Center for the Study of Philanthropy

ADVOCACY,
DEMOCRATIC THEORY,
AND PARTICIPATION

By

Marilyn Gittell and Kathe Newman

CURRICULUM GUIDE # 11

Graduate School and University Center
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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF PHILANTHROPY

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Multicultural Philanthropy Curriculum Guides

Introduction to the Multicultural Philanthropy Curriculum Project

Giving and voluntarism are deeply ingrained traditions in American life. Yet these activities are frequently overlooked in the curricula of the nation's colleges and universities, or mistakenly portrayed as the exclusive province of elites.

To address this, the Center for the Study of Philanthropy at The Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York is developing a variety of materials to illuminate the significance of philanthropic activities at every level of society. A series of curriculum guides is one of several resources designed to encourage the development of undergraduate, graduate and extension courses on multicultural philanthropy.

These materials reflect a variety of disciplinary approaches, examining the ways in which eleven different (but not necessarily mutually exclusive) groups—women, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, African Americans, Latinos, Northern Europeans, Southern and Eastern Europeans, Middle-Easterners, South and Southeast Asians, and East Asians—historically used their gifts of time and money to create nonprofit institutions, forge public/private partnerships, promote social and legislative change, build communities, and participate in public policymaking at the local, state, and federal levels.

Each curriculum guide considers a variety of factors including: 1) the traditions of charity and mutual aid that different groups brought with them to the United States; 2) the ways in which these practices were adapted to the American social and political context; and 3) the role of philanthropy (i.e., the giving of time, money and/or valuables for public benefit) in enabling each group to claim a public role within the American democratic system.

Identification of the relevant literature has been another important goal. Each guide includes an annotated bibliography and additional bibliographic citations, which ultimately will also be available as part of a regularly-updated, comprehensive, on-line database on international philanthropy. Additional information on the on-line bibliography can be obtained by visiting the Center's website at: www.philanthropy.org.

The curriculum guides and annotated bibliography, together with the other components of the initiative—volunteer guides, video/television programming, faculty seminars, and a Distinguished Lecturer series—reflect the Center's ongoing commitment to enhancing public understanding of the role that philanthropy has historically played within the multicultural mosaic of American society.

Image captured on video of a bike rider with the Bike the Bridge! Coalition, an advocacy group in the San Francisco Bay area. The rider demonstrates the group's support for open access for bicycles on bridges. The Coalition monitors design and safety issues and engages as necessary in acts of civil disobedience.

Photo courtesy of Bike the Bridge! Coalition.

Public interest lawyer Ron Kuby explains to Episcopalians protesting the police killing of Amidou Diallo, an unarmed West African, the arrest and booking process they will face when they block the entrance to New York City police headquarters. Among the protestors are officials of the Episcopal Church, The Rt. Rev. E. Don Taylor (left), a bishop, and Archdeacon Michael Kendall (right). Nearly 75 Episcopalians were arrested in the subsequent protest; close to 1,000 people from a broad section of the population were arrested over several days of demonstrations.

Photograph by Jerry Hames reprinted by permission of Episcopal Life.

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Foreward

This curriculum guide explores the relationship between the formation of associations and democratic practice theoretically speaking, the connection between a citizenry's impulse towards voluntary action and the strength of civil society. Beginning with Madison's <u>Federalist Papers</u> (see Session 3), the outlined course explores why individuals have formed organizations, the most important reason being the desire to redress perceived inequalities, imbalances and injustices.

The guide is divided into three sections. The first, Theoretical Overviews, contains four sessions: the first two on *Democratic Theory and Participation*; and the next two on *Pluralism and Interest Groups* and *Perspectives on the Role of Advocacy*. With the theoretical groundwork laid, the second group of sessions, Advocacy in Practice, covers sessions on *Organizing For Advocacy, Civil Rights, Women's Groups*, and *Immigrant Groups*. The final segment of the guide, Public Interest Groups in Practice, includes *Public Interest Groups, Economic Development, Environmental Groups, Labor, Senior Citizens*, and *Health*.

Beginning with a long vision of historical and ideological considerations, the guide moves from an examination of the role advocacy has played in some of the most powerful and far reaching social movements experienced by the country in the nineteenth and, especially, twentieth centuries to individual case studies of contemporary relevance and importance.

Part of the series of the Center for the Study of Philanthropy's Multicultural Curriculum Guides, <u>Advocacy, Democratic Theory, and Participation</u> can be used on its own or in conjunction with an undergraduate examination of twentieth-century US history or a sociology course.

Part I.

**A.
Theoretical
Overviews**

Advocacy, Democratic Theory, and Participation

By Marilyn Gittell and Kathe Newman

Sessions 1 & 2: Democratic Theory and Participation

When the United States was founded, some feared that open political associations would lead to anarchy. In fact, writers reflecting on American political thought and the American political experience have identified associations as a stabilizing force in a democratic polity (Pateman 1970). Tocqueville observed that political associations are more necessary in democracies than in other forms of government; they are protectors of liberty, not threats to it. Benjamin Barber makes a similar argument in advocating for what he calls "strong democracy." The prevalence of individual liberalism in the U.S., he argues, has encouraged a focus on individual goals, including rights, liberty, property and privacy, and discouraged more public democratic goals (1984). Participation is necessary to engage the public in the conflicts over such principles as justice and equality that should take place in the political arena.

Political participation also serves an educational function. People learn to govern by participating in local government and through involvement in organizations. "The major function of participation in the theory of participatory democracy is therefore an educative one, educative in the very widest sense, including both the psychological aspect and the gaining of practice in democratic skills and procedures" (Pateman 1970).

More recently, Robert Putnam (1993, 1995) found that participation in associations of any kind, including choral societies and soccer clubs, builds networks, norms, and trust, which are the foundations for building community capacity.

In these sessions, students should be encouraged to explore the theoretical links between democratic theory and the formation of associations.

Session Topics

1. Political participation in democracies.
2. Formation of associations: what they are and who participates.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are the different ways that people can participate in a democracy?
2. What is the significance of political participation in a democracy?
3. How does participation in associations build community capacity?

Readings

Benjamin Barber, Strong Democracy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), *Chapter 6: "Strong Democracy: Politics as a Way of Living," 117-138; Chapter 10: "The Real Present: Institutionalizing Strong Democracy in the Modern World," 261-311.*

Robert Bellah, et al., The Good Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

Michael W. Foley and Bob Edwards, The Paradox of Civil Society, Journal of Democracy 7 (1996).

Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

James Morone, The Democratic Wish (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

Carole Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970), *Chapter 1: "Recent Theories of Democracy and the 'Classical Myth,'" 1-21; Chapter 2: "Rousseau, John Stuart Mill and G. D. H. Cole: A Participatory Theory of Democracy," 22-44.*

Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," Current 373 (June 1995): 3-9.

Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Michael J. Sandel, <u>Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy</u> (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), *Chapter 2: "Rights and the Neutral State," 25-54; Chapter 7: "Community, Self-Government, and Progressive Reform," 201-249.*

Alexis Charles Henri Maurice Clérel de Toqueville, <u>Democracy in America</u> (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), *Vol. 1, "The American System of Townships," 60-69; Chapter 12: "Political Associations in the United States, 191-198"; Vol. 2, Chapter 7: "Of the Use Which the Americans Make of Public Associations in Civil Life," 106-110; Chapter 9: "Relation of Civil to Political Associations," 115-120.*

Session 3: Pluralism and Interest Groups

Discussions about the role of interest groups in the American political system date to the country's beginnings. Concerned about the propertyless majority, the founders created a system that would control interest groups or, as Madison called them, factions. In the Federalist Papers, Madison argued that since people have differing abilities to acquire property, society is divided into different interests based on the unequal division of property. "The latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man," wrote Madison. It was impossible to remove factions, since in doing so it would be necessary to remove liberty. Instead, he argued, factions needed to be controlled. Madison argued that a representative democracy was necessary to prevent a tyranny of the majority. The representative structure would "refine and enlarge the public views by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations" (Madison). The vast size of the United States would insure further protection since it would be difficult for a majority to form.

But what is the relationship between formation of associations and the objectives of economic or distributive justice? Pluralists argue that society (and consequently power) is divided among many overlapping groups, with the result that an elite is unlikely to emerge. Policy making, according to pluralist theory, is a democratic process characterized by the competition of interest groups. Critics of pluralism, most prominently E. E. Schattschneider (1960), pointed out that while there are many interest groups, they are weighted in favor of the upper class and business interests. Because the poor do not have the resources to organize, their interests are underrepresented.

There are other conflicts as well. Organizations frequently face the "free rider" problem, so called because not everyone needs to belong to an interest group to benefit from its work. This is especially true when the import of an organization's work affects the wider society through effective advocacy. Mancur Olson (1967) argued that selective incentives such as discounts, professional networking opportunities, industry journals or newsletters are necessary to maintain organizational membership. Other researchers have suggested that other benefits, such as feelings of solidarity and personal or professional connections, influence group membership (Chong 1991). Jack Walker and David

King (1991) found that the types of benefits people receive from membership differ depending on the organization. Citizen groups, they found, attract many people because of the practical benefits.

Session Topics

1. Interest groups in the American political system.
2. Pluralist theory and its critics.

Questions for Discussion

1. What gives rise to factions?
2. Is the pluralist view sufficient to ensure that policy-making decisions are representative of the US citizenry? What may pluralists have overlooked in their analysis of interest group politics?
3. What motivates people to collective action? Discuss with students whether they have ever participated in collective action, and what the bases are for their decision to engage on a particular issue.

Readings

Jeffrey Berry, Lobbying for the People: The Political Behavior of Public Interest Groups (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, Interest Group Politics, 4th ed. (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1995).

Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

James Madison, "Federalist 10," in The Federalist Papers (New York: New American Library, 1961).

Grant McConnell, Private Power and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966).

Mancur Olson, Logic of Collective Action (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

E. E. Schattschneider, The Semi-Sovereign People (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1960).

David Truman, <u>The Governmental Process: Political Interest and Public Opinion</u> (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951).

Jack L. Walker, Jr., <u>Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements</u> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), *See "An Ecology of Interest Groups in America: The Origins and Maintenance of Groups," co-authored by David C. King and Jack L. Walker, Jr., in this volume.*

Session 4: Perspectives on the Role of Advocacy

Advocacy has been used to respond to the injustices of capitalism, to pursue group rights, and, some argue, to impose middle-class values on the poor. Goodwyn (1978) notes, for example, that associations of farm and industrial workers developed during the Gilded Age in response to the economic difficulties following the civil war. Advocacy groups also flourished in the 1930s in the wake of the Depression, and labor groups reached their peak during the WWII period in response to industrial capitalism. These groups won power, helped centralize governments and assured welfare-state spending (Goodwyn 1978). Piven and Cloward (1971) view the provision of social programs in response to advocacy as a device for controlling conflict in society.

Temperance and charitable organizations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were often created by the middle class. They were designed to teach the poor how the middle class lived or to instill middle-class values and provide social services. Settlement Houses, in addition to being seen as addressing issues of substandard housing and poverty, were regarded as a new vehicle to show the poor how the wealthy lived (Fisher 1994). Temperance organizations in particular started out as organizations to decrease drinking but, given the shear enormity of the issue, turned increasingly toward social control. There were a number of different temperance movements, each one attempting and failing to solve the problem of excessive alcohol consumption. As people became frustrated when their efforts failed, they increasingly used coercion (Blocker 1989).

Groups have successfully used advocacy as a technique. Advocacy groups were critical to the Civil Rights Movement, mobilizing people and influencing government. Similarly, persons with disabilities have used advocacy methods to improve transportation and living conditions for the elderly and disabled.

Session Topics

1. Roles of advocacy organizations.
2. Importance of class, race, ethnicity, and gender.

Questions for Discussion

1. What types of advocacy groups existed in the nineteenth century? Who created these advocacy groups? How did their origins affect their purpose?
2. Were advocacy groups agents of social change or did they serve primarily as a social safety-valve?
3. How have advocacy groups changed in the twentieth century?
4. Why has legislative change been the main focus of advocacy groups?

Readings

Jack S. Blocker, American Temperance Movements (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989).

Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), *especially Parts III and IV*.

Robert Fisher, Let the People Decide, 2nd ed. (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994).

Lawrence Goodwyn, The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Poor People's Movements (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971).

B.
Advocacy in
Practice

Sessions 5 & 6: Organizing for Advocacy

Saul Alinksy has had a tremendous influence on community organizing. Using Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) and Communist Party models, in the 1950s Alinsky developed a style of organizing that is pragmatic, confrontational, and populist; it uses a professional organizer as a catalyst to draw together existing leaders (Fisher 1994). Alinsky's first organization, Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council in Chicago, included the Catholic Church, the Communist Party, the CIO, as well as diverse ethnic neighborhood groups (Fisher 1994). "The goal was to empower neighborhood residents by teaching them basic political and organizing skills and getting them or their representatives to the urban bargaining table" (Fisher 1993, 11). Alinsky assisted in the creation of many other groups, and numerous others have adopted his style of organizing.

In the 1960s, the Federal government created the Community Action Program (CAP) to encourage community participation in local decision making (Marris and Rein 1969). At first, the Community Action Program bypassed city halls and sent funds directly to community organizations. This infuriated mayors and other locally elected officials who saw CAP as a source of alternative power bases in their cities. Toward the end of the 1960s, a foundation and government shift away from funding advocacy and organizing to funding physical development (Lemann 1991) began a decline in support for community organizing.

Funds for organizing decreased dramatically after the 1960s, at which time organizations began to provide social services or housing in order to survive. Government contracted out many of its service responsibilities to Community Based Organizations (Smith and Lipsky 1993). Many of the organizations that started out as mass-based community organizations, including The Woodlawn Organization in Chicago and TELACU in Los Angeles, have lost their original organizing focus. They have turned instead to the provision of social

services. During the 1970s the character of organizing changed and homeowner associations grew into what became labeled the "backyard revolution" (Boyte 1980). One exception is Arkansas Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN). Founded in 1970 as a grass roots organization with chapters across the US, ACORN organizes around social justice issues, including welfare, housing, and education.

The Federal government attempted to encourage community participation in the Federal Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities Program in 1994. Gittell et al. (1997) found, however, that even though community participants played strong roles in many cities, few attempts were made to expand community participation. In some cases, the organizations involved in the Empowerment Zones (EZ) were the same organizations that participated in the Community Action Program (CAP). In contrast with CAP, however, the EZ were unlikely to produce many new leaders. Most of the people involved had long histories of community involvement; few young people were encouraged to participate.

The increase in Internet use has provided a new avenue for organizing, removing many of the physical barriers. A variety of groups has taken advantage of this new technology, including patients' rights groups, education advocates, environmental groups, and religious groups.

Session Topics

1. Saul Alinsky and community organizing.
2. Federal government efforts to increase community participation.
3. Organizing and the Internet.

Questions for Discussion

1. How has organizing has been used to achieve advocacy goals?
2. How and why has the Federal government sought to increase community participation in local decision making?
3. Why have advocacy organizations increasingly turned to the provision of services?
4. How is the Internet being used for organizing? What type of groups might best benefit from this use of technology?

Readings

Saul Alinsky, <u>Reveille for Radicals</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).

Harry Boyte, <u>The Backyard Revolution</u> (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980).

Taylor Branch, <u>Parting the Waters</u> (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988).

Clayborne Carson, <u>In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s</u> (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).

Manuel Castells, <u>The City and the Grassroots</u> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

Sara Evans, <u>Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left</u> (New York: Random House, 1979).

Robert Fisher and Joseph Kling, <u>Mobilizing the Community: Local Politics in the Era of the Global City</u> (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1993).

Marilyn Gittell, <u>Limits of Citizen Participation</u> (Beverly Hills: Sage Publication, 1980).

Marilyn Gittell, Kathe Newman, Janice Bockmeyer, and Robert Lindsay, "Community Participation and the Urban Empowerment Zones." <u>Urban Affairs Review</u> 33:3 (January 1998).

Nicholas Lemann, <u>The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America</u> (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

Peter Marris and Martin Rein, <u>Dilemmas of Social Reform; Poverty and Community Action in the United States</u> (New York: Atherton Press, 1967).

Steven R. Smith and Michael Lipsky, <u>Nonprofits for Hire: The Welfare State in the Age of Contracting</u> (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Jack L. Walker, <u>Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements</u> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), *See "An Ecology of Interest Groups in America: The Origins and Maintenance of Groups," co-authored by David C. King and Jack L. Walker, Jr., in this volume.*

Films

Metropolitan Avenue

Poletown

Session 7: Civil Rights

The Civil Rights Movement was not a spontaneous event. It was based on extensive grassroots networks of people who had worked for years to develop the foundation of the movement (Payne 1995). The sit-ins began with a few individuals and spread quickly because of church-based and church-financed centers of activity throughout the South (Morris 1984). Citizenship schools were developed in the South to provide basic literacy classes so that African Americans could register to vote and become involved citizens. The schools were also used to identify and to develop local leaders in the belief that people could effect change (Payne 1995). Advocacy organizations including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Congress of Racial Equity (CORE), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) played critical roles in the movement.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was the most radical of the civil rights organizations. By contrast, it made the SCLC and NAACP look moderate; many leaders were able to join those organizations with less fear of retaliation (Payne 1995). SNCC worked in many of the communities that the other civil rights organizations avoided and ultimately confronted the deep racism of Mississippi. It was wary of top-down leadership and worked to develop local leaders instead of a handful of national leaders (Carson 1981; Payne 1995). "SNCC initiated the mass-based, disruptive political style we associate with the sixties, and it provided philosophical and organizational models and hands-on training for people who would become leaders in the student power movement, the anti-war movement, and the feminist movement" (Payne 1995).

As a national organization, the NAACP worked through branch and regional offices. Branch leaders encouraged people to participate in their local communities by taking on problems such as police brutality or school overcrowding (Payne 1995). The NAACP used the courts as an advocacy tool. It argued school desegregation cases across the country before finally reaching the Supreme Court with *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954.

Session Topics

1. Advocacy in the Civil Rights movement.

Questions for Discussion

1. How was grass roots organizing used in the Civil Rights movement?
2. Discuss the different strategies of SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and SNCC.
3. What was the role played by the Black church; why did it play such a prominent role? What does this fact reveal about the capacity of faith-based institutions to effect social change?
4. Explain the "bottom-up" organizing strategy as evidenced by SNCC and how that affected other political movements of the time.

Readings

Clayborne Carson, In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).

Dennis Chong, Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

David Garrow, Protest at Selma (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

Paula McClain, "Agenda Setting, Public Policy and Minority Group Influence," Policy Studies Review 9, no. 2 (1992): 263-272.

Aldon D. Morris, The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change (New York: The Free Press, 1984).

Charles Payne, I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

Howard Zinn, SNCC: The New Abolitionists (Boston: Beacon, 1964).

Films

Eyes on the Prize. PBS series.

Session 8: Women's Groups

In the mid-to-late 1800s, women developed two national organizations, the more radical National Woman's Suffrage Organization led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and the more moderate American Woman Suffrage Association created by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell and Julia Ward Howe. The first women's groups have been criticized for being too bourgeois, representing only middle-class interests. They focused on marriage reform and property reform rather than on the rights of workers. It was not until the end of the century that working women became involved. The General Federation of Woman's Clubs was created in 1889. In 1899, the National Consumer League was created; it supported changes in employment laws including minimum wage legislation, shorter work days and better working conditions.

After winning the right to vote in 1920, work on women's rights issues lost momentum. Despite Carrie Chapman Catt's transformation of the National Association into the League of Women Voters in 1920, few women voted. Women shifted from their suffrage work to collective bargaining, wages on the basis of occupation rather than gender, child-labor laws, marriage and divorce laws, and adult education.

Women were included in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which made discrimination in employment and wages illegal. In 1967 women were included under federal affirmative action programs. The National Organization of Women (NOW), created in 1966, worked to increase childcare options. As NOW moved toward the left, the National Women's Political Caucus was formed to advocate for federal action on the status of women and to promote women's participation in national and state-level political institutions. Yet, many of the advances have benefitted mainly middle- and upper-class women.

Session Topics

1. The evolution of the women's movement.
2. Class divisions in the women's movement.

Questions for Discussion

1. Around which issues have women organized?
2. What has been the evolution of the women's movement?

3. How has class been a factor in determining women's issues?
4. Are women's issues mainstream or are they particular to women?

Readings

Barbara Berg, <u>The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism:
the Woman and the City, 1800-1860</u> (New York: Oxford University
Press, 1986).

Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen, eds., <u>Women and the Politics of
Empowerment</u> (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).

Dale Masi, <u>Organizing for Women: Issues, Strategies, and Services</u>
(New York: Lexington Books, 1981).

Kathleen McCourt, <u>Working-Class Women and Grass-Roots Politics</u>
(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977).

Gloria Steinem, <u>Moving Beyond Words</u> (New York: Simon and
Schuster, 1994).

Sarah Slavin, ed., <u>U.S. Women's Interest Groups: Institutional Profiles</u>
(Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995).

Guida West and Rhoda Lois Blumberg, eds., <u>Women and Social Protest</u>
(New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Session 9: Immigrant Groups

Advocacy groups have always been an important part of the American political scene, and race and ethnicity are major features in social and political organization. Studies of immigrant communities have recognized that immigrants transfer social structures and customs from their country of origin to the society to which they migrate.

Immigrant groups have formed voluntary associations in America. This session will explore the role that associations play in their empowerment and assimilation. Readings will focus student attention on the Latino and Asian American communities in the contemporary period.

Session Topics

1. Variety of immigrant groups.
2. Definitions of assimilation and empowerment.

Questions for Discussion

Consider the types of associations and advocacy activities of several different immigrant groups.

1. Does the role of immigrant associations change over time?
2. Is assimilation less of an objective now then it was earlier in the country's history?
3. Do advocacy goals differ from one immigrant group to another?

Readings

Allan Ballard, <u>One More Day's Journey: The Story of a Family and a People</u> (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984).

Yen Le Espiritu, <u>Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities</u> (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

John Horton, <u>The Politics of Diversity: Immigration, Resistance and Change in Monterey Park</u> (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995).

Chia-ling Kuo, <u>Social and Political Change in New York's Chinatown: The Role of Voluntary Associations</u> (New York: Praeger, 1977).

Antoinette Sedillo Lopez, ed., <u>Latino Employment, Labor Organizations, and Immigration</u> (New York: Garland, 1995).

Benjamin Márquez, <u>LULAC: The Evolution of a Mexican American Political Organization</u> (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).

Glenn Olematsu, "Four Prisons and the Movements of Liberation: Asian Activism from the 1960s to the 1990s," in <u>The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990s</u>, ed. Karin Aguilar-San Juan (Boston: South End Press, 1993/94).

William Wei, <u>The Asian American Movement</u> (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).

Background Readings

Hsiang-Shui Chen, <u>Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York</u> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

Barry Edmonston and Jeffrey Passel, eds., <u>Immigration and Ethnicity: The Integration of America's Newest Arrivals</u> (Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1994).

M. Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, "Social and Cultural Capital in the Urban Ghetto: Implications for Economic Sociology," in <u>The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship</u>, ed. Alejandro Portes (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995).

Timothy Fong, <u>The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California</u> (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

Philip Kasinitz, <u>Caribbean New York</u> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

Michael Laguerre, <u>American Odyssey: Haitians in New York City</u> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

Susan Buchanan Stafford, "The Haitians: The Cultural Meaning of Race and Ethnicity," in <u>New Immigrants in New York</u>, ed. Nancy Foner (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

David Ward, <u>Poverty, Ethnicity, and the American City, 1840-1925</u> (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Flore Zephir, <u>Haitian Immigrants in Black America</u> (Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 1996).

Min Zhou and Carl Branston, "Social Capital and the Adaption of the Second Generation: The Case of the Vietnamese in New Orleans," in <u>The New Second Generation</u>, ed. Alejandro Portes (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996).

C. Public Interest Groups in Practice

There are a number of different areas around which associations form to promote special interests. Those that are covered in the sessions which follow include: Public Interest Groups; Community Economic Development; Environmental Groups; Senior Citizens and Health.

Session 10: Public Interest Groups & Economic Development

Public Interest Groups

Public interest groups grew impressively during the 1970s and are viewed by some as the newest manifestation of attempts to reform government, having roots in progressivism and other past reform efforts. Among other things, these groups dealt with the environment, as well as safety and consumer rights. Their growth is attributable to °many factors including an end to the antiwar movement, changes in the nature of the Civil Rights Movement, and growing middle-class participation, resulting in part from an increase in college graduates. Organizations broadened their reach because of improvements in the technology available for media and sophisticated mass mailings. The early 1970s were more economically prosperous than the late 1970s, making it easier for people to spend the 10 to 20 dollars on membership dues. Finally, environmentalists, in particular, won victories in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which gave them credibility and legitimacy. Members of Congress reported that they were unwilling to oppose public interest sdgroups openly because of their perceived power in the 1970s. That would change, however, if a group was perceived to have less power. Common Cause, for example, was viewed as less of a threat in the late 1970s than in the early part of that decade (McFarland 1976).

Economic Development

Community organizations have played a significant role in the field of community development. Many of today's community development corporations are the descendants of advocacy organizations from the 1960s. Organizations created during the Great Society era were more broadly based providers of comprehensive services, and they were focused on community organizing and advocacy. These organizations

have evolved into housing development organizations, which has required increasing professionalism and resulted in a lack of focus on community organizing.

Session Topic for Public Interest Groups

1. Growth of public interest groups.

Question for Discussion for Public Interest Groups

1. Why have public interest groups grown in the last three decades of the twentieth century?
2. What role have public interest groups played in the US?
3. How have they used citizen participation to effect regulatory reform?
4. Compare and contrast the organizing strategies of Ralph Nader and Saul Alinsky, among others.

Session Topic for Economic Development

1. Advocacy and economic development.

Questions for Discussion for Economic Development

1. How has advocacy been used in economic development?
2. What role have community-based organizations, including faith-based institutions played in economic development?
3. How have state and federal policies affected the advocacy role of community organizations dedicated to economic development?

Suggested Readings for Public Interest

Loree Gerdes Bykerk, U.S. Consumer Interest Groups: Institutional Profiles (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995).

Andrew McFarland, Public Interest Lobbies (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1976).

Charles McGary, Citizen Nader (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972).

Ralph Nader, <u>More Action for a Change</u> (New York: Dembner Books, 1987).

Michael Pertshuk, <u>Giant Killers</u> (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1986).

Suggested Readings for Economic Development

Robert Caro, <u>The Power Broker</u> (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974).

Barry Casper and Paul David Wellstone, <u>Powerline: The First Battle of America's Energy War</u> (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981).

Stephen Fisher, <u>Fighting Back in Appalachia</u> (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).

W. Dennis Keating, "The Emergence of Community Development Corporations," <u>Shelterforce</u>, February-April 1989, 8-11, 14.

Jacqueline Leavitt, "Los Angeles Neighborhoods Respond to Civil Unrest: Is Planning an Adequate Tool?," in <u>Revitalizing Urban Neighborhoods</u>, ed. Dennis Keating, Norman Krumholz, and Philip Starr (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1996).

Jim Rooney, <u>Organizing in the South Bronx</u> (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

Clarence Stone, <u>Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta 1946-1988</u> (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989).

Avis Vidal, <u>Rebuilding Communities: a National Study of Urban Community Development Corporations</u> (New York: Community Development Research Center, 1992).

Session 11: Environmental Groups

Despite the fact that environmental groups like the Sierra Club were formed in the late 1800s, the environmental movement did not really take off until after World War II. Environmental groups grew dramatically during the 1960s and 1970s (Sale 1993) for a variety of reasons which include: increased use and understanding of the harmful effects of pesticides; the introduction of plastics and their byproducts; the clear and present environmental hazards as evinced by Love Canal and Three Mile Island; and a middle class with the leisure to participate. Groups formed to advocate for clean water, wildlife preservation, nuclear nonproliferation, population control, reducing toxic waste, and a variety of other issues (Sale 1993). Some of the groups that are still active advocates were created during this period. Greenpeace and Public Citizen were both created in 1971 and the Center for Science in the Public Interest was created in 1970.

The pressure created by these groups and the mass attention that was drawn to environmental issues raised awareness. The increased pressure on the Federal government resulted in a number of federal acts to reduce environmental destruction including: the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969; the Amendments to the Clean Air Act 1970; the Federal Water Pollution Control Act in 1972; Safe Drinking Water Act in 1974; Toxic Substances Control Act; and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act in 1976. The Federal Environmental Protection Agency was also created in 1970.

Environmental group memberships grew dramatically in the 1980s in response to the Reagan Administration's actions. Reagan appointed a decidedly anti-environmental Secretary of the Interior; other Reagan appointees chose not to submit new legislation and sharply limited the implementation of existing regulations. As environmental advocacy groups found from this experience that they needed to become involved in electoral politics, many large groups shifted their headquarters to Washington, DC (Sale 1993). As the large groups became more professional, grassroots groups were also on the rise.

In the early 1990s large environmental groups adopted a new strategy of working with major corporate offenders to help them devise alternative solutions. For example, the Environmental Defense Fund worked with McDonalds to find an alternative to its polystyrene packaging (Sales 1993).

Despite the gains made by environmental groups, people of color and people with low incomes have frequently been left out of advances made by the environmental movement. Their communities are disproportionately affected by environmental pollutants. In short, the growth of environmental groups benefitted some but not others (Hurley 1995). Additionally, people with low incomes and people of color are frustrated by the elitism of the environmental movement. They have argued that more environmental efforts could have been focused on issues of poverty. Given that the environmental movement was for the most part a middle- and upper-class movement, there was little attention paid to the effect of pollution or environmental regulations on poor and minority communities. A cutback in jobs to reduce environmental pollutants could also throw a town into dire poverty.

Most recently environmental groups have joined with labor unions in pressing for modifications in global trade agreements, arguing that unrestricted international trade allows a world market for products manufactured by environmentally degrading processes.

Session Topics

1. Growth of the environmental movement.
2. Class, race, gender, ethnicity, and environmental advocacy.

Questions for Discussion

1. What gains have been made by environmental advocacy?
2. Has there been any bias in the environmental movement in terms of race, class, gender, or ethnicity?
3. How has the strategy of environmental groups changed over time?
4. What accounts for the various alliances and partnerships made by the environmental movement, and have they been effective? Why or why not?

Readings

Phil Brown and Edwin J. Mikkelsen, <u>No Safe Place: Toxic Waste, Leukemia, and Community Action</u> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

Bunyan Bryant and Paul Mohai, eds., <u>Race and the Incidence of Environmental Hazards</u> (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992).

Robert Gottlieb, <u>Facing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement</u> (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1993).

Samuel P. Hays, <u>Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985</u>, Studies in Environment and History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Richard Hofrichter, <u>Toxic Struggles: Theory and Practice of Environmental Justice</u> (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1993).

Andrew Hurley, <u>Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945-1980</u> (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

Lettie McSpadden Wenner, <u>U.S. Energy and Environmental Interest Groups: Institutional Profiles</u> (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990).

Marc Mowrey and Tim Redmond, <u>Not in Our Backyard: The People and Events that Shaped America's Modern Environmental Movement</u> (New York: William Morrow, 1993).

Walter Rosenbaum, <u>Environmental Politics and Policy</u> (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1991).

Kirkpatrick Sale, <u>The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement, 1962-1992</u> (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

Ric Scarce, <u>Eco-Warriors: Understanding the Radical Environmental Movement</u> (Chicago: The Noble Press, 1990).

Charlene Spretnak and Capra Fritjof, <u>Green Politics</u> (Santa Fe: Bear and Company, 1986).

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, eds., <u>Environmental Policy in the 1990s</u> (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1990).

Session 12: Labor Groups

L abor groups have grown during a few periods in United States history, during the Jacksonian period, in the 1880s, and during World War I. Labor groups reached their peak in the 1930s and 1940s. Union membership increased after the Supreme Court upheld the Wagner Act of 1935 which established collective bargaining as a technique for avoiding violent labor disputes and protected the rights of workers to organize. Labor groups used a variety of techniques to win concessions from business. Automobile workers benefitted from sit-down strikes, first held in Michigan in the Kelsey-Hayes plant in 1936. Sit-down strikes soon followed in the GM Fisher Body Plant in Flint, in the Cadillac plant in Detroit, and across the country. Workers succeeded in expanding their membership, and winning concessions from the big three auto companies, as well as from their suppliers.

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was strong through the 1930s but other labor leaders were starting to question its organizational capacity. The AFL recognized a division between skilled workers and unskilled workers that was making it difficult for them to represent a broad segment of labor. Established unions, such as the AFL, were also fearful of sharply increasing their membership because of concerns that tensions would mount between the existing leadership and a rising number of new members (Zieger 1986). Workers created the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) within the AFL to support the inclusion of unskilled workers. The CIO eventually split off as its own organization and boosted its strength by winning major organizing gains against Generl Motors and US Steel in the 1930s. These successes "touched off a wave of mass organization of remarkable intensity" (Zieger 1986).

The inclusion of people of color in unions has long been a major problem. People of color were frequently not able to enter unions, particularly those representing the skilled trades—the carpenter's union has been an especially difficult case. Once people of color were brought in, however, there were still few opportunities to rise to leadership levels.

The AFL had little interest in opening unions to African American membership. CIO leaders, however, were more politically progressive and also recognized that, strategically, it was necessary to organize African American workers. First, the automobile companies hired African Americans as strike breakers. When blacks were hired as full-

time workers, they were given the lowest skilled jobs, such as stoking the coal furnaces. The CIO worked to include African Americans in the union but decades passed before African Americans achieved any status in the organizations. Leadership positions in the UAW were only achieved in the 1960s after African Americans formed independent unions in Detroit to press the UAW to recognize their needs and stop their opposition to African American leadership candidates (Foner 1974).

Latinos in California faced a different problem with low wages and poor working conditions. Cesar Chavez worked at the grassroots to organize grape pickers in California to create the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in 1962. This committee became the United Farmer Workers (UFW), which spearheaded a national campaign to better working conditions and increase salaries.

Despite increases in membership and power among labor groups in the public sphere (i.e., teachers and government workers), labor group membership and power has been declining since the 1950s (Goldfield 1987). Goldfield attributes the decline to the lack of serious investment on the part of the unions in maintaining their memberships and influence, efforts on the part of the companies to stymy any new labor organizing, and shifts in public policy that favor employers rather than workers. There has been criticism that the unions could have been stronger in recent decades if they had attempted to organize and build their membership through the incorporation of new immigrant groups. Korean and Thai groups, for example, have formed their own unions in Los Angeles.

There has been a resurgence in union strength, however, in reaction against corporate downsizing, globalized trade, and part-time workers. The new strength manifested itself in the August 1997 strike against UPS by the Teamsters Union. The Teamsters won 10,000 new full-time jobs and UPS agreed to promote 10,000 part-time workers to full time, a dramatic increase over the original 1,000 full time jobs proposed by UPS before the strike. The 1999 street demonstrations protesting the Seattle World Trade Organization talks are another indication of labor assertiveness.

Session Topics

1. The development of the labor movement
2. Race, ethnicity, and the labor groups.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are some of the reasons for labor's decline since the 1950s?
2. Discuss the organizing techniques unions used to increase their membership and win concessions from business. How have these techniques changed?
3. Discuss the barriers that African Americans and Latinos faced getting into unions and achieving union leadership positions.
4. How have the changes in the nation's and the global economies affected labor organizations?

Readings

Philip Foner, <u>Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1973</u> (New York: International Publishers, 1974).

Walter Galenson, <u>The American Labor Movement, 1955-1995</u> (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996).

Michael Goldfield, <u>The Decline of Organized Labor in the United States</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

James Lorence, <u>Organizing the Unemployed: Community and Union Activists in the Industrial Heartland</u> (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

John Sweeny, <u>America Needs a Raise: Fighting for Economic Security and Social Justice</u> (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996).

Robert Zieger, <u>American Workers, American Unions, 1920-1985</u> (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

Films

The Fight in the Fields: Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers Struggle Produced by Rick Tejada-Flores and Ray Telles.

Session 13: Senior Citizens and Health

Senior Citizens

The American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), created in 1958, is one of the strongest advocacy groups in the country. Its considerable power results from the large number, strong economic clout, and potential voting power of its members. Congress and successive presidencies are wary of reducing any benefits to seniors. Cutting entitlements such as Medicare and Social Security have been off limits in most political debates, in large measure in response to the loud and persistent advocacy activities of seniors.

Health

There are a variety of health advocacy groups that represent doctors, medical institutions, and medical consumers. There are particular groups that represent interests by gender, race, ethnicity and age. Some organizations link health advocacy with environmental or workplace issues and still others that organize around a particular ailment, or condition.

Health advocacy organizations have made major achievements in focusing on the needs of under-served and understudied populations, including women, people of color and the poor. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, activists began to articulate serious problems that women were experiencing with health care. These problems ranged from the paternalistic attitudes displayed by largely male doctors when treating their female patients and the inability of women to control their own fertility because of legal and social constraints, to the mystification of the medical field in general and the resultant powerlessness of those seeking to understand and take responsibility for their health care. Women's health advocacy, which has grown dramatically since the 1970s, has made tangible differences in research and the provision of services.

Session Topics for Senior Citizens

1. Growth of senior groups.
2. Influence of senior groups.

Questions for Discussion for Senior Citizens

1. What are the organizing strategies used by senior groups? What gains have they made in public policy?
2. Why are senior groups so powerful?

Session Topics for Health

1. Variety of health advocacy groups.
2. Health advocacy groups and policy making.

Questions for Discussion for Health

1. What role do health advocacy groups play in the construction of national health policy? In particular, what role did they play in the Clinton Administration's effort to create national health legislation? Discuss why the Clinton proposals were never enacted.
2. Discuss the role of health advocacy groups that represent the interests of women, people of color, and the poor.

Readings for Senior Citizens

Christine Day, What Older Americans Think: Interest Groups and Aging Policy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

Christopher Georges, "Old Money: Why the Mighty AARP Spends as Much Furnishing its Offices as it Does on Programs to Help the Elderly," Washington Monthly, June 1992, 16-21.

Charles Morris, The AARP: America's Most Powerful Lobby and the Clash of Generations (New York: Times Books and Random House, 1996).

Henry Pratt, The Gray Lobby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

Henry Pratt, Gray Agendas: Interest Groups and Public Pensions in Canada, Britain, and the United States (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993).

Readings for Health

David Altman, <u>Public Health Advocacy: Creating Community Change to Improve Health</u> (Standford: Stanford Center for Research in Disease Prevention, 1994).

Nicholas Freudenberg, <u>Not in Our Backyards: Community Action for Health and the Environment</u> (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984).

Eli Ginzberg, <u>Medical Gridlock and Health Reform</u> (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994).

David Mechanic, <u>From Advocacy to Allocation: The Evolving American Health Care System</u> (New York: The Free Press, 1986).

Paul Starr, <u>The Social Transformation of American Medicine</u> (New York: Basic Books, 1982).

D. Alternative Areas of Interest

Advocacy efforts are also championed by conservative organizations. Many of their activities have focused on limiting women's reproductive freedom, introducing religion into the classroom through prayer, and the teaching of Creationism. An abbreviated selection of readings follows.

Conservative Groups

Readings

Dallas A. Blanchard, The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right: from Polite to Fiery Protest (New York: Twayne Publishers and Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994).

David Cantor, The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance and Pluralism in America (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1994).

Sara Diamond, Roads to Dominion: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States (New York: Guilford Press, 1995).

William Martin, With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America (New York: Broadway Books, 1996).

Sidney Plotkin, Keep Out: The Struggle for Land Use Control (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

Ralph Reed, "Casting a Wider Net," Policy Review, Summer 1993.

Jim Wallis, Who Speaks for God? An Alternative to the Religious Right (New York: Broadway Books, 1996).

Religious Groups

Readings

Allen Hertzke, Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in the American Polity (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988).

Matthew Moen, <u>The Christian Right and Congress</u> (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989).

Paul Weber, <u>U.S. Religious Groups: Institutional Profiles</u> (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994).

Garry Wills, <u>Under God: Religion in American Public Life</u> (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1990).

Part II. Selected Annotated Bibliography

By Elsa Davidson, with contributions from Jessica Chao and
Melis Ece

Aguilar-San Juan, Karin, ed. The State of Asian America: Activism and
Resistance in the 1990s. Boston: South End Press, 1994.

> This anthology of 18 essays by over 20 authors presents an
> Asian American perspective on a broad range of topics related to
> race, racism, and identity. It explores the relationship between
> a growing Asian American identity and political activism both
> within and beyond the Asian American community. Through
> personal accounts, a number of contemporary events highlight
> the variety of Asian American activism as well as the complexity
> of the issues present when the agendas of varying racial and
> ethnic groups compete, clash, and occasionally align. The range
> of political activism includes: broad theoretical identity issues;
> public school board struggles; incidents of anti-Asian violence;
> the development of new Asian American Studies programs;
> economic development in ethnic enclaves; and electoral politics.
> Elaine H. Kim's "Between Black and White: An Interview
> with Bong Hwan Kim," provides an example of a middle-class
> Asian American influenced by the political climate of the time
> who devoted his life to nonprofits and community work. In
> "When Know-Nothings Speak English Only," the account of an
> ethnically and racially charged public school controversy, Peter
> Nien-Chu Kiang describes the role the Buddhist temple plays in
> the life of Cambodians in Lowell Massachusetts.

Bellah, Robert, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and
    Steven M. Tipton. <u>The Good Society</u>. New York: Alfred A. Knopf,
    1991.

    In <u>The Good Society</u>, the contributors (Robert Bellah, Richard
    Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M.
    Tipton) critically examine the (then) current public institutions
    in the United States—i.e. the educational, religious, economic,
    legal, techno-scientific and governmental institutions. Their
    contention is that the political culture in the United States is
    still strongly based upon the 17th-century Lockean notions of
    personal autonomy and respect for private property. The
    contributors argue, however, that American public institutions
    are "most un-Lockean," and refer to the powerful role of the
    military, industry, and corporate businesses in governmental
    policies. Furthermore, they suggest that the experience of the
    years immediately after the Second World War remain the
    yardstick in public discourse by which the current public
    institutions are measured. In turn, the authors analyze the roles
    of the church, the public educational system, the market, the
    government and the rule of law in the structure of American
    social life. They rely in their analyses on John Dewey's notion of
    public philosophy. Dewey (1859-1952) had advocated that
    economic and technological advances could promulgate
    democratic institutions. Following the example of journalist
    Walter Lippman (1889-1974), the contributors to this volume
    also recommend that jurisdiction ought to demand that
    property owners and corporations fulfil their civic duties in
    return for their rights.

Berg, Barbara. <u>The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism:
    The Woman and the City, 1800-1860</u>. New York: Oxford University
    Press, 1986.

    In this volume Barbara Berg examines the historical origins of
    feminism in the United States, and the role of urban women in
    this development. Addressing issues relating to voluntarism and
    philanthropy in chapters seven through eleven, Ms. Berg studies
    the development of benevolent and moral reform organizations
    to locate the seeds of sisterhood and feminism. Berg argues that
    through their work in organizations such as the Boston Seaman's

Aid Society, women came to understand the causes of their oppression and the links that bound women of all classes together. They defied the "woman-belle" ideal of being home-bound, leisured matrons and set out to ameliorate the ills of urban life. In so doing, they articulated a new feeling of confidence and determination to create a better society for themselves and poorer women. Although religion was a factor in inspiring voluntarism, Berg asserts that the clergy generally discouraged women from acting autonomously in public. The reformers' main motivation, Berg argues, was to improve the lives of poor women while investing their own lives with meaning and excitement. By training their sights on men as the cause of women's ills, reformers developed a nascent feminist consciousness.

Brown, Phil, and Edwin J. Mikkelsen. <u>No Safe Place: Toxic Waste, Leukemia, and Community Action</u>. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

In <u>No Safe Place</u>, Phil Brown and Edwin Mikkelsen investigate the toxic waste spills in Woburn, Mass. They relate that in the 1970s a high number of cases of fatal childhood leukemia occurred. The families in this community that were afflicted by these deaths initiated an investigation into the pollution of the water supply. Faced with the denial of the charges of toxic waste contamination on the part of the implicated corporations, the community took action. Brown and Mikkelsen chronicle the development of a popular epidemiology in Woburn, and highlight the process by which constructive ties were created among scientists, community members, medical professionals, the media, and the government. They reveal that these ties were the result of a concerted effort by a grassroots social movement within a poor community. In addition, Mikkelsen and Brown explore the creation of new political alliances and forms of knowledge through the example of Woburn.

Carson, Clayborne. <u>In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s</u>. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.

In this study of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the US civil-rights organization formed to achieve political and economic equality for African Americans through local action groups, Clayborne Carson draws upon the

organization's archival materials. The author pays particular
attention to SNNC's intellectual and social transformation,
from a campus movement organizing lunch counter sit-ins into
an activist mass movement demanding civil rights. Foremost, he
suggests that the Civil Rights movement gained its momentum
during the 1960s in tandem with this transformation into a mass
movement, rather than through the influence of leading
personalities such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X.
Furthermore, Carson examines the ideological conflicts within
the organization between the ideals of racial power and
individual freedom. Ultimately, SNCC developed from a non-
violent student group advancing racial assimilation into a
militant cadre promoting black power. The author argues that
this development was the result of SNCC's organizing
practices—e.g., the expansion of its activities to rural, illiterate
and poor African Americans in the southeastern states.

Chong, Denis. Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement.
    Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

    In Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement, Denis
    Chong analyzes the contribution of the American Civil Rights
    movement to "public-spirited collective action." The author
    defines such public-spirited action as "a collective engagement
    to generate public goods," which are equally distributed among
    American citizens (whether they have worked or fought to attain
    them or not): e.g., the 13th and 14th Civil Rights Amendments.
    The author pays attention to the "free-rider" problem and the
    dilemma of participation in collective action, which he explains
    in terms of game theory (gains-maximizing strategies). He
    argues that interaction in communities promotes social
    commitment. Chong concludes that each campaign requires
    different modes of collective action to obtain public goods, even
    though the cumulative effect of such campaigns is the
    conviction that there is a chance to win the struggle.

Dahl, Robert A. Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American
    City. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.

    In Who Governs?, Robert Dahl examines the community
    politics during the late-1950s in New Haven, Connecticut, an
    ethnically and socially diverse city with a long history. He pays

particular attention to the extension of the franchise to all adults
in a community in which political power and resources are not
equally accessible to all citizens. Furthermore, the author
analyzes the extent to which such inequalities are cumulative,
and the permanence of the patterns of political influence. He
focuses his community study on the management of public
education and urban renewal. Dahl argues that the political
institutions and culture in New Haven witness certain rituals
and ceremonies that reinforce a democratic ideology, which
highlights the role of subordinates ("subleaders") and the
representative function of political leaders. While the recurring
changes in the composition of the municipal government
impinge upon the formulation of concrete democratic principles
(e.g., consensus), Dahl concludes that ultimately the democratic
beliefs of the people of New Haven protect the community
from the abuse of power.

Day, Christine. What Older Americans Think: Interest Groups and
     Aging Policy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

     In What Older Americans Think, Christine Day examines the
     emergence of the lobbying force of senior citizens. The author
     pays particular attention to the demographic, political, and
     economic causes of the emergence of this interest group, in
     addition to its efficacy as a political force. She analyzes and
     compares several groups who voice the concern of elderly
     Americans to the government. Day contests the view that aging-
     policy lobbies exert too much political power. Instead, she
     argues that their influence results in minor policy changes,
     rather than major policy reforms, and that such lobbies obstruct
     the process of political-party coalition building. The author
     concludes by addressing American ambivalence towards the
     Social Security system.

Espiritu, Yen Le. Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions
     and Identities. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.

     Through the exploration of a variety of issues, the author
     attempts to answer the questions of how, under what
     circumstances, and to what extent groups of diverse Asian
     national origins unite to forge a new, larger panethnic group in
     the United States. These issues include the growth of the Asian

American movement, participation in electoral politics, census classification and anti-Asian violence. She observes that the option of identifying with the larger classification has been externally as well as internally motivated, and that individuals will identify with ethnic-specific or panethnic communities depending on the context or situation. In Chapter 3, Ms. Espiritu discusses Asian American civic participation relative to voter registration, voting frequency rates, and contributions to political campaigns. In Chapter 4, Espiritu discusses the impact of outside government funding of social welfare programs and the establishment of community-based nonprofit organizations by young Asian American activists influenced by the civil rights and ethnic identity movements of the 1960s.

Fisher, Robert. Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America. 2d ed. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994.

In Let the People Decide, Robert Fisher analyzes the strategies of neighborhood organizing campaigns in the United States since the 1880s. The author takes issue with the static and inherently conservative definition of a neighborhood as solely a bounded territory within a larger urban area. Instead, he emphasizes that American neighborhoods reflect the conflicts between classes and races of the larger society, and that neighborhood organizations serve to define and defend the interests of their communities. For the period 1886-1929, Fisher examines the activities of social welfare agencies during the time of the rapid industrialization and urbanization that characterized the Progressive Era. He observes that the elite social-work movements (e.g., the settlement-housing campaigns) endured only because of the militant support of the poor and working classes. For the period 1929-1946, Fisher discusses the history of the community drives organized by Alinsky—such as his Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council. He indicates that the racist ideologies underlying such drives precluded democratic community organization, as was the case with the AFL (American Federation of Labor) and the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organization). For the decades after the Second World War, the author reviews the conservative movement of the 1950s; the radical, civil rights organizations of the 1960s, such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the militant Community Action

Agencies (CAA); the populism in community organizations in the 1970s; and the conservative backlash and re-emergence of voluntarism of the 1980s. Fisher concludes by drawing a series of historically informed generalizations about the requirements for successful neighborhood organizing endeavors.

Fujita, Stephen S., and David J. O'Brien. <u>Japanese American Ethnicity: The Persistence of Community</u>. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1991.

The authors contend that Japanese Americans show high levels of structural assimilation into mainstream American society and yet maintain high levels of ethnic-group membership. Japanese Americans retain high levels of voluntary associations rooted in their ancestors' village life in Japan and have continued to develop and preserve their ties to voluntary associations. The authors state that 69 percent of the individuals studied participate in both ethnic and non-ethnic voluntary associations.

Hays, Samuel P. <u>Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

In <u>Beauty, Health, and Permanence</u>, Samuel Hays investigates policy, media, and science concerning environmental issues in the United States from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s. He pays particular attention to the historical increase of public awareness about environmental damage, and the transition from the "conservation movement" to the "environmental movement." Whereas the "conservation movement" constituted the more efficient extraction of natural resources by technocrats, scientists and policy-makers, the "environmental movement" addresses the moral and environmental implications of American consumerism. The author indicates that the demographic and economic booms, as well as the improved educational levels after the Second World War in the United States were concomitant with this increased public awareness.

In addition, Hays analyzes print, photography, and the burgeoning culture of leisure to explain this transition in the American attitude toward the environment. The author discusses the related issues of resource-protection and damage-prevention

in the countryside, the wetlands and the city. Moreover, he examines governmental politics—through the 1960s, the energy crises of the 1970s, and the "Reagan anti-environmental revolution." Hays concludes that a person's sense of place is important in shaping individual responses to environmental problems, and that the demands of consumption (as opposed to production) play a pivotal role in the relationship between the environmental movement and public and private institutions which, in many ways, dictate daily experience for Americans.

Lincoln, Eric C. <u>The Black Muslims in America</u>. Grand Rapid: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1961; reprint 1994.

This work was the first thorough analysis of the Nation of Islam (NOI) or Black Muslims under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad. Lincoln traces the rise of this religious movement from the remnants of Garvey Movement and Noble Drew Ali's Moorish Science Temple in New Jersey. Analyzing the NOI as a mass movement, the author shows us that it appealed to those dissatisfied African Americans left untouched by the "black church," the urban and the poor. He also discusses at length the religious mythology that made the core of the NOI's belief, a mythology that demonized white Americans as it raised African Americans and Africans to godlike status. Moreover, this book provides our first look into what has become the organization's defining concept—"self help." Born out of the apparent unwillingness of white Americans to live side by side with black Americans, Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims turned to self reliance. This did not only include "buying black" or black capitalism, but pooling resources to provide for the black community. The philanthropic goals proposed by Muhammad and supported by his followers include the creation of schools and a black hospital in Chicago.

Mangiafico, Luciano. <u>Contemporary American Immigrants: Patterns of Filipino, Korean and Chinese Settlements in the U.S.</u>. New York: Praeger press, 1988.

This book examines the social conditions and problems of Filipino, Korean, and Chinese communities in the U.S. The author indicates that community organizations are a vital part of the coping mechanism for each of these Asian communities.

Marris, Peter, and Martin Rein. <u>The Dilemmas of Social Reform:</u> <u>Poverty and Community Action in the United States</u>. New York: Atherton Press, 1969.

In <u>The Dilemmas of Social Reform</u>, Peter Marris and Martin Rein examine the projects for social change that were funded by the Ford Foundation and the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961. The authors pay particular attention to the underlying assumptions motivating the community reform projects. Additionally, they elucidate the lessons learned through such community action. The authors argue that the professionals who create innovative poverty relief community programs (e.g., educational and job-training programs) proved unable to alter the political and economic obstacles that confront the poor, with negative results for project-community relations. Above all, Marris and Rein's work is concerned with documenting the fluid process of social reform; how policymaking shifts as a result of trial and error.

Masi, Dale. <u>Organizing for Women: Issues, Strategies, and Services</u>. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1981.

In <u>Organizing for Women</u>, Dale Masi provides a comprehensive, step-by-step guide to women's organizing. Against the backdrop of a historical, theoretical, and methodological overview of community organizing as practiced in the field of social work, Masi offers a road map to women wishing to organize to combat gender oppression. Drawing upon specific historical examples, she provides suggestions for handling such matters as sexual discrimination in the workplace and sexual harassment. The author pays particular attention to the public and private concerns of sexism and gender-insensitivity—e.g., at public bureaucracies, at health-care facilities, in the work-place, in interpersonal relationships, or as the victims of crimes.

McCourt, Kathleen. <u>Working-Class Women and Grass-Roots Politics</u>. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.

In <u>Working-Class Women and Grass-Roots Politics</u>, Kathleen McCourt presents the results of her community work among working-class white women on the Southwest Side of Chicago, Illinois. She pays particular attention to the formation of a

political culture among these women, whom she maintains often possess a "traditional stay-at-home attitude." The author discovered that the women were motivated to participate in political action out of fear of racial mixing with African Americans (who were entering the neighborhood and local schools), the deterioration of their children's education, toxic emissions from nearby factories, and redlining practices in their area of the city.

Although their concerns are partly racially motivated, McCourt suggests that the working-class white women are developing skills that may ultimately prove useful in forming coalitions with other oppressed groups. Moreover, since neither they nor their husbands identify with the political elite, they could benefit from learning about the grassroots tactics of the Civil Rights movement. In addition, the author discusses the psychological and cultural legacies of political participation, including a shift in self-image and outlook for many of the women in their study.

Mechanic, David. From Advocacy to Allocation: The Evolving American Health Care System. New York: The Free Press, 1986.

In From Advocacy to Allocation, David Mechanic analyzes the American health-care system in the mid-1980s. He pays particular attention to the functioning of hospitals, long-term (medical) care provisions, ambulatory services, health-care workers, and training in these fields. The author investigates means to limit the costs of the health-care system for both the government and citizens—e.g., preventive medicine and the decentralization of authority among health-care providers. Mechanic argues that preventive medicine would diminish the dependency on doctors and hospitals. Furthermore, he maintains that the general health of the American population would increase from the promotion of health education and from the identification of high-risk patients and injurious behavior. Moreover, the author expresses his concern about the health condition of (especially mentally ill) senior citizens and adolescents who experience stress. Finally, Mechanic addresses the ethical dilemmas involved in the transition from health advocacy to the allocation of health services, and also in the demands that the American health-care system now makes of patients and their families with respect to major decisions about health, illness, life, and death.

Morris, Aldon D. <u>The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change</u>. New York: Free Press, 1984.

> As the title suggests, Morris charts the origins and development of the Civil Rights Movement from 1953 to 1963. Relying upon sociological theory, Morris concentrates on the inner workings of larger organizations such as the NAACP, CORE, and the SCLC, as well as more localized groups such as the Montgomery Improvement Association, the Inter Civic Council of Tallahassee, and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Morris places the black church at the center of his analysis, arguing that the SCLC "functioned as the decentralized arm of the mass-based black church." By looking at the birth of the movement from the "indigenous" perspective, Morris captures the inspirations and operations of mass black movements from the inside out. The author describes the training and discipline that went into organizing direct action protests sit-ins, boycotts, marches, etc.

Morris, Charles. <u>The AARP: America's Most Powerful Lobby and the Clash of Generations</u>. New York: Times Books and Random House, 1996.

> In <u>America's Most Powerful Lobby and the Clash of Generations</u>, Charles Morris describes the history and structure of the American Association for Retired Persons (AARP), the foremost lobby for senior citizens in the United States. In 1996, sixty-six per cent of the 32 million persons over fifty years old were member of the AARP. The author pays particular attention to the AARP's involvement with providing insurance and legislative news, and with representing the interests of elderly Americans to the government. He emphasizes the urgency of financing senior-entitlement programs increases in time for the retirement of the baby-boom generation. Additionally, the author argues that long-term personal and health care become central issues on account of the demographic transition, concomitant with the prolongation of human life (as a result of medical advances) and the disintegration of the nuclear family (which traditionally provided care for the elderly). Morris uses examples of AARP's successes to demonstrate that piecemeal lobbying efforts are ultimately more effective and more democratic than comprehensive social reforms.

Mowrey, Marc, and Tim Redmond. <u>Not in Our Backyard: The People and Events that Shaped America's Modern Environmental Movement</u>. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1993.

In <u>Not in Our Backyard</u>, Marc Mowrey and Tim Redmond examine in detail cases of environmental damage, as well as the subsequent response of scientists, environmentalists, and community-members in the United States. The authors pay particular attention to the increasingly cooperative relationship between scientists and environmentalists. They raise the question whether technological improvements will "allow industrialized nations like the United States to continue enjoying a lifestyle based on unlimited cheap energy and abundant natural resources." The authors discuss such cases as toxic waste spill, oil leaks on the Pacific Ocean floor, chlorofluorocarbons in Antarctic ice-masses, nuclear power-plant disasters, and illegal dumping in impoverished African American communities. These cases reveal the impediments posed by American consumerism and the governmental policies that protect the private sector. Furthermore, such cases illustrate the galvanizing effect of the "anti-environmentalism" of the Reagan administration.

Neverdon-Morton, Cynthia. <u>Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925</u>. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.

This book provides an overview of the types of activities and organizations in which turn-of-the-century black women participated in the name of racial uplift. Neverdon-Morton begins with a detailed discussion of the history, leadership, philosophy, and curricula of several black colleges that provided training for reform-minded African American women. She then compares this environment with the status and working conditions of the majority of southern African American women. Neverdon-Morton thoroughly examines black women's attempts to increase educational opportunities in southern African American communities. She continues with chapters describing the organization of women's clubs, settlement houses, orphanages, and health campaigns in the communities of Hampton, Tuskegee, Atlanta, Nashville, and Baltimore. She also discusses the establishment of the National Association of Colored Women and its involvement with other national organizations of the time.

Putnam, Robert. <u>Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Based on research conducted in Italy, Putnam analyzes the effects of regional experiments and institutional change during the 1970s. The author provides a cross-spatial and historical comparison of the institutional performance of local governments, and presents conclusions concerning the differential success of democratic governance, and liberal democracy more generally. As part of the de-centralization efforts of the Italian state, local governments increased their authority, responsibility, and access to funds. At the same time, they became more dependent on, and responsive to, their constituencies. Measuring local government according to twelve indicators of institutional performance, Putnam points out that post-1970s performance showed considerable regional differentiation. The author stresses that differential performance is also related to broader socio-economic and political conditions among which the existence of a developed "civic community" is of primary importance. In Italy, the historical development of civic community (based on civic engagement, political equality, solidarity, trust, tolerance, and the existence of social structures of cooperation) was built on regional civic engagement. Older forms of organized sociability (i.e. medieval guilds) were gradually replaced by new voluntary organizations based on pragmatic readiness to cooperate in a changing society. While these civic traditions were based on civic engagement in the North, bringing socioeconomic conditions into alignment with their development, in the South they continued to favor clientelism.

This persistence of civic traditions over the centuries is, according to Putnam, a function of the social equilibria attained by the development of social capital over time. Putnam argues that social capital, embedded in mutual trust and formed through social norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement, constitutes the key factor determining the type and degree of cooperation within a society. Voluntary organizations, rotating credit associations, choral societies, cooperatives, sports clubs, and mass-based political parties, all contribute to and are fed by the stock of social capital, which enable citizens to cooperate for the social benefit. Putnam explains that in regions such as Northern Italy where there has been a long tradition of horizontal cooperative relationships

(cooperation, trust, reciprocity and civic engagement), social capital accumulates and develops. In contrast, in regions such as Southern Italy where collective actions dilemmas tend to persist, the mutual trust is weak and vertical relations (patron-client networks) are predominant. In such cases, the recourse to third-party governance becomes a short-term solution impeding the development of democracy. Putnam argues that the stock of social capital develops only slowly over long periods, fosters institutional success by cooperative relations, and leads to economic growth and good governance. Institutional change can modify civic traditions through altering political practice; however, making democracy work in the long term depends on the sustainability of learning by doing, which requires a gradual build-up of social capital.

Rosenbaum, Walter. Environmental Politics and Policy. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991.

In Environmental Politics and Policy, Walter Rosenbaum investigates the political implications of environmental issues in the United States, including acid rain, global warming and ozone depletion. The author argues that the protection of the environment is severely impeded by economic and institutional obstacles, and more particularly by the US government's pluralism. Additionally, he observes the failures of administrators to address environmental concerns—e.g., potential nuclear-reactor melt-downs, sediment pollution, timber depletion and carbon-dioxide exhaustion. Rosenbaum contends that the increasing public awareness about environmental damage caused by human activities is merely superficial, for the protection of the environment remains less of a concern than enjoying the luxuries of American consumerism.

Sandel, Michael J. Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Michael Sandel argues that American institutions and practices contributed to the development of an American public philosophy. The author labels the conglomerate of these institutions and practices the "procedural republic," and he traces its history by examining economic philosophies (such as

liberalism and Keynesianism), Supreme Court decisions and civic activities (such as the Civil Rights movement). He suggests that the contradictions of republicanism and liberalism have ultimately combined to generate a public philosophy.

Sandel states that, on the one hand, in classical American republicanism the "good society" is a self-governing entity, and moral character is a public concern as well as an expression of citizenship. The author believes that American republicans, thus, embrace an Aristotelian political philosophy, which rests upon the presumption of civic virtue as intrinsic to liberty. On the other hand, Sandel explains that in classical American liberalism liberty and democracy are antagonistic, the civic realm is unconcerned with ethics, and liberty and self-government are only incidentally related. The author further maintains that the implications of these competing philosophies are evident in the history of Supreme Court cases, in the economic and civic theories of Keynesianism and Progressivism, and in community life.

American public philosophy, Sandel contends, is characterized by the prioritization of individual rights, the moral neutralization of the state, and the liberalization of individuals from civic demands. Moreover, the author believes that Supreme Court cases demonstrate that rulings increasingly favor this philosophy of liberal democracy by emphasizing the individual's autonomy. In his opinion, freedom has ceased to mean collective democratic virtue; rather it has come to mean consumerism in the decades after the Second World War. Indeed, Sandel fears, the "procedural republic" leaves Americans in a moral vacuum. This loss of republican civic virtue has stimulated the growth of intolerance and fundamentalism. The author concludes that in the global age Americans must support local and community connections to avoid alienation and the disappearance of an ethic of social solidarity.

Scarce, Rik. Eco-Warriors: Understanding the Radical Environmental Movement. Chicago: The Noble Press, 1990.

In Eco-Warriors, Rik Scarce sympathetically examines the beliefs and tactics of the radical environmental movement. According to the author, radical environmentalists engage in

protest against "technological progress" through direct action by whatever means in an effort to preserve "biological diversity." Scarce pays particular attention to the historical development of the movement's philosophy and epistemology, including tenets of so-called "deep ecology" and the influence of Buddhism. Additionally, he discusses the cross-cultural eco-feminist movement, as well as action groups such as Earth First and the Monkey Wrench Gang.

Smucker, Bob. The Nonprofit Lobbying Guide: Advocating Your Cause and Getting Results. Second edition. The Jossey-Bass Nonprofit Sector Series. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass 1998. (Also available on CD-Rom.)

This book demonstrates the ways nonprofit organizations can use lobbying to advance their causes in federal, state, and local legislatures. Smucker offers tips on how to mobilize citizen support and get results at all stages of the legislative process. He includes: examples of what the IRS considers lobbying; advice on using email and the Internet; essays by lobbyists; updates on a survey of Congressional members' preferred forms of communication from constituents; and updated information on federal lobbying disclosure requirements.

Steinem, Gloria. Moving Beyond Words. New York: Simon and Shuster, 1994.

In Moving Beyond Words, a collection of personal and political essays, Gloria Steinem confronts the discrimination against age and gender. For instance, in the essay "What if Freud were Phyllis?" the author satirically reveals the inherent sexism in Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical theories and in later interpretations of his theories. Through this work Steinem encourages the reader to question commonplace forms of prejudice that often go unnoticed—e.g., sexism through ageism, and the masculinization of privilege.

Thomas, Richard W. Life for Us Is What We Make It: Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.)

Thomas's study of black Detroit explores the complex web woven by industrial workers, ministers, politicians, business

people, housewives, and organizations in their efforts to build
the discrete and prosperous community that emerged by 1945.
Thomas's unique concentration on the "community building
process" lends itself nicely to questions of philanthropy, and he
does not disappoint. After setting the stage with a description of
Detroit's industrial landscape and its institutional racism,
Thomas devotes over 200 pages to black self-help, protest
movements, and unionization efforts. Churches provided time
and money in efforts to feed and shelter the poor. They also
initiated educational programs. Black hospitals were supported
by social clubs which held dances and other programs. Thomas
goes on to discuss Detroit chapters of the Universal Negro
Improvement Association and the NAACP. He also describes
the women's club movement, the Detroit Civic Rights
Committee, and the beginnings of black union participation.

Tocqueville, Alexis Charles Henri Maurice Clérel de. <u>Democracy in
America</u> [1835]. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859), a French nobleman by birth,
was a statesman and author. His treatise <u>Democracy in America</u>,
first published in 1835, allows students of American history both
a glimpse into the American past and a foreigner's observation of
uniquely American institutions and practices. His chapters about
political and civic associations in the United States make frequent
use of comparison with European societies and systems of rule. In
general, Tocqueville described American democratic institutions
and political rights, while at once providing critical judgments
about them. In addition, the author construed arguments about
the social and political effects of democratic institutions, as well as
their effects on the American temperament.

In the chapter entitled "Political Associations in the United
States" Tocqueville analyzed the American political right of
freedom of association. The author examined its impact upon
the American society as a whole, as well as its ramifications for
a typical American individual. While indicating its potential
perils—e.g., the overthrow of the government—he argued that
freedom of association had become a guarantee against what he
termed "the tyranny of the majority." Tocqueville further
suggested that this right functioned to maintain the internal
peace, by keeping conspiracy to a minimum. Moreover, he

maintained that the rule by what he called "universal suffrage" tempered the potential violence of assembly. [In reality, suffrage was not universal during the period in question.] Finally, he stated that European assemblies were more dangerous, because they only occur with the intention of war.

Tocqueville argued, in the chapter "The Relationships between Civil and Political Associations," that the widespread occurrence of civil associations in the United States facilitated political association. He suggested that common interest groups inevitably produced common political initiatives. Moreover, the author commented that the freedom to form political associations generated a culture of political innovation in American society.

In his chapter "Of the Use which Americans Make of Public Associations in Civil Life," Tocqueville observed that membership in civil associations without political motivation was common in the United States. By contrast, he believed that in Europe the aristocracy fulfilled the functions of a civil association, for they were united by class and common interests. The author postulated that a pitfall of associations was that they were relatively powerless to effect change unless they have a large membership. Additionally, he contended that in the democracy of America, civil associations supplanted the role of powerful individuals to influence political and social life. Tocqueville concluded that civil associations were beneficial to the civilizing process, the people, commerce, and industry.

Walker, Jack L. Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.

In Mobilizing Interest Groups in America, Jack Walker examines the mobilization of political constituencies in the United States. He pays particular attention to what motivates different sectors of society. Moreover, the author is concerned with the American "rules, processes, and institutions" that affect the nature, tactics, and policies of political representation.

Walker traces the democratic significance of political interest groups to the latter half of the nineteenth century. To account for this growth of interest groups, Walker refers to elements of

American modernization—e.g., urban, industrial capitalism; immigration; proliferation of religious denominations; and emancipation of disenfranchised minorities. He indicates, however, that the number of interest groups in the United States only began to expand substantially after the Second World War. Walker explains that in this period the growth of a large, well-educated middle class and the development of advanced mass marketing techniques facilitated the effective participation of large groups of geographically dispersed citizens. Indeed, he suggests that the Civil Rights movement and the sexual revolution were particularly instrumental in forging ideological rather than professional interest groups.

Additionally, the author discusses some major political theories about interest group mobilization. While such theories emphasize individual motivations and threats or inducements, Walker stresses the importance of the institutions that mobilize interest groups. His empirical analysis yields information about the number and types of interest groups; the level and style of political mobilization; and their access to major patronage. Furthermore, he observes that those professionals and bureaucrats who deal with the policies which are central to the visibility of interest groups are subject to shifts in the political atmosphere. Consequently, only certain forms of discontent win the patronage necessary to mobilize interest groups.

Wei, William. The Asian American Movement. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.

This is a history of the Asian American Movement from the late 1960s through 1991. Among the last of the ethnic-consciousness movements, the author bases his analysis of the long-term impact of this movement on materials generated by the movement itself and on numerous interviews of those individuals active in it. Born out of the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s, this was essentially a middle-class reform movement for racial equality, social justice, and political empowerment led by the emergence of a new generation of college-age Asian Americans. The movement embraced the entire spectrum of Asian ethnic groups and called for a higher level of solidarity among them. In addition to political activism and identity-building consciousness raising, many of these young

activists and their community colleagues tried to reform the conditions of their communities by launching human service and cultural heritage programs that generated many of the Asian American nonprofits active today. Throughout the 1970s, myriad organizations were established including health clinics, immigrant relief and transition services, cultural heritage programs, youth programs, daycares, and services for the elderly poor. The movement inspired and supported community scholars and community artists. It also birthed the academic area of Asian American Studies. Many early Asian American Studies programs channeled university resources into the community and encouraged student participation in community service.

Yee, Shirley J. Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

Yee describes the precarious position of black females in their struggles to gain racial and gender equality in the nineteenth century. Caught between the sexism of the antislavery movement and the racism of the women's movement, black women carved out their own niches as activists, organizers, and community builders. She explains the roles of women in churches and schools, and also describes their roles in benevolent and moral reform societies. Black women were integral in collecting and distributing aid to widows and orphans. They also stressed the importance of stopping prostitution and the excessive use of alcohol. By engaging in activities which were an extension of the domestic sphere, black women were adhering to expectations of womanhood and helping their community. But many women stepped outside the boundaries of "respectability" by delivering public addresses, organizing antislavery societies, and submitting essays to antislavery journals and newspapers. In doing so, they sometimes incurred the wrath of their male counterparts who thought a woman's place was in the home.

Part III.	**Additional Citations and Internet Resources**
	By Marilyn Gittell and Kathe Newman, with contributions from John A. Gutiérrez
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The Abortion Rights Activist – http://ww1.cais.com/agm/main

ACORN   http://www.acorn.org

AFL-CIO – http://www.aflcio.org

The American Indian Movement – http://www.aimovement.org/

Christian Coalition – http://www.cc.org/

Citizens Against Government Waste – http://www.govt-waste.org

EcoJustice Network – http://www.igc.apc.org/envjustice/

> Provides a forum for communities of color to discuss environmental issues and advocacies and to create networks with one another.

Environmental Working Group – http://www.ewg.org

The Feminist Majority Foundation Online – http://www.feminist.org

Handsnet – http://www.Handsnet.org

> A nonprofit organization that facilitates communication among organizations on a variety of advocacy issues. Their web page illustrates the usefulness of the Internet in advocacy work.

Japanese American Citizens League – http://www.jacl.org

John Birch Society – http://www.jbs.org

Labornet – http://www.labornet.org

NAACP – http://www.naacp.org

National Organization for Women – http://www.now.org

National Right to Life organization – http://www.nrlc.org

Internet Resources

Native American Rights Fund – http://www.narf.org/

A New Voice for American Workers – http://www.seiu.org

Organizations of Chinese Americans – http://www.ocanatl.org

PIRG (Public Interest Research Group) – http://www.us.pirg.org

Planned Parenthood – http://www.plannedparenthood.org

SeniorNet – http://www.seniornet.com

Seniors Internet Resource Center–http://www.ageofreason.com

    Links to web sites of interest to the over-50 age group.

Sierra Club – http://www.sierraclub.org

Teamsters homepage – http://www.teamster.org

UAW – http://www.uaw.org

    Includes a history of the UAW and labor movement.

WomensNet – http://www.igc.org/igc/womensnet/

THE FOLLOWING CONTAIN LINKS TO GROUP AND
    ORGANIZATIONAL WEBSITES:

Advocacy groups – http://www.nerdworld.com/nw1374.html

Advocacy groups – http://www.closeup.org/watchdog.htm

Right to Life groups – http://www.prolifeinfo.org/organizations.html

Women's organizations – http://feminist.org/gateway/master.html

Part IV. | Contributors

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Center for the Study of Philanthropy

Founded in September 1986 at The Graduate School and University Center of The City University of New York, Center for the Study of Philanthropy focuses attention on giving, voluntarism, and nonprofit entrepreneurship by individual donors, foundations, and corporations in the United States and around the world.

The focus of the Center's work is to broaden the pool of scholars engaged in the study of giving and voluntarism, to increase the opportunities for collaboration with practitioners in the field, and to enhance public awareness of philanthropic trends through a varied format of seminars, symposia, conferences, courses, research projects, awards, and publications.
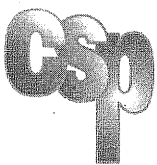
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