of November 1968 the RUC were losing control of the streets of Derry/Londonderry and the writ of Government was proving ineffective as "the ban on marches inside the city walls was defied over and over again ... [in one day alone] several hundred dockers chanting 'SS RUC' and then a march by over 1,000 women shirt-factory workers and finally a march by a crowd of 100 youths" (Ó Dochartaigh, 1997, p. 30).

Under pressure from the British government at Westminster (London) O'Neill acted to calm the tensions by announcing proposals for reform. He publicly appealed for calm and a moratorium on protests in order to bolster his position in Government and help to push through the proposed reforms.[7] The DCAC, somewhat reluctantly, agreed to give him a chance and declared that they would not organize any marches for a month. Tensions flared up again, however, in January when People's Democracy, a Belfast-based student group, organized a march from Belfast to Derry/Londonderry. As it neared its destination the march was attacked by the RUC and mobs of Protestants. The attacks provoked more rioting and members of the DCAC helped to erect barricades and organize vigilante groups in the Bogside. From organizing parades some of the DCAC members were now moving to "organising the defence of the Bogside" (Ó Dochartaigh, 1997, p. 41). O'Neill then tried to deal with his critics in Government by organizing an election, for late February, hoping to be able to demonstrate that his reform program had a popular mandate. This tactic fatally undermined the DCAC.

The defense of the Bogside in January marked a shift in control of community leadership from the "respectable" leaders towards grassroots working-class leaders. This shift was consolidated through the election as leading figures in the DCAC, such as John Hume and Ivan Cooper, devoted their energies (and those of DCAC members they could mobilize) towards standing for election. The tactic provided some breathing space for O'Neill, but not for long. By the end of July the RUC had effectively lost control of the Bogside district as local residents

erected barricades and declared their neighborhood a "No go area" for the authorities. Local resistance to the RUC was given an organizational form when Republicans formed the Derry Citizens Defence Association (DCDA) to protect the Bogside from attack. The extent to which local community leaders had moved in response to events was shown by the quiet demise of the DCAC as its more working-class supporters migrated to the newly formed DCDA.

In these circumstances it was foolish to proceed with plans for the annual Apprentice Boys parade on August 12th. The parade commemorated an important local historical military victory of Protestant forces over Catholics in the seventeenth century. As such it was viewed, particularly in the highly charged atmosphere of 1969, as symbolic of continuing Protestant dominance over Catholics. Not holding the parade, however, was equally foolish. To ban the parade would be to concede to people who had demonstrated their hostility to the state by declaring "no go" areas over which the state had no jurisdiction. This was a symbolic act of defiance of state authority.

The authorities were aware of the build-up of tensions and the danger that it might explode in widespread violence. The dangers had been communicated. Community leaders in Derry/Londonderry had warned that the parade was likely to provoke violence in the city. Senior police officers in Belfast had warned that the force would be unable to deal with widespread violence and in the event of further disturbances they would require the support of the Army. The Government was caught. There was a growing recognition that sectarian state practices had to be ended (Cameron Report, 1969). The argument that civil rights agitation was leading to a collapse in the authority of the state was also, however, gaining ground. The sectarian divide between Catholics and Protestants was now forming around a new dimension of difference, attitudes towards reforms of the state. The Government response to the growing tension was stymied by the fact that these divisions, on attitudes towards reforms, split the administration itself. In this sense the Government helped to precipitate disaster. The Government, for whatever reason, chose to allow the parade to proceed. They prepared for the violence by drafting extra police into the city to boost its compliment to 700, a fifth of the entire force.

THE PERIOD OF IMPACT AND RELATIVELY UNORGANIZED RESPONSE

The crisis came to a head on the 12th of August, 1969. The Bogside district of Derry/ Londonderry was the epicenter of the eruption, and over the next few days its impact reverberated throughout Northern Ireland, with particularly devastating impact at key flashpoints in Belfast. In this section we examine a number of different features of the disaster. The first part outlines the impact as measured in deaths, injuries, population displacement, and damage to property. The second part examines the relatively unorganized response; after a general overview this section is subdivided into two themes—defense and relief—that are examined in more detail.

The Impact of Disaster

Four days of rioting, between the 12th and 15th of August, led to ten deaths, eight of them in Belfast.[8] Of these eight, seven were Catholics and one a Protestant. Many hundreds more were injured. One estimate of the injuries found that 374 civilians (199 of them Protestant and 178

Catholics) and 76 members of the RUC were injured in Belfast in August, 1969 and 105 civilians (78 of them Catholic and 27 Protestant) and 253 RUC members in Derry/Londonderry in July and August. The high disparity between figures for civilians and the RUC in Derry/Londonderry are due to the fact that these figures are based on recorded hospital admissions and claims for compensation. The emergency medical services established by local community organizations in the Bogside estimated that they had treated more than 500 injuries and a further 400 cases of those affected by CS gas.

The figures for Belfast are also likely to be an underestimate. One volunteer medical aid organization, the Order of Malta, established eleven first aid centers to deal with casualties from the riots, one of these centers reported that they dealt with an estimated 200 to 300 cases. In Belfast a combination of arson, assault, fear, and intimidation lead to an estimated 1505 Catholics (or 5.3 percent of the Catholic population of the city) and 315 Protestants (0.4 percent of the Protestant population) being permanently displaced from their homes. These population movements were swollen by a substantial number of people who were temporarily displaced (all figures from Scarman Report, 1972, pp. 241–249). In Derry/Londonderry an estimated 500 people, mainly women and children, were evacuated across the border to the Republic of Ireland (Ó Dochartaigh, 1997, p. 122).

The riots also caused extensive damage to property. In Belfast at least 323 residential and commercial properties required minor repairs, a further 94 required major repairs and 179 were so extensively damaged as to require demolition. A peculiar feature of the retail sector in Belfast was the high proportion of Catholic involvement in the selling of alcoholic beverages, they accounted for an estimated 80 percent of the 480 publicans in a city where Catholics were in a minority. These bars and off-license premises were a particular focus for attack; especially those Catholic-owned or managed premises that were in mainly Protestant districts (Scarman Report, 1972, pp. 244–246).[9]

The Relatively Unorganized Response

The response of official bodies was disorganized. These responses ranged from the helpful and appropriate to the counterproductive. Some of the reasons for the disorganized response are common features of official disaster responses. Official agencies were unprepared for the scale and intensity of the disaster and consequently did not have the material or personnel resources to deal with the situation. The bureaucratic nature of large organizations also militated against a rapid response. The nature of the disaster, street violence, made it difficult for the police and emergency services to access the local areas affected. The disorganized response can be seen in the way that state welfare services responded. The social services departments in the counties bordering Belfast (Antrim and Down) "responded in whole-hearted and flexible manner, and their staffs worked virtually around the clock to relive distress" (Williamson and Darby, 1978, p. 81). This contrasted with the response of the Belfast Welfare Authority, the main state body responsible for welfare in Belfast city, who "maintained normal routine and refused to accept that social upheavals generated by political turmoil were part of its remit until it was compelled by government" (Williamson and Darby, 1978, p. 81).

These general features of disasters were exasperated by the prevailing political context in Northern Ireland. In part the disorganized nature of the response was due to the divide within the administration itself about its attitude towards civil rights agitation and the increasingly confrontational nature of this agitation. This problem was particularly acute within the police force. The sectarian divide also meant that police often lacked basic intelligence about working-

class Catholic districts and consequently they acted on the basis of rumor or personal prejudice rather than accurate and reliable information. The police on the ground lacked clear direction from senior ranks at key points in the disturbances, in a number of incidents the police fired on civilian targets in a reckless manner, at least in part because "many of the police, including senior officers, [believed erroneously] that they were dealing with an armed uprising engineered by the IRA" (Scarman Report, 1972, p. 16). In these ways the actions of the police helped to provoke disaster, rather than maintain order.

Local communities and community organizations had a number of advantages over official bodies. Those people who were active in the localities affected were often acting to help what Barton (1969) calls the "primary group": family, friends, and neighbors. They were based in the locality where the disaster was being experienced and so were on hand to deal with problems, the personnel of these organizations often had intimate knowledge of local issues and of where resources could be accessed; they were known locally and were trusted in a way that was not possible for outside organizations to be. Many of the organizations were ad hoc bodies that had only recently developed, often in relation to a specific local concern. They generally had no written constitution or other formal rules: they often had only a loosely defined structure, a dramatically fluctuating membership, and an institutional culture that might be best summed up as "getting on with it," All these features did not help to facilitate long-term planning, but they were well suited to dealing with a complex and rapidly evolving situation.

The response in Belfast differed to that in Derry/Londonderry. In part the differences were due to preparation. The main local community organization in Derry/Londonderry, the Derry Citizens Defence Committee, knew of the possibility of disturbances in advance and had organized plans for defending the Bogside. No such advance warning was available in Belfast. In part the differences were due to the different spatial organization of Catholic working-class communities in the two cities. In Derry/Londonderry the street disturbances were concentrated in one area of the city, the interface between the Bogside residential district and the commercial center of the city. The majority of the working-class Catholic population of the city were concentrated in the Bogside and its hinterland in the districts of the Creggan and Rosemount. (The border with the Republic of Ireland was also only a few miles beyond the Creggan) (see map of Derry/Londonderry, Figure 20.1).

The Belfast Catholic working-class was more spatially fragmented. The largest continuous portion of housing occupied predominantly by Catholics runs westwards from near the city center at Divis Street and fans out along a route that has the Falls Road as its spine. Most of the rest of the Catholic working-class live in religiously concentrated pockets spread throughout Belfast, mainly to the north of the city on the west bank of Belfast Lough. The bulk of the disturbances were along the boundary between "Catholic" west Belfast and the "Protestant" Shankill district, and the Ardoyne district in the north-west of the city. The most extensively damaged streets were those in transition zones of "religiously mixed" housing (see Figure 20.2).

The nature of the rioting also differed between the two cities. In Derry/Londonderry the main focus of the fighting was between residents of the Bogside, who were attempting to maintain a "no go area," and the RUC who were attempting to assert their authority over the area. In Belfast most of the violence took the form of intercommunal fighting between Catholics and Protestants (with the police often acting in concert with Protestants). The violence in Belfast was concentrated in four areas adjacent to the predominantly Protestant Shankill Road. The first was the relatively isolated Ardoyne district to the north of the Shankill. The other three lay on line running westward along the Shankill's southern border with the Falls district. In all four locations the most directly affected streets were in transition zones where a mix of Catholics and Protestant households blurred the lines of demarcation. These differences between the two

FIGURE 20.2. Map of Belfast showing locations of most intense conflict.

cities helped to shape the immediate response to disaster. In Derry/Londonderry the main focus of Catholic community activity was on defense; in Belfast it was on a combination of defense and emergency relief, evacuation in particular. In the rest of this section we look at these two different aspects of the community response to the disaster: defense efforts and relief efforts.

Defense

There were two major dimensions to the defense of local communities: resources and organization. The main resource requirements were personnel, barricades, and weapons. The main organizational issues were mobilization of resources and coordination of activity. In both Derry/Londonderry and Belfast organization was largely ad hoc. The Bogside, however, had the advantage of some advance preparation. The DCDA had established a command center for

operations, initiated a process of gathering materials for barricades and begun placing them strategically within the district, they had started to stockpile Molotov cocktails and other improvised weapons for street fighting, and they had procured a radio transmitter to help with communications and made arrangements with local medical professionals and volunteers to provide emergency first aid in the event of rioting. Even in the Bogside, however, much of the resource mobilization was spontaneously generated in response to rapidly evolving circumstances. The pace, direction, and extent of activity tended to be dictated by the actions of the RUC. As one participant in the "Battle of the Bogside" recalls:

> We were putting up the aerial on the Rossville flats for Radio Free Derry. . . [when] we got word . . .
> that the cops were coming. We started broadcasting through the radio: "Build the barricades! Build
> the barricades! The police are attacking!" . . . The first barricades were being set up when the cops
> made a big charge . . . Whole flats just emptied as stuff used as missiles rained on the peelers[10]—
> cups, saucers, a china cabinet, even a TV (Tommy McCourt). (quoted in: Murphy, 1989).

In the field of battle roles were fluid and dictated by circumstances and aptitude. Children, women, and those who did not have the muscle or skill to throw missiles over a long range, adopted the role of weapons procurement and manufacture. They stripped sheets to produce fuses for Molotov cocktails, filled the bottles with petrol, and transported them to the "front lines." Children tore up paving stones and transported them using wheelbarrows. When petrol reserves were running low youngsters were sent off to procure more. When reinforcements were required people were dispatched to find them. When the RUC began to use CS gas the DCDA produced a bulletin that gave people practical advice on how to counter its effects. The extent to which the whole community was mobilized in defense efforts is conveyed by one eyewitness who toured the Rossville flats and saw:

> . . . about forty teenagers, many girls. I counted eighteen milk crates, each containing twenty bottles
> half-full of petrol and with a piece of rag rammed down the neck. Girls aged 14 or 15 toiled up the
> stairs carrying crates of stones and bottles . . . in the courtyard behind the flats . . . small boys aged
> 8 or 9 decanted petrol from a drum into milk bottles (Hamill, 1986, p. 5).

In Belfast the situation was more disorganized. People had not been prepared for an outbreak of violence. There was also a significant difference within Belfast in terms of the capacity for resource mobilization of the Falls and districts, such as the Ardoyne, that did not have the benefit of neighboring Catholic districts which they could directly draw on. Lyons (1973) noted that people tended to move out of Ballymurphy and Turf Lodge into the neighboring district of the Falls Road to riot. "The rioters of Ardoyne, Oldpark and New Lodge Road [in contrast to this] were mainly indigenous to the area" (Lyons, 1973, p. 13). The personnel for rioting also appear to have been drawn from kinship and neighborhood networks. The rioters who were drawn to the Falls Road from other parts of west Belfast came from neighboring areas and a more distant hinterland which was "inhabited for the most part by people displaced as part of a slum clearance programme in the Falls Road district" (Lyons, 1973, p. 14).

Emergency Relief Efforts

In August the main relief needs were for: evacuation of the people whose homes were attacked and those who feared attacks; housing to accommodate and food to feed those who were displaced by the fighting; and medical aid for those injured in the fighting. The fire services mobilized quite effectively given the circumstances, but in some cases they came under attack from rioters and were unable to access burning buildings. It most cases, firefighting included,

it appears that emergency needs were met by family, friends, and neighbors. One resident of the Ardoyne district of Belfast, for example, recalls houses being set alight by petrol bombs and in response "I and the people I was standing with organised a chain of buckets of water" and attempted to contain the fires, while rioting continued nearby (Ardoyne Commemoration Project, 2002, p. 24).

In Belfast the extent and intensity of the street violence took most people by surprise and consequently there were no significant advance preparations. The main form that the disaster took was intercommunal violence in the "mixed" residential zones to the north and south of the Shankill Road, as rival crowds sought to create a clear demarcation between Catholic and Protestant territory. The intensity of the violence led to massive population movements. In some cases these movements were over short distances (typically to the home of a neighbor or family member within the local district), a mixture of fear and access to transport led many others to move longer distances, to other parts of Belfast or Northern Ireland, or outside Northern Ireland to England or the Republic of Ireland. The population movements in Belfast were often hasty. If people were lucky they had an opportunity to gather some personal belongings before evacuating, usually in a lull in the fighting; many less fortunate people were lucky to escape burning buildings with their lives. The following recollection, of someone who as a five-year-old boy was forced to flee his home with his family, conveys something of the chaos:

> When the air became thick [with smoke] and the great roar from the Shankill grew louder my mother got us out of bed and sat, alone, with [ten of] her children in the back room.... Afraid to go out the front door, unable to go out the back, we crouched together and listened to the yelling and the shooting. The eldest [eighteen year old] boy ... arrived home, panting and red cheeked with excitement, to announce that it was time to get out the back.... It was as we were leaving the back door that the first petrol bomb was thrown into the parlour, the sound of breaking glass followed by a gentle whoosh just before the door closed behind us (Robin Livingstone in: Holliday, 1997, p. 56).

The evacuations were often hasty and chaotic, but not usually formless. People tended moved to the homes of relatives or friends with whom they had established contacts and who lived in areas that those fleeing the violence thought were safer. For some people this meant moving relatively short-distances to areas in the "heartland" of their neighborhood, and for others it meant moving longer distances. These long-distance journeys were least hazardous, and anxiety inducing for those Catholics who lived in west Belfast and could move through "friendly" territory; it was a more difficult journey for those who lived in the more isolated neighborhoods of north Belfast and had to pass through "hostile" territory or take long circuitous routes to avoid territory where they thought they might encounter hostility. In order to make these longer journeys people had to have access to transport, at a time when there were much lower rates of car ownership than there are today, and when public transport was disrupted by the rioting. In some cases this transport was procured locally, with extended family and neighbors helping the affected family. In some cases the transport was provided through kin and friendship networks in other parts of the city.

The other end of the evacuation operation was the housing and feeding of people who had been displaced. Again kin played an important role acting as hosts to displaced people. In the words of one study of population movements in Belfast the "first destination of intimidated families is often the home of a relative or ... in church halls, hostels or schools. From there the family attempts to find a house" (Darby, 1974). For many families finding a house meant squatting vacant, often only partially completed, property. In some of the areas removed from the most intense fighting local community organizations organized relief efforts. In Ballymurphy, for example, members of the Ballymuphy Tenants Association met "to organise relief

for the families flooding into Ballymuprhy, and to organise basic defence" (De Baróid, 2000, p. 21). They formed a women's corps who organized the collection of food, clothing, bedding, medicines, communications, and transport for the relief operation. They commandeered three local schools in which to accommodate the displaced people. Wider and wider circles of people in the local community became involved in the relief efforts. At the schools:

> Offices, assembly halls and kitchens were opened up as the women went from door to door for a cup of sugar here, a quarter of tea there, until enough food had been collected to provide an evening meal for the area's sudden population increase. People began to drift into the schools to offer assistance (De Baróid, 2000, p. 21).

In Derry/Londonderry the main emergency welfare needs were for medical assistance and food supplies. The DCDA had arranged medical support in advance, local medically trained people, both professionals (GPs and nurses) and volunteers (Knights of Malta), helped to establish emergency medical facilities. In preparation an estimated third of the population, mainly young children and their mothers, were moved away from the "frontlines" to stay with extended family in the Creggan. These evacuations appear to have been organized informally by individual families rather than centrally by the DCDA and people with no extended family outside of the Bogside appear to have remained in the district. The DCDA also made arrangements for supplies of food to be brought to the area from across the border. Once street fighting was underway, and new needs became apparent, the organizational structures initiated by the DCDA helped to coordinate some of the response. When the RUC began to deploy CS gas, for example, members of DCDA phoned left-wing contacts in London for advice on how to counteract the effects of the gas and this information was circulated through the pirate radio broadcasts, via leaflets produced in situ, and by word of mouth.

There appears to have been very little recourse to official agencies for medical assistance during the three days of rioting in Derry/Londonderry. This seems to have been due to a combination of the advance preparations fulfilling most of the immediate needs, keenness amongst combatants to return to battle as soon as possible, the location of the hospital being behind police lines, and reluctance among those injured to avail of medical services in the local hospital out of fear that they would be reported to the RUC as rioters.

THE PERIOD OF ORGANIZED RESPONSE
AND POST-DISASTER EQUILIBRIUM

As a case study Northern Ireland indicates some of the difficulties in clearly delineating between different phases of disaster. This is particularly clear for the period of organized response and post-disaster equilibrium. Was the Bogside in mid-August, 1969 a site of organized response and Belfast simultaneously a site of unorganized response? Or did the organized response come when British troops were deployed on the streets of Derry/Londonderry on the 14th of August, 1969? Should we think of the IRA's reorganization and grouping as the organized community response? Or should we look to the political sphere and the reforms of local government, the administration of social housing, and the administration of justice as the organized response to disaster? At best these various responses helped to provide a lull, a "honeymoon period" as it was referred to at the time, before other disasters struck. At worst they helped to maintain the build-up of tension.

The events of mid-August, 1969 were a watershed. The intensity of street violence subsided after British troops were deployed on the streets, but rioting now became a constant

background feature of life in the two cities. The army was increasingly drawn in to these riots and began to be perceived by Catholics as armed tactical support for the widely despised RUC. By mid-1970 the IRA had regrouped and rearmed and, with some level of support from local Catholic communities, began to attack the British Army.[11] Army actions in search of IRA weapons arsenals and personnel—such as the "Falls curfew" in July, 1970 and internment of suspects in August 1971—only served to inflame tensions even further and helped to boost recruitment to the IRA. Perhaps it would be more accurate to suggest that Northern Ireland has been the site of a rolling disaster, echoes of which can still be heard during the peace process.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our analysis of the riots in Belfast and Derry/Londonderry in mid-August, 1969 illustrates a number of features of the impact of disasters on communities and of community responses to this impact. The riots had a destructive impact on communities that can be counted in terms of lives lost, physical and psychological injuries, families uprooted, and damage to property. They also illustrate some of the roles that both government and community leaders can play in helping to shape the response. In our concluding remarks we focus on three aspects of the community response to disaster: community organization; the social and political context, and; the politicization of local communities.

The example of the riots in Northern Ireland in mid-August, 1969 indicates the community networks are important for helping to deal with a situation of extreme social stress. In Belfast kinship networks and local community organizations were crucial in mobilizing the relief efforts and also played a significant role in local defense. In Derry/Londonderry the extensive networks that had been built up over the previous year helped local people to become a self-governing community which was able to repel a sustained attack from trained and well-equipped forces who sought to take control of the local area. In the literature on disaster management it is widely acknowledged that the political engagement of a community can help it to cope with disaster.

One international expert on disaster management has, for example, suggested that a principal reason why the disaster in the Welsh mining town of Aberfan had a less devastating psychosocial impact on the local community than a comparable disaster in Buffalo Creek (in the Appalachian Mountains) was because of "a tradition of community organization and action which is reflected in commitment to trade union activities, working men's clubs; non-conformist chapels and local political activities" in Aberfan (Parkes, 1979, p. 208). The positive benefits of an engaged community can be felt at each phase of a disaster, and disasters are themselves a test of the strength of community organization, resilience, and creativity. People are the most valuable resource that communities have and political engagement keeps this resource vibrant and networked. This is what Durodie (2005, p. 2) points to in the quotation that opens this chapter when stating that: "People tend to be at their most cooperative and focused in a crisis. This should be encouraged and developed rather than discouraged and undermined."

A big question for government is how to encourage and develop civic engagement. This kind of active engagement is unlikely to be artificially engineered through, for example, active citizenship programs (Martinetto, 2003). The development of an engaged citizenry in Derry/Londonderry arose out of lived experience, not out of state-sponsored programs. The reason why local people in Derry/Londonderry were engaged in community activity was because they could see that their actions could make a difference. This presents a significant challenge for governments of whatever hue. The example of Derry/Londonderry in August,

1969 also indicates that political and community leaders can be challenged when local communities have a sense of their own capacity to affect change. It shows that when working-class communities are mobilized they can move events on at a pace that is more intense than many established political leaders are able to deal with.

The example of Northern Ireland in 1969 demonstrates, in a particularly acute way, that community mobilization cannot be understood in its own terms: that mobilization needs to be understood in a social and political context. It also provides particular examples of moral dilemmas thrown up by community activity. The civil rights protestors sought to end sectarian practices of the state; in the context of this sectarian society, however, their actions served to stoke up sectarianism. Who should be held to account for this stoking of sectarianism? Was it the fault of a sectarian state, which appeared to be moving in the direction of reforms? Was it the fault of working-class Catholics having too high expectations? Was it the fault of intransigent Protestants for holding back the pace of reform? Was it the fault of the RUC for initiating street violence? Or was it due to immature and inexperienced political organization on the part of those who brought civil rights issues onto the streets? All of these have been proposed as contributory factors. Commentators differ, however, in the priority that they allocate to each (or whether to even consider some of the factors as having any relevance at all).

All of this might appear to be getting away from the issue of community responses to disaster and focusing on politics; if this is so it is because the two issues cannot be separated. Any attempt to separate the two is itself a political move. When the issue of how society's resources are to be allocated becomes politicized the more conservative and "respectable" community leaders and organizations prioritize social order over improving conditions for the disadvantaged. Those who are disadvantaged by the existing social order prioritize social change. Disasters, through revealing the existing structures of society and tearing at the social fabric, provide a context in which radical social change can be enacted. The pace, direction, and extent of this change—as disasters as different as Northern Ireland in August 1969 and New Orleans in 2005 indicate—depends on the intensity of social networks, the capacity for resource mobilization, the level of aspiration, the extent of unity, and the ideological outlook of local communities, as expressed in their local community organizations.

Social capital is only one element in shaping the long-term community response to disaster. A political dimension is also crucial.[12] As Eammon McCann (Ellison and Martin, 2000, pp. 689–690) has noted in relation to the emergence of the Provisional IRA in 1970:

> people in the Bogside were just raging mad at what was being done to their community, the civil rights militants and left wingers generally had no prepared channels to divert that anger into, and no structure of organisation to try to recruit people into, and no commonly accepted and clear political ideas that we were trying to impose on the situation. The one group which emerged from that situation, and which had absolutely clear ideas about what was happening—Britain oppressing Ireland—and had the organisation to give it expression, was the Republican movement.

NOTES

1. The "Troubles" is the colloquial term for the political violence which afflicted Northern Ireland for quarter of a century (1969–1994).
2. For a good study of the impact of the early stages of the Troubles on Protestant communities see: (Nelson 1984).
3. For a debate on the nature of the divide see: (Jenkins, Donnan, and Mcfarlane, 1986).
4. Perhaps the most dramatic of these gestures was O'Neill's welcome to the Taoiseach (the political leader of the state in the Republic of Ireland). Symbolically this gesture was akin to the leader of Israel shaking hands with Yasser Arafat or the President of the United States shaking hands with the Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

5. The city's official title Londonderry was conferred by English colonizers in the seventeenth century; it is commonly referred to locally as Derry, particularly by Catholics (and for this reason the particular name used—Derry or Londonderry—has sectarian connotations). It is also probably an overstatement to call it a city: by 1991 the "city" had just over 70,000 inhabitants.

6. Most of the data in this section is drawn from the Scarman Report, 1972.

7. He signaled this in a famous speech that came to be referred to as his "crossroads" speech.

8. The other two deaths were in small rural towns, one in Armagh and one in Dungiven.

9. All of the premises which were destroyed (30) or damaged (40) during the rioting were Catholic owned or managed.

10. Peelers is a colloquial term for the police.

11. IRA actions which were viewed by local communities as defence of the local community were generally supported by the Catholic population. There was, however, less support for 'offensive' military actions such as the bombing of commercial premises or other non-combatant targets [see, e.g., Sluka (1989)].

12. Riley challenges the simplistic notion that bridging social capital is more conducive to social harmony than bonding social capital in his comparative analysis of dictatorship in Italy and Spain after the First World War. He shows that there was more extensive bridging social capital in Italy, the country with the more authoritarian form of dictatorship (Riley, 2005).

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The Nature of Community Organizing: Social Capital and Community Leadership

MARILYN TAYLOR

People have always organized. They get together for mutual support, to help others, or to improve local services, either by developing their own provision or lobbying existing providers. People also get together to try and influence decisions that affect their neighbourhood or, as Hunter suggests in Chapter 1 of this *Handbook*, to mobilize against developments that threaten them.

Over recent years, governments and international institutions across the globe have sought to tap the power of communities and associated concepts of social capital in order to tackle poverty and exclusion and increase stability in an uncertain world. This has been associated with a shift from forms of government focused on the state to new spaces of governance in which a variety of actors from across different sectors are invited or encouraged to collaborate in governing. Governments may want to encourage "community" as an intrinsic good: a growing body of research, for example, has demonstrated links between social capital and positive outcomes in health, economic vitality, and crime reduction (Halpern, 2005). They may want to encourage communities to provide their own services and rebuild local economies. Or they may want to encourage communities, as consumers of public services, to contribute to service design and planning and to hold service providers and politicians to account. Governments are also calling for a more active citizenry and seek to encourage community organizing and social capital as the basis for both civic engagement and the revitalization of democracy (Putnam, 1993; see also Schneider, Chapter 4, this volume).

Although welcome, these developments take their place in a neo-liberal global context where the market and the rights of the individual are seen to be paramount and where, at the same time, local identities are increasingly fragmented and polarized. In this context, critics argue that social capital is being encouraged as a substitute for economic capital, and the rhetoric of community is being used as a means to absolve governments of their responsibilities to address complex structural problems of exclusion and inequality (Rose, 1996). "Community," "social

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capital," and the "local" are used as "self-evident and unproblematic social categories" (Hickey and Mohan, 2005, p. 16), but the reality of engaging communities in these new governance spaces, as Schneider illustrates earlier in Chapter 4, is much more complex, especially in the most disadvantaged neighborhoods.

In this chapter, I explore a range of approaches to working in and with local communities at neighbourhood level, particularly in disadvantaged areas, and their implications for community practice.[1] I briefly sketch out the roots of community practice, outlining the different models that have developed over the years. I then draw on the language and ideas of social capital, and on social movement theory to consider how communities can organize for change, both in the "invited spaces" created by government initiatives and in their own "popular spaces" (Cornwall, 2004). In doing so, I explore the tensions and challenges inherent in community practice, both inside and outside the state.

APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY PRACTICE

The roots of community organizing lie in the associations that people have formed over the centuries to tackle common concerns in their villages, settlements, and neighborhoods. The American genius for association that de Tocqueville (1945) celebrated in the nineteenth century had its echoes in Europe and elsewhere as groups of workers, faced with poverty if they fell sick, got together in the local inn or chapel to pool their resources to cover these and other risks, to save for housing, or to support the most vulnerable in their communities. Traditions of local organizing have since adapted to the changing context of society, with "thrusts of collective action" (Murphy and Cunningham, 2003) challenging the effects of economic change that came with the advance of urbanism, the Great Depression of the 1930s in Europe and the United States, and with post-war reconstruction after the Second World War.

The drive for community organizing has not only come from within. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the settlement movement in the United Kingdom and the United States sought to break down the growing divisions between rich and poor and take civic skills into the neighborhoods that lacked them. Community practice also has its roots in the colonial programmes of the 1950s and 1960s that sought to prepare indigenous peoples for political and economic independence. This period also saw the first wave of state interventions "back home" to tackle urban poverty and deprivation, with the War on Poverty in the United States and the National Community Development Project and associated programmes in the United Kingdom.

State support for community practice in the United States continued in the 1970s and 1980s through community development block grants and the requirements of the Community Reinvestment Act (1977), but here and in the United Kingdom, support was hit by the advance of neo-liberal policies. Nonetheless, in the United Kingdom, urban local authorities continued to invest in community development well into the 1980s, as a means of resisting the impact of Thatcherism.

The 1990s saw another wave of state interventions in these countries. Empowerment Zones were set up by the Clinton administration in the United States (along with a series of Comprehensive Community Initiatives funded by foundations), while in the United Kingdom, the New Labour government, elected in 1997, launched a National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal, which sought to place communities "at the heart" of initiatives to address what was now called social exclusion (SEU, 2000). More recently, the United Kingdom government has launched a cross-cutting strategy to promote active citizenship and civil renewal (Civil

Renewal Unit, 2005). At the same time, participation and social capital have become key themes in the poverty reduction and debt relief programs of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank (Gaventa, 1998).

Drawing on typologies produced by Rothman and Tropman (1987) in the United States and Thomas (1983) in the United Kingdom, Glen (1993, Chapter 2) identified three main models of community practice. These were:

- Community development (Rothman's "locality development")
- Community services approaches (expanding on Rothman's "social planning")
- Community action (Rothman's "social action")

The models embodied different theories of change. Community development sought to restore community where it had been "lost," whether because of anomic and alienating trends in the wider society, or because of the shortcomings/pathology of the community itself (Taylor, 2003). Rothman's "locality development," for example, was targeted at local communities that were defined as "apathetic, lacking in fruitful human relationships and problem-solving skills" (Rothman and Tropman, 1987, p. 9). Solutions lay in encouraging communities to define their own needs, promoting self-help and volunteering activities and community education programs. The role of community practice was one of enabling, encouraging, and educating, working in a nondirective way (Glen, 1993).

In community services approaches, it was public services that were at fault, insensitive and unwilling to change. In Rothman's "social planning" model, this required a technical response with experts encouraged to resolve problems on the basis of rational problem-solving techniques. The role of community practice was as fact gatherer and analyst. To this, Glen (1993) added the need to engage communities alongside professionals in service planning and delivery and encourage interagency working in order to develop more responsive services and planning.

The analysis underpinning the community action model was one of a society based on structural oppression and inherent conflicts of interest. Inspired by the writings of Saul Alinsky and his work with the Industrial Areas Foundation (Alinsky, 1946), this "power-based approach" (Smock, 2003) encouraged large-group mobilization and confrontational tactics to demand change of external targets. Community action, which was also promoted through the United Kingdom's Community Development Programme, looked to coalition politics—alliances with social movements and trade unions—to strengthen the community voice. The role of community practice was as activist, organizer, advocate, and broker.

These models have retained considerable salience over the years. But, as the complexities of community practice have become more apparent and the context has changed, so too has the relevance of different approaches and the relationship between them. Figure 21.1 summarizes these developments and is informed, in part, by classifications that have been developed, in the global South by Abbott (1996) and, in the United States by Smock (2003). In doing so, it identifies the source of the problem implied in each approach, the vehicle for the solution, the role of community practice, and, following Smock, the wider model of democracy that each approach assumes.

There is still a strong interest in community development, both within communities themselves and from government and other external actors seeking to build individual and organizational capacity in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This has been boosted by the interest in concepts of "social capital" that has developed since the early 1990s (Putnam, 2000). However, writing in 2000, Rothman concedes that his "locality development" model reflected an

	Source of problem	Vehicle for solution	Model of democracy	Role of community practice
Community development	Community capacity	Community	Communitarian	Capacity building
Community cohesion/ diversity	Community fragmentation	Community	Pluralist	Mediation, broker Capacity building Challenging discrimination
Community management	Services	Community organisations	Communitarian	Capacity building Entrepreneur
Social planning	Services (technical capacity)	Services	Elitist	Fact gatherer and analyst
Community services approach	Services (respon- siveness)	Services (with consumer involvement)	Unitary	Mediator/ broker
Partnership	Services	Cross-sector partnerships	Unitary (based on commu- nicative action)	Mediator/broker
Community action	Structural	Community movement	Adversarial	Activist, advocate, organizer
Transformative social change	Structural	Community movement	Adversarial	Political education Mobilization

FIGURE 21.1. Models of community practice.

"idealistic, optimistic view of people and the change process" (Rothman, 2000, p. 20). Communitarian ideals of homogeneous and morally coherent communities and class-based strategies for change have given way to a growing awareness of the fragmentation within society and the need to organize around diversity and identity (Nyden, Chapter 20, this volume and Meekosha, 1992, p. 184).

From below, struggles around race, gender, disability, and sexuality, with identities forged around communities of interest as well as place, have forced community practice to recognize multiple forms of exclusion, to support marginalized communities and confront prejudice and discrimination. From above, government policy has always been influenced by race politics, with investment aimed at reducing—or mollifying—racial tension. However, in the United Kingdom, government has also promoted a "community cohesion" agenda, in response, initially, to the Northern Ireland conflict and, more recently, to race riots in Northern cities and to the London bombings in 2005. The cohesion/diversity agenda has highlighted the role of community practice in challenging discrimination and prejudice and in mediation.

The community services approach, meanwhile, has adapted to changing ideas about the role of the state and the nature of governing. Most commentators agree that it is no longer possible, given the complexity of today's society, for the state to govern without the cooperation of other actors. The resulting shift from government to governance has opened up new spaces

into which communities have been invited alongside other actors, offering opportunities for partnership and dialogue in addressing community needs. Indeed, some in the United Kingdom argue that the pendulum has swung even further and that communities are now used by the central state as a means for disciplining out-of-touch politicians and officials (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2004).

An alternative response to system failure is community management. From below, the long tradition of community development corporations in the United States is an example of communities organizing to provide their own alternative services and economic opportunities, with community practice acting as enabler and entrepreneur. From above, governments themselves have sought to transfer the responsibility for service delivery to communities, encouraging the growth of social and community enterprise.

As opportunities have opened up for communities to engage with power holders in addressing local problems through new and theoretically more open governance arrangements, the context for community action has also changed, with more opportunities to influence the system from within and to take control of services and policy initiatives. Nonetheless, Alinsky-style organizing still has a strong presence, especially in the United States, in authoritarian countries and as a key strategy to tackle racism and the politics of identity. Community action has also tapped into the new repertoires of action available through the internet and through global coalitions and movements.

However, Murphy and Cunningham (2003, p. 105) argue that Alinsky's power tactics, although latent in most organizations, are not so widely used now as in the 1960s. In her "women-centred" approach, Smock (2003), emphasizes the need for more intimate, "nurturing" approaches to allow people to build their confidence and political awareness. In both this and her "transformative" approach, she emphasizes the importance of "critical thinking skills and the capacity to analyze personal experiences in terms of broader social structural patterns." This resonates with Hanna and Robinson's transformative social change model (1994), whose emphasis is on self-directed, nonhierarchical learning and reflection, based on the "conscientization" approach of Paolo Freire (1972).

A FRAMEWORK FOR COMMUNITY PRACTICE

These models demonstrate how community practice has developed over time in response to the complexities of contemporary society: building individual and organizational skills and capacity; encouraging learning and dialogue; forging alliances and bridging different interests; mobilizing to achieve change and challenging existing power. These different models are not mutually exclusive: indeed Murphy and Cunningham (2003) argue for a comprehensive approach that combines the strengths of different models, while two of Smock's models, "civic" and "community-building," combine community with service-based approaches. But, as Figure 21.1 and Smock's own analysis show, the models do reflect different theories of democracy and assumptions about the potential to integrate different interests in society.

In recent years, the concept of social capital has provided alternative tools for analyzing community problems and community organizing solutions. Social capital has had a considerable appeal to policy makers who see it as a moral resource to underpin community cohesion as well as the basis for collective responses to community needs. Indeed, social capital is thought to be particularly important for disadvantaged communities, where residents have limited economic resources, opportunities, and mobility.

However, social capital is a contested concept, criticized for its imprecision, for its normative use and for the failure of its advocates to engage with its 'dark' side or explain how it contributes to civic engagement [see, for example, Foley and Edwards (1999); Schneider, Chapter 4, this volume]. Putnam's approach to social capital has been criticized also for its failure to engage with power, in comparison with Bourdieu's conception of social capital as an individual good which is likely to reproduce socioeconomic class distinctions and inequalities (Bourdieu, 1986). Some of these criticisms have been addressed by the distinctions that have been made between different forms of social capital and discussed earlier in this volume:

- Bonding social capital: strong relationships and networks within communities ("social glue")
- Bridging social capital: weaker horizontal ties between communities ("social oil")
- Linking social capital: vertical ties between communities and external actors

These distinctions are particularly important in community practice. For, although some disadvantaged communities have plenty of "bonding" social capital, they often lack the all-important bridging and linking social capital that gives them access to external resources. "Bonding" social capital may help them cope, but it will not help them overcome their problems (Burns and Taylor, 1998). Without bridging and linking capital, bonding social capital in marginalized communities can entrench counterproductive behaviours and cut members off from the wider society. Research suggests, for example, that it is "bridging" social capital that is most likely to be associated with health (Flynn, 1989; Yen and Syme, 1999).

Although the concept of social capital is highly contested, what the social capital analysis has achieved is to underline the significance of networks, social ties, and the trust they generate, alongside the skills and resources encapsulated in concepts of human and financial capital. Gilchrist (2004) describes how informal networks do not only carry trust; they also create opportunities for reflection and learning, providing important channels for the development of ideas and opinions. Our informal networks shape our view of the world, creating shared narratives and "frameworks of sense" (Melucci, 1988, p. 248) that guide our behaviour. As such, they can also be seen as conduits of knowledge, agency, and power.

Gilchrist (2004) uses this to underpin a networking approach to community practice, which sees its goal as developing a "well-connected community." She emphasizes the role of networks as channels for recruitment, communication, dialogue, and influence. Rather than harking back to a "golden age" of community, she shows how networks can be used to encourage a sense of shared purpose and collective efficacy in an increasingly complex society, where the "maintenance of interlocking flexible networks around a variety of interests and identities will constitute our best strategy for building mature, resilient and sustainable communities" (Gilchrist, 2004, p. 95).

There are a number of resonances with other theoretical frameworks here. Elsewhere (Taylor, 2003, pp. 145, 157), I have used Stewart Clegg's (1989) analysis of "circuits of power" along with social movement theory, to suggest that community practice should be concerned with two levels of reconnection: reconnecting and activating circuits that have lain dormant and in disrepair within communities—the web of networks submerged in everyday life (Melucci, 1988, p. 248)—and linking these circuits into more powerful circuits, which supply more sustainable reserves of power, whether these be those of the state, in the case of the community services approach, or those of other movements, as in the case of community action.

Drawing on this and the models discussed earlier, it is possible to suggest a framework of interlinked modes of community practice, which progresses from organizing at neighborhood
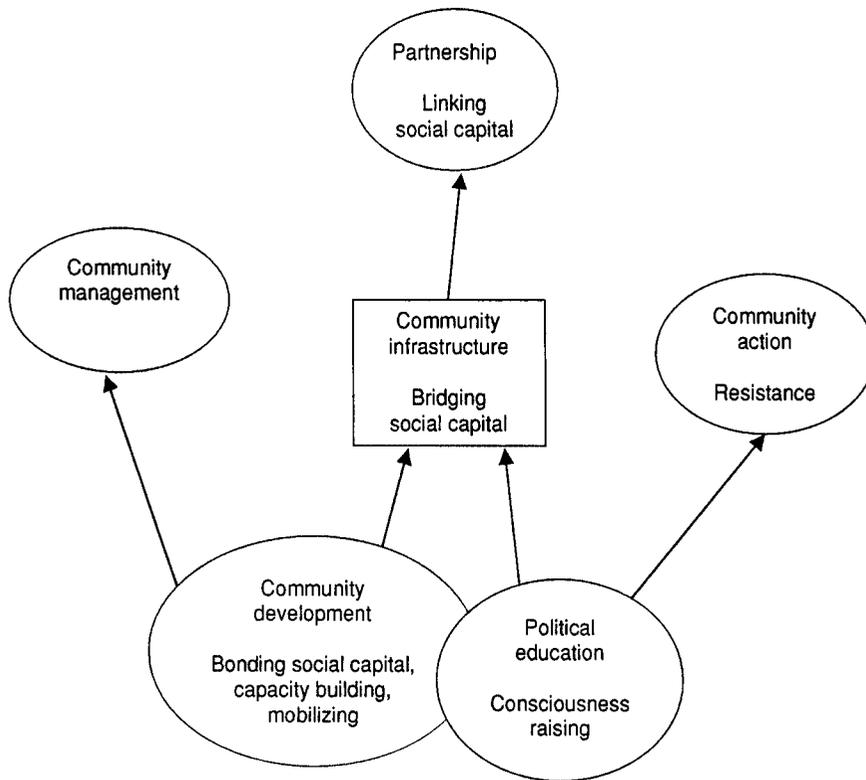
FIGURE 21.2. A framework for community practice.

level, through the creation of organizations that can bridge the diversity of community interests to partnerships or broader coalitions for change that link communities into external actors and governance spaces. Please see Figure 21.2.

In the following pages, I consider the implications of each level of the framework for community practice. I also identify the tensions and challenges that face community practice at each level and how these might be addressed.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

All models need to be rooted in a strong grass-roots base. People need the opportunity to engage with the people they trust most in order to gain the skills, confidence, and awareness to engage in a wider arena. Social movement theory has long acknowledged the importance of friendship networks, not only as a means of recruitment for action but also as "abeyance structures," during periods of inaction (see Adams and Ueno, Chapter 12, this volume). Whether community leaders are engaging in partnerships with power-holders or confronting them, they need to be informed and held to account by an active and well-organized constituency. Even independent community development trusts and corporations cannot take their community base for granted: it needs to be nurtured and refreshed, if the organization is to be healthy and maintain its legitimacy.

The ingredients of community practice within communities are well documented: building community capacity; diagnosing local problems; creating more formal organizations; developing local leaders; taking effective collective action (Smock, 2003). The literature also emphasizes the importance of asset-based approaches that emphasize the skills and strengths in the neighborhood rather than what is problematic or absent (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993).

Advocates of community-based solutions often underestimate the fragility of many local groups, dependent on one or two leaders, who have often been carrying the group for a long time, with very limited resources (JRF, 2005). Spreading participation and establishing the strong and sustainable foundation that community practice needs remains one of the major challenges for community practice. It requires a variety of ways in which allow people who are used to being marginalized and isolated to engage with the people they trust most and to build basic confidence, "safe nurturing spaces where residents can gather, provide mutual support and build shared leadership" (Smock, 2003).

Gilchrist (2004) underlines the importance of informal networking, which requires less explicit commitment than a formal organization and provides easy escape routes. Informal networks allow people to discover that their experience is shared, to gain confidence, to turn private troubles into public issues and develop their own narratives instead of internalizing the stereotypes imposed on them by the external world. Unlike their formal counterparts, informal networks are able to mobilize quickly and to adapt to emerging situations. And, of course, Internet and mobile phone technology have proved invaluable tools to mobilize some of the populations that are defined as hard-to-reach, especially young people.

However, informal networks, by their nature can be transient, as can the learning and dialogue that takes place within them. Their capacity to act can be limited. Too heavy a touch risks distorting them and professionals often fail to recognize the different logics of formal and informal systems, smothering them with unrealistic and inappropriate demands (Burns and Taylor, 1998).

Gilchrist (2004, p. 108) also claims that "a lack of clarity over remits and responsibilities can cause problems when there is much work to be done or competition for scarce resources." Networks, she argues, can be overloaded with information and often have no mechanism for resolving (or even acknowledging) conflicts. The more dispersed they are and the more diverse their members' interests, the more difficult they are to sustain (Leadbeater and Christie, 1999). She suggests therefore that: "More formal procedures are needed for decision-making and unified, rather than parallel, action" (see also Hunter, Chapter 1, this volume).

Thus informality, although an invaluable springboard for collective action, is not sufficient. To have agency, to mobilize, and to relate to external actors, formal organizations are needed. The necessity for a balance between the informal and the formal is reflected also in the social movement literature, which although valuing the informal, as we have seen, also acknowledges that social movements need formal organizations to mobilize people, to provide stability and to enable maturation (Caniglia and Carmin, 2005, p. 202). The formality of clear roles and structures can support mobilization by reducing conflict and ambiguity. Formal organizations also act as incubators of talent and collectors and disseminators of critical information (Caniglia and Carmin, 2005, pp. 203–204).

However, although formalization is essential, it also brings dangers in its wake. The many pressures on groups to grow and formalize—to engage in partnerships, take on service contracts, generate jobs, and so on—can distance them from their roots as well as professionalizing the collective face-to-face ways of working that make them attractive as alternatives to the state

or market. It is important, therefore, for community practice to ensure that formal organizations remain embedded in networks. Networks can ensure that the expertise that is acquired in formal organizations and specific actions flows back into the community at large and is translated into the capacity to respond to further needs and opportunities (Gilchrist, 2004). They ensure that more formal organizations are accountable to the wider community. Social networking events and opportunities help to lubricate more formal opportunities by providing spaces around the formal meetings where issues can be safely processed and discussed. They help to maintain more formal organizations by "holding" organizational intelligence and capacity in periods of inactivity or repression, the "abeyance" structures referred to earlier (Milofsky, 1987; Tarrow, 1994).

Finally, at this level, the framework emphasizes the importance of reflection and learning as an integral and essential part of practice. Transformative models (Freire, 1972; Hanna and Robinson, 1994; Smock, 2003) thus emphasize the importance of "small group processes of self-directed enquiry, gradual political socialization and awareness, concern with understanding power and community decisions" as well as the "formation of support and solidarity groups ... designed for the mutual support of members and the sharing of life with neighbours" (Murphy and Cunningham, 2003, p. 102). This process encourages people not only to see that their personal problems are shared; it also encourages them to engage with the wider causes and implications of neighbourhood problems. Connecting local issues up to broader political and economic structures is an essential part of transformative approaches to community practice. This "ability for the interests of the small group to evolve into a concern for society at large," as Schneider (Chapter 4, this volume) argues, is also what makes the connections between voluntary action and civic engagement.

BRIDGING: COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE

"Bonding" social capital, for all the reasons discussed earlier both here and in Chapter 4, is not enough. Building bridging social capital recognizes the diversity of communities, but also the need to mediate difference and build trust across community boundaries, so that communities can work together rather than dissipating their power through conflict and fragmentation.

In his evaluation of the Comprehensive Community Programmes in the United States, Pitcoff (1998, p. 5), underlines the need for bridging community practice, arguing that "the problems are too significant [for individual groups] to be out there separately." He also observes that collaboration provides leverage when it comes to securing funding for the neighborhood. In addition, there is still much evidence that external power holders want a single community voice and can use the inevitable differences across communities to divide and rule. Fragmentation and division at community level also reinforce external stereotypes of disadvantaged communities as conflict-ridden and pathological (which then makes it easier to blame them for their disadvantage).

Again this poses challenges for community practice. The first relates to "scaling up." If it is difficult to engage people at a neighborhood level, this becomes doubly difficult at infrastructural level. The demands of their own activities often leave groups with little room for engagement across the boundaries of their community. Individual groups may also fear the marginalization of their concerns if they enter coalitions or alliances (Meekosha, 1992, p. 191).

A second challenge relates to the inherent tensions that exist between diversity and cohesion. Offe (1987, p. 65) sees this as one of the fundamental dilemmas of modern democracy: "to maintain the diversity within civil society, while creating some measure of unity, of bindingness, of political authority."

Recent research I carried out with colleagues in the United Kingdom[2] identified many faultlines within the sector, between professional organizations and volunteer-led groups, between minority ethnic groups and the more traditional White-dominated community sector and between different ethnic groups (ODPM, 2005). However, it is clear that tensions between communities are exacerbated by "top-down" capacity building programs that are "tied to inherently conflictual and contradictory processes, with groups competing for limited resources" [Shirlow and Murtagh (2004, p. 68; see also Gittell (2001, p. 91)], by competition for political attention in the new governance spaces that have emerged (ODPM, 2005), and by competition for legitimacy back in the "home" community (Purdue, 2001). The experience of the Comprehensive Community Initiatives in the United States reinforces this analysis, warning that these initiatives are "not for the faint-hearted" (Pitcoff, 1998, p. 13).

However, diversity is also a source of richness in community practice. Conflict, too, can be seen as a necessary part of group development, part of the cycle of forming, storming, norming, and performing that is characteristic of organizational development (Sutton, 1994). So, how can cohesion and diversity be reconciled?

Elsewhere, I have argued the importance of fostering connections between groups based on identity and those based on place (Taylor, 2003; ODPM, 2005) so that the most marginalized people within neighborhoods both benefit from and contribute to neighborhood initiatives. This is most likely to be successful, however, if the bonding work at the base of Figure 21.2 is in place, giving people the confidence they need to cross boundaries. Experience also suggests that bridges should not be dependent on one or two leaders but that connections should be built at many different levels in order to foster an inclusive approach (Taylor, 2003; Murphy and Cunningham, 2003, p. 86).

Again, the literature suggests a combination of formal and informal approaches. The most successful coalitions and alliances are likely to be embedded in more sustained informal relationships. Informal networks allow us to cross boundaries without losing identity (Skelcher et al., 1996). The face-to-face interaction of informal networks helps to break down stereotypes and the trust generated in these networks also creates opportunities for safe dialogue, which in turn reinforces trust (Gilchrist, 2004).

The role of mediation and brokerage in building bridging social capital is crucial (JRF, 2005). However, sustained action requires a more permanent infrastructure. The evidence on effective institutional forms for bridging across communities is underdeveloped. Despite a long tradition of infrastructure development within the United Kingdom voluntary and more community sector, for example, there is little research that critically analyzes the models available. What the evidence does suggest, however, is that building effective bridging institutions needs both time and resources. In this respect, external resources, despite their divisive potential, can act as a catalyst for new networks of organizations. This happened in the Empowerment Zones in the United States (Gittell, 2001) and also in the United Kingdom, where Coaffee and Healey (2003) found evidence of social learning and network building in neighborhood renewal initiatives that they studied. More recently, my own research referred to above, found that government funding for the community participation infrastructure had both stimulated and acted as a focus for dialogue between different communities (ODPM, 2005). Indeed, in areas without these resources, it proved impossible to keep up the initial momentum.

PARTNERSHIP OR COALITIONS
FOR CHANGE?

Linking social capital describes the vertical ties that cut across status and similarity and allow people in communities to exert influence and reach resources outside their normal circles (Gilchrist, 2004). The move from government to governance is creating new opportunities to develop these links and the potential for models of "negotiated development" (Abbott, 1996), based on dialogue and partnership.

However, governmentality theorists, drawing on Foucault, have argued that, although governing is now carried out "at a distance from the state," the new governance spaces are still inscribed with a state agenda (Rose and Miller, 1992). Although communities are made responsible for resolving the problems of their exclusion, power is recentralized through indirect control mechanisms of surveillance that sustain the state more effectively than its own institutions (Foucault, 1980, p. 73). The rules of the game in new invited governance spaces are those of existing power holders, "with some players not only having play moves but also the refereeing of these as power resources" (Clegg 1989, pp. 200–201).

The overwhelming judgment of research across the globe supports this analysis. Successive studies suggest that, despite over forty years of community participation and partnership initiatives, communities remain on the margins of power [see, for example, Mayo (1997); Cooke and Kothari (2001); Gittell (2001); Taylor (2003)]. Local politicians and officials remain remarkably resilient to change. In the United States, for example, the evaluation of the Empowerment Zones remarks how "city officials and bureaucrats defended their turf to the exclusion of any change in process or participants" (Gittell, 2001, p. 91).

Many commentators argue, therefore, that exclusion, poverty, and inequality cannot be tackled in the "invited spaces" of government-led partnerships. Tackling inequality requires countervailing power to be built through alternative models that do not depend on state patronage: the community management, community action, and transformative models described earlier.

There have been criticisms of the community management route as practiced, for example, by the Community Development Corporations in the United States. Murphy and Cunningham (2003, pp. 39–43) suggest that many have lost contact with their roots, and become increasingly preoccupied with a narrow developmental perspective. They also argue that the advances that CDCs have made are generally at micro-level and offset by continued disinvestment and decline on the macro-level. Similar criticisms have been made of the current emphasis on social enterprise in the United Kingdom. Here and in the global South, critics argue that externally driven initiatives to encourage community management are forcing communities to manage their own exclusion, with the responsibility but not the resources or power to tackle local needs effectively.

In the United States, therefore, Murphy and Cunningham call for regional, national, and international alliances to promote change, providing examples of different national coalitions based on churches and the civil rights and environmental movements. Worldwide, the focus of community action and civic engagement has also scaled up from the local to the global. "Globalization from below" offers new opportunities for countervailing power to take on the international financial institutions and multinational business that dictate local conditions and to put pressure on nation states from above.

Nonetheless, others see opportunities in the new partnership opportunities that have been created at the local level. Research I carried out with colleagues in the United Kingdom, for example, showed that, although the Alinsky community action tradition was alive and well,

especially among some religious and Black and minority ethnic communities, many felt that years of campaigning on the outside of the system had achieved little (Craig, Taylor, and Parkes, 2004).

Governmentality theory argues that, despite the colonization of new governance spaces by the state, community players in these new spaces have the capacity to become "active subjects, who not only collaborate in the exercise of government, but also shape and influence it" (Morison, 2000, p. 119). Social movement theory, too (Tarrow, 1994, p. 99; Caniglia and Carmin, 2005, p. 204), reminds us that the opening up of political power in these new spaces has created opportunities that can be exploited, offering:

- Institutional provisions for participation
- External resources for people who lack internal ones
- Alliances that did not previously seem possible
- Realignments that can bring new groups to power

To an extent, the models adopted at this level of Figure 21.2 reflect the political and cultural context within which community practice operates. In the United States, for example, despite the War on Poverty, the state support provided by the community development block grant and occasional later federal initiatives such as the Empowerment Zones, cited in this chapter, the community practice literature suggests far less interdependence between the state and community practice than there is in Europe. The role of foundations, the churches, and the private sector, the latter encouraged by the Community Reinvestment Act has created a different local dynamic in the US, underpinning, for example, the strong Community Development Corporation tradition. In the global South, meanwhile, the dynamic is different again, dictated by the interaction between powerful international NGOs, the aid programs of Northern governments, and the varying strength of nation states. These different political and cultural contexts offer different opportunities and different configurations of power between different levels of the state, other powerful actors, and local communities.

Much also depends on the nature of the opportunity created. In the United States Empowerment Zones, participation was only enforced in the initial planning stages and fell away at the implementation stage (Gittell, 2001). In the United Kingdom, by contrast, government's National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal requires that communities are represented on a range of neighborhood renewal initiatives and community members are in the majority on many of the boards that are overseeing implementation. They are also represented on city- and districtwide strategic partnerships, responsible for overseeing neighborhood renewal at this wider strategic level. Research suggests that the opportunities for face-to-face contact that a community presence on these partnerships has created have broken down stereotypes and built trust, even in the most difficult partnership arenas (ODPM, 2005). Contacts made in this setting have also encouraged individual partners to engage with community players in other settings, creating more pathways through which power can be accessed.

Progress is slow and highly variable across localities. Questions are also being raised about the longer-term commitment of the New Labour government to both resourcing and enforcing these changes. Nonetheless, wider experience suggests that even unsuccessful initiatives can create a legacy, stimulating "a realignment of resources and ideas which [can inform] future programmes and reforms" (Marris and Rein, 1967, p. 223). It also suggests that operating on the inside does not have to entail cooption and can produce important incremental and process gains. As Cornwall (2004, p. 9) argues:

> People who have never had anything to do with processes of rule are being brought into arenas of
> governance and are learning about how they work: lessons that may stand them in good stead in
> other arenas. . . . Even where institutionalised participation has little or no policy efficacy, there are
> tactics to be tried, alliances to be built.

If the opportunities in these spaces are to be taken, there are a number of implications for community practice and for government policy. First, crucial to these developments are structures that allow interaction at a variety of levels rather than squeezing them through the bottleneck of one formal partnership meeting. Partners need to be flexible and allow the time and resources for this to work. Second is the need to build capacity among partners as well as communities. As Gittell (2001, p. 92) remarks in her evaluation of the United States Empowerment Zones:

> Reforms that devolve power to state and local governments without changing the participants fail
> to produce more responsive policies or contribute to the revitalisation of the democratic process.

Third, formal structures need to be backed up, as on other levels of Figure 21.2, by informal processes. Gilchrist (2004) emphasizes the importance of creating informal networking opportunities "around the edges" of formal meetings, arguing that it is here that the real progress is often made. This informal interaction can be a potent channel for learning and dialogue and also makes it easier to explore and resolve conflicts, to reach consensus and compromise where necessary, and to clarify aims and objectives. Indeed, Carley and Smith (2001) go further, suggesting that, in the face of dynamic, complex, and interconnected problems, "action networks" that span sectors and localities are capable of rapid learning, tap a wide range of power, and can thus generate their own power.

I have argued elsewhere that the divisions between "insider" and "outsider" are more complex than at first appears (Craig, Taylor, and Parkes, 2004). Both strategies are needed. Outsiders need insiders to negotiate once outsiders have forced claims onto the agenda. But insiders need outsiders to make claims and mobilize support behind them. Gaventa (2005, p. 38) also underlines the importance of an effective countervailing power to hold those operating in invited spaces to account. Without this he argues that new spaces of participatory governance "might simply be captured by the already empowered elite" (p. 36). He goes on to argue that it is at the interstices between "popular spaces," shaped by communities, and "invited spaces," shaped by external actors, that new possibilities for action, engagement and change reside. In this way, he argues:

> the opening of previously closed spaces can contribute to new mobilizations and conscientization,
> which may have the potential to open these spaces more widely. Power gained in one space can be
> used to enter new spaces.

Craig, Taylor, and Parkes also found that organizations could combine insider and outsider tactics to great effect. Smaller groups were able to use larger groups as "docking points" to get their points across in "invited spaces," while maintaining their autonomy. Organizations of all sizes also used alliances to pursue alternative strategies. However, operating in this way takes considerable skill. It requires that community practitioners have a sophisticated understanding of power and how it works, both formally and informally. It requires community practice to be able to identify political opportunities, to exploit cracks in the system, and to make power visible. It also requires a subtle cultivation of networks that cross boundaries not only between sectors but between insiders and outsiders. Ties across to social movements with their alternative narratives and repertoires, as well as their symbolism, are as critical to community practice as the ties into the system that can negotiate and secure change.

THE CHALLENGES
FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS

The framework that I have used in this chapter suggests a progression through different levels of engagement, building bonding, bridging, and linking social capital and organizing at small group, neighborhood, city- or district-level, and beyond. It also illustrates the importance of rooting broader organizations, partnerships, and campaigns firmly in small-scale but widespread participation. As community practice moves through the framework, therefore, issues of accountability and leadership become critical. As Hickey and Mohan (2005, p. 19) argue: "Federations and partnerships are about leaders. This is not necessarily bad—people who find direct participation too risky may willingly hand over this right." But, for them, this underlines the importance of understanding the way in which popular agency is legitimately conferred to high level agents.

In Northern Ireland, Shirlow and Murtagh (2004, p. 58) are sceptical of the assumption that the community sector is "a rational and accountable instrument, which is capable of building social justice and wider patterns of inclusion." They found little evidence that "neighbourhood residents identify their local community groups as relevant, legitimate and trustworthy." Instead they act as gatekeepers, excluding others from the opportunity to build bridging and linking social capital. Both Pitcoff in the United States (Pitcoff, 1997) and Purdue in the United Kingdom (2001) refer to the difficulties of dislodging community leaders once in place. Arnstein's famous ladder of participation (1971), which places community control on its top rung, fails to consider who within communities is in control and how far they then engage others.

The tensions that exist between effective leadership and representation on the one hand and widespread participation have been well documented over the years. Community leaders and representatives encounter major challenges in carrying out their role. Their social capital is the resource that they bring to partnerships, their access to their community and also to elite groups with resources and power. But, as Purdue (2001) argues, leaders struggle to engage in accountable connections with an extensive range of fragmented local networks, a finding reinforced by the ODPM research cited throughout this chapter (ODPM, 2005). In addition, their bridging position makes them atypical and paradoxically may distance them from their communities, a danger that is heightened by the demands external actors place upon them. They have to learn a new language and new skills, which makes it more difficult for others to follow in their footsteps and they find themselves in a "pig in the middle" situation, where partners expect them to represent the partnership back to the community, and communities expect them to represent their interests to the partnership. In some settings, raising their heads above the parapet can get community leaders killed.

So, how can these tensions be addressed? In Chapter 25, Schmid reviews the literature on different approaches to leadership. Here, my focus is on the implications for community practice. The first is that too much emphasis on leadership can neglect the basis on which leaders are given legitimacy to lead. In the United Kingdom, a government rhetoric that tends to celebrate the individual "hero" entrepreneur only serves to reinforce that suspicion. If community organizing and engagement are to be both sustainable and legitimate with external and internal actors, it is essential to ensure that there is a diverse pool of potential leaders and a commitment to building for the succession. It also requires "a rich supply of neighbourhood-based organizations that can act as a 'Greek chorus,' commenting on and holding more formal organizations to account" (Milofsky and Hunter, 1994).

A second implication is the need to be realistic about the expectations heaped upon community leaders and community representatives, to ensure that they have access to adequate training and support, and that they can be informed by and accountable back to their communities, through building and resourcing the community infrastructure.

Third, community practice needs to recognize that leadership involves a number of different roles and styles, which may be appropriate in different settings or at different stages of development. External views of what is appropriate might not fit with the demands of effective community practice. Skelcher et al. (1996) identify the styles that are appropriate for networking as: the mobilizer, who brings together previously unconnected individuals; the link-person, who maintains the links; the supporter, who provides support to individual members; and the manager who moves network ideas into implementation. Purdue (2001) meanwhile argues for "transactional" models of leadership, favored by new social movement theorists, which emphasize the mutually dependent relationship between leaders and followers.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the ways in which community practice can respond to the opportunities created by the current policy interest in "community" and "social capital." It discusses how models of community practice have been developed and refined in response to changing circumstances over time and suggests a framework for community practice, based on concepts of social capital, social movement theory, and "circuits of power." In doing so it has highlighted the interaction between networks of trust, the development of learning and shared narratives, and formal organizations as the basis for community power. It has also highlighted the many challenges that community practice confronts—in particular, issues of diversity, co-option, leadership and accountability—and discussed how they might be addressed.

In Chapter 1 of this *Handbook*, Hunter argues that community cannot be mass produced, and that community practice must be tailored to the specifics of any given locale. In her excellent analysis of different models of community organizing, Smock (2003, p. 247) also reminds us that there are no "silver bullets" that will "magically solve the problems of urban neighbourhoods." In this chapter, I have stressed the importance of political and cultural context in making choices about community practice models. But all the models presented here are valid and have a contribution to make to achieving change. What is important is that any approach needs to be firmly grounded in a process of networking, organizing, and education within and between communities, which provides a broad foundation and legitimacy for engaging with change, whether through community-led provision, partnership, or political campaigning.

NOTES

1. Because the term community organizing has different meanings in different contexts, I use the term community practice (Butcher et al., 1993) to cover the ways in which people organize themselves or are organized by others to tackle shared goals and interests.
2. This research evaluated a U.K. government initiative which put resources into the infrastructure at city- and districtwide level to support community participation in formal multiagency partnerships (ODPM, 2005).

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Avoid, Talk, or Fight: Alternative Cultural Strategies in the Battle Against Oligarchy in Collectivist-Democratic Organizations

JOYCE ROTHSCHILD AND DARCY LEACH

As Rund Koopmans has argued (1995) and as Carole Pateman (1970) argued in her theory classic of three decades ago, *Participation and Democratic Theory*, the actual face-to-face deliberation and debate that goes on in directly democratic groups may be the best way, maybe even the only way, to develop in people the capacity for democracy and self-governance. To date, we do not have a convincing, empirically based, answer to this question. Leach (2005) however, has recently found that, over the last quarter century, literally hundreds of thousands of people in the German social movement sector have been exposed to collectivist-democratic practices and a significant number of these people have come to expect consensus-based decision-making and collectivist-democratic practices in much of their community life. Are the sensibilities and capacities developed in these voluntary, social movement organizations in the modern Germany having a visibly democratizing effect on the nation as a whole? Could they, if these collectivist organizations were to spread in the United States or anywhere else in the world, be the path to reinvigorating democracy? These are important questions for examination.

   Our investigation into the cultures and processes that characterize contemporary, local, collectivist-democratic organizations begins with a reminder of Max Weber's (1968) basic insight that people's mindsets their whole world-view about what constitutes legitimate authority and thus on what basis they should listen to and obey directives shapes the kinds of organizations they structure and in which they will willingly become incorporated. There was a good

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reason why Weber anticipated that a legal-rational mindset would give rise to the bureaucratic form, at first in military institutions, but, later, in all domains of modern life, including such unlikely places as educational, research, and even not-for-profit organizations. And there was a reason that, nearing the end of his life, Weber came to fear that there would be no place left in a bureaucratic world for human autonomy and creativity. Following Weber, we start from the premise that an instrumental mindset gives rise to a bureaucratic form of organization complete with all of its limitations and possibilities, and that this is true whether we are talking about religious, political, economic, voluntary, or any other kind of organization.

Based on Weber's emphasis on peoples' world-views as they affect organizational forms, we should also expect that organizations that are especially driven by a value-rational logic of action, such as faith-based organizations, many environmentalist groups, some social service organizations, and the politically inspired organizations that we discuss in this chapter, will more often seek to break out of the bureaucratic lock and create something that is more substantively democratic.

Of course, according to Robert Michels' famous "iron law of oligarchy," collectivist-democratic organizations, whatever their world-view, should not be capable of resisting either the pull of bureaucratic organization or its concomitant, an oligarchic distribution of power. Michels' statement in 1911 that "whoever says organization, says oligarchy" (Michels, 1962, p. 365) encapsulated his argument that if bureaucracy is inevitable, as Weber had argued, then it follows from the hierarchal principle of bureaucracy that even organizations that begin with democratic aspirations, such as the German Social Democratic Party he studied, will eventually come to be ruled by a small elite that has become entrenched in power. In the century since Michels laid out his iron law, we and many other scholars have drawn attention to the fact that many organizations do adopt nonhierarchical, nonbureaucratic structures, and that by doing so, they have sometimes been able to avoid the supposedly inevitable rise of oligarchy (Cornforth et al., 1988; Ferree and Martin, 1995; Hacker, 1989; Iannello, 1992; Leach, 1998; Leidner, 1991; Mansbridge, 1980; Reinelt, 1994; Reinharz, 1983; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Rothschild and Whitt, 1986; Sirianni, 1996). However, others [e.g., Cnaan (1991)] argue that even at the neighborhood level most residents' organizations tend to take a professional bureaucratic form, and, as a result, may lose touch with their constituents. Similarly, in her study of over a hundred women's nonprofit organizations in New York City, Bordt (1997) found that nonprofit organizations with a feminist ideology were more likely to develop "hybrid" forms of organization containing professional, bureaucratic, and pragmatic collectivist elements than they were to develop pure collectivist organizations.

At the community level, research scholars have found that community activists struggle with the same questions of how they can expand involvement, participation, and democracy at the local level (Lichterman, 1996; Warren, 2001). Lichterman and Warren have done especially insightful ethnographies of how democratized community building strategies can develop among community participants a new sense of political solidarity and efficacy, with implications for reinvigorating societywide democracy.

In this chapter, we take a step beyond the extant research literature to show that not only have collectivist-democratic organizations become a permanent fixture in the organizational landscape, particularly among social movement organizations, but over time, a number of different forms of collectivist democracy have developed, complete with distinctive practices of self-governance and decision-making and distinctive organizational cultures.

Weber and Michels, taken together, can be said to have set into motion a source of fundamental intellectual despair for twentieth-century social science. Their assertion that an instrumental mentality and an increasingly hierarchal and bureaucratic form would pervade the

future, and that once firmly established, the "iron cage" of bureaucracy would be undefeatable, revolution-proof, and spell the "end of history" for all practical purposes left social scientists with no reason to look for (or pay much attention to) democratic alternatives to bureaucracy. Mainstream organizational and management theories that followed Weber and Michels typically turned a blind eye to the possibility of internal organizational democracy, assuming instead the presence of hierarchical control and subordinate/superordinate relationships. In Alvin Gouldner's terms, this intellectual legacy left sociologists in the role of "morticians too eager to bury men's hopes" (Gouldner, 1955).

Joyce Rothschild was one of the first to test Michels' thesis in the context of this kind of organization. Twenty-five years ago, she studied five organizations that called themselves collectives and co-ops, when they were first emerging in the United States and asked whether their nonbureaucratic form of organization could be sustained without succumbing to the oligarchic pressures described by Weber and Michels. At that time, she developed an ideal-typical model of the collectivist-democratic organization, with eight structural elements that cohere and that follow from the substantive value premises of their participants (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Collectivist-democratic organizations often develop on the community level or the regional level too, as members are increasingly wanting to meet and decide things on a face-to-face level. Collectivist-democratic organizations are predicated on members' involvement and participation in all stages of decision-making and implementation. In the years that have passed since then, collectivist-democratic organizations have fared better and developed further than any of us had a right to expect. All over the United States, Europe, and in some of the less-developed regions of the world, thousands upon thousands of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), not-for-profit organizations, and especially social movement organizations have adopted, or at least aspired to, a consensual process of decision-making and a collectivist-democratic form of organization (Matthews, 1994; Everywoman, 1990; Ferree and Martin, 1995; Iannello, 1992; Leach, 2005; Leidner, 1991; Rothschild, 2003; Reinelt, 1994; Sirianni, 1996).

Twenty-five years is a long time, and with so much real-life development of these sorts of organizations, it is time to revisit the big questions. What have these organizations learned in a generation of experimentation with this kind of democratic structure? Have these organizations developed any new methods or strategies for overcoming the range of inherent challenges facing this kind of organization, from factionalization to inefficiency? For example, some of these organizations have found that although it may take them longer to make a decision consensually than it would have taken to hand down an order unilaterally, this extra time spent on group discussion and in gaining a greater group understanding of mutual needs ends up strengthening the group's commitment to the decision reached and may thereby actually quicken and deepen the group members' implementation of the decision. By contrast, unilateral decisions may be faster to assert, but they not infrequently suffer from lack of member commitment and implementation.

In this chapter, we seek to take stock of the variety of collectivist-democratic forms that have developed over the last quarter century. As noted above, values and ideology are fundamentally important factors shaping the behavior of all organizations. Beginning from that premise, we have found it productive to differentiate collectivist-democratic organizations according to the kind of organizational culture that develops within them. In this chapter we describe three types of organizational culture that we believe can be used to categorize many, if not all, existing collectivist-democratic organizations and especially those positioned at the grassroots level.

Over the past four years, Darcy Leach has conducted extensive ethnographic research on collectivist-democratic social movement organizations in Germany, where this kind of

grassroots structure, called *Basisdemokratie* in German, has become a taken-for-granted characteristic of extra-parliamentary activism. In her analysis of twelve collectivist groups, she found two distinct styles of collectivist democracy flourishing in the German social movement sector, corresponding to two activist countercultures spanning a number of issue-based movements: those identifying as nonviolence groups and those associated with the tradition of the autonomous movement, called the *Autonomen*. One of the main findings in her study is that subtle differences in political values and ideology have much to do with how these styles develop. Using Leach's observations and interviews with sixty-four members of her twelve German groups and drawing upon some of the insights Rothschild developed from her study of five American collectives twenty-five years ago in California (1979), we sought to explore the role of organizational culture in these groups' ability to sustain collectivist democracy and prevent the rise of oligarchy. This is our first essay that looks at this issue of the organizational cultures of collectivist-democratic organizations.

Of course, there are many elements of organizational culture on which one might focus. Based on our observations in both the American and German contexts, one aspect that clearly affected their ability to resist oligarchy was their attitude toward conflict. In fact, one can categorize collectivist-democratic groups by placing them on a continuum according to how willing they are to confront informal power-holders in the group (and potentially endure a higher level of conflict), and on the other hand, how willing they are to tolerate informal concentrations of power for the sake of avoiding conflict.

| *culture of avoidance* | *(ideal balance)* | *fight culture* |
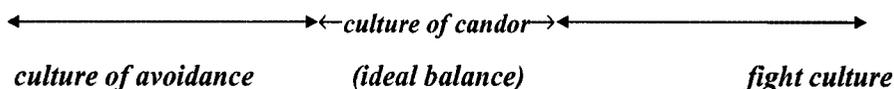
The figure shows three ideal types of organizational culture that collectivist organizations can theoretically exhibit with respect to their attitudes toward conflict and power: those who have a very low tolerance for conflict but will tolerate more disproportionate distributions of power will tend, in our view, to become "cultures of avoidance;" those who tolerate high levels of conflict but have minimum tolerance for hierarchy will tend to become "fight cultures:" and those who effectively minimize hierarchy without generating high levels of conflict we refer to as "cultures of candor." These three cultures represent orientations to power and conflict that may obtain in collectivist-democratic groups. They are manifest in the way a group responds when they see that some members are becoming more dominant than others or exerting an inappropriate amount of influence (according to group norms) in the decision-making process. In our view, all collectivist organizations strive to cultivate what we call a culture of candor, but, as we show, it is easy to err on one side or the other, becoming a fight culture of an avoidant culture instead.

Against the background of this conceptual framework, we examined our groups and found that the contemporary German collectives, many of whom have had more than twenty years of experience under their belts, generally exhibited either an avoidant culture or a fight culture. Some of the more experienced groups fell a little closer to the middle of the continuum in that they were fairly prompt in addressing domineering behavior and were generally able to deal with such conflicts in a relatively respectful and compassionate manner. Although there were "moments" where groups exhibited a culture of candor—where they attained this ideal equilibrium of harmony and equality, peace and justice—but only a few of our groups could be sustainably categorized that way. As we illustrate, in making their day-to-day cultural choices about how to respond to conflict and power, these various collectivist-democratic groups have

developed what others have called a "deep structure" that affects their ability to challenge informal hierarchies, the social atmosphere of their discussions, the members they attract and retain and their willingness to hire professional staff members to do some of the work.

A CULTURE OF AVOIDANCE

The first culture we have identified in some of these collectivist organizations we call a culture of avoidance. This is the culture that Leach found in many of the organizations drawn from the nonviolence movement in Germany. In a culture of avoidance, the group reacts to the emergence of informal power hierarchies by ignoring them for some time, in the hopes of avoiding confrontation. In exchange, their discussions are likely to be quite harmonious and pleasant. For example, members of the peace group, Disarm Now,[1] described the discussion atmosphere in their group as, "calm, pleasant, accepting and affirming," or "like an oasis."

Many of the nonviolence groups in Leach's study described themselves as being "conflict shy" and said that they would go out of their way to avoid raising certain topics or challenging certain people's opinions or behavior in order to preserve harmony in the group. As Anja, a member of a group called Peace Shield which does work in the areas of human rights and conflict-resolution, noted, "[T]hat's the interesting thing about all the people who do civil conflict resolution work—that they're completely conflict avoidant. We're harmony addicts." This theme of seeking and wanting harmony came up frequently in the nonviolence groups, and this makes sense once one considers that these groups consist of members who are devoted to finding nonviolent means of settling differences. The reader may be thinking, "Well, what's wrong with that? These people sound like they've found a way to discuss things and reach consensus in a harmonious, calm, pleasant atmosphere."

Although a harmonious atmosphere is of course a plus, there are several limitations that groups with this kind of culture face. Conflict avoidance hampers their ability to challenge power hierarchies that may arise, and it may even impede their ability to make quality decisions when people are afraid to voice oppositional viewpoints. Boris, another member of Peace Shield, which meets once every two months, but then, for a whole weekend, clearly illustrates how this kind of culture can hamper the productivity of a discussion:

> This meeting got on my nerves so bad, until . . . it just went on for hours on end. "blah, blah, blah" for hours, without really getting anywhere content-wise. And afterwards, people say "what a good discussion that was!" And it *was*. It was fair, it was good, but what did it get us? Nothing, because no one dares to really take a position and just let the opinions oppose each other for a while, and then to develop something in terms of content.

In another of Leach's groups, the Non-violence Training Collective, she asked a female member (Regina) what would happen if the group did not like the way one of the members was conducting their nonviolence training: whether the group would tell the person that he or she could not continue to do the training that way. Regina's answer is interesting. She says, "We'd never say it so sharply as 'you can't'." She then goes on to say, "We have a need for harmony, too, which means that in the group, that I think that everything is not always brought up." Later she explained that when she sees a problem brewing in the group, she deliberately puts it at the end of the agenda. She wonders aloud whether she is just being "practical" or whether she is "dodging the conflict."

Lastly, and perhaps most disturbingly from the perspective of preventing oligarchy, conflict-avoidant groups will often fail to challenge informal concentrations of power as they

emerge, allowing them to solidify and become more entrenched. Dieter from Disarm Now illustrates the negative impact this had on his group:

> But I would also say that power was a taboo subject, and hierarchy.... I mean power became, wasn't a taboo topic, rather it just didn't exist. Of course that wasn't true. I would say that we didn't have a relaxed way of dealing with, with power, or no sovereign way of dealing with it. Hm ... I also think it *was* a taboo subject. And there's also, I found ... hm ... well in addition to power, there's a taboo subject that was also always difficult to handle, and that was men–women issues.

As Dieter's comments illustrate, where a group has developed a culture of avoidance, sensitive topics such as gender differences can become virtually unspoken.

On the positive side, these groups can provide very pleasant and harmonious places in which to have a discussion. At the same time, however, potential conflicts are frequently not addressed and allowed to fester, and unacknowledged tensions have a way of giving rise to more aggressive outbursts later. Furthermore, in situations where someone is acting in a domineering or controlling way, or when a small group seems to be doing all the work and therefore ends up dominating the decision-making process, members who notice often do not feel comfortable confronting the person or persons about their behavior or even disagreeing with them on substantive issues.

As Dieter admitted, "It could well be that there were situations where individuals thought twice about fighting with me or [my wife]." And finally, if someone does bring it up, there is a tendency for people in conflict-avoidant groups—because of the kind of people who self-select into them—to take this kind of criticism personally, which can lead to emotional turmoil and people leaving the group for good. More often than not, however, informal hierarchies simply go unchallenged. Members may even say they have no problem with this because they know and trust the individuals in power. But however benevolent they may be, and however much informal leaders may be trusted, the fact remains that failing to redistribute inequalities of power quickly for fear of generating conflict is a common path to oligarchy.

This sort of "conflict shyness" is also evident in American democratic organizations. For example, in her study of New England town meetings, Mansbridge (1973) found citizens reporting headaches, trembling, and even fear for one's heart at the prospect of speaking up at the meetings. Altogether, a quarter of the people in a random sample of the town spontaneously suggested that the conflictive character of the meetings sometimes disturbed them. Townspeople utilized a variety of protective devices: criticism might be concealed or at least softened with praise, differences of opinion might be minimized in the formulation of a consensus, and private communications might be used to lend personal support during meetings.

When avoidance patterns such as these allow a few to dominate the discussion, they can also have the unintended consequence, of course, of excluding from open discussion the not fully integrated members and whatever pertinent information and perspectives they have. Even groups that were trained in group process, much like Peace Shield that Leach studied and the Non-violence Training Collective that Mansbridge studied (1980) sometimes exhibit these avoidance patterns. From the researchers' perspective, it may be difficult to determine whether a group is conflict avoidant, because group members themselves may not see themselves as conflict avoidant; they may just see themselves as conducting their discussions with admirable decorum and sensitivity to the views of all. However, if informal hierarchies exist and are not challenged, or if members report that underlying conflicts or tensions exist that are not being aired, the researcher may reasonably conclude that a culture of avoidance exists.

As a last point, the prospect of conflict may be more threatening in collectivist-democratic groups than in conventional groups for several reasons. First, because the consensual

decision-making process that is endorsed by these groups requires something that looks like a consensus before a decision can be taken, the possibility of irreconcilable differences threatens the decision-making capacity of the group. Put another way, in a majoritarian system, differences of opinion can be put to rest by a vote. Even though the minority may not be persuaded by the majority opinion, they are generally expected to stop objecting once a vote has been taken, technically ending the conflict (although, obviously, resentments may remain). In collectivist organizations, the persistence of conflicting views means that the discussion must continue until all members are satisfied that it is appropriate to move on. Second, these are groups that value personal relationships in themselves. Precisely because they do not view each other in instrumental terms, these groups present an intimate face-to-face context for decision-making that personalizes individuals' views and comments. This may make group rejection of those ideas even harder to bear. A formal bureaucracy, to the extent that it disassociates an idea from its proponent, makes the criticism of ideas less interpersonally risky.

A FIGHT CULTURE

At the other end of the continuum, the second type of organizational culture we found among the collectivist-democratic organizations we observed we call a "fight culture." In a fight culture, emergent power hierarchies are immediately challenged, but often in a way that is particularly aggressive and confrontational, and with little consideration for people's feelings.

This cultural response to power and conflict characterized many of the *Autonomen* groups in Germany, who, as they themselves explain, generally exhibit and often cultivate what they call a "fight culture" (*Streitkultur* in German). The *Autonomen* (literally, "the autonomous ones") are committed to having either "no organization" or "organization without any kind of hierarchy." At the peak of this movement in the 1990s, there were perhaps hundreds of groups identified with this movement, which is known for its role in the squatting movements of the early 1980s and early 1990s in Germany, for sabotage actions, site occupations, and occasionally larger street battles with the police or neo-Nazis that have involved up to a thousand activists at a time. Although the autonomous movement has declined somewhat in recent years, if we include all of the networks of cultural, women's, and youth centers, actions groups, and other support organizations that identify with the autonomous "scene," the movement still encompasses several hundred groups throughout Germany. These groups are generally committed to all eight of the collectivist-democratic principles of organization laid out in Rothschild-Whitt (1979), but they believe that the way to arrive at and maintain a genuinely egalitarian distribution of power is to cultivate a culture of debate, disagreement, and yes, conflict. Indeed, one of their favorite slogans is that you have to "let the contradictions crash into each other."

Before coming to the conclusion that this sounds like quite a harsh culture, consider the words of some of the participants in the *Autonomen* groups: One male member, Malik, says that at the meetings he feels that "everyone is listened to and taken seriously." He says too that "Everyone would feel comfortable saying something unpopular or that isn't so polished." He concludes by saying, "It's a damned pleasant climate," in description of his group. When Leach asked people in these groups if any topics were taboo, they could not think of any.

Reiner, a member of an autonomous anti-nuclear group called Subvert, says of group meetings: "This is incredibly important to us: when anyone suspects that a hierarchy is being built up, then immediately there are also statements made (about it), and people are more careful."

Notice that what Reiner is describing is exactly what we call a "fight culture." By adopting this expression, we do not mean to suggest that it is a domineering culture. Indeed, the whole point in these groups is to try to avoid domination of any kind (based on sex, race, class, education, or anything else). It is in order to avoid domination and oligarchy that they have cultivated a culture where people are encouraged to think about their substantive differences of opinion, and most importantly, where people are encouraged, indeed expected, to challenge each other immediately on any undue influence or domination tactics that they may see.

A second important point we want to make about these groups like the *Autonomen* that have cultivated a fight culture is that normatively they put the main responsibility for curbing domineering behavior on the powerful: It is up to the more influential people in the group to learn how to let go of their assertions and to allow others be heard.

Consider a concrete example of how such self-regulation can work. In an *Autonomen* group we call the Black Space, one of the founding members, Adrian, was asked if he would go on a radio show with the Minister of Culture to present the Black Space's perspective on cultural issues in the city. Adrian wanted to accept, but he thought better of it, and he first went to the group to ask who they would want to send and what Black Space would want to say on the show. The following excerpt from his comments accents the vigilance with which a fight culture can lead the powerful to curb their own power:

> Yeah, I could have [done it without asking], but then it would come out ... and someone would ask me, "Hey, so tell me, who did you talk to about that?" ... I mean I'd get seriously nailed for it, no matter if I've been around a long time or not. They'd be like, "So what were you thinking?" ... I wouldn't get any kind of special exemption or anything ... I might be able to pull myself out of it a bit differently, my reputation might take a little less damage than if someone else did it.... But there's no question that I wouldn't be allowed. That's clear.... And the project is also just so heterogeneous, and our internal structures function in such a way that there's so much mutual control—in solidarity, not at all repressive—but there's always so much contradiction possible that there's a kind of regulation there for everyone. That no one can push through this thing and do politics in the Space's name.

It is evident in this example how a fight culture puts a brake on the emergence of informal oligarchies. First, a strong group norm mitigates against anyone acting too authoritatively, claiming to represent the group, or presenting himself or herself as its leader. Recall that, in Michels' work, it is this need of outside institutions to see someone as the leader and the desire of some people in the group to speak for the democratic group that frequently propels the democratic organization toward oligarchy. In the *Autonomen* groups, however, anyone who seized the limelight and claimed to speak for the group would be immediately challenged. Second, notice how Adrian refers to the damage to his reputation that would ensue were he to abuse his influence. In other words, if he were to transgress group norms by gathering and using too much personal power or by acting in a way that would disempower others, he expects that social sanctions would kick in and that he would be roundly criticized for his behavior.

In answer to a question about where the activists thought the boundary lay between an influential minority and an oligarchic one, another member of the Black Space, Sigi, responded as follows.

> For me one boundary would be when a minority – or individuals or a small group within a bigger group—can push things through without being questioned ... when there's just no. ... That's why I've made this distinction, yeah, between if one says yes simply because certain people are for it—of course there's always been that element in the Space too, but that kind of status alone wouldn't have been enough. It has also always been important to argue—and that's the way it usually it worked—back and forth with each other. Of course having status and arguing well also mutually reinforce each other. If you argue well you can make yourself heard in the discussions and determine to some

degree what's decided.... But it has never been the case in the Space that – one could always ask
questions at any time. [The inner circle] has never been a fixed or anchored kind of group that you
could fall back on. It could always be challenged, and it *was* challenged, repeatedly. That was this
whole "central committee" accusation and the "inner circle" thing. It had all kinds of names. That
came up over and over again.

As Sigi's comments illustrate, Black Space is a perfect example of a fight culture: hier-
archies of power were consistently challenged and the issue of powerful elites was repeatedly
raised and addressed. In fact, on at least one occasion, the "elite," which was being charged
with acting like the "central committee" of a communist party, dissolved itself in response to
these criticisms, voluntarily giving up its power and participating in a structural change to the
organization that would keep power even more decentralized. But this group also exhibited
a typical disadvantage of a fight culture, which is that—as some members reported—in their
enthusiasm for attacking hierarchy, these challenges tended to be carried out in a particularly
aggressive and callous manner, with little regard for people's feelings.

Black Space illustrates some important consequences of a fight culture. First, fight cultures
are better than more avoidant groups at challenging concentrations of power in the group.
Although informal hierarchies, of course, developed in Black Space, as they do in virtually
any organization, they were not allowed to remain in place for long and in fact were swiftly
dissolved. In light of people's willingness to attack power formations, informal concentrations
of power were less likely to develop in the first place.

Second, because of the adversarial atmosphere, fight cultures often have a harder time
coming to a consensus because people may be less willing to yield their position or compromise.
This can lead, as it did in Black Space's case, to a situation where the consensus process breaks
down and the group resorts to majority rule voting on a particular issue. At Black Space, which
has been an illegal squatters' group from its inception, this happened when they were trying
to decide whether to enter into negotiations with the city about signing a lease. In a series of
meetings with about one hundred twenty people in attendance, the two sides remained in stark
opposition and eventually resorted to a vote. With forty people voted down, this constituted a
serious breach of their collectivist ethic, and a number of people permanently left the group
soon thereafter.

A third consequence of having a fight culture is implied in this example. The intensity
and manner in which conflict is expressed in these groups can alienate people. Of course, this
is a subjective determination, as many *Autonomen* find this atmosphere perfectly pleasant. Just
as roommates living in the same apartment may have different notions of what constitutes
"clean," our *Autonomen* and nonviolence group members would disagree strongly about what
constitutes a fruitful discussion atmosphere. In the view of one member of an *Autonomen*
group, "once a certain fight culture is developed, it's also very rewarding to get into the fight,"
indicating that although the adversarial atmosphere in a fight culture repels some people, it
attracts others. Through a process of self-selection, fight cultures may end up being composed
primarily of people with a "thicker skin," who do not mind and even enjoy confrontational
situations, just as groups with a culture of avoidance tend to attract and retain people who are
more committed to or have a greater need for harmonious discourse.

Indeed, the *Autonomen* do not think of an ideal fight culture as involving an aggressive
unpleasant atmosphere in which people's feelings are regularly trampled underfoot. On the
contrary, the fact that this tends to happen is an unintended consequence that tends to result
from their enthusiasm for challenging power and engaging in lively debate. As becomes clear
in the next section, the difference between the *Autonomen* ideal and our definition of a culture
of candor, in part, is that in the *Autonomen* ideal, it is up to those being attacked to not take it

personally, and in a culture of candor, the expectation would be that those doing the challenging would also bear some responsibility for taking people's feelings into consideration in the way they formulate their challenge. A fight culture as we define it can be empirically identified not only by how often and how quickly hierarchies are called into question and unpopular viewpoints are voiced, but also by the fact that these conflicts in actuality tend to generate hurt feelings. We have tried here to convey the basic flavor of how the *Autonomen* use an intense discussion and "fight culture" to prevent entrenched oligarchies from developing in their groups.

A CULTURE OF CANDOR

The third and final culture of doing democracy that we have identified is, in a sense, midway between the culture of avoidance and the fight culture. In reality, although groups we have empirically categorized as having either a culture of avoidance or a fight culture all aim for a balance between avoiding conflict and getting swallowed up in it—that is, they will see what we have defined as a culture of candor as an ideal goal— many groups will miss the mark much of the time, tending to fall off the beam on either the fight culture side or the conflict-avoidant side. Our investigation suggests, however, that as a group gains experience and reflects on its own practice, it will start reaching this candor ideal with increasing frequency.

There are two criteria that distinguish the culture of candor: informal power hierarchies and domineering behavior are challenged as soon as they are detected (which, because of their heightened vigilance, will be almost immediately); and conflict is handled in a way that it does not lead to hurt feelings or demolished people and participants do not experience the discussion atmosphere as unpleasant.

It is interesting to note that these criteria are also precisely what some of the *Autonomen* describe as their ideal of a fight culture. In response to a question about what advice he would give to groups just beginning to use a collectivist-democratic structure, for example, Jonas, a long-time member of an autonomous group called the Open Door, emphasized that in a proper fight culture, people's feelings would not get hurt because they would see fighting as constructive and would not take others' criticisms personally:

> Well, [I would tell them to] develop a fight culture they can work with constructively. So with us one could say a lot about sarcasm, and that doesn't have to be the case for all groups, but that they somehow find a common level where that kind of thing can happen without people being really insulted. . . . I think that fighting can be very constructive; it can't be associated with personal insult. . . . [S]o now and then you're the ass they're laughing about, but God, you've got to live with that! . . . [Discussions] can get pretty rough and to the point—both in terms of content and on the emotional level. When you know afterwards, "OK, we're not better or worse people because of it, hopefully friends, in fact . . . and so we've just fought over a substantive problem and now we can also go and drink a beer together again."

However, as Jonas was quick to admit, the reality of the discussion atmosphere in the *Autonomen* groups too often falls short of this ideal. Both the nonviolence groups and the *Autonomen* share and strive toward, but also regularly miss, this ideal of what we are calling a "culture of candor." But in missing the mark, the nonviolence groups tend to err on the side of fewer hurt feelings but not enough conflict, where the *Autonomen* generally err on the side of plenty of conflict, but often at the expense of people's feelings.

In a culture of candor the discussion culture encourages people not to avoid but to talk directly and openly about the power dynamics of the group and the substantive issues at hand,

even where, in so doing, they have to critique others' behavior or express opinions that others may find controversial or even offensive. At the same time, everyone takes responsibility for ensuring both that people are treated with respect and not with undue harshness, but also that people realize that sustaining a collectivist-democratic practice requires that people consciously work to unlearn how they have been socialized to deal with power and help each other learn and become habituated to a new, more egalitarian mode of interaction. In other words, they try, in this process, not only to avoid being hurtful, but also to refrain from experiencing well-intended criticism and disagreement as a personal attack.

In short, the culture of candor is not so aggressive that individuals are challenged the instant they appear to be having undue influence or that discussion becomes combative and personally insulting. But on the other hand, people in a culture of candor are not so fearful or acquiescent that permanent hierarchies of influence are permitted to evolve, interpersonal conflicts are allowed to fester, or important but difficult issues remain unaddressed. There is a norm and an expectation that issues will be tackled directly, not in some sort of convoluted or clandestine fashion. In these groups one of the worst things an individual or a small group can be accused of is deciding things behind the scenes or without the full knowledge of the group's members. So, directness and openness are highly valued in a culture of candor, even where this brings into relief sharp differences of opinion that may exist within the group.

Although we have intentionally defined a culture of candor in ideal terms, there are moments in many groups' operations when they are able to attain this ideal, even if they cannot sustain it. Groups that are more practiced at using a collectivist process that perhaps have been working together in this way for some time, can be expected to attain this balance more frequently and sustain it for greater periods of time. Arguably the largest and oldest collectivist-democratic organization in the world is the Religious Society of Friends, which has been operating according to collectivist-democratic principles (though they do not use this terminology) for over three hundred fifty years. In a case study of University Friends Meeting in Seattle, Washington, Leach (1998) traced the Meeting's eleven-year struggle with the issue of same-sex marriages in order to determine whether an oligarchic elite had emerged or held sway during this time. Certain aspects of her findings are relevant here. First, the development of their consensus process over this period mirrors the process suggested above: As they became more experienced with the process, they came to approximate a culture of candor more frequently. Second, it was by attaining this balance that they were able to avoid oligarchy and come to a consensual decision.

Although we do not have the space to give much detail here, one example from this process may be illustrative. When the question of whether the Meeting would support same-sex marriages first came up, they reacted with a culture of avoidance, coming up with a band-aid solution without really dealing with the underlying moral and theological issues. They approved same-sex unions on a case-by-case basis, calling the events marking their joining "ceremonies of commitment," but postponed making a policy decision and let the issue go dormant again. This strategy did not work for long, as supporters of gay and lesbian marriage raised the issue again a couple of years later, arguing that the Meeting should acknowledge committed gay and lesbian relationships as marriages and allow them to call their ceremonies weddings, on an equal footing with heterosexual couples. This time they were forced to deal with the question head on, and before too long a full-fledged fight culture developed, in which people accused each other of attempting to take control of the Meeting, discussions became heated, individuals spoke in disrespectful and insulting ways, and many were also deeply sensitive to the ways

in which others formulated their opinions and took even well-intended comments as personal attacks.

Still deeply divided, at one point they reached consensus that until they could find unity on the issue, the Meeting would not approve any marriages, gay or straight. Typical of fight cultures, this move was immediately denounced as an attempt to "hold marriage hostage" in order to coerce those opposing same-sex marriage into giving in. As the level of conflict in this fight culture threatened to split the Meeting, the group worked hard to develop a more respectful atmosphere without skirting the issue or silencing anyone's opinions, striving for what they refer to as "good Quaker process" and we call a culture of candor. In so doing, they employed a number of methods, inviting outside facilitators, holding what are called "threshing sessions" where the point is simply to listen and try to understand each other without trying to come to a decision, and organizing small "worship sharing" groups that met weekly in people's homes for six months to work through some of the deep underlying theological questions involved. And although certain norms, such as not interrupting and not speaking too often are basic elements in Quaker practice, they developed additional guidelines for respectful and productive discussion, such as not imputing intent to the other person and speaking only on one's own behalf. Lastly, they introduced what are called "process watchers" to monitor the discussion and report back to the group at the beginning of the following meeting. Eventually, this work paid off, and in the last two months leading up to the final decision (which was, incidentally, to declare that all unions would be treated equally and that couples could name their relationships and ceremonies as they so chose) their process could be said to have attained a culture of candor.

Interestingly, this balance—where all points of view are brought to light, dissent is encouraged when it exists, power is equally distributed, and conflicts are resolved respectfully— has a deep significance in Quaker culture. When a meeting is characterized by this kind of atmosphere, they believe it indicates the presence of God, that the group is "abiding in the Light of the Spirit," and that it is only by attaining this state that they are able to correctly discern the will of God. When it happens, they call it "a covered meeting" and it is reportedly a deeply spiritual experience. Many of the members of University Friends Meeting reported that the meeting at which they finally reached consensus on this question—when the last dissenter stood after eleven years and withdrew his objection—was indeed a covered meeting.

Certain norms enable and sustain a culture of candor. First, it is expected that issues will be tackled directly and openly. Furthermore, it is understood that although candor with each other is almost certain to reveal differences of interests and of assessment, the goal is to draw fresh insights and innovative solutions from the expressed differences, not to bury them in some fraudulent appearance of sameness. Third, the reason these groups seek to draw out conflicting views and challenge emergent concentrations of power is not just to have conflict for conflict's sake, but to consider and incorporate everyone's views in order to reach a wiser and more enduring decision. To that end, in a culture of candor there is a normative belief that each member has a responsibility to share his or her view in a direct and candid fashion and to listen to each other with a presumption of good faith. In short, we know we have an effective culture of candor before us when the group's members show no reluctance and appear comfortable sharing views they know will be unpopular, airing conflicts, and calmly correcting areas of differential influence. When we hear members begin to say, "I came here wanting XYZ to occur, but now that I hear what you have to say, I can see that ABC may be the better road to take," we expect that we have found a culture of candor.

CONCLUSIONS

Well over a century has passed since Max Weber spoke of the rise of bureaucracy in modern societies and delineated the key features that would characterize such an organizational form. Since then, social scientists who have studied actual bureaucratic organizations have not so much challenged these characteristics, because in fact they do cohere and they do follow from the instrumental-rational premises he identified, as they have added value to our understanding of bureaucracy by specifying or differentiating the cultural paths that bureaucracies may take, such as Adler and Borys' (1996) insightful differentiation between "coercive" bureaucracy and "enabling" bureaucracy. Parallel to this line of development within the bureaucracy literature, we seek in this chapter to identify three different cultural paths that collectivist organizations may take. It is our position that the collectivist-democratic model of organization is permissive of each of these various cultures or ways of doing democracy at the grassroots level. In showing that there may be different ways of doing collectivist-democracy, we hope we have contributed a useful refinement to the collectivist-democratic model and that our work will encourage other researchers to examine more deeply some of the consequences or implications of each of these three alternative cultures.

In identifying these three cultures of democracy, we used several criteria: first, how vigilant is the organization in combating hierarchies of influence that may be emergent? In the organizations we identify as having a "fight culture," we see swiftness and vigilance in their attacks on any hierarchies they perceive. In the cultures we identify as "avoidant," we observe long delays before anyone challenges powerful cliques that may be developing in the organization.

Second, how normative or shared is it in the group to challenge hierarchies of influence? In the collectives we call "fight cultures," it is highly normative and we see this when numerous individuals in a group attack subtle hierarchies they perceive (and they are supported by others in the group when they do this). In the "avoidance cultures," on the other hand, emergent hierarchies go unchallenged until one lone individual challenges the power configuration, and they do so usually with trepidation as to whether any other members will support them in their challenge.

Third, what is the prevalent attitude in the group toward conflict? In the "fight cultures" we see a basically positive view of conflict. They view with some excitement the prospect of "letting the contradictions slam into each other." They tend to see this as the honest way to proceed, and the only way that will allow them to get to the nub of an issue. Evident conflict makes them feel they are getting to the authentic root of an issue. On the other side of our continuum, members of the groups we call "avoidant" see potential conflicts as disruptive of the group's cohesion and harmony. They see conflicts as potentially painful, as the sort of thing that would give people a headache, hurt people's feelings, or even cause members to leave. For them, the potential for conflict is not a positive thing.

The third culture, the "culture of candor" that we identify, represents the golden mean or path to democracy. In a sense, this is the culture that all of these collectivist groups are trying to attain. We believe that this ideal culture of candor is difficult to attain because, in their efforts to combat emergent hierarchies that they perceive, groups tend to fall to one side or the other. It is quite possible that most members of collectives would say that they have developed a culture of candor in the sense that they all strive for a culture where all participants can speak freely, openly, and on an equal footing. They all strive for a culture where all members feel respected and heard, and where decisions are taken on the basis of the wisest and best ideas, not on the basis of unequal influence, formal or informal. As we have seen, however,

those groups that put a premium on having a "nice" discussion process, or one that at least avoids the sorts of blow-ups that can disrupt the warm sentiments that unite the group, may find themselves with more of an informal hierarchy than they ever set out to endorse. On the other side of the continuum, those groups that are so sensitive to informal hierarchy that they challenge hierarchies the moment that they get a whiff of possible undue influence, may find that their members curtail any self-initiative for fear of being accused of appropriating power. There are costs on both sides of the ledger, but there are benefits too. People in all of these groups say that they feel their participation makes a difference, that they are heard in a way they would never be in any conventional organization. And, they are.

The point of balance that we are calling a culture of candor is itself a subjective equilibrium. Just as roommates disagree on what constitutes a "clean" apartment, the equilibrium point at which the *Autonomen* would be happy would likely involve a more blunt and abrupt manner of interaction. The members of our nonviolence groups find their equilibrium point in a more roundabout and sensitive style of interaction that takes pains not to challenge people directly. Where the former culture runs the risk of becoming too aggressive, the latter runs the risk of becoming too acquiescent. Over time, and given that there are so many movement organizations that are collectivist in nature today, we believe that people sort themselves into those group cultures that they find most compatible with their own inclinations.

We would suggest that the culture of a collective has much to do with the people it attracts and retains. People find groups that are compatible with their inclinations, and then perpetuate the culture that is there. In the long run, we would contend that those groups that tend to cultivate a fight culture do, in fact, have few if any oligarchies in place. All of these collectives that we observed were devoted to an egalitarian and thoroughly democratic process of decision-making, but the fight cultures were more successful in our observation than were the avoidance cultures in sustaining an eliteless form. In addition, we found that our avoidant cultures were more disposed to hiring professional staff members to perform some of the functions of the organization than were the groups with a fight culture. This may mean that they can get more done, but again, it may set them up for more inequalities of power further down the road.

We started this chapter with reference to Michel's famous book of 1911 declaring oligarchy to be the inexorable and ever-present result of all organization. Ironically, there was another book published in that same year that was almost equally influential in the development of organizational studies and that, of course, was Frederik Taylor's famous book, *Scientific Management*. In this work, Taylor declared that there was "one best way" to organize production and that through the engineer's method of time and motion studies, this one best or most efficient method could be found. This perspective found quite a broad following in American industry and provided the rationale for great specificity in the division of labor, assembly line production, paying workers on a piece rate system, and providing more than ample personnel to supervise and monitor labor. It took social scientists and organizational researchers over 60 years—all the way until Harry Braverman's blistering critique of Taylorism in 1974—to demonstrate that there was never any "one best way" and that managerial choices about how to organize production in the United States over the twentieth century were driven much more by managerial considerations of how management could obtain control over production processes than they were by any objective calculation or concern for productive efficiency.

Parallel to this critique of Taylorism that, as we noted, took over sixty years to be developed and appreciated in this country, our argument today is that there may not be "one best way" to run collectivist-democratic organizations, any more than there was "one best way" to run capitalist production. We think our findings reflect an important coming of age in the study and the development of collectivist-democratic organizations here and around the world in

that we can now see emergent in the actual functioning collectives not just one way to do democracy but three distinguishable cultures or paths among which they can choose.. All of these groups want a genuinely democratic, consensus-oriented form of organization where all who would be affected by a decision have the opportunity to take part in making it. But, as we have seen, there may be various ways to go about achieving this result. We have presented these as cultural choices, or cultural strategies, in the sense that they all represent ways that collectivist-democratic groups have of trying to thwart any informal inequalities of influence that may develop and to avert them before they can turn into any entrenched oligarchies. The purpose of this chapter has been to examine the possibility that there may be several viable ways to pursue consensus-based democracy at the organizational level.

NOTE

1. The names given here for the twelve groups and those interviewed in Leach's study are pseudonyms.

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Grassroots Social Movements and the Shaping of History

JON VAN TIL, GABOR HEGYESI, AND JENNIFER ESCHWEILER

INTRODUCTION

Social movements that originate in the grassroots of society often contain the potential to shape history. The movements of the 1960s reshaped politics and society in the United States, Western Europe, and beyond, and their impact resonates even today in themes of civil rights, women's advances, and the rights of those in a variety of gender-based categories. A variety of earlier movements gave voice to the interests of the poor and neglected in the form of a variety of labor, farmer, populist, religious, temperance, and anti-slavery movements throughout the United States and other nations (Heberle, 1951; Smelser, 1962; Toch, 1965). And in Europe, the profound revolutions in France (1789, 1840) and Russia (1917) were literally days that "changed the world" (Reed, 1919).

The ability of individuals to join together at the local level, and take collective action that they direct toward the improvement of both their own situation and that of the broader society, may contradict the gloomy expectations of such social theorists as Michels and Weber, as presented in the previous chapter (Rothschild and Leach) to the effect that oligarchy and bureaucracy will thwart the energies of such movements. Like Rothschild and Leach, we look at grassroots movements not as "morticians too eager to bury men's hopes," but rather as believers that there may be ways "to pursue consensus-based democracy at the organizational level" of the grassroots organization (See Rothschild and Leach in this *Handbook*).

As we see social movements, the critical questions have to do with the quality of the ideas that inform their action, and the quality of the participation shown by their members and adherents as they seek to bring those ideas into reality. Far less important, from our point of view, are questions of organizational structure and design among movement organizations.

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Social movements are most centrally about people trying to make a difference in their own communities and in the world.

We write this chapter in the hope that its readers will be interested in making sense of the original case studies we present, drawn from our experiences as scholars and activists in the United States, Hungary, and Germany, respectively. But because, as a more famous activist and scholar than we once put it, the point is not only to understand the world around us, but also to change it, we hope that readers will also be challenged to identify points at which their own lives might be enriched by joining with others in the process of intelligent, involved, and candid participation in grassroots movements of their own choosing.

In this chapter, we focus on cases drawn from our own three societies over the past half-century.[1] We have chosen three cases, one from each society, that deal with social and civil rights issues, and three that center on student concerns. We have chosen cases that challenge prevailing values and practices from a progressive or left-leaning perspective. This choice is made not because grassroots activity cannot emerge from conservative, or right-leaning sources, but rather to allow for an examination of comparable cases. The reader is invited to add further cases to this process, and to test our conclusions with other organizations in other social contexts.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In the previous chapter, Rothschild and Leach examined the ideas of oligarchy and bureaucracy as they affect social movement organizations. These concepts, introduced into social theory by Michels (1962) and Weber (1968), respectively, warn those who look at the work of social movements that the process is not likely to involve a smooth working relationship among leaders and participants, and will be threatened by established interests and the delays and frustrations of organized bureaucracy.

We would observe, however, that prominent social theorists have paid attention to other aspects of social movements, such as their ability to focus attention on problems that need attention and resolution, and their ability to provide individual citizens with the opportunity to take active participatory roles in the societies to which they belong.

When we think of these issues, which we identify as "focus" and "participation," we think of the traditions of social theory most directly related to them, and to the principal thinkers in these traditions, who are, in this case, Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim.

Marx and the Issue of Focus

Best known for his theories of economic power and the transition from capitalism to socialism in society, the German social theorist and activist Karl Marx (1983) directs our attention to the actual impacts on society of social movement organizations. It is obviously the case that voluntary nonprofit organizations address a dizzying range of purposes in modern society. These purposes may involve the provision of social services to populations deemed needy. Or they may involve the advocacy of policies or other social changes thought to be in the interest of ideals of justice, freedom, or other values. Or they may provide comfort and companionship to persons of similar background engaged in a range of social interactions and activities.

Social theorists who view the sector through the eyes of neo-Marxist perspectives noted a bias in the voluntary sector toward purposes consistent with the interest of dominant elites in business and government. Governmental funding is seen to list toward "acceptable" rather than

"challenging" organizations. Corporate and philanthropic funding is seen to flow toward orga-nizations sympathetic to "the system" rather than those urging its drastic reform or overthrow. In both cases, gradual "reform" is valued, and drastic "revolution" is viewed as dangerous, radical, and extremist.

Grassroots and community organizations may be an exception to the tendency to focus on purposes agreeable to the establishment. More independent of corporate and governmental interests than larger nonprofit organizations, these groups may take a challenging perspective toward the exercise of power by prevailing institutions. We want to examine our cases to see just how "independent" these organizations may choose or be able to be from structures of power in society's other institutional fields.

Durkheim and the Role of Participation

People join with others in voluntary organizations not only because they want to build a better world; they also join because they believe that participating with others in shared tasks involves a process of democratic realization. Participation is often seen as a goal in itself, a way of finding meaning by joining with others in ways important to their lives.

In classical social theory, the French sociologists Alexis de Tocqueville and Emile Durkheim came to the conclusion that by forming associations, individuals would be able more fully to participate in the realities of contemporary social living. Durkheim (1958, p. 28) observed that "A society composed of an infinite number of unorganized individuals, that a hypertrophied State is forced to oppress and contain, constitutes a veritable sociological mon-strosity." He then added the observation that associations are needed to "drag" the individual into "the general torrent of social life."

Middle-Range Theory

The contemporary social scientist Theda Skocpol (2003) makes the point that many voluntary and nonprofit organizations treat their members in a sterile and inactive way, not listening to their concerns nor involving them actively in the decisions of the association. Grassroots and voluntary organizations, it is sometimes said, form exceptions to this bureaucratic reality. Many useful middle-range theoretical observations may be derived from the grand theories of thinkers such as Marx and Durkheim. In this work, we focus on several of these interlinked sets of hypotheses, as presented by social scientists Neal Smelser (1962) and Hans Toch (1965). But first, we present a series of cases to help examine the nature and quality of participation in grassroots associations.

GRASSROOTS MOVEMENTS FOR SOCIAL
AND CIVIL RIGHTS: THREE CASES

Case 1: The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement in One Community

Nashville, the capital of the state of Tennessee, was a heavily segregated city in the American mid-South when in the 1950s university professor William Van Til[2] and a small number of asso-ciates joined in a campaign to desegregate its schools. Van Til, a Northerner in a city suspicious of "outside agitators," assumed the prestigious position of Chair of the Division of Curriculum

and Teaching at George Peabody College of Education (now a part of Vanderbilt University) in 1951. He had achieved national prominence in his field for his advocacy of democratic education, and his experience in a range of teaching and research activities had convinced him that "Education and social action were one and inseparable if America was to have a fighting chance of achieving democratic human relations" (quoted in Perlstein, 2004, p. 39).

He found Nashville, three years before the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* to be a "community where nothing was being done about desegregation" (Perlstein, 2004, p. 40). By dint of assiduous networking with Nashville's Black leadership and active participation in a number of citizen organizations, Van Til played a major role in bringing Black educators into the programs of his college, and later, in laying the foundation for community support of a plan for integrating the entire school system of the city, serving as founder and developer of the Nashville Community Relations Conference and a principal force in the development of the desegregation plan that Nashville's schools implemented in 1957 (Perlstein, 2004, p. 35).

In his autobiography, Van Til (1996, pp. 262–263) describes the organizing meeting of a coalition of nine voluntary groups to launch the desegregation effort in 1955:

> To find a meeting place was not easy. Only the Jewish Community Center was willing to host a meeting; Christian churches were "unavailable."... The topic of the workshop was "The Supreme Court Decision and Its Meaning to the Community." Though the sponsors had anticipated 150, some 500 uneasy people, two-thirds white, were in attendance. As they gathered, the tension in the air was apparent. One could tell that people were wondering who else was there.
>
> As moderator and chairman of the meeting, I reached into my bag of group process techniques and said, "Good evening, neighbors. Good of you to come out tonight. Let's see who's here. Put up your hand if your relationship is to"—and I tolled off the nine sponsoring organizations. ...
>
> The second meeting was held on a night in February 1956, this time in a Protestant church. The sponsoring organizations had grown to twenty-six (and) 600 people turned out.... People were more at ease than they had been during the first workshop. ...
>
> After the meeting ended and the usual details were wrapped up, Bee (his wife) and I emerged into the February night.... Racists had ice-picked the tires of several cars.... After repairs and changing of tires by the group and garage men, we drove home. Before we went to bed we closed the Venetian blinds so that if the windows were shattered, the glass wouldn't fly. We took our nameplate off the mailbox. We had to remind ourselves that we were living in the United States of America.

In 1960 Nashville became the site of violent efforts on the part of white elements to restrain sit-ins that sought to desegregate lunch counters and other businesses within the city. Nashville became a central focus of a civil rights movement that had, by that time, become a major force in American life [cf. Halberstam (1999)]. The events in Nashville, like those in Birmingham and Selma, became a source from which flowed the legislation and other affects of the work of Martin Luther King and his associates, work that would not only change America but also such distant parts of the world as Northern Ireland and South Africa [cf. Gidron, Katz and Hazenfeld (2002)].

Case 2: The German Peace Movement of the 1980s

The German peace movement started with the "ban the bomb" campaign against nuclear arming of the German military during the 1950, with reference to Germany's frontline position in the Cold War.[3] It was replaced by the Easter march movement against and nuclear weapons in 1960. Germany's Ostpolitik during the early 1970s (West German policy toward Eastern Europe, and toward East Germany in particular) brought some relaxation in the block confrontation and the

peace issue moved in the background. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1978 and negotiations over the SALT II disarmament treaty, an increasing concern over prospects for nuclear war revived the peace movement.

The German peace movement became a fully developed mass movement after the December 1979 NATO twin-track decision, which contained a negotiation offer to the Soviet Union about their medium-range missiles and—in case of failure—the prospect of building up more nuclear weapon systems in Western Europe, including in Germany. Between 1980 and 1983, thanks to an infrastructure of alternative movements that had developed over years, Germany saw the biggest peace mobilization in her history.

In 1981, some 800 different organizations supported a call for an anti-counterarming demonstration in the then German capital Bonn, attracting about 300.000 people in October the same year. The successful mobilization led to the foundation of the national Coordination Committee (KA) in Bonn in 1982, which became the strategic and political decision maker of the movement and which successfully organized mass demonstrations in 1982/83.

The Coordination Committee, the central organization of the movement, consisted of representatives of about 30 bigger organizations, from both the traditionalist and the alternative-environmentalist sphere, trying to be both representative and integrative. However, there was a deficit in representation, particularly of grassroots initiatives, women's peace groups and occupational groups. Contact with the membership was maintained by biennial "conferences of action," which served as the formal source of legitimacy for the committee's political decisions. Overall there were between 4000 and 6000 regional, local, or neighborhood-owned initiatives, between 300 and 1200 were represented in those conferences. They integrated ideas and proposals given by the Coordinating Committee in their work, but remained independent and largely detached from national structures.

Despite differences and heterogeneity in the Coordination Committee, some 1.5 million people could be mobilized in demonstrations against the counterarming part of the NATO twin-track decision in October 1983. The movement came to virtual standstill in the 1990s, but with protests against the impending war in Iraq in 2003, a brief mobilization of about half a million people occurred.

The peace movement of the 1980s was the biggest protest movement in the history of Germany. It was a single-purpose movement that didn't reach its goal of preventing further nuclear built-up in West Germany. But it was able to produce a new awareness of peace and security policy issues, thanks to countless publications by peace researchers and members of the movement. Mass participation in various actions and an increasing acceptance of civil disobedience extended the field of democratic forms of participation. The cooperation of very different organizations and initiatives lay the foundations for a new culture of cooperation in social movements, for the first time recruiting protest potential from more conservative groups. Finally, considering the unusually high number of party representatives within the movement, one can state a new cooperation between political and social movement sphere. This is particularly true for the Green Party, which in the early 1980s officially claimed to be a "grassroots-democracy movement party," the parliamentary arm of the peace movement (Eschweiler, 2001).

Case 3: Volunteering: Meeting Human Needs (LARES in Hungary)

Sociologist Gabor Hegyesi, co-author of this chapter, was born in 1949, the year the Communists took control of Hungary. Hegyesi saw with his own eyes how foolish it was to imagine that government could solve all of a country's problems. In the 1980s he joined with a number

of his colleagues—all specialists in the social services field (a psychologist , a health sphere therapist, a sociologist, a family counselor, and an economist)—to found a voluntary organization to provide help for families in desperate need. The organization was called "LARES," and its services were made available when a parent or child was hospitalized or otherwise disabled.

The Communist government ridiculed the work of Hegyesi and his colleagues. Under communism, government officials declared that all needs are taken care of by the State. It took a long and difficult set of meetings for the LARES leadership to convince the government to license their work. Hegyesi recalls:

> We came up with the idea of offering home services to families with special needs. At that time there was a reform movement in Hungary to create "socialist enterprises" that would provide some social services. We met with a governmental official in charge of licensing these new efforts. We proposed LARES as one such enterprise and developed its mission statement, structure, and plan for its support.

> We then took our plan to the Ministry of Finance, to the Director of Services. She rejected the plan, arguing that the Hungarian government was already providing all these services. But while these discussions were going on, two things were happening in her own family's life. At the very same time, both her father-in-law and her husband became sick and were placed in different hospitals. The official was faced with the problem of how to care for her pre-school child in the face of this family crisis. They lived in the country, had no close ties with her neighbors, and no other family in the area. She faced a crisis in how to cope.

> By the second day of this crisis, she was really going crazy. She called LARES to ask for help. Of course, we pretended to be very official and told her that we had been told that the government provided all the needed services. We asked her: "Why don't you go to the local government for help?" She broke out laughing. "You are absolutely right. I went to the local government and they told me they couldn't help in this situation. I was told it was my private responsibility. And I certainly was not ready to leave my child with a babysitter I found in the telephone book." After that, she gave us her support. She had learned that government can't do it all, that citizen action and volunteering to help each other when people are in need are also important.

Being able to provide voluntary service to families, however, did not create all the change Hegyesi and his colleagues desired for his society. He joined with other civic activists to sign a petition calling for the expansion of democratic rights and practices in Hungary. Like many others who dared to protest the powers of the Communist government, Hegyesi was punished for exercising his political voice. He was fired from his academic job and told that, henceforth, he could expect no respect from his country's government. Only after a later softening of policy did he resume his university position. Today, after the demise of the Communist government, Hegyesi has become a leading figure in his country in support of the role of voluntary and civic action, and was awarded in 2005 the medal for lifetime achievement by his country's President. He teaches in the major university-based program in Hungary that educates and trains individuals who wish to become leaders of civic and philanthropic organizations, and chairs the social work program at Eotvos Lorand University. And LARES thrives, the first of over 50,000 voluntary organizations to come into existence in the post-war period.

LEARNING FROM THESE CASES: UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

When the cases of Nashville, Germany, and LARES are considered, it may be noted that they meet a number of criteria the sociologist Neal Smelser (1962, Chapter 9) has found to characterize "norm-oriented" social movements.

1. They articulate and aggregate interests for social change. Thus William Van Til and his associates in Nashville brought Blacks and Whites together by meeting with organizations whose members consisted of individuals from these communities who wanted change in racial patterns. And the peace movement developed in Germany by a similar process of developing contact among hundreds of local groups worried about this issue. And LARES formed when a network of thoughtful leaders recognized that social services might be reorganized creatively by means of voluntary action within a government-dominated national system.

2. They identify strains within existing social arrangements. In the LARES case, the system was strained in that it did not provide adequate support for families in need of support in times of crisis, as the admission of the governmental official eventually came to recognize. In Nashville, the old ways of the South were breaking down, and the Supreme Court was preparing to issue its decision to end segregation. In Germany, it was apparent to many, following on the end of its disastrous experience with Hitler and World War II, that another war (between the West and the Soviet Union) would also prove disastrous.

3. They present new ways of thinking about problems and seek to take advantage of factors that precipitate change. In Nashville, Van Til and his colleagues asserted that the very idea of democracy demanded integrated education. In Hungary, the LARES leadership began to articulate the view that government could not do everything, and that voluntary and community action would be needed to meet human needs more satisfactorily. And in Germany, the radical idea that peace could replace war as public policy built on the disasters of the recent past in that nation.

4. They mobilize movements for action. In each case, organized action was planned and implemented to signal the power of the grassroots action. In Nashville it took the form of organizing a community coalition advocating school desegregation. In Germany it took the form of a set of national demonstrations and actions to counter governmental policy on a recurrent basis. In Hungary it took the form of forming a counterorganization in direct defiance of an authoritarian nondemocratic governmental regime.

5. They confront systems of social control. As Rothschild and Leach assert in the previous chapter, successful movements achieve a "culture of candor" in which they address issues directly and take deliberate action as it is judged to be needed. Thus the LARES leadership risked condemnation by the ruling party, and its members were sometimes punished by being fired from their jobs and otherwise isolated. And the Nashville leadership and their families were threatened by racist forces within their community. In Germany, demonstrators for peace were regularly faced with the consequences of actions of civil disobedience, such as arrest, imprisonment, and other personal costs and inconveniences.

GRASSROOTS STUDENT MOVEMENTS: THREE MORE CASES

The second set of cases we present in this chapter deals with college and university students, who by dint of their focus on reflective thought and preparation for later careers often find themselves involved in movement activities. Again, we present one case each from Germany, Hungary, and the United States.

Case 4: The Anti-Authoritarian Student Movement in Germany

The most significant social movement to emerge in Germany after World War II was a student movement of socialist orientation. As early as 1946 the German Socialist Student Association (SDS) was founded and became a gathering point for democratic, anti-fascist and socialist–Marxist thinking, supported by many leftist intellectuals. The SDS had a federalist structure with national, federal, and university associations. Delegates assembled annually, and a publication, "New Critic," provided a forum for opinion and discussion.

During the first half of the 1960s, discussions inside the SDS as part of the New Left focused on the question of organizing a socialist opposition in Western Germany. From 1966 an anti-authoritarian majority developed against the socialist traditionalists within the national board of the SDS, led by Rudi Dutschke in Berlin, who became a charismatic leader of the student movement, and Hans-Jürgen Krahl in Frankfurt. Theoretically they declared their closeness to the understanding of Marxism in Critical Theory; practically they employed direct action through provocation and civil disobedience.

The movement entered the political arena in 1966 in opposition to a governmental coalition of the two major political parties, Social Democrats and Christian Democrats. The New Left interpreted this as the beginning of an authoritarian transformation of the democratic institutions; the SDS organized more actions and demonstrations and many more students joined in. The protest became more political and in Berlin in particular it soon went beyond the scope of universities.

Until early 1967 most of the activist students had been primarily interested in university reform. There had also been some demonstrations against single issues such as emergency legislation and the Vietnam War. During a demonstration against the visit of the Persian Shah on June 2, 1967 in Berlin, police killed the student Benno Ohnesorg from behind. The next day protest flooded across Germany; in many university towns students took to the streets to demonstrate against administrative violence and the authorities. The SDS became the mouthpiece of the nonparliamentary student movement, even though its limited organizational means didn't allow any real influence on the big actions of protest. Numerous other anti-authoritarian organizations sprang up.

The strategy of the movement increasingly involved direct action, aimed at revealing repressive routines. Their spontaneity claimed active reflection with the desired result of widespread popular opposition against the political system. Demonstrations were now marked by strategies of attack and withdrawal; the disturbance of public events was regarded as enhancing provocation. Leaders increasingly raised the "revolutionary subject." In September 1967, Dutschke and Krahl decreed a "propaganda of action" in German cities. Universities were called upon to become the social basis of the revolution's fight against the institutions.

Two events in Spring 1968 marked the climax and the beginning of the end of the anti-authoritarian student movement in Germany: the attempted assassination of Rudi Dutschke on April 11 and the passing of the emergency legislation in late May. The attempted assassination resulted in a storm of mobilization. Many saw it as a result of a systematic campaign of the conservative media against the students. During the following Easter weekend around 50,000 people nationwide participated in spontaneous, often violent actions against buildings housing the Springer media group. In Munich two people died in street fights with the police.

Shortly before the agreement of emergency legislation, an intensive period of protests brought 250,000 people into the streets of the country. Not only students, lecturers, and writers were evident, but so were union members and civil servants. But no successes followed, and

within the movement, intellectuals began to withdraw their support in the face of increasing acceptance of violence and anti-parliamentary tendencies within the APO.

After May 1968 disillusionment spread within the student movement and the potential for mobilization sank dramatically. At the same time SDS meetings became increasingly chaotic, and discussion of strategy more and more impossible. The anti-authoritarian activists were left alone with their revolutionary objective, for which there was no strategy and finally no majority. Controversies between traditionalists and the anti-authoritarian camp could not be bridged; the latter's leaders were gone. The SDS decided to dissolve in March 1970 after 23 years. This was the end of a subordinate organization for leftist activists and the movement fragmented into many small groups.

The anti-authoritarian faction separated in anarchist and alternative groups. The first wanted to continue the challenge of the institutions. The latter often mixed with the various citizen action groups that formed in the 1970s and fed the ecology and peace movements of the 1980s. A big proportion of the nonparliamentary movement ended up in established parties, mainly with the Social Democrats.

The student movement dissolved without achieving its revolutionary objectives. Nevertheless it left deep sociocultural traces, which changed lifestyles and life concepts. It had influenced the organization and participatory structure of schools and universities. Its protests against Vietnam marked the beginning of acceptance of conscientious objectors, and a strong feminist movement began to develop. Perhaps its greatest contribution, however, lay in making Germany more democratic, by giving its citizens the chance to see political participation and public control of the political system as an appropriate characteristic of a democratic society.

Case 5: The Classroom: The Outmoded Professor and Student Needs

On a foggy November morning in 1969 the State Economic Planning Course Professor, at the then-named Karl Marx University of Economics which stands on the bank of the Danube, was waiting in the large lecture room for fifty students who were to sit for a written test. The material covered a major subject; the Professor was head of department and senior lecturer. The written test was a prerequisite for a later oral exam and accounted for thirty percent of the assessment. At the appointed time only one student turned up and was successful. The rest who did not appear were failed; even the oral exam became questionable. The Professor may have thought, "They have carried out their threat! This is a revolt." He may also have added, "I will show them who's the boss." What led to this hostility in the normally peaceful teacher–student relationship?

This little revolt was "but a storm in a teacup" in comparison to the German student uprisings discussed above. And surely it was part of a broader movement in Western society in which prosperity allowed a shift in focus from the quantity of social problems to the quality of life. It began to appear possible to achieve great changes in society: to eradicate poverty in America, to democratize Eastern Europe, to move beyond capitalism and the "consumption society" in Western Europe.

In the second half of the 1960s this reforming mood became overpowering in Eastern European, and especially in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In Hungary, the aim became to improve the efficiency of its economy, having recognized the inefficient and wasteful outcome resulting from an economy based on central planning and direction. In 1963 First Secretary

Janos Kadar, who defeated the 1956 uprising and had Prime Minister Imre Nagy executed, declared an amnesty. So began what in political literature is called the "consolidation period." This act lay the foundations for Kadar's later favorable reputation in the West and relative popularity within the country.

A starting point was the release of prisoners who participated in the 1956 uprising and were consequently sentenced to long years of imprisonment and the increasing inclusion of reformers within the ruling party. The mood of the era was framed by the sharp struggle between world systems: the Cold War. In brief this meant, "There is a place for argument before the decision is taken; afterwards only implementation remains." The Soviet leadership during the decades of its reign endeavored to maintain this one-party system throughout its sphere of influence. Reform movements were destroyed one after the other by the Soviets and their local allies. The places and dates of the more spectacular revolts and their crushing are well known: Berlin 1953, Budapest 1956, Prague 1968, Warsaw 1981, and finally Moscow 1993, where despite attacking Yeltsin they lost the battle.

The students who were to be examined were being instructed by faculty members who were leaders in the governmental reform. The Professor played the major role in developing the New Economic Policy implemented on January 1, 1968. The essence of that policy was that instead of providing detailed instructions regarding outcomes and conditions, production enterprises were to be given parameters (level of wages, stock levels, etc.) and a free hand with the rest, so that within a "socialist planned economy" they tried to produce marketable products.

The Professor was an activist, but so were the students. Some had recently completed military experience and were eager to become activists for change rather than defenders of the old regime. And everyone was busy. The Professor was unable to complete a new economics text for the course on time. The old text comprising some eight hundred pages was clearly out of date and the new one was not ready. The Professor stuck to his guns that until the new book appeared they must use the old. His orientation seemed rigid, authoritarian, and anti-intellectual to many students, who began to express vehement outrage. The student position was expressed by elected class officers, who, like almost all their peers, had learned about organizational participation as members of the only national youth organization allowed in Hungary, the Communist Youth Union (KISZ). KISZ decreed that there be elected representatives at three levels: student, teaching, and administration.

The student representatives were present on appointed and elected committees. The election and finding a solution to the conflict with the Professor coincided. Two strategies emerged from the debates: a value approach whereby the essay would not be written on the basis of the old text but would rather use articles, studies, discussion papers, presentations, and the manuscript copy of the new text; and a pragmatic approach aimed at avoiding conflict by using the outmoded book and acquiescing to the Professor.

After heated debate, the majority decision was for the class not to write the essay. The essence from the class' viewpoint was democratization and remaining current with the fast-developing international student movement. The issue persisted for the full five years of the class' attendance at the university, and student opinion diverged on the question of how closely to work within the changing national system of power, some urging work from within, and others insisting that only from the outside can anything be achieved. In the end it appeared that representatives of both schools of thought contributed to the formation of the democratic Hungarian society, whose development was characterized by a process of small steps and many reverses over the ensuing years.

This "outside-inside" combining also became apparent in the solution to the consequences of the student revolt. Political pressure was applied following the refusal to write the essay. The Professor laid charges against the absentees with the university and the political powers that be. Initially it was proposed to evict the class leaders from the university. The leader of the local party committee defended the "rebels" and the absentees survived with a warning. They stood for their oral examination without being given any credit for the written exam, a loss of thirty points. But, they did not have to write the essay based on the discredited text!

Case 6: "Merry Christmas!": Conflict and Change at Swarthmore

Quiet Swarthmore College in 1969 hardly seemed the scene of bitter life-and-death conflict between its students and administrators, but such was to be the case on the bucolic suburban campus of this eminent institution, renowned for its Quaker traditions, brilliant students, and traditions of freedom of expression. Swarthmore's brilliant young president, Courtney Smith, had assembled a faculty and student body dedicated to learning, and he guided his institution with a "decorum and distance . . . metaphorically representative of his general relationship to students. He had a formality and intentionality about himself and had always been particular about his own dress, speech, and social habits. He strongly believed that decorum was essential if one was to be taken seriously and to be influential" (Stapleton and Stapleton, 2004, p. 151).

The peace and civility of Smith's Swarthmore had been maintained throughout the tensions that wracked American society in the McCarthy years of the 1950s, when he had led the college through a courageous defense of intellectual freedom both on campus and on the national scene. But with the coming of the 1960s, Smith had decided it was time to move to a different challenge, and in the Fall of 1968 announced his intention to resign his presidency and assume the directorship of a national foundation that awarded fellowships to promising young persons (Stapleton and Stapleton, 2004, p. 175).

In residency at Swarthmore that year was a cohort of Black students amounting to about five percent of the student body, and among the faculty was a single Black face, that of Asmarom Legesse, an Ethiopian/Eritrean anthropologist.[4] The Black students had formed an association, the Swarthmore Afro-American Student Society (SASS) to represent their interests, and had throughout the Fall expressed concern that the most recently admitted class contained just eight Black students, a number down from the eighteen that had arrived on campus three years previously. The president of the association was Clinton Etheridge, a tall and quiet Engineering major.

On December 23, 1968, President Smith received a letter from SASS that began:

> Merry Christmas! Enclosed are the "clarified" SASS demands you requested some time ago. If you fail to issue a clear, unequivocal public acceptance of these non-negotiable demands by noon, Tuesday, January 7, 1969, the Black students and SASS will be forced to do whatever is necessary to obtain acceptance of same.

Smith duplicated the SASS letter, and his own response, sending copies to all students and faculty, who read the documents in surprise as they returned from the Christmas break. Smith's personal response was recalled by political science Professor Roland Pennock: "He was confronted with non-negotiable demands and rhetoric that did great offense to him. . . . This hurt him bitterly. But he never let himself be moved to anger." Etheridge met with Smith twice before the SASS deadline, but neither meeting led to any resolution of the issues involved. Etheridge

recalls that Smith was "cordial and gracious" in these meetings, and that he "reciprocated his cordiality and treated him with the utmost respect and courtesy."

At noon on January 9, 1969, Etheridge led the membership of SASS into the college's Admissions Office, invited the deans and staff to leave their offices, and padlocked the doors behind them as they departed. The nonviolent sit-in would last a week, during which the faculty met recurrently with Smith in considering the group's four "non-negotiable" demands. Never had Swarthmore College been confronted by so dramatic a challenge to its traditions of authority and civility.

Eight days later, while walking from his home on campus to his office one floor above the Admissions Office, President Smith was stricken with a heart attack. He died in his office that afternoon, and the Black students immediately ended their sit-in and vacated their occupation of the Admissions Office. The campus moved through the stages of shock, denial, grief, and acceptance that have become so familiar in dealing with the recurring tragedies of modern social conflict (Kubler-Ross, 1969).

In a recent reflection on these events, Etheridge writes (2005):

> There was an intense backlash against SASS from outside the College after the death of President Smith. I received hate mail for weeks from many parts of the country. Years later, I came across a quote from Horace that captures how I felt in the aftermath of the crisis: "The man who is tenacious of purpose in a rightful cause is not shaken from his firm resolve by the frenzy of his fellow citizens clamoring for what is wrong."

> I cannot speak for any other member of SASS at the time, but I considered myself psychologically prepared to face the consequences of our nonviolent direct action. I believed in our cause so strongly that I was personally prepared, if necessary, to be expelled from Swarthmore, to be beaten by the police, to be killed. Fortunately, none of that happened to me or any other SASS member. But neither I nor anyone else was prepared for the untimely death of President Smith.

LEARNING FROM THESE CASES: THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social psychologist Hans Toch (1965, pp. 240–241) presents these criteria when considering the human impact of social movements.

1. *The urgency of the problem the movement solves.* Each of the three cases above certainly addressed important problems, particularly when the need of students to learn to take responsibility for their actions is considered. These student-centered issues centrally involve developmental issues Erikson identifies as involving "identity" versus "role-diffusion."

2. *The nature and extent of benefits provided by the movement's solution.* In the eyes of their critics and observers, student movements often seem to make more of the problems they address than may be merited. In the cases presented above, it has been argued that the loss of President Smith outweighed whatever gain Swarthmore might have achieved from the addition of a few more Black students or faculty. Later disclosures that Smith was suffering from a serious heart condition modified that judgment, at least among some observers.

3. *The new problems that the movement creates for its members.* Participants in a grass-roots movement are often cautioned by friends and family not to do anything that might

jeopardize their later career. The Hungarian student protestors did put their futures at risk by their actions, and many of them were later penalized for further actions they took in support of extending democratic institutions and processes.

4. *The damage caused to nonmembers.* Students are often accused of being self-centered in their thought, words, and deeds. Advisors to their movements would well caution them to consider the impact of their proposed actions upon the larger communities in which they are embedded. As the Swarthmore case indicates, what may be seen as a poorly executed action can have a long-term effect among nonmembers. But, as others have observed, the long-term impact of the SASS campaign has been to create a vital minority presence at Swarthmore, perhaps more than the required correction for the deficiencies that resulted from the SASS intervention.

5. *The long-term impact of the movement on society at large.* Grassroots social movements have the potential of changing the world, sometimes for the worst, but, it is hoped, more often for the better. Among the Hungarian students who stood up to their overworked and authoritarian professor were a number who went on to important leadership positions in their country, helping steer its way from Soviet domination to thriving democracy. Among the German students who organized around their interests were the later leaders of the important Green political party in that country, including Daniel Cohn-Bendit, now a member of the European Parliament. And among the Swarthmore students who sat in the Admissions office are several successful lawyers, a well-known music impresario, and investment banker Clinton Etheridge.

CONCLUSION: GRASSROOTS ACTION AND THE PRESENT MOMENT

The cases of grassroots movements reviewed in this chapter derive from what may be seen as the golden age of American social action, a time in which minorities, women, poor people and others found their voice and advanced many interests and policies of passionate interest to them and their supporters. The millennial society of the twenty-first century, on the other hand, seems a time less receptive to such organized action. Workers find their actions regulated by the discipline of "dumb" computers, which account for all their keystrokes but restrict their ability to use the Internet for more creative purposes (Langer, 1972); the fear of crime and terror places closed-circuit television cameras in increasing numbers of public places; credit cards, cell phones, and EZ-pass transponders make it possible to track our movements throughout the country and the world [cf. Gary Marx (2002)].

Despite the increasing presence of "big brother" in modern society, grassroots social movements continue to emerge. As we write, a mother of an American soldier killed in Iraq has ignited a nationwide expression of anti-war sentiment; settlers in Israel, while being forcibly removed by their country's military, have clearly positioned themselves to warn against further policies of removal in occupied territories; and an unlikely pairing of community activists and corporate interests has emerged to oppose the policies and practices of "eminent domain," even as they have been legitimated by a recent Supreme Court decision.

The six cases presented in this chapter give credence, we believe, to our major contentions:

1. Ideas count. It's not that social movements always get things right, because obviously the ideas that some movements seek to advance often conflict with those held passionately by adherents of other movements. No, what's important here is that effective, powerful,

and ultimately successful movements are fueled by ideas that make sense to their members as well as to many in the broader public citizenry. The idea that segregation was wrong not only drove William Van Til and his associates to confront racism in Nashville, but it seemed to make sense to many other citizens in that city. The idea that the arms race would ultimately lead to the mutual destruction of the human race not only appealed to a group of movement activists in Germany, but it also made sense to many in the broader German public when it was brought to their attention. The idea that the discredited authoritarian Hungarian state would require new economic theories not only appealed to a group of eager university students, but also made sense to many in the outside citizenry, and also for the meeting of family needs by LARES, the expansion of Swarthmore's commitment to minority education, and the call for student participation in the authoritarian educational system of Germany.

2. Grassroots participation drives the movement. No matter how strong, appealing, or sensible an idea may be, it needs people to think about it, talk about it, and act upon it if a movement is to advance its goals of changing society. If Gabor Hegyesi and his colleagues had not been willing to risk their jobs by confronting the considerable power of Hungary's communist government, families would have continued to struggle with crises that could have been eased by the voluntary provision of social assistance. If William Van Til and his associates had not been willing to risk the violence of racist attacks, Nashville's processes of school desegregation would have been delayed. And also for the mass participation of thousands of Germans who took the streets to demand peace and social change in the name of a variety of groups protesting policy and practice in that land after the ravages of World War II.

3. Organization is of lesser importance. Movement organizations need not exist for their own sake. Indeed, as our cases indicate, they appear and recede, rise and fall, disappear and are reborn. Social movements are very different from businesses, or nonprofit organizations, or families. They can be temporary, recurrent, or ephemeral. They may be led, staffed, and supported by persons willing to give large amounts of time and energy for a limited period of time. And, as the student movement in Germany indicates, their leaders may one year be courting jail terms, and a few years later, sitting in high and powerful seats of electoral office.

What's important to know about social movements is that, if they are rooted in conceptions that advance justice and human rights, and they are joined by people committed to these ideas of change, they can make a difference in structures of power and control in society. These are big "ifs," however, and movements must be selected carefully, as Dennis Helming (1997, p. 31) observes:

> Many militants seem to be acting on the psychological need to believe in something—anything—sufficiently evil on which to vent a big head of moral steam, and thus to justify their existence. They often inhabit, as G.K. Chesterton put it, "the clean well-lit prison of one idea."

Choose wisely, on the other hand, and the experience of being part of a social movement can be a highly positive experience, as Anna Leon-Guerrero (2005, p. 440) notes:

> If you think there is nothing that you can do to effect change, you've not been paying attention. The first step is to recognize that you can make a difference. You do not have to believe in quick fixes, universal solutions, or changing the entire world in order to solve social problems. You do not have to join a national organization.... The second step is to explore opportunities for service on your campus and your community. ... Step 3, enjoy what you are doing.... And the final step? Go out and do it.

Leon-Guerrero proceeds to quote Paul Rogat Loeb:

> We need to ask what we want in this nation and why; how should we run our economy, meet
> human needs, protect the Earth, achieve greater justice? Real answers to these questions won't be
> spearheaded by the President, though he might follow (if) others lead. They have to come from us,
> as we reach out to listen and learn, engage fellow citizens who aren't currently involved, and spur
> debate in environments that are habitually silent.

Grassroots movement activity, based on the righting of wrongs and the advance of justice in society, can be an important source of both individual meaning and social advance. In the current moment, and such moments in the future, it will be good for both individuals and their societies to benefit from the gains of participation in their midst. Grassroots social movements such as those we have considered in this chapter continue to serve as sources of meaning, invigoration, and the building of a better society.

NOTES

1. Jon Van Til, an American, is a senior social scientist, who has been active as a scholar and participant in social movements directed toward citizen empowerment, criminal justice, volunteerism, and conflict resolution. Gabor Hegyesi, a Hungarian, is a social work educator who has been active as a scholar and participant in social movements directed toward social justice, democratization, and the broadening of social services. Jennifer Eschweiler, a German living in England, is a graduate student whose master's thesis examined a number of social movements in her home country since World War II.
2. William Van Til's son Jon is the senior author of this chapter.
3. Further detail on the two German cases presented in this chapter may be found in Eschweiler (2001).
4. Also in Legesse's department was Jon Van Til, senior author of this chapter.

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Action Research: Professional Researchers in the Community

BEN CAIRNS, MARGARET HARRIS, and MALCOLM CARROLL

INTRODUCTION

Community organizing is about local people solving local problems. An underlying principle is that those experiencing a particular difficulty or challenge are best placed to understand, define, and address it. However, in practice, this may not always be possible. Communities themselves, and community organizations, may encounter situations that require additional support or resources. In such circumstances, community organizations committed to autonomy may nevertheless have to look to "outsiders" for help.

This process of involving outsiders is a key challenge of community organizing, especially in cases where those outsiders have specialist expertise or own scarce resources. In the first part of this chapter we look at the dilemmas of drawing outsiders into communities and local organizations. We then go on to discuss an approach to knowledge generation and knowledge transfer that responds to the paradox of community self-help versus external expertise. It is known as "action research."

The action research approach often carries different labels and there is no real consensus about its ideological foundations or methods of implementation. However, we are able to identify five key characteristics:

- Collaboration between professional researchers and "problem owners."
- Starting with a practical issue or problem.
- The agenda, viewpoints, and perceptions of "problem owners" are paramount.
- Intervention with a view to achieving change.
- Knowledge building and knowledge transfer.

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In the following section of the chapter we present and discuss cases that illustrate how the five characteristics of action research play out. We draw on examples from our own experiences as professional researchers committed to action research principles in our work with communities, local organizations, and small nonprofits that serve local communities.

The chapter concludes with reflections about the challenges of implementing an action research approach. For communities and local organizations, we highlight the dilemma of accepting support from outsiders while ensuring that the agenda remains under their own control; issues of intellectual domination; and the complex but potentially rewarding process of coproduction of knowledge. Turning to professional researchers, we address the ongoing prejudice within academia about the legitimacy of action research as a methodology before identifying several practical concerns: first, the importance of finding a way of behaving appropriately and ethically in the action research situation; second, the need to constantly reflect on the place of "self" in the generation of knowledge; and third, the requirement to be flexible, pragmatic, and patient. Despite these various challenges, we argue that action research can act as an instrument that builds community capacity and facilitates change while also safeguarding community autonomy.

THE PARADOX OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING: SELF-HELP AND THE NEED FOR EXPERTISE

It is in the very nature of local and community organizing that it is driven by indigenous perceptions of needs, problems, and injustice. Community organizing is underpinned by local understanding about what is blighting the lives of individuals and the community as a whole. Often communities also have their own ideas about how best to respond to problems. These ideas may be drawn from respected "elders" of the community itself, from local "folk memories" of how similar problems were successfully handled in the past, or from widely accepted ideologies about collective action. Thus in the face of a local problem, one community might favor a media campaign, another might organize lobbying of local politicians, a third could join forces with other local groups, and a fourth might initiate some kind of local mutual-aid activity.

But whatever the chosen route for dealing with a need or a problem, community organizing is about local people solving local problems. In fact, much community and local organizing constitutes in itself a critique of outsiders; especially a critique of professionals and experts. For the professionals and experts are often those who are seen as having failed in the past to provide policies and solutions that respond to local needs.

Community action, then, can be conceptualized as an expression of the self-help principle: the idea that those who experience a problem are the people who can best respond to it. They are the ones who understand both the problem and each other better than outsiders ever can. As Goffman (1968) put it, those experiencing problems often feel that they want to tackle them among "the own and the wise" rather than accept the views or help of those who cannot really understand because they have not had the same personal experience. And as Borkman shows in her chapter in this *Handbook*, "self-help" is a term mostly applied to the approaches and action of individuals but the underlying principle applies equally to community organization. In effect, community organizing implicitly rejects action "by them for us" in favor of action "by us for us".

Despite these principles of autonomy and self-help which are at the heart of community organizing, it is often the case in practice that communities need specialist expertise in order to be effective and achieve change. People wanting to protest the proposed local setting of

a waste processing plant, for example, will require particular and precise scientific data in order to make a persuasive argument to governmental decision makers. Similarly, a community organization on a run-down inner-city housing estate that wishes to make a bid for governmental or foundation funding will often need to gather comprehensive information about residents' preferences and frame these within known public policy priorities. Community groups that seek to build bridges between people of different ethnic or religious backgrounds will often need independent facilitators and guidance on cultural norms.

Sometimes local communities are fortunate to find that they have the necessary expertise within themselves and that they can benefit from the "pre-understanding" which can be contributed by local people who are also experts (Coghlan and Brannick, 2001). Perhaps there is a scientist, architect, or lawyer who lives in the community and is willing to volunteer time and expertise for a specific task or campaign. Or maybe there is a local priest who is especially knowledgeable about local grant-making foundations. But very often all the expertise that is necessary for effective community organizing is just not available within the community itself and it is clear that external support of some kind is needed.

The paradox, then, is that community movements and local organizations are founded upon, and driven by, principles of autonomy and self-help; yet in order to achieve what they most want to achieve, they often need practical help and specialist expertise from community "outsiders." One way of dealing with this paradox is known as "action research" and is the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

Action research is also referred to by other terms such as "collaborative research," "participatory research," or "cooperative research." It is an approach to knowledge generation and knowledge transfer that responds to the paradox of community self-help versus external expertise. It provides help and support from external professional researchers. But it does not attempt to claim ownership or superior understanding of the community's own agenda. Nor does it privilege knowledge generated by professional researchers over community experience or knowledge generated within local communities (Gibbons et al., 1994). Action research is underpinned by values that emphasize equality between communities and researchers (Stringer, 1999).

The action research approach tries to ensure that communities and local organizations obtain the benefits of specialist knowledge without sacrificing the strength and power inherent in the do-it-yourself and self-help principles of community organizing. At the same time, it tries to ensure that communities are not just left to take responsibility for their own destiny without being offered the knowledge resources that they will need if they are not to buckle under the burden of self-responsibility (Taylor, 2003). Self-help can be an empowering process when it enables people to support each other to achieve solutions to their own problems. But it can equally be a demotivating and disempowering process if local people are left to sink or swim with no friendly helping hand. People can sink rapidly merely for want of a small amount of external support or guidance.

Action research aims to make the crucial difference between communities sinking or swimming by extending the abilities and strengths that the community already has within itself. Through collaboration with outsider experts in the generation of knowledge, communities and groups enlarge their own competence, control, and initiative (Illich, 1973).

In the remainder of this chapter we:

- Outline some of the key ideas underpinning action research; and
- Discuss the challenges posed for practitioners and researchers who wish to adopt this kind of approach in a community context.

We provide examples from our own action research experience as we go in order to:

• Illustrate key characteristics of the approach;
• Demonstrate the variety of ways in which it can be implemented; and
• Reflect on the benefits and limitations of action research in a community context.

THE ACTION RESEARCH APPROACH

Much has been written about action research and there is no consensus about its exact definition or methodological approach (Reason and Bradbury, 2001). The action research approach is referred to by a number of different terms, is underpinned by a range of ideological viewpoints, and is implemented in a variety of ways. In this section we outline the various terms and ideas that are referred to in the literature and then suggest five key features which can be seen as characterizing the action research approach.

The concept of action research appears in the publications of many fields of study including psychology, education, nursing, nonprofit studies, social work, and business management. It has also been applied to many dimensions of social life including not only community organizing but also industrial relations, personal development. and economic development.

The idea of action research is often attributed to Kurt Lewin (1946) and to the work of the Tavistock Institute in England [see, e.g., Argyris and Schon (1996); Coolican (1994)] where psychoanalytic methods developed for individual psychological problems were applied to practical problems of organizations. The same broad methodology (of problem definition, data-gathering about the perceived problem, and reflecting back data for further analysis by the problem-owner in a supportive framework) was later used in community development [see, e.g., Spencer (1964)]; studies of industry (Hill, 1971; Jaques, 1976); studies of governmental and third sector organizations (Billis, 1993), and studies in health and education (Hart and Bond, 1995). The iterative pattern—of problem identification, planning, action, and evaluation—is common to all such studies.

In addition to the variety of fields to which the action research concept is applied, terms used also vary. However, most writers use terms that seem to reflect not only a wish to position action research within the panoply of research methods available to the professional social scientist, but also to emphasize the aim of working as equals with practitioners and problem-owners; for example, "collaborative research" (Billis, 1993); "cooperative inquiry" (Reason , 2003); "participative inquiry" (Reason and Bradbury, 2001); "participatory action research" (Greenwood, Whyte, and Harkavy, 1993; Whyte, 1991); "participatory research" (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000); "transparent research" (Milofsky, 2000); and "scholar-practitioner research" (Salipante and Aram, 2003). These terms hold out the possibility that both the needs of social scientists for valid and reliable research-based knowledge and the needs of communities for expert help from outsiders, can be reconciled. Indeed, that they are complementary.

This possibility, of combining two agendas without compromising either, is reflected in some of the definitions of action research itself. For example, Gill and Johnson (1997, p. 12) say: "Action Research aims to contribute both to the practical concerns of people in an immediate problematic situation and to the goals of social science by joint collaboration within a mutually acceptable ethical framework."

This conciliatory viewpoint can be placed alongside a third, more radical and critical, approach that argues that the inherent power differentials between those with expert knowledge

and those without it mean that the two agendas (social scientific method and practical problem-solving) are often impossible to reconcile (Finn, 1994; Freire, 1974). The corollary of this argument is that the responsibility of outside experts is to develop practical problem-solving tools and transfer knowledge to powerless people, groups, and communities. Methodological rigor and professional credibility are of secondary importance; what is important is the direct involvement of people in communities and goals of social justice, emancipation, and empowerment (Fisher, 1994; Selener, 1997). This may be achieved by equipping people with the requisite skills for carrying out research in their own organizations (Coghlan and Brannick, 2001; Munn-Giddings and Winter, 2001).

Although, then, there are variations in the perceived goals of action research, there is some degree of consensus about what it involves. Taking the relevant literature described above as a whole, we can discern the following key characteristics that have been ascribed to the action research approach.

1. Collaboration between professional researchers and problem-owners (who may be individuals, local groups, nonprofit organizations, or communities).
2. A focus on the "real world." Action research starts with a practical issue or problem. The knowledge produced is practically applicable or "usable" by practitioners and communities.
3. The agenda, viewpoints, and perceptions of the problem-owners are paramount throughout (rather than those of the professional researchers or external stakeholders).
4. Intervention with a view to achieving change. The hoped-for change may include solving a problem; developing a shared view on an issue or task; adapting to a changed environment; organizational development; or community development.
5. Knowledge building and knowledge transfer. Knowledge is built and transferred in both directions through cooperation between practitioners and professional researchers. Often there is a cyclical learning process; building knowledge and understanding by continuously testing it against practical experience and applying it to real-world situations before further modification and refinement by the researcher (in collaboration with practitioners).

Few authors suggest that action research must include all five of these characteristics. Some authors emphasize just one or two of the characteristics; for example, Salipante and Aram (2003) emphasize collaboration and Billis (1993) emphasizes generation of usable knowledge. Other authors see the intention to bring about change as the essential purpose of action research [e.g., Harris and Harris (2001); Sorenson, Yaeger, and Bengtssson (2003)]. But key authors do generally suggest that action research involves a combination of at least three or four of the characteristics.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF
ACTION RESEARCH

In this section of the chapter we present and discuss cases that illustrate how the five characteristics of action research play out in actual projects. We use examples drawn from our own experiences as professional researchers who work with communities, local organizations, and small nonprofits (all serving local communities) using action research principles (1). As the

examples come from the United Kingdom, we use U.K. terms and refer to "voluntary and community organizations" or "VCOs."

We take each of the five characteristics identified above and then show in this section how each one was reflected in an action research project in which one or more of the current authors participated. We present and discuss each case such that one particular action research characteristic is emphasized. However, each case can also be seen to reflect several of the five key characteristics; we have simply chosen to emphasize one aspect of each case example for illustrative purposes in this section of the chapter.

Characteristic One

Collaboration between professional researchers and problem-owners (who may be individuals, local groups, nonprofit organizations, or communities).

Case Example One: Local HIV/Aids Organizations Working Together

We were invited to work with eight local HIV/AIDS voluntary organizations that wanted to explore options for them to work together more closely. They had some previous history of joint working and were being encouraged by governmental funders to demonstrate that they were using public resources efficiently by collaborating.

As experienced professional researchers with expertise in nonprofit management we collaborated with the eight VCOs in:

- Defining the elements of the starting problem (starting from their perceptions and experiences)
- Considering the public policy context (where we provided specialist knowledge to explain the environmental pressures on staff)
- Finding earlier examples of collaborations and mergers between small nonprofits; and
- Exploring and recording the historical roots of each of the eight organizations (where we facilitated discussion and recorded taken-for-granted knowledge about each organization)

In each of these tasks we worked to complement the experiences and pre-existing knowledge of the participant organizations. Knowledge was discussed at regular meetings between researchers and practitioners and consensus reached on viewpoints.

The jointly agreed three-stage research strategy comprised a literature/policy review, fieldwork interviews, and organizational model-building. At the fieldwork stage each interviewee was given the opportunity to review interview transcripts. The "cleared" transcripts were then shared between all the project participants (researchers and practitioners) so that participants gained understanding of each other's viewpoints on possible organizational change and so that researchers' understandings and interpretations were not dominant.

The immediate outcome was a negotiated merger between five of the eight organizations, based on one of the models developed during the final stage of the research process. In addition, by working side by side with professional researchers, all eight of the organizations improved their capacity to handle changing demands from their environment as well as their capacity to make autonomous decisions about their organizational structures.

Characteristic Two: A Focus on the Real World

Action research starts with a practical issue or problem. The knowledge produced is practically applicable or usable by practitioners and communities.

Case Example Two: Supporting Boards of Small Nonprofits

In the United Kingdom there are local umbrella, intermediary, or infrastructure organizations that coordinate and support the work of local VCOs. Local VCOs pay to be members and there is also some governmental funding. We were invited by four such umbrella organizations to work with them to develop, pilot, and evaluate a program to provide support for the boards of small local organizations. The practical challenge for the umbrellas was twofold:

a. To devise a support program tailored to the special circumstances of small VCOs. The latter face particular problems of leadership and governance due to factors such as few (if any) paid staff, over-reliance on just one or two key people, uncertain funding, and vulnerability to changes in policy and fashion.

b. To respond to the demands of governmental funders to help improve the efficiency and effectiveness of VCOs.

As independent researchers we were able to provide the umbrella organizations in the first place with an annotated review of literature relevant to the organizational challenges of small VCOs and their governance. This provided them with practically applicable concepts and ideas to frame their development of a specialist support program. We were also able, through fieldwork, to explore the practical challenges from the perspective of three sets of stakeholders: the management staff of the umbrella organizations, their development workers responsible for delivering the pilot programs, and the pilot participant organizations themselves. Because of our outsider status, we were also able, thirdly, to facilitate an open discussion about the conflicting pressures on VCOs and their umbrella bodies to build their own autonomous strength while also responding to the demand of governmental funders for "value for money."

By feeding back our accumulated findings to all the stakeholders and facilitating debate and discussion between them, we were able to help build a consensus about possible models for supporting the work of boards in small VCOs. The models were grounded in practical experience and the views of users.

The ideas generated were incorporated into a document that was used by the umbrella organizations to inform national government about the practical realities of governance in small VCOs and to lobby for funding for a national program of support for the boards of small VCOs. Thus this action research project began with a twofold practical challenge and ended with the knowledge generated being used in a practical piece of lobbying and fundraising.

Characteristic Three

The agenda, viewpoints, and perceptions of the problem owners are paramount throughout (rather than those of the professional researchers or external stakeholders).

Case Example Three: Evaluating a Capacity Building Program

We were invited by a large umbrella organization, BANA, to assist them in conducting a qualitative evaluation of their governmentally funded "capacity building" program for small, community-based VCOs. The program had run for seven years, awarding grants to local organizations and providing practical assistance with a range of organizational development tasks.

It was clear from our preliminary agenda-setting discussions with staff of BANA that "ownership" of the evaluation was unclear and that there were at least four possible groupings that regarded the community capacity building (and therefore the ownership of the evaluation) as their own: the external governmental funders, the BANA board, BANA staff, and the local organizations involved in the program.

As action research collaborators with BANA, we helped to design an evaluation research process that allowed the ideas and experiences of BANA, as well as the other "owners" to emerge. In keeping with action research principles, we were obligated to give priority to the agenda of the problem-owners, those who needed an evaluation of the program.

Thus the first stage of the action research was one in which the various, sometimes conflicting, viewpoints of the four stakeholders were explored. This gave rise initially to open conflict as the nature of each stakeholder's interest in the capacity building program varied. For example, funders were concerned to see positive outcomes of the evaluation in order to confirm the wisdom of their original investment. However, BANA staff wanted to express their reservations about the concept of capacity building in order to influence the future direction of governmental funding for VCOs.

Through a series of feedback and planning meetings as well as interactive workshops involving us as researchers as well as the multiple problem-owners, a common sense of ownership was gradually developed. We ourselves worked primarily as interpreters and facilitators, attempting constantly to achieve a balance of views and to avoid any specific actors taking control of the research process. By privileging the agenda of the practitioner stakeholders, the process eventually produced a set of ideas for future capacity building that were widely understood and supported.

Characteristic Four: Intervention with a View to Achieving Change

The hoped-for change may include solving a problem; developing a shared view on an issue or task; adapting to a changed environment; organizational development; or community development.

Case Example Four: Diversifying a Volunteer Workforce

A small local VCO providing services for people with mental health problems asked us to collaborate with them in developing a strategy for the recruitment and retention of volunteers from Black and minority ethnic (BME) groups. In effect we were asked to support a process of adapting to external pressures and expectations because the charity knew well that governmental funders in the United Kingdom increasingly expect VCOs to reflect and respond to the diverse nature of the population in all aspects of their work.

Although the research strategy was developed and planned in collaboration with the mental health charity (MHC) staff and board members, we fed in to the planning discussions our own specialist knowledge of prior research on effective and sustainable organizational change, as

well as our knowledge of earlier research findings on volunteer motivation, recruitment, and retention. This enabled MHC to develop strategies for volunteer diversification that were likely to be successful.

Our role as professional researchers in this case also included gathering a range of perspectives about the possibilities for diversifying the volunteer workforce of MHC. We conducted semi-structured interviews with existing staff, volunteers, and board members of MHC as well as with people in other local organizations and members of the wider BME communities. We explored with interviewees their understanding of concepts such as volunteering and voluntarism, the obstacles to becoming a volunteer for people from minority communities, and possible strategies for overcoming the obstacles. The interview process not only gave us data but also enabled the people we interviewed to explore their own feelings about possible changes and the drivers to change and to start to develop a shared and mutually acceptable understanding of the challenges they were facing.

Using earlier research findings and the findings from our interviews, we worked collaboratively with MHC to develop a multidimensional approach to incrementally increasing diversity, including: the recruitment of new trustees, training for all staff, and the establishment of a joint working group with other mental health providers and representatives of the local BME community.

Because the aim of achieving sustainable change was one shared by both MHC and us as researchers, we did not cease our own collaboration with MHC at the point where options for increasing diversity had been developed. Instead we facilitated a process of reflection and action including workshops and further discussions with staff and board members of MHC. Eventually MHC took the lead in developing a multiagency strategy to address the issue of volunteer diversification in mental health services strategically in the entire local area.

The MHC action research facilitated policy change within a local area through a cycle of problem definition and re-definition and through a sustained process of joint problem-solving.

Characteristic Five: Knowledge Building and Knowledge Transfer

Knowledge is built and transferred in both directions through cooperation between practitioners and professional researchers. Often there is a cyclical learning process; building knowledge and understanding by continuously testing it against practical experience and applying it to real-world situations before further modification and refinement by the researcher (in collaboration with practitioners).

Case Example Five: Establishing a Regional Faith Forum

The West Midlands Regional Assembly (a new governmentally established body providing a deliberative chamber between national and local levels of government in the United Kingdom) asked us to collaborate with them in formulating a model for establishing a Regional Faith Forum (RFF). It was felt that it was important that regional-level policy discussions on matters of regional importance should take into account the views of people of different religions. This is in line with national government policies in the United Kingdom to involve "faith communities" in policy consultations and it reflects the highly diverse population of the West Midlands Region of the United Kingdom.

Because there were no precedents for establishing such a forum in the United Kingdom, our input as professional researchers took two forms. We shared with the Regional Assembly

(RA) relevant findings from earlier studies which we selected as being relevant, albeit not identical, to the puzzle posed by the Regional Assembly (RA). In line with ideas about the recycling of practical knowledge (Eden and Huxham, 1996), we drew on earlier work of our own in which we had found that the willingness of VCOs to engage with regionalism was correlated with the availability of genuine opportunities to shape the policy agenda. In addition, we worked collaboratively with members of faith groups themselves to develop possible models for a faith forum for the region. The models were developed over a long period in which emerging ideas were synthesized by us as researchers, fed back to both the RA and faith groups, and then further modified and refined.

The starting research question or problem was refined several times. For example, after initial discussions with members of faith communities, we identified that there was a genuine interest among members of faith groups in public policy issues but that they were more interested in local matters and organizational problems than in engaging with a regional agenda. This initial finding led us, in consultation with the RA, to shift the focus of the research from establishing a forum immediately, to teasing out which issues would be appropriate for discussion between faith groups and the RA.

The iterative process through which knowledge is generated in action research was reflected also in the method used eventually for developing models of a faith forum. As researchers we developed a long list of possible models on the basis of our discussions with members of faith groups combined with our knowledge of other consultative forums. These possible models were then discussed with both faith groups and the regional assembly members to test out the extent to which each of the models would be acceptable to all parties. Thus preferred models were developed incrementally, with cooperation and consensus building, and as a product of repeated appraisals of possibilities by all concerned.

The immediate outcome of the action research was not in fact the establishment of a Faith Forum. Instead, as a result of the iterative process of building knowledge and mutual understanding, the RA decided to delay establishing a faith forum and to focus instead on building the capacity of faith groups to engage with public policy processes.

THE CHALLENGES OF IMPLEMENTING AN
ACTION RESEARCH APPROACH

Despite the many differences of emphasis and ideological underpinnings (Elden and Chisholm, 1993) referred to earlier in this chapter, there is an implicit consensus among writers that the action research approach involves bridging the traditional divide between professional researchers and practitioners; between the ivory tower and the real world. As Feeney (2000) has discussed, scholars and practitioners generally inhabit different "thought worlds" and have different understandings of concepts such as authority, legitimacy, and voice. Historically, these differences have inhibited dialogue and made collaboration problematic. Those who make an effort to bridge the divide inevitably face a number of challenges.

Challenges for Communities and Local Organizations

For communities and local organizations there is the challenge of accepting help while ensuring that the agenda remains under their own control. Partly this is a matter of building trust or establishing the trustworthiness and reliability of outsiders. One organization we worked with

tested us by inviting us to collaborate on a small, low-risk project before inviting us back a year later to support them in complex and sensitive negotiations around a possible merger between themselves and three other organizations.

Keeping control of the community's own agenda can also be a common-sense matter of keeping alert in meetings or being assertive about the research agenda and expected outcomes. It can also be a matter of ensuring that change takes place at a pace acceptable for the community, rather than a pace set by external experts. But perhaps most challenging for communities that engage in action research is the question of how to avoid being coopted or incorporated into the ways of thinking of professional researchers.

The language, concepts, and assumptions used by professional researchers and other experts can often be very attractive to nonspecialists and there is always the temptation to reframe the starting problem in line with the conceptualizations of the researchers, irrespective of its long-term usefulness or applicability. For example, a local organization we worked with had accepted with little questioning the diagnosis of an outside adviser that it was failing to perform as an "efficient and effective public services provider." In fact that organization had not been established, and had never aimed, to be anything other than a community association and ideas about efficiency and effectiveness had originally been far less important than meeting the associational aims of local people.

Such issues of intellectual domination are almost certain to arise as soon as a community admits professional outsiders into its midst. Their impact can be lessened if local people take a critical approach to all the new ideas that they encounter as a result of partnering with professional researchers; constantly considering and debating the usefulness of new ideas and testing their applicability against their own insider practical experience in their home territory. They need to see themselves as already having expert knowledge of their own, albeit of a different kind and generated in a different way, from that brought to them by professional researchers.

These are differences that have been conceptualized by Gibbons and his colleagues (1994) as a distinction between "Mode 1 knowledge" which is generated by professional researchers and driven by their interests and "Mode 2 knowledge" which is generated in the context of practical problems and intended to be used to solve those problems. One is not superior to the other; they are just different. In action research, useful knowledge is not a zero-sum game in which one body of knowledge drives out another. On the contrary, action research is about combining the specialist knowledge of professional researchers with the practical experience of the community. In such cases, the final product (policy, organizational change, and so on) is not the sum of two very different parts but is a new kind of coproduced knowledge that has been tested and tempered in the light of both experience and academic expertise (Harris and Harris, 2002; Macduff and Netting, 2000; Milofsky, 2000). Knowledge of this kind is usable in the sense that it has practical application to the needs of the community.

Challenges for Professional Researchers

For professional researchers, as well, implementing an action research approach poses numerous problems. Perhaps most intractable is the ongoing prejudice within academic research communities about the legitimacy of action research as a methodology; and about the value and credibility of the knowledge generated by it (Dick, 2004; Stringer, 1999). Professional researchers who engage in action research are frequently called upon by their peers to justify their approach and to explain the benefits it offers in comparison with more traditional social research and consultancy methods. In doing so they can now draw upon a growing

body of research methodology literature (e.g., Alvesson and Deetz, 2000; Argyris and Schon, 1996; Reason and Bradbury, 2001) which shows how action research can provide experiential, presentational, propositional, and usable knowledge. Such knowledge has its own contribution to make to discourse in an open society, to community and organizational learning, and to tackling the problems of the real world. In some practical situations, action research is virtually the only appropriate research method available; as was the case in the landmark study by Spencer (1964) where the researcher was asked to help bring about change among the residents of an inner-city housing project in Bristol, England.

Beyond the challenge to professional researchers of explaining and justifying the action research approach to their own peers, is the greater challenge of finding a way of behaving appropriately and ethically in the action research situation. As professional researchers they must adhere to the same standards as other social researchers with regard to matters such as confidentiality and recordkeeping in the field, avoiding harm to individuals or communities, ensuring a neutral stand in relation to differing views and agendas, and in striving to disseminate new knowledge. At the same time, the very nature of action research may make it particularly difficult to adhere to such standards in practice: for example, in circumstances where different members of the community confide in the researcher separately but give apparently totally different accounts; where the researcher's role slips over the boundary between supporter and research partner to friendship; when the researcher is also a member of the community, living or working locally; or when the dissemination of research findings would break confidentiality or jeopardize the position of particular members of the community.

We have found that challenges of this kind are particularly likely to arise in action research at the local and community level. Such settings tend to blur role boundaries so that researchers and community activists naturally relate to each other in informal settings and as friends, sharing details of their personal backgrounds and interests. In work we conducted with the Manchester Jewish community, for example, the fact that discussions with individuals were often in homes or small workplace settings helped us as researchers to tease out the multitude of different religious and cultural perspectives existing within the one Jewish community. Yet it made it difficult on occasion for us as external experts to maintain an impartial and balanced viewpoint on the many competing interests and the conflicts within the community.

The action research approach challenges the professional researcher, perhaps more than any other methodology, to constantly reflect on the place of self in the generation of knowledge (Harris, 2001); to constantly ask, "What is my own role in the process of this research and the production of knowledge here?" (Faber, 2002). Action research calls equally for an awareness of reflexivity; of the self-reproducing and recursive nature of human social activities (Beck, 1992). The researcher herself or himself contributes to the construction of the research setting; and that setting, in its turn, is part of the researcher's own social world. The researcher is constantly affecting what is happening in the community or organization where research is happening; this needs to be explicitly acknowledged if the research process itself is not to become a means of controlling the community or practitioners (Denzin, 1997).

Finally, the action research approach challenges professional researchers to be extremely flexible, pragmatic, and patient. Action research cannot be hurried or completed according to strict timetables. Work has to progress at a pace that meets the rhythms, customs, circumstances, and systems of communities and local groups, rather than the needs of university departments or the budgets of nonprofit research organizations.

The need to expect the unexpected is another practical reality for professional researchers doing action research. The opportunities to contribute expertise and experience may occur at points that were not those originally envisaged. The action research process itself may

trigger unanticipated changes to which all participants have to respond. And, because action research generally takes place over long time periods, changes can just happen during that period that were not foreseeable but which have major impacts on the research process. We were several weeks into an action research project exploring the scope for merger between two small organizations providing services for parents and children, when the CEO of one of the organizations suddenly announced his immediate resignation due to pressing family problems of his own. Because that CEO was the person who had first suggested we work with the two organizations and because he was a known champion of the proposed merger, his sudden resignation instantly changed the dynamics of the research process and led us to recommence the initial sensitizing stages of the project.

Towards Successful Action Research

Although there are many challenges for both communities and professional researchers when they attempt to work collaboratively in action research mode, those who have participated in action research projects know well the numerous rewards and benefits that can accrue. For communities, these include achieving common understanding about the causes of problems and the means to resolve them; building capacity to tackle problems; and securing sustainable change within groups, organizations, and neighborhoods. For professional researchers there is the satisfaction of applying theory to practice and of developing theory grounded in real-world situations.

From our own experience of participating in numerous action research projects we would single out some common features of projects in which all participants emerged with high levels of satisfaction.

1. The practical challenges described above are tackled head on from the outset of the project and throughout the course of the project. There is open discussion between the external researchers and the communities or organizations involved about the nature of the challenges and the benefits of working in action research mode.
2. The project begins with a joint search for a shared understanding of the problem to be focused on during the project. This process cannot be rushed but investment of time at the earliest stage provides a firm foundation on which to build a flexible approach at later stages. Once a shared understanding of the research focus is achieved, there can also be agreement about matters such as funding, research design and plan, time scales, and ownership of research findings.

Having noted what we consider to be key factors in successful action research, we draw this chapter to a close with a final Case Example. In this Case Six, the voice of the practitioner and the community is privileged, following in the best traditions of action research.

Case Example 6: Assessing the Impact of Church Community Projects

The Diocesan staff of the Anglican Church in Birmingham, England were seeking a way to assess the impact that their church welfare and community development projects were making in the city's neighborhoods. They were aware that in some parishes, the Anglican Church was virtually the only nongovernmental service meeting the needs of local people. Yet there was no systematic record or description of what activities were taking place and what their impact

was on local communities. It was felt that such a record needed to be made in order to advance the image of the Anglican Church and attract funding from governmental agencies to further develop the Church's community work in inner-city, multicultural neighbourhoods.

A chance meeting between the Bishop of Aston and two of the authors of this chapter took place at Aston Business School, Aston University at a public lecture on social capital given by visiting Harvard Professor, Robert Putnam. A collaborative action research project involving staff of Aston University's Centre for Voluntary Action Research (CVAR) and members of the Anglican Diocese followed. A member of the Diocese's community development staff later reflected on the process and outcome of this chance meeting as follows.

> I should say that I am a practitioner by nature and am often sceptical about the value of research. Often it fails to get to a sufficiently wide audience or even the right people and does not result in the impact that it should. So, we were determined that if we were going to commit time and energy to this project, then the end result would have to be of use to the Diocese—that is,
>
> - For the projects and churches that were involved
> - For the Church's Community Regeneration Department that was supporting them
> - For the Diocese of Birmingham that was funding the Community Regeneration Department
> - For the Anglican Church nationally
>
> Meetings went well and a research brief was easily created probably because it was rooted in a conversation of mutual interest rather than a cold contract: the partners all had buy-in before we even had the funding. CVAR's connections created the link with governmental funding.
>
> It was crucial to us that the research was of value to our projects and this meant that they had to be keen to buy in to the process. We had identified twelve churches that reflected the diversity of the diocese and we invited them to participate; all agreed despite the time commitment and unknown returns for their investment. All of them found the process useful and most importantly affirming. All those who contributed were pleased to have the opportunity to express their opinions on their project to someone who was willing to listen, the CVAR research team.
>
> This is the first time that a significant assessment has been made of the impact of church community projects in Birmingham; they have tended to exist in a twilight world outside the mainstream agenda of the church. The research has shown that for many churches in disadvantaged parishes this is the only way that they can have a presence that has meaning and a future chance of sustainability. The bishops realized that the "good news" should be spread so we produced a colorful summary report which is now being widely circulated and is providing a useful gateway to the full report and reaching an audience that the original report would not have reached. Most significantly it has been well received and valued by our community projects themselves.
>
> In effect the CVAR research team have enabled us as a Community Regeneration Department to move a long way very quickly from evaluating and reflecting on our work, to recognizing the challenges, identifying the changes we need to make, and shaping future strategy. The added bonus has been that it has been significant enough to provide a platform for us to take our message to a wider and not always receptive audience within the church."

This final Case Example illustrates how the key characteristics of action research that were presented above are in practice intermingled in the experience of participants in successful action research projects. In this case professionals and practitioners/problem-owners worked collaboratively from the outset of the project. There was a focus on a very practical problem for the Diocese as well as on the real-world community activities taking place within parishes. The intention was always to produce findings that would be immediately usable by both Diocese and individual churches to promote change and develop welfare services in the inner-city. Indeed, had the professional researchers not been able to demonstrate their commitment to

researching collaboratively and to focusing on practical problems, the partnership would never have got off the ground.

Knowledge and learning took place throughout the course of the action research and continued after the formal end of the process. The church participants obtained systematic data not only about existing church-based welfare and community work but also about the perspectives of those who were involved in that work as providers and recipients. These data, along with discussions with the research team about the findings, enlarged their own understanding of what was taking place under the Church's auspices and the obstacles to further developing such work. It also enabled them to pursue funding and support from governmental sources for future work (Cairns, Harris, and Young, 2005). The professional researchers, for their part, enlarged their own knowledge about welfare and community activities in their own city and learned lessons about the practical issues surrounding faith-based welfare and community activities that can be recycled for the benefit of other faith organizations with whom they collaborate in action research in the future.

AND FINALLY

This chapter has explored the challenges of involving "outsiders" with specialist knowledge and expertise in community action and local organizations. We have argued that action research can provide a practical response; an instrument that builds community and organizational capacity and facilitates change while also safeguarding community autonomy.

Action research privileges the agenda of communities themselves while simultaneously taking a proactive and positive approach to change. It allows space for local groups and organizations to identify and reflect on their own understanding of the challenges they face and to develop responses that they themselves consider appropriate to their own circumstances. It also helps to overcome resistance to change by making change a positive learning process to which all actors can contribute, rather than an imposition from outside.

Action research of this kind can be empowering for communities. It is not simply about responding to governmental agendas and externally diagnosed faults and gaps, rather it is about allowing and encouraging local communities to take control of their own issues and problems. Action research empowers by setting specific organizational issues within a broader organizational and policy context and by transferring knowledge about ways of tackling problems. And the experience of change through action research can be a learning experience such that the communities concerned are better able to tackle future issues and problems without outside intervention. At the same time, practically useful knowledge can be generated for wider use by other communities and community organizations.

NOTE

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CHAPTER 25

Leadership Styles and Leadership Change in Human and Community Service Organizations

HILLEL SCHMID

INTRODUCTION

The literature on leadership in political, governmental, public, commercial, industrial, social, and community organizations goes back to the early 1900s, and covers a wide range of areas. Almost every conceivable dimension of the topic has been explored, including various perspectives of the concept of leadership, sources and roots of leadership, leadership traits, functions of leaders, and the impact of environments on leadership roles, as well as task-oriented versus people-oriented leadership, among other issues.

This chapter aims to review some of the literature in the field, with emphasis on various theories and studies on leadership in human service and community service organizations.

Specifically, the aims of the chapter are:

1. To present a review of the development of different approaches in research on leadership in organizations, as well as recent theories and studies dealing with a broad spectrum of topics related to leadership in community organizations as well as human service organizations
2. To present our perspective of leadership based on the theoretical review, which will provide the conceptual framework for the description of cases in the chapter
3. To present different types of leadership and patterns of management in welfare organizations, community service organizations, and voluntary nonprofit organizations
4. To analyze processes of adaptation and change in patterns of leadership throughout the organizational life cycle
5. To examine the implications of research on leadership for management of human service organizations, community service organizations, and voluntary nonprofit organizations, as well as for training and development of leaders in those organizations

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RESEARCH ON LEADERSHIP:
THEORETICAL APPROACHES
AND FINDINGS

A historical review of the theoretical and empirical literature dealing with the concept of leadership reveals a variety of approaches that have developed over the years. One of the first approaches, which prevailed in the literature in 1930–1950, was the traits approach (Bargal, 2001; Hersey and Blanchard, 1982). This approach focused on personal attributes of leaders, assuming that "leaders are born rather than made." However, the attempts to identify leadership traits were not successful, and this approach was rejected later.

Subsequent studies revealed that leadership is a dynamic concept, and involves processes of constant change in the leaders themselves, their skills, their followers, and the situations that they encounter (Hemphill, 1949). These studies focused on the "leadership approach," but never developed a solid theoretical framework to explain their findings (House and Aditya, 1997).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, research on leadership began to emphasize patterns of behavior and leadership styles (Likert, 1961; Stogdill and Coons, 1957). Two concepts that prevailed in the literature during that period were the "employee orientation" and the "production orientation." Leaders who are described as employee-oriented stress the aspect of their job that deals with personal relationships. The production orientation, by contrast, emphasizes production and technical aspects of the job, and views employees as a means to accomplish the organization's goals. To a great extent, the two orientations are parallel to the autocratic (task) and democratic (relationship) patterns, as well as to "initiating structure" and "consideration" (Halpin, 1959).

The next major developments in research on leadership took place in the 1970s, with the introduction of contingency theories. These included Fiedler's contingency theory of leadership (Fiedler, 1967,1977), the path-goal theory of leadership effectiveness (House, 1971; House and Mitchell, 1974), life cycle theory (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982), cognitive resource theory (Fiedler and Garcia, 1987), and decision process theory (Vroom and Yetton, 1973). All of these theories attempted to link leadership patterns with different types of organizational and personal situations or contingencies. In other words, they attempted to specify how situational variables interact with the personal traits and behavior of leaders. In various studies, they also emphasized the behavior of leaders and its impact on groups of followers.

Those approaches reflect a major transition from the traits approach to theoretical models, which emphasize the impact of changing organizational situations on patterns of leadership, and claim that leaders need to adapt their leadership patterns and management styles to the demand of the organization's situation. These approaches also led to the development of other leadership theories. For example the theory of charismatic leadership derived from the path-goal theory (House, 1977), and cognitive resource theory derived from contingency theory.

Later paradigms and theories, which are known as neocharismatic theories, were developed in the mid-1970s. These include the theory of charismatic leadership (House, 1977), the theory of transformational leadership (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978), attributional theory of charismatic leadership (Conger and Kanungo, 1987), visionary theories (Bennis and Nanus, 1985; Nanus, 1992), and the value based theory of leadership (House, Shane, and Herold, 1996), which is an extended version of House's theory of charismatic leadership (House, 1977).

The new approaches emphasize the role of leadership in encouraging high levels of motivation among leaders, admiration, respect, trust, commitment, sacrifice, self-investment, dedication, and high performance. This literature focuses on the emotional energy that leaders invest in achieving goals, empowering leaders, and forming alliances and partnerships. In

addition, the literature emphasizes the need for leaders to serve as role models, to formulate an organizational vision, to take risks, and to attain a better understanding of the organization's external environment and its impact on the organization's strategies and structure. Other important issues are emotional intelligence in relationships with followers, as well as in relationships with stakeholders and constituencies (Bass and Avolio, 1990; Conger and Kanungo, 1988; House and Aditya, 1997; Shamir, 1991,1995; Shamir, House, and Arthur, 1993).

Based on these theoretical approaches, and as a conceptual framework for the organizational analysis presented in this chapter, I propose a perspective that views the leader of an organization as creating the vision. According to that perspective, vision is defined as the capacity to create and communicate a compelling picture of a desired state of affairs, to impart clarity to this vision, and induce commitment to it (Bennis and Nanus, 1985). According to Bennis and Nanus, "the critical point is that the vision articulates a view of a realistic, credible, attractive future for the organization, a condition that is better in some important ways than what now exists" (p. 89). Consistent with that view, however, I argue that it is not enough for a leader to create a vision. The real test of a leader is his or her ability to transmit that vision to followers, articulate it to them clearly, and mobilize their support. Moreover, the role of the leader is to cope with the challenges, opportunities, risks, and constraints of the organizational environment. In this context, the leader's function is to create supportive environments that will provide the legitimation necessary for the organization to achieve its desired goals.

Another dimension I address is that of the leader's relationship with his or her followers. Clearly, the leader will have difficulty achieving the desired goals without cooperation from staff members. In this connection, House and Baetz (1979, p. 345) propose a definition which argues that "an action by a group member becomes an act of leadership when the act is perceived by another member of the group as an acceptable attempt to influence that person or more members of that group." According to that perspective, an act of leadership is considered an interaction between the leader and a group of people with whom and for whom he or she works. Therefore, the leader needs to exhibit empathy and consideration, and to actively engage in intellectual stimulation of followers. Toward that end, leaders attempt to influence their followers' thought and imagination, beliefs, and values, by teaching them to conceptualize, contemplate, and cope with abstract contents, thereby heightening their capacity for problem awareness and problem-solving. This behavior characterizes the transformational leader, who treats followers in an individualized way, which caters to their emotional and personal needs and promotes their growth and fulfillment (Dvir et al., 2002).

Regarding the internal orientation, where leaders focus on ongoing maintenance of the organization, I adopted the concept of the transactional leader proposed by Bass (1985). The transactional leader is characterized as the agent at workplaces and organizations who assigns tasks to employees, delivers rewards, and promises rewards for further efforts. This type of leader sets goals, clarifies desired outcomes, provides feedback, and exchanges rewards for accomplishments.

Based on these assumptions, I propose an approach which argues that leaders are not selected, trained, and evaluated according to their personality traits, but according to the extent to which their qualities fit different and changing organizational situations. I assume that leaders operate in different organizations, and should therefore follow organizational and behavioral models that enable them to assess and analyze needs in a given situation and adapt their style and pattern of leadership accordingly. In that way, they will be able to achieve organizational effectiveness, which will allow them to realize the vision of the organization and attain desired outcomes. Based on these assumptions, which emphasize the situational approach, I present a paradigm that follows two main axes.

Task -Oriented (TO)

I. Task Oriented—Internal	III. Task Oriented—External
- Emphasis on achieving organizational goals, taking the organizational structure and internal work procedures into account. - Emphasis on the roles of planning, coordination, administrative communication, budgeting, and decision-making. - Leadership style is authoritative, centralized, no delegation of authority and no involvement of organization members in decision-making. - Tight control and supervision, closely linked to processes and outcomes. - The leader does not tolerate deviations from the rules and processes that regulate the life of the organization. Very low tolerance for ambiguity.	- Leader's behavior focuses on achieving organizational goals and attaining legitimation and resources from the external environment. - Leadership style is authoritative, centralized, directive, and focused on attaining resources, establishing and expanding the organizational domain, improving the organization's competitive ability in an attempt to accumulate an organizational and personal power advantage over other organizations. - Leader is task-oriented, without considering the human factor. The human factor is a means to achieve his goals. - Decision-making and problem-solving processes are based on the leader's formal authority.
Internal orientation	*External orientation*
II. People Oriented—Internal	IV. People Oriented—External
- The leader's main focus is on people. He motivates, provides incentives, delegates authority, empowers, consults, and involves others. - Efforts focused on selecting, developing, building, and guiding the staff, and co-opting them to achieve the goals of the organization. - Emphasis on division of labor and roles, including enlargement and enrichment. - The leader motivates workers to seek self-fulfillment, sets challenging goals and encourages self-development. - The leader develops tools, mechanisms, methods, and technologies for problem-solving and conflict resolution.	- Emphasis on managing the external environment, reducing the organization's dependence on agents in the environment, and increasing dependence of others on the organization. - Considerable investment in developing human resources, training, and preparing staff to cope with constraints imposed on the organization by the external environment. - The leader and administrative staff engage in political activity and form alliances and coalitions with various elements in the environment. Emphasis on alleviating pressure from interest groups and constituencies; screening the environment to identify opportunities, risks, and threats. - Emphasis on the importance and contribution of the human factor, and therefore invests in developing the functional maturity and professional competence of the staff in order to allow for development of relations with the external environment and management by exception.

People-Oriented (PO)

FIGURE 25.1. Types of leadership and patterns of management: task-oriented versus people-oriented/internal versus external orientation.

One axis relates to the extent of the leaders' task orientation versus people orientation. The second axis is defined as "internal versus external orientation," and expresses the importance of the external environment in influencing the organizational and structural behavior of social service organizations, community service organizations, and voluntary nonprofit

organizations. Figure 25.1 displays four quadrants, which combine the two axes. The quadrants are used to describe and analyze existing and potential patterns of leadership in a sample of nonprofit human service and community organizations. The reader should keep in mind that each quadrant represents a polarity. In reality, leaders borrow and use all four of patterns, in various combinations.

TYPES OF LEADERSHIP AND STYLES OF MANAGEMENT IN HUMAN SERVICE, COMMUNITY SERVICE, AND VOLUNTARY NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

Based on the paradigm presented in Figure 25.1, I describe and analyze the types of leadership and styles of management that are most appropriate for the different organizations examined in this book. The discussion is based on findings of studies conducted by this author in Israel, and supported by findings of research conducted in different countries. Owing to the broad scope of the topic and the extensive literature in the field, the present discussion focuses on two main dimensions related to types of leadership in nonprofit human service organizations, which have not been sufficiently addressed in the literature: types of organizations, and organizational life cycle.

Types of Organizations

Based on Figure 25.1, I present several types of organizations and patterns of leadership that best reflect the unique characteristics needed to achieve organizational effectiveness.

The first organization is the community service organization, which provides social services according to age groups and areas of specialization. With regard to age groups, the community service organization offers programs for clients of different ages, from infants to senior citizens. As for areas of specialization, it provides services and programs related to issues that concern the community of clients or other communities, and that affect the lives and welfare of the residents. The community service organization is a nonprofit entity that operates in an environment characterized by a high level of uncertainty in terms of available resources. To ensure that the activities meet a high standard of quality, the organization has to compete with other neighborhood and governmental organizations for essential resources. Thus, the situation of economic uncertainty affects the behavior and strategies of the organization, which focuses on raising funds to maintain the existing level of activity and high standards of services, as well as on initiating and developing new programs.

Several studies have explored issues related to the organization's operation and functioning. In addition, researchers have examined the relationship between variables such as extent of decentralization in decision-making among executives and perceived autonomy among workers, and on the other hand, several organizational variables that typify community service organizations, such as coordination of activities and control over the quality of programs (Schmid, 1992a,b).

The findings of these studies indicate that the extent of perceived decentralization among executives and extent of perceived autonomy among workers correlated positively and significantly with the other structural variables examined. Clear positive correlations were also found between perceived autonomy among workers and perceived decentralization among executive

directors. Similarly, perceived autonomy among program directors correlated positively with their perceived impact on decision-making and program implementation. Moreover, positive correlations were found between perceived autonomy, perceived coordination, and perceived control among executive directors as well as among program directors. Regarding the effect of those selected variables (worker autonomy, decentralization of authority and powers, coordination, and control) on organizational effectiveness as reflected in attainment of the organization's goals and mission, findings have revealed that compared with the other variables, decentralization of authority has the strongest impact (Schmid, 1992a,b).

Analysis and integration of these results indicate that the pattern of leadership presented in Quadrant IV of Figure 25.1 is the most suitable one for management of community service organizations, which operate in a dynamic, uncertain, turbulent, and political environment. Notably, this style is represented in the transformational leader, who can function best under these conditions because s/he has the vision and the determination, as well as the ability to arouse intellectual stimulation and mobilize support among followers. S/he recognizes the need to gain a better understanding of the environment and its political dynamics, in light of stiff competition for scarce resources. Hence, his/her efforts are directed to reducing its dependence on external elements that try to undermine its status. It is important to manage the environment and map its strengths and weaknesses, opportunities, and risks.

In community service organizations, this orientation is more important than a strategy that focuses on maintaining existing processes and on routine management of the organization. The external orientation and efforts to scan the environment entail cooperation with other agencies, institutions, and organizations, as well as forming alliances and partnerships with them. Only leaders with vision and political acumen can mobilize support from their staff and ensure the smooth functioning of their organization. Staff members themselves have potential to assume leadership positions, and their level of professional maturity is relatively high. They are selected for their positions in accordance with criteria such as a high level of formal education, high motivation, ability, and willingness to take on jobs and responsibilities. In these contexts, where the level of the staff members is relatively high, the appropriate style of management is delegation of authority and powers and collaboration (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982). An authoritative directive style of management can inhibit initiative, independent thought, and willingness to perform tasks and take responsibility. By developing the staff, delegating authority, and empowering workers, the leader can be free to deal with special issues that arise, while workers with appropriate abilities and functional maturity can take charge of routine tasks and ensure the effective functioning of the organization.

The situation is different, however, in human service organizations such as residential care institutions for disadvantaged children, institutions for people with developmental disabilities, or corrective institutions. These settings are closer to the definition of closed systems or total institutions, which function according to a specific set of laws and codes. In those institutions, therapeutic staff work together with other professionals who develop special relationships with the residents. The professional staff members largely determine the residents' life style and daily routine, make decisions for them, and mediate with the external environment. There are specific regulations regarding activities, daily routine, rights, and obligations, curriculum, leisure time, social activities, dress code, and time schedules.

In those settings, control and monitoring mechanisms are applied in all areas of organizational life, and workers acknowledge the authority of the executive director. In this connection, a study on the relationships between different organizational and structural properties related to the administrative style of the directors in those institutions has revealed several interesting results. First, the directors and staff perceived the level of formalization in those settings

to be high. The level of formalization, as well as the extent of coordination were found to have the strongest influence on perceived autonomy among the professional and administrative staff and on satisfaction among residents (Schmid and Bar-Nir, 2001). It was also found that the combination of a high formalization level, close coordination and supervision, and limited autonomy for the staff are conditions for attainment of organizational effectiveness and satisfaction among staff members and residents.

The most appropriate type of leadership and style of management in this setting, in my view, is the one presented in Quadrant I of Figure 25.1. This style is characterized by a high level of centralized management, with extensive use of formal powers, and very little consultation or staff participation. This type of leader fits the profile of the transactional leader, which is appropriate for maintaining the organizational system and ensuring that workers are duly rewarded for their tasks. Executives in these settings have to make sure that the professional level of workers and services remains adequate, and that any changes introduced in processes and programs are moderate, slow, and gradual. Thus, the leader's behavior tends to be formalistic and characterized by strict adherence to regulations, processes, and supervision. Moreover, because these organizations are highly dependent on governmental funding, the executive tends to adopt behavior that conforms to standards, policies, criteria, and service programs as dictated by the governmental funding agencies (Schmid, 2001). This conformist behavior ensures the institution of stability, routine, and a steady flow of resources.

A third type of organization, the home care organization, provides an array of services that may be brought into a home singularly or in combination, to assist people with chronic illness and frail elderly people who are highly dependent on others. In this type of organization, service technologies are relatively simple, and the home care worker has a direct relationship with elderly clients who are dependent on others for assistance. The staff of home care organizations consists mainly of women with relatively low levels of education and professional training, whose opportunities for professional advancement are limited. Turnover rates in home care organizations are high, due to considerable burnout and low salaries. Moreover, because the services are provided outside the organization and oftentimes no one else is present when the home care worker is in the home of the elderly client, the technologies and mechanisms for supervisory control are limited. Despite repeated attempts to introduce and establish advanced methods of supervision and monitoring, this area has turned out to be one of the main weaknesses of home care organizations. Hence, there is a risk that the workers will attempt to compensate for their low salary and poor working conditions by deliberately cutting back on the amount, scope, and quality of services that they provide, to the detriment of the clients.

A longitudinal study of home care organizations in several domains of activity has revealed several factors that affect the patterns of leadership and management style of their executive directors (Schmid and Nirel, 1995). First, the workers expect to be treated fairly, and the more they perceive their treatment as fair, the higher their level of satisfaction as well as their assessments of the organization's performance and outcomes. Similarly, the more training the workers receive and the better their working conditions, the higher their assessments of the organization's performance. Another finding revealed a positive correlation between control and workers' assessments of organizational performance.

In this unique organizational setting, the most appropriate pattern of leadership is the one presented in Quadrant III of Figure 25.1, that is, task-oriented leadership, which focuses on the external environment. Task-oriented leadership entails strict adherence to directives, and aims to preserve the quantity and quality of services as dictated in the organization's care plan. This style, which is characterized by directive and centralized management with very little

delegation of powers and workers' participation, is particularly appropriate for people with a low level of functional maturity and limited autonomy (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982). The need for this style of leadership can also be attributed to the high dependence of home care organizations on funding from governmental agencies (nearly seventy-five percent of their revenue derives from the government). In light of these constraints, it is natural that leaders will do everything they can to ensure a steady flow of resources.

The fourth type of organization is represented by voluntary nonprofit organizations that provide services for children and youth. The main services provided by these organizations are afternoon drop-in centers, counseling and guidance, social and extracurricular activities, legal advice, hotlines, and hostels, as well as services that aim at socialization to new values, advocacy, and promotion of children's rights. Although most of these organizations are established by private entrepreneurs, their funding sources are diverse. A large share of their revenue derives from government and public budgets, whereas the rest derives from foundations and private donors and a small share derives from fees paid for services (Schmid et al., 2001). Studies indicate that paid employees and volunteer staff enjoy a high level of autonomy, and are strongly committed to the organization's ideology and to performing their jobs. Although the workers express a high level of satisfaction and are willing to work beyond their official hours, they also indicate that they feel burdened by a heavy workload.

A study that examined organizational, structural, and managerial patterns in organizations for children at risk revealed several interesting findings (Schmid et al., 2001). One significant finding relates to the high level of perceived autonomy reported by executives and workers alike. In addition, strong positive correlations were found between perceived workload, autonomy, and job satisfaction, and the interaction between these variables was found to have a strong impact on attainment of organizational effectiveness [see also Bargal and Guterman (1996)]. Autonomy has an especially significant impact on achievement of effectiveness. Findings also show that autonomy and job satisfaction generate a high level of commitment to the organization's goals and clients [see also Kendall and Knapp (1995); Mirvis (1992)].

In my view, the most appropriate leadership pattern and management style in these settings is the one presented in Quadrant IV of Figure 25.1. First, the director's orientation should be toward managing the task environment and acquiring more resources, while also delegating authority and power to competent and committed followers. The leader needs to develop special skills, particularly in the areas of politics and external relations, in addition to a profound awareness of the changing turbulent environments. At the same time, the leader can adopt people-oriented behavior, because he works with professionals whose level of psychological and functional maturity enables them to assume more responsibility. Thus, the leaders can delegate authority and involve their staff members in processes of decision-making and mobilizing resources. In so doing, the leader transfers information and knowledge to his workers about the tasks and missions to be performed and strategies for carrying them out, as well as fostering the *esprit de corps* among a highly committed team of workers (Bass and Avolio, 1990).

Organizational Life Cycle and Leadership

Many organizations undergo growth and changes in a manner that can mirror the human life cycle from small faith-based organizations (Jeavons and Cnaan, 1997) to neighborhood organizations (Blum and Ragab, 1985). Regarding processes of organizational development, the

classic model proposed by Hasenfeld and Schmid (1989), which I use for this discussion, presents the following stages in the organizational life cycle: formation/entrepreneurial, development/collectivity, maturation/formalization, elaboration of structure, decline/stagnation, and death. At each of these stages, leadership patterns and management styles need to be adapted to the transitions that the organizations undergo.

However, even though the organizational life cycle model is an ideal type that describes stages in the development of the organization, not all organizations necessarily go through every stage. There are organizations that remain at one developmental stage indefinitely, and do not move to the next stage. Similarly, an organization does not necessarily have to move from the entrepreneurial stage to the stage of development/collectivity or maturation/formalization. These are the organizations that prefer to maintain an informal, noninstitutionalized structure that is conducive to intimacy, familiarity, and direct contact. In addition, a functional organizational structure may not develop into a federative decentralized structure that enables the organization to pursue new strategic options and opportunities. The leadership patterns that I recommend for every stage in the organizational life cycle are based on the rationale proposed here, which assumes that it is necessary to adapt leadership patterns to changing situations.

In the first stage, when the organization is born, there are no clear patterns of activity and the founder runs a one-man show where his directives obligate the members of the organization. As an entrepreneur, his main mission is to create a niche where the organization defines its domain and positions itself. At this stage, the organization is characterized by a high level of informality, and lacks clear mechanisms for decision-making, coordination, and communication with other members. The external environment is characterized by a high level of uncertainty, because the founding leader has little information about the institutions and agencies operating there, such as government agencies, competitors, and potential or existing clients. In a similar vein, there is uncertainty regarding sources of legitimacy and resources or other service providers. Under these conditions, the leader-founder usually acts as an entrepreneur, who is not bound by bureaucratic constraints and is usually committed to his vision, ideals, and imagination. Thus, the founding leader relies primarily on personal charisma. In order to realize the vision, the leader attempts to mobilize followers and strengthen their commitment to the organization's desired goals. In so doing, he or she integrates the characteristics of transformational leadership, which sets high goals for the organization with the aim of positioning it in the task environment and attaining the legitimacy required for its continued existence.

The second stage in the organizational life cycle is the development stage, in which the organization forms a collectivity, and focuses on selecting, hiring, and building its staff. At this stage, which is never reached by many small local groups, the environment usually becomes more certain as the organization identifies its sources of legitimacy and resources, and the founding leader becomes more familiar with the agencies operating in it. As the leader tries to position the organization in its domain, s/he begins to identify opportunities for growth as well as risks and threats. At this stage, the leader should try to establish and position the organization in its task environment while building his/her staff, delegating more authority, and creating a division of labor among the followers. Thus, I suggest that the style of leadership described in Quadrant II of Figure 25.1, which combines people-oriented and internal-oriented leadership, would be the most appropriate one. From the people-oriented perspective, the leader devotes a considerable amount of time to building and developing his or her team while fostering an *esprit de corps* needed to gain support from the team members. S/he usually delegates most of the tasks performed by the leader in the first stage, and acts as coordinator while setting priorities. In order to foster a team spirit, s/he tries to promote participation and encourage staff members to assume more responsibility. Under these conditions, the founding leader has to adapt his/her

leadership pattern. If s/he fails to recognize or understand the new situation the organization is encountering and adapt his/her leadership style, s/he may face the well-known phenomenon of a "founder's trap," where the inconsistency between his/her style and the new situation may impair his/her own functioning and the performance of the organization. Specifically, if the leader fails to make the necessary transition in his/her pattern of management, the organization may not achieve effectiveness and efficiency (see also Chapter 26 by Netting, in this volume).

The third stage in the organizational life cycle is known as "maturation" or "formalization." At this stage, the organization begins to stabilize its relations with the external environment as well as its structure and administrative processes. Within the organization, the division of labor and the organizational hierarchy usually become established, as do policies related to decision-making, problem-solving, conflict resolution, work procedures, and mechanisms for coordination and communication. The informal "oral law" that prevailed in the initial stages of the organizational life cycle is replaced by formal written documentation of regulations, directives for implementation, and processes of coordination. In this new context, directors need to adapt their behavior and emphasize stabilization of the organization by establishing an organizational structure that corresponds to the needs that have arisen. This style is the one that is closest to the profile of the transactional leader, who is responsible for maintaining the organization, and effectively managing his staff. Transactional leaders devote most of their time to strengthening the organization's existing structure, and to establishing processes through written regulations. In this stage, leaders emphasize attainment of organizational efficiency and optimal utilization of resources, which becomes a goal in itself. They are often efficient, but are not always sensitive enough to the dynamics in the external environment and focus mainly on internal organizational processes. Thus, the charisma and vision that characterized the founding leader are replaced by emphasis on routine. In fact, a bold and innovative approach might disrupt the routine that is essential at this point in the organizational life cycle.

The fourth stage of the organizational life cycle is known as elaboration of the organizational structure. At this stage, the leader usually has to make strategic decisions about whether to focus on growth and expansion of the organization and pursue new directions, or whether to strengthen existing trends and directions of activity. The environment becomes more dynamic and heterogeneous in terms of the variety of demands and client groups operating in it. As a result, internal interest groups exert pressure on the organization's management in an attempt to increase their share of organizational resources and broaden the scope of their activities.

To cope with the challenges posed by the environment and take advantage of opportunities for expansion, boundary-spanning roles develop in the organization. These roles focus on negotiating with the various agents in the environment and forming alliances, partnerships, and coalitions or, alternatively, improving strategies and mechanisms to cope with competition. During this stage, the organization develops a decentralized structure, granting more power and authority to the semi-autonomous units, and encouraging them to cope independently with the challenges of the market. The decentralized structure is based mostly on the principle of loosely coupling, which focuses on loose connections and weak coordination between different organizational units. Each unit has to demonstrate its ability to survive in dynamic, turbulent, and changing environments as well as its ability for growth and expansion by entering and dominating new market niches. At this stage, the most appropriate type of leadership, to my understanding, is transformational and visionary.

This pattern of leadership does not emphasize technical professional skills or human relations, which characterize leaders in the earlier stages of the organization's life cycle. Here, conceptual skills that entail integrative consideration of the system as a whole are most appropriate. This profile combines task-oriented and people-oriented leadership, and considers

the possibilities and opportunities in the environment as well as the motivations, pressure, and expectations of organization members and interest groups in the organization (see Quadrant IV of Figure 25.1). This kind of leader can arouse the imagination of the organization's members, present them with new ideals and vision, and instill hope for growth and innovation, in addition to encouraging them to break away from the routine. This may benefit the members of the organization and provide them with intellectual stimulation, considering their feelings, broadening their activities, offering new opportunities for professional advancement, and potential for wage increases. The transformational style of leadership encourages tolerance for ambiguity, effective coping with situations of uncertainty, and taking advantage of opportunities (Bass, 1985; House and Aditya, 1997).

The fifth stage in the organizational life cycle is known as decline or stagnation. At this stage, contrary to the stage of elaboration, the organization encounters constraints that derive both from the external environment and mismanagement. The organization is forced to reduce its activities and defend its domain in light of a decline in demand for its services. As clients begin to leave the organization and look for other organizations to provide for their needs, the flow of resources and budgets becomes sparse and uncertain. At this stage, competing organizations try to take clients away by offering less expensive services, so that the stability of the declining organization is further undermined. In addition, there is a significant change in the organization's formal-institutional and informal-noninstitutional legitimacy. In the face of these pressures and constraints, the organization may be forced to implement budget and staff cuts as well as other measures aimed at increasing efficiency and economization, in order to ensure its survival. At the same time, it has to mobilize additional resources and gain the confidence of the funding agents and ensure their continued support. Moreover, the flow of information that is crucial for decision-making is also disrupted, because the organizational structure is upset and oftentimes even collapses.

During this stage, numerous strategies are employed, which may even be contradictory. The organization strives to defend its core domain by "circling the wagons" to fortify its share of the niche in which it operates. On the other hand, there are situations in which the organization adopts strategies of domain creation and domain substitution, in an attempt to gain support from others. This situation is much more complex, because a second-order change is required to achieve this goal. In so doing, the organization may risk its institutional foundation, as is the case in community mental health centers that try to diversify into such areas as employee assistance programs, psychological testing, and substance abuse (Hasenfeld, 1986). The same applies to other organizations that enter new domains which require workers with diverse skills. Apparently, the type of leadership required in this situation is totally different from the previous stages and, in my view, should focus on the domains described in Quadrant III of Figure 25.1. At this stage, leaders need to channel their priorities toward restoring the organization's legitimacy, building trust in their constituencies, and ensuring the flow of resources to provide high-quality services and offer programs that respond to the clients' needs and demands. However, if the organization fails to mobilize the resources it needs, it will inevitably die.

In this stage—the stage of death—the organization usually becomes delegitimized and the flow of resources ceases. Governmental authorities no longer believe in the organization's ability to provide services, and withdraw their support and accreditation as well as financial institutions. As a result, the organization's clients turn away and seek services and responses to their needs from other agencies. In addition, the intelligence and information systems stop functioning due to lack of resources, as well as to the atmosphere of being under siege. Thus, the dominant strategy is defensiveness, aimed at protecting the organization's diminishing assets and at perpetuating the leadership that has become incapable of effective action.

Under these conditions, the organization faces a prolonged state of uncertainty, and its normal functioning is endangered. If the leadership reconciles itself to this situation and does not make active efforts to prevent the process of deterioration, the organization will inevitably die. However, if there is any hope of renewing the organization's activity, the most appropriate leader is one who has the ability to revive the organization in the state of crisis and set a new mission and goals while gaining the trust of different constituencies. Thus, he or she should be an innovative ideologue and visionary, who has considerable power and can lead the organization in new directions of activity while taking full advantage of the human factor that is interested in preserving the organization and ensuring job security.

Notably, human service and educational organizations as well as other community-based organizations often face radical changes in their task environments, particularly in terms of demographic, political, and economic characteristics. For example, population aging in a given environment can have a decisive impact on educational institutions that provide services to specific age groups. In these situations, skillful leadership can make use of the existing physical, human, and educational infrastructure as a resource for changes in the espoused goals and objectives of the organization or alternatively, in the organization's target population of clients. Thus, educational organizations can provide services to populations in other environments, as well as create incentives to participate in their activities (Schmid, 2003). In sum, the potential death of an organization can take several directions. The director can accept the situation and adopt passive behavior, where all efforts are directed toward maintaining the existing leadership without considering the future of its staff members. The other direction is organizational renewal, which requires a strong and powerful transformational leader who can move the organization from a crisis situation to a state of hope and revival.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The chapter began with a review of the research literature on leadership. In light of the abundance of theories, approaches, and research findings, I considered whether it is possible to predict which people will be successful leaders, and whether people with certain qualities are the most appropriate candidates for leadership training and guidance programs. The empirical evidence on these issues is not clear-cut. Some findings indicate that progress has been made in training leaders (Bass and Avolio, 1990), whereas others show that leadership training programs do not necessarily prepare executive directors to effectively manage organizations. These findings also do not provide any indication as to whether people can change their behavior or improve their performance and functioning as a result of training programs. For example, Burke and Day (1986) conducted a meta-analysis of seventy different management training studies, and found a moderate increase in knowledge with respect to prescribed leadership practices.

Interestingly, however, some studies have also shown negative effects for leadership training programs. For example, Fiedler (1996, p. 244) reveals that "all of the reviews of leadership training ... stress that we know very little about the processes of leadership and managerial training that contribute to organizational performance." Notably, most of the theorists and researchers in the field have found that it is very difficult for people to change their cognitive style of orientation, their dominant motives, or their global behavior patterns (Fiedler, 1967). However, there is also empirical evidence that individuals can make appreciable changes in their management style, whether they are autocratic, democratic-participatory, charismatic, task-oriented, or person-oriented. Therefore, the rationale that guided me in this chapter relates to

the need for adapting leadership patterns to the demands of the organization and the situation at hand. In the case of organizational leadership, innate characteristics can be affected by the environments in which individuals, groups, and organizations operate, as well as by values, expectations, and behavior of others, and by cultures in general and organizational culture in particular.

I am not claiming that the basic characteristics and style of different leaders can change appreciably. However, it is important to develop the potential leaders' awareness of different styles that can be adopted, as well as the ability to recognize their personal strengths and weaknesses. This self-awareness can help them better understand their ability to contribute to organizational processes, especially when their training focuses on providing them with advanced theoretical and practical skills to assess the nature of the organizations or the specific situation of the organization and adapt their leadership behavior accordingly. According to this perspective, leaders will be effective if they develop their sensitivity to changing situations. Specifically, they should know when to adopt a task-oriented style and when to adopt a people-oriented style.

In this chapter, I have presented various situations of organizations, and stages in the organizational life cycle that generate different types of leadership. At the same time, each of these situations and stages requires leaders with specific characteristics. This is particularly true of human service and community service organizations, which have to cope with constant transitions and changes, especially in light of the declining legitimacy of social and welfare issues and the penetration of private, for-profit organizations in the arena of service provision which was dominated in the past by the nonprofit sector. Concomitantly, these organizations have witnessed processes of decentralization, devolution, and outsourcing or contracting out of services. All of these processes require leadership that promotes vision and ideals and is characterized by perseverance, consistency, and an orientation toward achieving goals. This applies particularly to modern societies, which provide incentives for those who are strong and have the ability to survive, while the weak and helpless members are perceived as a financial burden and neglected.

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Including and Excluding Volunteers: Challenges of Managing Groups That Depend on Donated Talent

F. ELLEN NETTING

INTRODUCTION

Community movements and local organizations often begin with talented and committed people who believe enough in some cause or change that they push for action. Everyone has a story about how founders and initiators seized opportunities to make something happen. If these efforts survive in the form of a program or organization, chances are that their founding stories become legends passed on to others. Just as people have unique stories, so do the local groups and organizations that were spawned by persons committed to creating something new and different. These persons often begin as volunteers who rise to the occasion. And in order to pursue their cause, they often have to mobilize other volunteers in order to move forward.

It has been said that volunteering is typically "collective behavior" and thus what is known about volunteering and activism often overlap (Musick, Wilson, and Bynum, 2000). Most volunteering is done locally in geographical communities, in communities of interest, and nowadays even in virtual communities. But, volunteering is by nature communal and assumes responsibility and compassion to others within the same community. Therefore this chapter is about how community movements and organizations manage the donated talents of volunteers and the importance of understanding this "collective behavior."

Not only is volunteering a collectivist behavior, but the act of volunteering may be facilitated by collectivistic motivations. As shown in this chapter, it appears that collectivistic motivations come in diverse forms. Identifying potential volunteers and then recruiting volunteers to one's cause continues to be an important recruitment concern. Studies on determinants of volunteering indicate that some persons may be more predisposed to volunteer than others,

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particularly in light of inequitable resources. Asking both why people do and do not volunteer is necessary, and removing barriers that might inhibit volunteers being attracted to one's program is a necessary first step. Locating collectivist norms in which communities, faith traditions/groups, corporate cultures, and cohorts contribute to volunteerism means getting the word out to individuals within the situational contexts of their daily lives. Finding already established cohorts that join together in their volunteer efforts lends itself to a ready-made social context in which one volunteer will be reinforced in his or her efforts by others whom they already know. Capturing persons in early and mid-life appears to contribute to later retention efforts if meaningful volunteer roles can be provided because once volunteering becomes a salient role to one's identity, the potential to maintain that role over time appears to increase.

There are challenges of managing groups that depend on donated talent, but there are incredible rewards as well. Training and ongoing development is certainly one, along with supervision. These are labor-intensive, time-consuming aspects of managing volunteer activities, yet the reasons volunteers resign are often based on such situational factors as not receiving adequate supervision, direction, or guidance. Mechanisms to provide ongoing training and supervision are necessary for volunteer retention but they will appear different, depending on context. For example, in a highly charged community change movement, training and oversight may take a fluid on-the-job approach whereas in an established volunteer program in the community that provides direct services it may take the form of regularly scheduled in-services. Even if volunteer roles need to be readjusted, if there is adequate supervision then changes can be made in a timely manner before volunteers resign in frustration over a role that does not suit their needs or skills. This means that the person or persons responsible for managing the donated talent of these volunteers must be equipped to face the accompanying challenges.

In order to face these challenges, we focus on what is known about community-based volunteering. The aims of this chapter are:

1. To provide a brief historical backdrop, in which the concept of "volunteer" is defined and the question of "who volunteers?" is addressed
2. To examine what is known about volunteer motivation, including determinants of volunteerism (i.e., social background and personal demographics, personality predispositions, attitudes, and situational conditions) and the psychological contracting that goes on between volunteers and those persons who guide their efforts
3. To emphasize the importance of assessing volunteer "fit" with community efforts, focusing specifically on the concepts of identity and image, and the cause-orientation and level of formalization of the culture in which volunteers donate their talents
4. To focus on the management of donated talent and what can be gleaned from the literature and practice experience to address the challenges of managing groups of volunteers who participate in community activities

BACKGROUND

The history of volunteering has deep cultural roots in the United States. Today, there is a growing interest in how the concept of volunteering applies across cultures and is defined and manifested in diverse arenas. For community movements and local organizations in various places, volunteer managers may gain useful clues from the practitioner and academic literatures which are increasing. Throughout this chapter there are references to various literature that will, it is hoped, guide the reader to additional resources.

A history of volunteerism within the United States has been chronicled in Ellis and Noyes' (1990) *By the People* in which they focus on how volunteers led community and social action activities throughout the decades of American history. Their history includes the participation of people, unnamed in traditional textbooks, who made indelible marks on their communities. Similarly, feminist historians reveal the subjugation of women's actions, often as volunteers in the public arena (McCarthy, 2003,1990; Scott, 1993), in contrast to histories that have focused on the actions of men. Other historical perspectives on the influences of members of religious groups in establishing social institutions reveal the importance of volunteerism (Cnaan, 1999).

During the 1900s, volunteer roles shifted in the United States in light of gender and racial politics. Whereas the Civil Rights Movement opened new roles for persons of color to participate in social movements, advocacy efforts, and social change (Ellis and Noyes, 1990; Perlmutter and Cnaan, 1993), proponents of the women's movement argued that women were exploited as volunteers, and that these traditional roles should be replaced with paid positions. A National Organization of Women's 1974 resolution actually discouraged women from volunteering. A renewed interest in volunteers culminated in the "1997 first-ever Presidents' Summit for America's Future, a historic meeting that brought unprecedented attention to volunteerism in service to the nation's young people" (Brudney, 1999, p. 385). Reflecting on this event, Brudney was concerned that the excitement associated with volunteering should be joined with solid volunteer management skills necessary to translate that enthusiasm into day-to-day volunteer program operation and implementation. But calling for volunteerism is one thing; actually knowing what a volunteer is (or does) is yet another.

Ellis and Noyes (1990) point out how complicated it is to define the term "volunteer." Research subjects are called volunteers, members of the military are referred to as the volunteer army (in contrast to career military), and persons convicted of crimes have no choice but to be community service volunteers. In addition, student interns are often called volunteers, and persons who receive stipends are called quasi-volunteers, further complicating attempts at definition. Ideally, there are all types of volunteers including formal, informal, episodic, long-term, local, public, private, cross-national, corporate, and even virtual volunteers (Brudney, 2005). Cnaan, Handy, and Wadsworth (1996) content-analyzed eleven widely used definitions of volunteer in order to empirically consider the conceptual nuances of the term. For the reader who is interested in exploring the complexities of the concept, this is a very provocative study.

For the purposes of this chapter, a well-established definition of volunteer is one developed by Ellis and Noyes (1990, p. 4): "To volunteer is to choose to act in recognition of a need, with an attitude of social responsibility and without concern for monetary profit, going between one's basic obligations." Freely choosing to act with an attitude of social responsibility is particularly relevant to the roles volunteers play in community movements and in local organizations. Going beyond one's basic obligations indicates that there is a desire to become part of a movement or organization for a purpose that transcends what is generally expected.

Assuming that volunteers are critically important to community movements and local organizations, then being able to find, attract, and recruit volunteers becomes serious business. This raises the question: Who volunteers?

Who Volunteers?

Today there is a rich and growing literature on volunteers that transcends disciplinary and national boundaries. Scholars reveal that "volunteering has never been more critical" (Goverkar and Govekar, 2002). The Independent Survey on Giving and Volunteering (2001) indicates that

forty-four percent of adults volunteer (89.9 million Americans) at an annual estimated value of $239 billion. In addition to its full report on the results of its biennial survey of *Giving and Volunteering*, the Independent Sector publishes a Signature Series on related topics that can be ordered online at www. independentsector. org/pubs_cart. htm.

United States surveys of volunteerism reveal that even though middle-age persons are volunteering less than previous cohorts, there is a marked increase in the number of older persons who are volunteering (Goss, 1999). Numerous studies examine later-life volunteering (e.g., Morrow-Howell et al., 2003; Thoits and Hewitt 2001). For example, Mutchler, Burr, and Caro (2003) conducted a secondary data analysis of respondents aged 55 to 74 who answered the Americans' Changing Lives survey and found that for organizations wanting to recruit older volunteers, efforts should be made to reach persons in midlife who have not yet retired. Because volunteers tend to continue in roles acquired prior to retirement, capturing them while they are still in the workforce means keeping them longer.

Another cohort that is receiving attention is student volunteers. Edwards, Mooney and Heald (2001) reviewed the literature on student volunteers, then conducted a study of thirty-nine organizations within a mid-Atlantic city. Two patterns emerged among community organizations that used student volunteers: situations in which students identified service gaps not fully covered by paid staff, and organizations in which community volunteers planned and coordinated efforts in which students participated with direction from community volunteers. Although students typically were cast in supporting roles, there was a clear indication that their contributions far offset organizations' opportunity costs.

Studies of faith communities in which people have a religious imperative to serve others reflect a source of committed volunteers. Musick, Wilson, and Bynum (2000) analyzed data from a panel survey of persons twenty-five years of age and older in the United States. Their results supported the mobilizing function of the Black church, but raised the question as to whether the mobilization factor was limited to activities associated with the church or could be used to expand to other activities. Anderson (1996), for example, found that church attendance enhanced conventional volunteering such as helping in an election campaign but may not have facilitated more social action activities such as demonstrating or picketing.

Another source of volunteers are employees whose workplace encourages community involvement. Corporate responsibility is largely a Western concept, although more and more initiatives designed to incorporate social responsibility into Asian-Pacific countries are beginning to appear. A great deal is written about corporate volunteering, particularly from a Western perspective. A New Zealand study of corporate volunteering revealed three key benefits. "Corporate volunteering enables business to make a tangible contribution to the community, involve their employees, and to receive some additional benefits in the form of team-building and employee pride" (Lee and Higgins, 2001, p. 10). Corporate volunteers commit to causes that are compatible with the mission of their work environments and some corporations work with particular agencies to make change happen by giving their employees release time. Tschirhart (2005, p. 22) indicates that the extent of employee volunteer programs and the numbers of employees who participate is hard to determine given the challenges in collecting data.

Cohort, religious, and corporate cultures may encourage volunteerism, but community engagement is far more complicated than simply recognizing potential sources from which volunteers may come. In fact, volunteers may spontaneously join forces when people rally around a cause or concern because it touches them personally or because it speaks to their sense of civic commitment. Thus, who volunteers requires understanding the complexity of volunteer motivation within the context of diverse environments.

VOLUNTEER MOTIVATION

Recruiting volunteers to participate in a change effort or existing program means knowing where to find them, recognizing how diverse they may be, and convincing them that they want to be part of one's movement or organization. No matter how sophisticated one's recruitment methods, of great importance is getting to people on an interpersonal basis so that they can be asked to volunteer. This means being creative in locating potential sources of volunteers and figuring out how to engage them. The literature on determinants of volunteering provides clues to what motivates volunteers to join a cause or participate in a program.

DETERMINANTS OF VOLUNTEERISM

Studies about why people volunteer began to appear in the scholarly literature as early as the 1940s. Smith's 1994 review examines the social science literature published about United States volunteering between 1975 and 1992. He identifies five categories of variables that may lead to social participation in volunteer-type activities: context, social background and personal demographics, personality predispositions, attitudes, and situational conditions.

Context

Contextual variables include the size and characteristics of the community and organizational environments in which a person volunteers. Although contextual variables have been studied less than other aspects of volunteering, researchers are finding that context is important. Depending on the type of organizational context, recruitment and retention strategies will vary. At a much broader level, there are nation-states in which voluntary association membership and civic engagement are more deeply embedded than others (Anheier and Salamon, 1999). Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas (2001, p. 824), in their study of thirty-two countries, reveal that "the act of joining, and the particular types of organizations people join, are embedded in cultural and institutional arrangements defined at the level of the national polity."

Farmer and Fedor (2001) found that social ties appear to be important to volunteers, thus recruiting volunteers who already know one another can facilitate the development of a social web that encourages volunteers to keep coming back. Certainly some persons may be individually predisposed to volunteering, but recognizing the importance of their current social environment is also instructive. Wilson and Musick (1997) used two-wave data from the Americans' Changing Lives panel study to examine formal volunteering and informal helping behaviors. They found that informal helping does not appear to affect formal volunteering but that formal volunteering has an impact on informal helping. Thus a context of volunteerism could conceivably strengthen other, more individualized helping behaviors in the local community.

Eckstein's (2001) ethnographic study of an established immigrant community revealed a deep "collectivistic-rooted" volunteerism that was community embedded with group, community, and stratifying effects rather than an individualistically motivated volunteerism. There are communities with predispositions to volunteer just as there are individuals with this predisposition. If community norms of prosocial helping permeate the environment, then recruitment may be influenced by those norms.

Social Background and Personal Demographics

Smith (1994) also identified social background variables and personal demographics of volunteers as determinants. He found a theoretical perspective running through the studies of volunteer background variables, the dominant status thread. This theoretical thread indicates that persons with dominant sets of social roles and positions are more likely to volunteer, and studies appeared to support this assumption particularly in terms of age and marital status. However, Smith indicated that research needs to focus on gender, race, and employment status which do not always conform to dominant status theory.

In regard to gender, Rachel Karniol, Efrat Grosz, and Irit Schorr (2003) conducted two studies in Israel on the development of an ethic of care versus an ethic of justice among adolescents and how these orientations affect norms associated with volunteering. An ethic of care is defined as a desire to help the needy and to do so as an immediate intervention. An ethic of justice is embraced by those who may be more detached from the plight of others but who stress universal principles and large system change as the basis of morality. Girls in their study volunteered more than boys and appeared to adopt an ethic of care. Yet, irrespective of gender, individuals (both girls and boys) who had an ethic of care were more likely to volunteer. Persons who adopted an ethic of care tended to volunteer more hours. A surprising finding was that anyone (regardless of gender) who held an ethic of care orientation apologized to the researchers if they were unable to volunteer and expressed guilt over not being able to participate. The researchers interpreted this finding to indicate that guilt stemming from not being able to volunteer underlined the norm of responsibility to which these volunteers subscribed.

Personality Predispositions

Next, Smith (1994) identified studies of personality variables defined as those traits about individuals that are enduring regardless of the situation and predispose a person to respond in characteristic ways. During the period of Smith's review, studies of personality variables were not evident in the literature. Yet, earlier studies indicated that research on personality could be helpful in understanding volunteer participation, and Smith called for more research in this area.

Hendricks and Cutler (2004) analyzed data from the 2002 Current Population Survey of Volunteer Supplement and found that socioemotional selectivity theory seemed applicable to voluntary activities. Socioemotional selectivity theory implies that roles learned early in life become part of one's personal identity and thus are apt to be selected later in life as congruent with how one defines oneself. Thus a person who is socialized to perform volunteer roles will likely continue to volunteer. Based on their results, they suggested that there needs to be congruence in matching volunteers with specific roles that are meaningful to them in light of their expectations. For example, for older adults who have major role-identity challenges, volunteering has the potential to provide a salient role that contributes to psychological well-being (Greenfield and Marks, 2004) and reinforces the continuity of one's personality over the life course.

Similarly, Penner (2004) and his colleagues studied what they call the prosocial personality characterized by a predisposition to help. Two dimensions comprise this personality: being other-oriented, having empathy and feeling responsibility for others, and having the capacity to be helpful in taking actions to assist persons in distress. For example, the person who wants to mobilize volunteers to a cause would likely be seeking volunteers with prosocial personalities. Finally, Cnaan and Handy (2004) showed that people who exhibited higher rates of social

anxiety (shyness) tend to avoid volunteering of all sorts and to support relevant causes or organizations more by donating money than by actually volunteering.

Attitudes

Attitudinal variables comprised Smith's fourth category, and they were often examined during the period he reviewed. Attitudes were found to predict volunteering especially in terms of "perceived effectiveness of the group, perceived benefits related to costs, altruistic attitudes, civic duty, and political efficacy" (Smith, 1994, p. 252). It is important to point out that during the 1990s following Smith's review, volunteer motivation continued as a research focus (e.g., Clary, Snyder, and Stukas, 1996; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991) as did differences between the attitudes of volunteers and paid staff (Liao-Troth, 2001).

For example, Liao-Troth (2001) surveyed one hundred eight employees and volunteers doing similar job tasks in a medical center. He found that volunteers and paid staff performing similar work roles in the same setting have similar job attitudes about psychological contracting, affective commitment, and organizational justice. He also acknowledged that a medical setting is more formalized than many other settings in which volunteers are used. Thus, highly trained volunteers may be treated almost like employees.

Certainly mobilizing talent may be enhanced by having ready access to a group of volunteers who have similar attitudes about the importance of what they are doing. If they happen to be in a highly structured setting that could be helpful too. But most persons who are seeking to effect grassroots or communitywide change may not have formalized structures already in place. Conceivably, they may be railing against the formal structures that are in place because of some injustice. In addition, if they are attempting to cast a wide recruitment net, even hoping to coopt some skeptics into action, attitudes will be diversified as well. The challenge, then, is how to mobilize a group who may be highly individualized in their attitudes, but need to be committed to an agreed-upon cause.

Situational Conditions

The fifth and last category identified by Smith (1994) was situational variables in which there is an interface between the individual and others. Here it is the symbolic interaction between volunteer and others that is identified. Smith indicated that situational variables often fell through the cracks both theoretically and empirically and need much more attention.

Chinman and Wandersman (1999, p. 55) examined the literature on costs and benefits related to voluntary organization participation and found that "the type of organization may affect how members perceive the benefits of their participation." They identified normative and social benefits as being most important to voluntary members. Galindo and Guzley (2001) tested the Volunteer Satisfaction Index (VSI), designed to measure job satisfaction among volunteers. After administering the index to three hundred twenty-seven volunteers, factor analyses revealed four dimensions of volunteer job satisfaction: organizational support, participation efficacy, empowerment, and group integration. Further analysis indicated that participation efficacy and group integration were significantly correlated with volunteer satisfaction and the intent to remain in a volunteer role.

In the last decade, a number of scholars have begun asking why people do not volunteer, rather than just why they do. Henry Brady, Sidney Verba and Kay Lehman Schlozman (1995,

p. 271) pose three reasons: they can't, they don't want to, and nobody asked them to volunteer. Yet another group of scholars focuses on volunteer labor, as opposed to examining only paid labor, leading to a better understanding of the incredible number of roles played by people who provide services to others. Seeing volunteering as another form of production (like paid labor) allows one to consider that as with any type of productive activity, resources (e.g., time, money, and communication skills) are consumed in the process. If resources are not available, then people simply can not afford to volunteer.

Psychological Contracting

The five sets of determinants identified by Smith provide a glimpse of just how complicated it can be to assess volunteer motivation. These determinants contribute to what Farmer and Fedor (1999) call psychological contracting. Interaction between individuals in any setting will result in the conveyance of messages and rewards that result in a form of contracting based on trust and expectations. Because many of the artifacts one sees in any group-based experience are the interactions among its members, it is not surprising that accompanying those behaviors are implied assumptions. Farmer and Fedor studied a large national health advocacy organization dedicated to fundraising and having over one thousand volunteers. Of the four hundred fifty-one responding to their survey, volunteers held varied positions throughout the organization's structure. They found that volunteer managers needed to pay attention to volunteers' expectations but also to recognize the symbolic nature of what they did, given that symbols are the currency in these positions. "[S]ymbolic support may take the form of recognition and appreciation for work done, personal interest in the life and well-being of the volunteer, timely and helpful feedback on the results of their efforts, and providing a supportive social network of other volunteers" (pp. 362–363).

Managing the donated talent of volunteers is a complicated process because one has to attend to the organizational context and the symbolic messages conveyed by members as well as to the perceptions volunteers bring to that context. Volunteer managers may be so much a part of a social movement, grassroots change, or organizational culture that it may be hard to assess how congruent or incongruent their perceptions are with images that outsiders bring into the volunteer program with them. Just as these psychological perspectives are important so are the messages conveyed by situational variables such as who communicates with whom, time commitment, role assignments, and interactions with community and organizational leaders. Does the situation in which volunteers find themselves project a message that they are valued as wholistic human beings? Recognizing that everyone has a psychological contract in the volunteer experience (often unarticulated) allows persons who manage the donated talent of others to encourage that these contracts be communicated.

ASSESSING VOLUNTEER "FIT" WITH COMMUNITY EFFORTS

A great deal of effort goes into the identification of potential volunteers, recognizing their motivations, and recruiting them to one's community or organizational cause. However, at this point, volunteers are only inputs into a system. Whether they stay long enough to be mobilized into action is dependent upon the "fit" of the volunteer within the organization or movement to which they have been recruited. The work of managing donated talent has only begun at this point and it holds a number of inherent challenges.

Volunteer managers must recognize that once volunteers are recruited, they have to be captured symbolically because they will not be compensated financially. It seems then that an interplay of what Smith (1994) calls personality, attitudinal, and situational variables become relevant. How do personality and attitude fit with the situation? In highly contested, conflictual cause-oriented community change efforts, some volunteers will be drawn to the conflict given who they are. Yet some volunteers will be repelled by conflict, theirs being personalities that fit more with established roles. This is not a failure on the part of the movement or on the part of the volunteer. It is a matter of "fit" and the fit may not be relevant to either's needs. Having opportunities for volunteers to interact is critically important because images of the organization brought by volunteers may or may not fit with others' images or with the movement's identity. Similarly, it is important to hear what volunteers are saying about the situation in which they find themselves and if that situation is seen as sensitive to their needs and expectations. The psychological contracting that occurs is often hard for managers and volunteers alike to articulate because it may be based on assumptions that are so much a part of who they are that they are taken-for-granted. The volunteer coordinator or community mobilizer will want to recognize this interaction between the psychological and attitudinal nature of contracting with the situational variables.

Identity and Image

Brilliant and Young (2004) elaborate on the distinction between the concept of identity and image. Identity is an internal construct that endures about a movement or an organization which is distinctive and critical to its self-definition. Image, on the other hand, is how outsiders view that same movement or organization. Conceivably, identity and image could be highly congruent, highly incongruent, or anything in between. Theoretically, the same movement or organization may have multiple subcultures within its boundaries and thus have multiple identities.

Volunteer programs, for example, may be the nucleus around which activism occurs or can become subcultures within highly professionalized environments. But regardless of what happens culturally, every community movement and local organization will have its own unique culture with deep underlying assumptions, values, and artifacts. Volunteers who are critical players within the culture may embrace underlying assumptions or they may simply become animate artifacts who are more "for show" or who are "loose cannons," rather than fully integrated into the culture. Whatever the case, volunteers must assess the fit of their assumptions, commitments, and beliefs with those of the community movement, whether it takes the structure of a loose association of committed persons or a formalized volunteer program. If the fit isn't there, volunteers will likely not continue to participate.

In determining how receptive the culture may be, it is important to consider the assumptions held within the culture as well as whether the culture is in its formative stage. If community movements begun at the grassroots level, volunteers may be working at the idea stage in which they have the potential to affect cultural norms as the movement develops. Thus, the culture will be steeped in volunteerism as an integral part of its identify.

How Cause-Oriented Is the Culture?

A cause culture is one that seeks to change the status quo, and even to reform a community. In cause advocacy the arena or locus of change may be organizationally based (administrative advocacy), legislatively based, legally based, and/or community-based (Ezell, 2001; Schneider

and Lester, 2001). Because advocacy organizations are rooted in "cause," they are also logical auspices for radical activities.

Founders of advocacy movements and organizations often attempt to empower diverse groups who are oppressed. They may use concepts such as social and economic justice as a rationale for action. "Founders not only choose the basic mission and the environmental context in which the new group will operate, but they choose the group members and bias the original responses that the group makes in its efforts to succeed in its environment and to integrate itself" (Schein, 1922, pp. 211–212). Founders typically have strong assumptions about how their ideas should be translated into action, and they are prone to impose those assumptions on others as the fledgling movement or organization develops. This has definite implications for volunteers who agree to follow a founder's lead and who collaborate in developing strategies that will have an impact on local communities.

When founders and other volunteers establish a nonprofit body to formalize their change efforts, Block and Rosenberg (2002) indicate that no matter how much power and privilege a board member may hold, few will match the esteem held of an organization's founder. Founder's syndrome is "the influential powers and privileges that the founder exercises or that others attribute to the founder" (p. 354). They indicate that the literature has been "largely silent on issues surrounding founders of nonprofit organizations" and point out that the few studies that have touched upon founders have done so only as a secondary aspect of their work (p. 354). As a consequence, Block and Rosenberg (2002) conducted a study of three hundred two Colorado nonprofits, comparing how founders and nonfounders exercised influence and power. Founder and nonfounder respondents differed in their beliefs about boards and how they should operate. Thus, it is likely that strong feelings surrounding founder influence will accompany equally strong perceptions about volunteerism and its importance (Netting, O'Connor, and Singletary, forthcoming). It is also important to remember that founders and board members are volunteers in their own right and that these are situations in which volunteers may be managing volunteers.

Cause-oriented efforts may go by numerous names, including social movement, social change, alternative, and social reform organizations. Their founders and other committed volunteers may engage in activities such as lobbying, campaigning, even social protest to achieve their goals. Whether they are global (e.g., Habitat for Humanity), national (e.g., National Citizens Coalition on Nursing Home Reform), state (e.g., State Alliance for the Mentally Ill), or local, they face particular challenges in managing donated volunteer talent when they pursue cause-oriented missions designed to change the status quo in local communities.

An obvious challenge is survival. Studies on strategies used by advocacy organizations to survive in their environments [e.g., Hyde (2000); Koroloff and Briggs (1996)] reveal the difficulties in maintaining a social change orientation. Many of these difficulties are tied to locating funding streams to support "causes" versus service provision. Cause-related advocacy outcomes may take years (even a lifetime) to achieve, depending on the scope of change.

Much of the literature, particularly on nonprofit organizations, recognizes the complexity of the current advocacy environment. Given this complexity, it is not unusual to read about advocacy organizations that have given up their identities as social action agents and found their niches as service providers. Similarly, it may be difficult for organizations with a service agency identity to move toward more social action programming [e.g., Campbell (2002); Cohen (1994)]. For volunteers to survive in these type of situations they must be highly committed to the cause and able to face uncertainty, even paradox. Some volunteers will warm to this challenge, whereas others may want more status quo oriented roles, less riddled with conflict (Nelson et al., 1995).

How Formalized Is the Culture?

As cause-oriented movements become more formalized, it is important to recognize that they likely began as grassroots, volunteer-run organizations. Their cultures will likely remain heavily dependent upon volunteers because their identity is rooted in volunteerism. For other community-based organizations, such as those whose identity is less activist-oriented, their identities may be more rooted in professionalization. The latter may have more formalized cultures in which volunteers are an added value, rather than a core part of their identities.

Scholars and practitioners have been concerned about the receptivity of paid staff to volunteers and potential resistance from paid staff (Netting et al., 2004). Recent studies, however, reveal that level of resistance may have something to do with an organization's cultural predisposition to use volunteers. For example, in Brudney and Gazley's (2002) study of the Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE), they found no evidence of paid staff resistance to volunteers. If problems occurred they were likely related to implementing best practices. Another national program, the Long Term Care Ombudsman Program (LTCOP) has been studied with special attention to volunteer roles and management. Inadequate supervision is given in one study for the most important reason for leaving one state's ombudsman program (Nelson et al., 2004). However, both SCORE and LTCOP are programs that used volunteers early in their development, and thus a basic underlying assumption of their cultures is that volunteers are integral to what they do.

In other organizations in which volunteers are added later in their development, the cultures may not always underscore the importance of integrating volunteers into their operations. Thus, the volunteer manager or coordinator in a local community-based organization may want to consider how the roles of volunteers developed over time. Is this an organization that began as all-volunteer and has gradually professionalized? Is it still largely volunteer-run? What are the assumptions of the major stakeholders in this culture about the role of volunteers? Vineyard and McCurley (2001) offer key elements for volunteer managers to consider in identifying and dealing with behavioral expectations held by volunteers, beginning with brainstorming by staff and volunteers. Without open, continual communication chances are that managing donated talent will be difficult at best.

MANAGING DONATED TALENT

Context may be molded by collectivistic motivations that come in multiple forms. Therefore, contextual variables are particularly important to volunteer recruiters. Communitywide norms and faith traditions that hold deep-seated assumptions about the place of volunteering and appropriate volunteer roles may reveal to volunteer recruiters ripe environments in which to focus recruitment efforts. Similarly, workplace environments that encourage volunteerism are worth considering as volunteer recruiting grounds. Even workplace environments that are simply indifferent to volunteer efforts are worth approaching because they contain potential groups of volunteers who are already socialized and bonded as a potential task-oriented team. Cohort perspectives, whether based on age, gender, or other characteristics may be targeted in order to mobilize volunteer action. In short, the importance of context (macro) and social background variables (individual) are worth examining in tandem in the recruitment process.

In more formative cultures, volunteers coexist in less structured ways than in cultures that are well established. Yet, even in what appear to be more formal organizations, cultures that grew from volunteer roots may sustain a great deal of flexibility and informality. For

example, in a study of exemplary faith-based organizations in four metropolitan areas in the United States, we found that the roles played by participants (clients), volunteers, and paid staff revealed the wearing of multiple hats, facilitated by a tendency toward cross-training, role diffusion, and doing what is needed. Boundaries created by roles appeared to be less important than pragmatically responding to meet human needs. A mixing and phasing of roles were ongoing, participants (clients) volunteered, staff began as volunteers, and staff from other agencies volunteered their professional services in this role. From a mainstream management perspective, this arrangement could be seen as unprofessional and chaotic, but it seemed to work for these organizations. The moral imperative or faith-based nature of the work appeared to be a recruiting tool for both paid staff and volunteers, as well as an expressed personal benefit for both. Challenges included turnover among paid staff and volunteers, heavy reliance on volunteers, and low pay. We found that psychological contracting with these faith-based efforts were characterized by the ability to cope with fluid role expectations and associated ambiguities (Netting et al., 2005). Understanding group dynamics and human behavior is important in any type of culture, but these understandings are particularly critical when there is little or even no formalized oversight for volunteer activity.

Certainly there is a growing literature that provides basic information on how to manage volunteers [see, e.g., Brudney (1990); Connors (2001); Ellis (2002); Lee and Catagnus (1998); Macduff (1996); McCurley and Lynch (1996,1998); Vineyard and McCurley (2001)]. Advice and principles on how to develop job descriptions and specify roles, staff programs, assess climate, recruit, train and develop, supervise, and evaluate volunteers are provided by a host of experts in the field. Trainers in volunteer management are available and the Association for Volunteer Administration (AVA) publishes the *Journal of Volunteer Administration* with articles focused on practical information for volunteer managers. These materials are readily available to persons who have more formalized programs.

However, community movements often begin as volunteer-driven groups without the formalized structure seen in volunteer management programs. Particularly in new social movements and grassroots organizations it is important to allow the culture to form rather than to superimpose norms and guidelines on the emergent nature of the volunteer experience. Even seasoned advocacy or cause-oriented programs may want to maintain a great sense of flexibility in order to remain viable as situations change. Prematurely formalizing such a program or superimposing a "one best way" approach could be the death knell of volunteer participation and creativity, particularly in cause-oriented efforts.

A briefing report on volunteer management capacity in charities and congregations in the United States indicates that only nineteen percent of the large nonprofits that responded are providing training for their paid staff in how to work with volunteers (Urban Institute, 2004). Similarly, McCudden concludes that staff need to develop ongoing and accessible training, support and supervision in order to build trust and retain volunteers. McCudden (2004, p. 64) reports that research on high retention of volunteers is associated with time for socializing, opportunities for team building, feedback, recognition, encouragement, involvement, and guidance. These areas are heavily dependent upon relationship-building and are pertinent to managing donated talent, regardless of setting. Yet the methods used to develop and maintain relationships do not all have to be the same, nor should they be. The challenge for the coordinator of community change efforts is to remain creative in finding methods that work and in knowing when to change methods as needed.

Dekker and Halman (2003) edited a book called *The Values of Volunteering: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* in which many cultural differences were revealed. Not only is the word "volunteer" an English term that is not always easy to translate, but assumptions about defining

the concept reveal differences in how various actions are labeled differently in diverse cultures. Rates of volunteering are examined in different countries, but comparing these rates revealed another set of problems associated with societal differences in determining volunteering rates. Three case studies on Lithuania, Romania, and Norway were presented, illustrating different trends in cultural contexts. Important to the work, however, is the raising of consciousness that needs to occur when stepping beyond one's own experience and environment. Managing volunteers in different communities, different cultures, even different nations poses challenges yet to be identified.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of the chapter, four aims were identified. In summary, each aim is briefly revisited in light of what was presented.

First, after providing a brief historical backdrop, the concept of "volunteer" was defined and the question of "who volunteers?" was addressed. We used a well-established definition of volunteer in this chapter (Ellis and Noyes, 1990). It was noted that there are numerous established definitions of volunteer in the United States alone, but once we move to other cultures the concept of volunteerism changes. For example, are persons who check on their older neighbor considered volunteers if they are not siphoned through an established volunteer program? Technically, they are volunteers and they are contributing to the well-being of their community even if they are somewhat invisible in formalized structures. On the other hand, are persons who mobilize on their own for a community cause, without an affiliation with a formal organization or group, considered volunteers? Again, they may be contributing to community well-being and to a cause that needs addressing even if they have not yet formed an association. As to how one defines volunteer and as to who is called a volunteer, there is great flexibility in the context of community. In addition, volunteers come from multiple settings and walks of life. Cohort, religious, and corporate cultures may support volunteerism, and volunteers may be recruited from all age groups.

Second, we examined what is known about volunteer motivation, including determinants of volunteerism and the psychological contracting that goes on between volunteers and those persons who guide their efforts. Smith's (1994) framework was used to identify five categories of variables that may lead to social participation in volunteer-type activities: context, social background and personal demographics, personality predispositions, attitudes, and situational conditions. For persons hoping to manage donated talent, taking these variables into consideration may assist them in understanding the volunteers with whom they are joining. Obviously, these variables are not mutually exclusive and invite the manager to consider multiple items simultaneously. For example, a person may be personally predisposed to volunteer, but the context is not a welcoming place in which to use one's talents. This may happen in communities in which the spirit of volunteerism is alive and well but in which the cause for which one is volunteering is not fully respected (even opposed). Thus, managers need to consider why people may not be volunteering, as much as why they do donate their time, in order to fully sort out the variables that need to be addressed in mobilizing talent.

Third, in this chapter we emphasized the importance of assessing volunteer "fit" with community efforts, focusing specifically on the concepts of identity and image, and the cause-orientation and level of formalization of the culture in which volunteers donate their talents. Certainly there are community and grassroots initiatives that are fairly straightforward in that the change to be achieved is supported by the citizenry. However, in volunteer efforts driven

by causes designed to upset and change the status quo, opposition is inevitable. Knowing how volunteers deal with conflict, or face confrontation, becomes critically important to coordinators who are trying to mobilize the talents of others. For example, a volunteer who avoids conflict at all costs will not "fit" with an aggressive move to change attitudes about community benefits and rights.

Fourth, in this chapter, we focused on the management of donated talent and what can be gleaned from the literature and practice experience to address the challenges of managing groups of volunteers who participate in community activities. Much of the chapter offers clues to consider in coordinating the efforts of multiple parties. For example, just knowing how volunteers define themselves in the context of the change effort will provide insight into how to maintain their interests. Specifically, we focused on faith-based volunteers who may mix and phase various roles that they play, maintaining a sense of fluidity. For the manager of volunteers in this type of situation, being able to trust emergence may be a critical factor. Conversely, in other volunteer programs, there may be the need to create a more formalized approach. The challenge is to remain open to possibility, respecting differences yet finding commonalities around which to mobilize volunteers in the search for community change and well-being.

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