COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH EMPOWERMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

by

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B.A., Texas Tech University, 1970

A thesis submitted to the

Faculty of the Graduate School of the

University of Colorado in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology

1988

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Community Development Through Empowerment of the Individual Thesis directed by Associate Professor Janet R. Moone.

This paper describes the concepts and methodologies used by the Foundation for Urban and Neighborhood Development (FUND), an applied social science firm located in Denver. Colorado. Central to FUND's approach is the empowerment of individuals, defined in terms of their ability to predict, participate in and control their environment. Much of FUND's methodology follows standard applied anthropological practice; it differs from other applied approaches primarily in terms of its emphasis on the individual rather than on organizing groups. Community description is carried out with the goal of identifying people's issues relevant to a particular proposed change to the environment. FUND has applied essentially the same approach in a variety of situations over a period of 21 years. A sample of FUND projects is presented to demonstrate the breadth of application.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Increasing citizen participation in planning for the growth and development of those citizens' communities can be a difficult task for applied anthropologists engaged in such projects. Its accomplishment requires the cooperation not only of professional planners and change agents but of the citizens themselves. All groups must be convinced of the utility of participation, and bureaucratic resistance and/or citizen apathy must often be overcome. The Foundation for Urban and Neighborhood Development (FUND), an applied social research firm located in Denver, Colorado, has developed an approach which seeks to address both problems. FUND associates provide consultation, community description, training and mitigation assistance in situations where there is a proposed major change to people's environment Their approach is aimed at increasing citizen participation by working with individual community members within their existing social networks, with one goal being the empowerment of these individuals. Power is defined by FUND as the capacity of individuals to predict, participate in and control their environment in ways that do not oppress others. FUND has used this definition of power and has relied upon the same basic approach since its inception in 1967. FUND's approach differs from that of many community development practitioners in its belief that empowerment occurs at the level of the individual. FUND staff members do not seek to establish ongoing community organizations, reasoning that such organizations require energy for group maintenance activities which would be more productively spent on the tasks at hand. While FUND projects span a wide range of applications, they are all concerned with the interaction between people living in affected communities and project proponents.

This thesis is a descriptive study of the major concepts and methods of empowerment used by FUND. It is based on data obtained in discussions with FUND principals and from documentary evidence which they provided. While FUND does not use the term community development to define its work, it is the logical point of reference from which to view what FUND does. In this paper, community development has been used in a broad sense to describe the nature of FUND projects. While they span a wide range of applications, they are all concerned with the interface between change agents/project proponents and the people living in affected communities. They are also uniformly focused on increasing citizen participation through the application of the conceptual framework and methodology of empowerment among community members.

FUND's executive director is James A. Kent, a sociologist who, prior to founding FUND, had developed several social action programs as part of the national War on Poverty. As Director of the Behavioral Science Section of Denver's Department of Health and Hospitals, Kent designed and implemented a health care delivery system which sought not only to provide truly accessible services to the urban poor, but also to empower them in the process (Kent 1972). Through FUND, Kent and his colleagues,

including his wife Sue, have continued similar work on a contract basis. In order to contain costs, Kent and one secretary are the only two people maintained on salary. Other project directors and fieldworkers are referred to as FUND associates, and are hired for specific projects based on their expertise and experience, represent a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, engineering, education, community ministry and management. FUND also depends on an extensive information network developed over the years to provide leads for potential contracts. Funding for projects is secured through varied sources, including grants and contracts with local governments, federal agencies, private foundations, citizens' groups and private industry Projects which are profit-generating are carried out by FUND's sister organization, SRM Corporation, begun in 1983 by Kent Donald C. Taylor, a consulting engineer. SRM's name is derived from several expressions used to describe the work being marketed: Social Risk Management, Social Resource Management, Socially Responsive Management, Socially Responsive Marketing and Social Resource Mapping. There does not appear to be a clear-cut difference in the kind of work done or the approach taken in FUND and SRM projects; it is rather a distinction made for tax purposes. Therefore, FUND's name will be used throughout this paper.

FUND has combined concepts and techniques drawn from a variety of disciplines to build an approach to mitigating environmental change. It seems most meaningful to familiarize the reader with this approach first, then relate it to others' ideas. Therefore, I have chosen to depart from the tradition of providing a review of the literature prior to the body of the paper. FUND's contribution to social science theory and methodology lies in the development: of this unique approach and in the demonstration of its applicability to a variety of problems germane to contemporary society. The purpose of this paper is to describe FUND's approach through a focus on its centralizing concepts of empowerment

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from several documents (FUND 1972a, 1984, and 1986d; Preister and Kent 1981). When groups of concepts have been documented such that a specific citation truly represents the source being used, that citation is placed at the end of the section containing those concepts. Otherwise, citations within the body of the chapter have been omitted in the interest of minimizing interruptions.

FUND staff members do a narrowed version of participant observation in order to produce a community description focused on the proposed change. Central to the approach is the use of reflective partners to monitor field workers' observations toward a goal of more accurate description. The describers talk about what they have observed while a partner writes down their words on a flip chart. The partner assumes a purposefully naive posture, questioning any assumptions and judgments she or he hears in the description. The purpose of this reflective process is to help the describer explain more fully what has been observed, to make visible any presumed meanings to the data and to identify any gaps in knowledge of the subject which need to be filled in by further observation. This learning process is seen as circular and ongoing, a series of observation and reflection sessions which occurs through the duration of the project. The describers may be FUND staff members, community people or government agency or company employees, depending on the project. When Fund staff members initially enter the community, they do so as unobtrusively as possible, walking around the area to get general impression about how 'people live. They seek out and spend time in informal gathering places, listening and engaging in conversation without interviewing people. They identify gathering places by systematically moving from one likely spot to another, such as bars, laundromats, coffee shops, general stores and feed stores

In the interest of streamlining data gathering. FUND describers concentrate on identifying certain classes of information: routines, informal caretakers, themes, issues and networks. FUND distinguishes between themes and issues to help people focus on areas where action can be taken. Themes are general statements about how people view and feel about the situation, in their own language, for instance, "We don't want that airport built." Themes are too vague to dictate what actions might need to be taken, short of putting an end to the whole project. In contrast, issues are specific concerns people have relative to the situation, for example, "The noise will ruin our quality of life." or "What will happen to our property values?" The term issue rather than problem is chosen deliberately to emphasize that responsibility for resolution belongs to all parties concerned, not just to the people feeling the pain. Issues are not general to the entire community; they belong to particular informal networks or formal groups.

FUND reasons that identifying the link between issues and the networks which own them enables change agents to focus their communication efforts more accurately on informal networks rather than relying on public meetings or mass media for information-sharing. In practice, this means that FUND describers listen to network representatives to find out how people really feel about a project, and they counsel change agents to feed information into the community via these representatives. FUND does not see this use of the network's communication function as exploitation because they believe that networks monitor incoming data for deception. That is, if information

turns out to be false or not in the network's best interest, trust is undermined and the network then excludes these unreliable outsiders.

FUND usually seeks to help both community members and change agents to gain an appreciation for the other's perception of the proposed change. During the course of a project, networks are informed and consulted through their contact people as strategies are planned and actions are implemented to monitor their level of support and include their ideas as the project goes along. FUND sees this intervention strategy as a means of activating meaningful citizen participation.

In FUND's view, citizen involvement must be based on a determination to protect one's personal environment, that is, on an individual's self-interest rather than from a general wish to improve the community. People must be actively involved in creating their own solutions, rather than simply accepting the solutions planned and implemented by others. They must also stay involved after the intervenors leave the area, taking control of the monitoring function and bringing issues to the attention of project management as necessary. FUND emphasizes the following points when counseling project proponents in how to foster citizen participation: 1) Citizens must understand the sociocultural implications of changes to their environment which have been proposed. 2) They must share in decision-making concerning future changes and how they will respond to change. 3) They must take responsibility for helping to implement the resulting decisions wherever possible. 4) They must be able to track the resolution of their issues throughout the planning and implementation process

FUND sees this form of citizen participation as benefiting both the citizens involved and the agency or company proposing development or other changes. Project reports and marketing literature refer to the power of residents to hinder or block company plans when their issues have been misunderstood or ignored. Of course, this is used to persuade change agents to hire FUND, and not entirely out of a sense of civic duty. While FUND does refer to social responsibility as a goal, the appeal is primarily to the enlightened self-interest of the company or agency. Involving citizens is presented as part of a win-win strategy: business or government devotes extra time at the front end of a project in order to involve residents, but then is allowed to proceed unhampered by interruptions created later by angry citizens who have been surprised. It is hoped that residents gain by defining ways in which the project can be beneficial to them, often in terms of providing jobs or otherwise infusing money into a sagging economy. FUND stresses that change agents should encourage citizen ownership of a project. This refers to a psychological investment in the project's success, which is said to occur if residents are actively involved in its planning and implementation as their own advocates, making sure that they will share in the benefits of. development. Of course if residents are invested in the success of a projects they are not likely to engage in activities against the development agent.

An important part of the process is learning to view a situation in a larger context which takes into account patterns of behavior, interpretations, values and priorities which differ from one's own, and gaining an appreciation for the interactive and interdependent

nature of the relationships between numerous elements in society. Both change agents and community members are encouraged to learn this process of externalization. The purpose of externalization for management is to understand the culture and the grassroots issues of people so that its internal operations can be organized to fit into the existing culture. The goals are to establish communication links into the community, to enhance the community's ability to process outsiders and to create a climate of mutual understanding in order to minimize confusion and disruption. When community people externalize a situation, they generally become more sophisticated in the workings of formal systems, which enables them to deal more effectively with those systems, using formalized procedures to their own advantage.

Externalization carries additional meaning when applied to the individual community member which is germane to the subject of empowerment. By participating in the process of description, a person gains an external frame of reference for understanding what is happening. According to FUND, this allows the individual to discover that the situation is mutable, that the environment is subject to change to meet his or her needs. During the process of description, other people with whom one shares a common position relative to the situation can also be identified, allowing for the development of support with others

Several theoretical and practical considerations form the basis of FUND's approach to empowerment as a phenomenon occurring at the level of the individual. FUND believes that changes in people's fundamental attitudes concerning their personal power is best facilitated by personal example via a role model from their own culture. During the initial stages of projects, individuals are identified who are most amenable to a new way of examining their situation and who are motivated by their own self-interest to become involved in the process as volunteers. These individuals learn FUND methods of description and reflection and become part of the research team. They serve FUND 8S insider liaisons to their networks and are said to benefit themselves through the acquisition and refinement of skills and attitudes necessary to empowerment which can be generalized and carried into future situations. They can then serve as role models for their friends and neighbors. Projects therefore have two general goals: resolving a specific situation and promoting changes in individual people. FUND's view is that this diffusion of empowerment through individuals is more effective than organizing and training community groups because it is more personal, it relies on naturally occurring networks as the context for learning and it does not promote the empowerment of group leaders to the exclusion of group members. Another reason for encouraging the active involvement of community members in FUND projects is that they provide the investment and leadership to keep citizen participation alive after FUND staff members have left the area, thus contributing to the successful long-term ownership of the project by the community itself.

Most of FUND's projects have been carried out in the context of imminent or actual community disruption. FUND suggests that the need to handle each situation separately can be reduced by institutionalizing the resolution process, that is, by including requirements for citizen participation in laws and agency or corporate policy and

procedures. They reason that when this is done, subsequent situations can be handled more easily, efficiently and responsively, without having to fight the same battles repeatedly. Such institutionalization occurred in FUND's work with the National Forest Service, which by 1976 had included mitigation of issues through citizen participation in the permitting process itself. Since that time, FUND staff members have presented their approach to many groups of Forest Service personnel, training them in a workshop setting to describe their own communities. FUND sees these workshops as contributing indirectly to the empowerment of residents by giving agency representatives the tools to facilitate citizen participation.

Workshop participants are taught to describe their areas by using the following seven cultural descriptors: networks, settlement patterns, work routines, supporting services, recreational activities, geographic boundaries and publics and their interests. Using the plural of public emphasizes the multiple nature of economic and other interests in land use decisions. Examples of publics are loggers, ranchers, summer home owners, retirees and real estate developers. The description of one's area is an ongoing process which allows for the identification of issues, which are conceived as proceeding through the three developmental stages of emergence, existence and disruption. FUND workshops teach Forest Service employees to recognize and address community issues earlier in this developmental sequence as a way of minimizing disruption

The composition of project staff is determined by the application; describers may come from anthropology, sociology, engineering, management or any other discipline. They usually are drawn from a pool of people who have all been trained in FUND's methodology, and are hired for the duration of the project. This multi-disciplinary team approach allows for a greater breadth of technical expertise and probably improves FUND's marketability. These teams are pulled together fairly quickly when a contract or grant is obtained, and projects are usually carried out intensively over a relatively short period of time, often only several months. Onea of thee drawbacks of such speed is that systematic evaluation is sacrificed. FUND relies primarily on anecdotal feedback from project participants for confirmation of the effectiveness of their approach.

The concepts presented above emanate from the premise that achieving an understanding of the mechanisms operating in one's own culture internally and in relation to surrounding systems produces empowerment. FUND's approach proceeds from the assumption that cultural bridges must be built in order for the various elements of society to coexist harmoniously and work out difficulties effectively. The building blocks of these bridges are descriptions grounded in emic data. The theoretical and methodological basis for FUND's work includes some relatively recent modifications to a stable core of concepts and techniques. Chapter III reviews the writers who helped to shape the FUND approach and those who have described similar ways of attending to applied problems.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

FUND has been using most of the concepts and methods described in the last chapter since its inception. They are based on sources both in and out of the social sciences which have in common a valuing of people's right of self-determination and ideas on how to facilitate that. These precursors and direct contributors to the development of FUND's approach are reviewed first in this chapter. Specific concepts and techniques used by FUND have. for the most part. also been used by others in applied settings. Although FUND does not cite these sources, a representative survey of the community development and applied anthropology literature is presented in order to view FUND's approach in the context of others' work,

Many of the original concepts of empowerment embodied in FUND's approach are founded on philosophical and theoretical principles expressed by Paulo Friere. These principles have been put forth in his major work, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970). Friere is a Brazilian educator who developed a radical methodology used in adult literacy projects during the 1960's in Brazil and Chile. In these projects, the content being taught was secondary in importance to the process of learning to be more active and reflective. He refers to people who chronically have little power n their lives as being oppressed, and argues for intervention which contributes to their achieving more direct control via development of the individual person.

According to Friere, the oppressed have internalized the consciousness of the oppressor, and therefore perceive themselves, their situations and their range of choices through the eyes of the oppressor. They have a fragmented view of reality, seeing their situation as separate from the larger context, and tend to apprehend situations only in terms of their immediate needs Dominated by the prescriptions of others. they adapt to their environment (that is, change themselves to accommodate to existing conditions) rather than becoming integrated with their context, which involves adaptation plus the capacity to evaluate situations critically. to make choices and to transform reality itself. In order to move from the powerless position described above, people must make certain changes in the way they perceive and respond to their environment. They must look at reality critically objectifying it to see what is actually happening, and simultaneously act upon it. This process of praxis, defined as reflection and action in order to transform the world, allows people's consciousness to emerge, to see the forest for the trees, as it were. Part of what occurs through praxis is the "naming" of the world which, once named, reappears as a problem requiring a new naming; in other words, naming is an ongoing process of redefinition of a situation. On must also develop the ability to perceive situations not as permanent conditions of the status quo, but rather as obstacles to be overcome, as challenges

To effectively facilitate people making such substantial changes, intervenors must approach their task with certain attitudes and ways of relating to project participants. They must see people as capable of thinking for themselves and knowing what they want, and therefore must design programs according to the people's definition of their themes, not based on the intervenor's ideas about what the people need. In this way, people are treated as subjects, not objects, and projects are carried out with, not for, participants, who are seen as partners in the process rather than as recipients of experts' knowledge. The attainment of knowledge is seen as a process of inquiry, facilitated by the intervenor through dialogue with and between participants, all parties being seen as both students and teachers. Through seeking out the reflective participation of the people in defining their own themes, the intervenor is a problem-poser rather than a propagandizing problem-solver, and as such encourages the development of independence rather than simply the transfer of dependency from the oppressor to the intervenor.

Friere applies these principles through a four stage process he calls thematic investigation. In the beginning stage, an initial survey of the area is carried out in which detailed notes are taken of all aspects of community life. The investigation team includes volunteers from the community; their participation has the dual purposes of helping with data gathering but, more importantly, providing the volunteer with an opportunity for active involvement. Data are gathered through both direct observation and informal conversations with inhabitants as the investigator participates in community activities, noting people's behavior in relation to each other, their language, their leisure activities, their working life, and so on. After each observation visit to the area, evaluation meetings are held in which each investigator presents his or her observations, unencumbered by value judgments as much as possible, so that all investigators may reconsider their own observations and clarify their perceptions as the group works together to formulate the themes being expressed in the community. Through a series of evaluation meetings, themes are refined and reformulated, resulting in a comprehensive understanding of the problematic situations with which inhabitants are confronted. The last three stages of thematic investigation are designed specifically to address the needs of illiterate people and aren't directly applicable to FUND's methodology. People are gathered into groups to examine and reflect on their themes as a means of helping individuals to expand their understanding of themselves (Friere 1970).

FUND's terminology mirrors some of Friere's concepts directly, for instance: reflection, seeing people as partners, a need for context to understand one's situation, people defining their own themes, working with, not for, participants and the negative connotation of adaptation. In some cases, the concepts are essentially the same, but FUND uses different language to

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The informal system and its informal leaders to increase the probability of projects succeeding, and writes about needing to see problems from the people's point of view and to shape programs to their wishes and expectations. One of FUND's major concepts, that of the community caretaker, is described by Gans (1962). He also argues for designing programs based on the wishes of the people involved and warns against the consequences of middle-class bias in descriptions or, in FUND's terms, making value prejudgments.

More recently, Turner (1980) discussed his view of history as grounded in geography and the indigenous world view; this is consistent with FUND's attention to human geographic boundaries. Ferguson (1980) advances the idea that by naming (describing) things and thereby enlarging the context in which individuals view their lives, they can become more aware of their possibilities, which then empowers them. This sis described as a process of personal transformation which, when observed by others in daily life, can lead to social transformation. This focus on the individual and the diffusion of power by personal example fits well with FUND's philosophy.

One approach is notable in its contrast to FUND's basic philosophy and methods. Alinsky (1971) and others developed what became known as the conflict approach Robinson 1980), which focuses on utilizing conflict rather than managing it, which is FUND's goal. It is based on the premise that empowerment occurs via community organization, which is facilitated by encouraging the expression of hostilities to overcome apathy. One author does describe the utility of identifying and spending leisurely time in local gathering places. The goal, however, is to become visible as the first step in establishing trust with people in the community (Kahn 1970:23) rather than FUND's dual goals of becoming familiar to residents and gathering data concerning their issues.

In the community development (CD) and applied anthropology literature. there are several fundamental assumptions which are consistent with FUND's approach. These are philosophical in nature and center around a value of self-determination in communities. One assumption is that people have the right and responsibility to participate in planning as an expression of the democratic tradition in this country (Foster 1969; van Wi11igen 1986; Biddle and Biddle 1966:1). Two related assumptions are concerned with the need for planning to be based on the needs and wishes of the people impacted (Goodenough 1963; Biddle and Biddle 1966; Morris 1970) and the need to plan and carry out actions with, not for, community residents (Foster 1969, Heighton and Heighton 1978; Esber 1987; Blakely 1980). Authors also refer to the dual goals of achieving solutions to concrete problems but. more importantly, changes in people 80 that they can approach future problems without the need for intervention (van Willigen 1986; Biddle and Biddle 1966:33; Cary 1970; Sanders 1970; Littrell 1980).

There are also some common themes- in .the literature which contrast with FUND's approach. Most CD projects are not associated with a particular, externally proposed change to people's environment, as in FUND projects, but rather are responses to broad societal ills, often concerning the effects of poverty (see Biddle and Biddle 1966:5-57). This represents a major variation in the context in which projects are carried out, and has

implications for another difference. Many CD projects have a goal of helping to create a permanent group to carry on the task of identifying and encouraging active participation in community betterment projects (Biddle and Biddle 1966:101; Cary 1970:150; van Wi11igen 1986:59-78 and 93-109). In contrast, FUND conceives of most intentionally formed community groups as task specific, existing only for the duration of the project.

Biddle and Biddle's (1966) classic CD text shares additional concepts in common with FUND's work and some important differences. The authors' definition of CD comes closest in the literature (see Christenson and Robinson 1980:9-10 for a survey of definitions) to describing FUND's work and bears some resemblance to FUND's concept of empowerment: " ...community development is a social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world." (1966:78). Biddle and Biddle emphasize that projects must be designed to be left in the hands of the community, but a local institution, not individuals or informal groups, is to have the responsibility of being the "encourager" of continued development (1966: 21-22). Like FUND, they recognize that formal, public meetings do not constitute a genuine opportunity for citizen participation (1966:155; see also Chambers 1985:153). In terms of methodology, the initial "exploratory phase" described by Biddle and Biddle is quite similar to FUND's entry into a project. However, later phases concentrate on organizing the community into groups to encourage involvement in concrete, self-defined improvement projects (1966:92-100). FUND also varies from these authors (1966:61-62) regarding their assumption that cooperation may be achieved by an appeal to altruism rather than to self-interest.

Other CD authors also refer to concepts which FUND uses. Carr (1970:144: emphasizes participation based on public issues, defined as " ...common or shared interests and concerns... " Morris (1970:173) discusses the need to move beyond the role of the expert in order to become a development agent, which requires one to respect the perceptions and wishes of residents The importance of natural geographic boundaries is supported by Biddle and Biddle (1966:78), but is questioned by Littrell (1980:69), who notes that communities are becoming increasingly heterogeneous in terms of people's interests and their socioeconomic status. Littrell is in agreement with FUND that communities don't exist in a vacuum, with the ability to make autonomous decisions, but rather must cooperate with larger, formal outside systems, and that the intervenor's role is to help the parties work out a mutually beneficial solution to problems (1980:68).

Some aspects of FUND's work, primarily methodological, correspond to standard applied anthropological perspective and practice. The generation of qualitative emic data through participant observation and informal interviewing, and a holistic approach in analyzing situations are part of traditional anthropological method (Foster 1969:57-62). This includes description as an almost universal technique (See Wulff and Fiske 1987), and listening as a data gathering technique which requires all the senses (Foster 1969:138). In applied settings, a basic role of anthropologists is to identify and describe barriers and stimulants to change (1969:120), and to attend to the concerns of both residents and change agents (1969:70). The necessity to become a stranger in one's own society in order to avoid assumptions about meanings, functions, and relationships, and

the problems inherent in that task, are recognized by anthropologists (Feldman 1981:236-7; Houghton 1981:250). It is also understood that working under contract to agencies or corporations requires some modifications in methodology (Foster 1969:151; Feldman 1981:232; Houghton 1981:248; Hyland et *a1.* 1987:115). Chambers (1985:90) stresses that agency or company representatives must be approached with an appreciation for their expertise and perspective on the situation at hand, which req11ires that anthropologists take the role of the advocate less than they have historically. He also notes the advent of truly interdisciplinary teams which include both researchers and decision-makers working together during the social impact assessment process (1985: 169).

Much of FUND's methodology follows standard applied anthropological practice, especially the central role played by description. The primary point of departure is in FUND's emphasis on the individual rather than the group as the locus of empowerment. Kent became convinced of the utility of this approach while working in poverty programs during the 1960s. While most theorists in sociology were focused on the importance of groups in achieving social change, he saw several problems in the community organization approach. He observed that when poor people were organized into groups, only the group leaders were able to get out of poverty by using the group to enhance their own power. He also noted that there was a selection process involved in group membership which precluded many people participation: those who were reluctant to place themselves in the public arena, for instance. In seeking an alternative to community organizing, Kent concluded that there were three elements which allowed community members to become more powerful: control, participation and predictability in relation to their environment. He found that by using people's everyday social networks, each individual's participation in community decision-making could be encouraged more readily because the communication mechanisms were already in place. Kent's other criticism of organizing people into formal, ongoing groups was that such groups divert energy needed to accomplish specific tasks to internal group maintenance activities, thus reducing the group's effectiveness. Kent reports that the validity of these early observations has been supported in FUND projects through the years (personal communication, April 10, 1988).

FUND's original concepts and methods. including the emphasis on the empowerment of the individual, have proved durable over its long history. Modifications in concepts, methods and attitudes during recent years have occurred at least in part, as adaptations to the realities of the changing environment of applied work. In Chapter IV's review of FUND's projects over time, these modifications can be seen in relation to the core of FUND's approach, which has remained substantially unchanged.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF FUND PROJECTS

Since its creation in 1967, FUND associates have worked with a wide variety of cultural and subcultural groups in the United States and abroad. While the basic philosophy and fundamental concepts have remained intact through the years, the focus of their projects has changed in keeping with modifications in local and national issues and with the priorities of funding sources. Although these changes have not occurred as a smooth, linear process. the history of FUND's projects can be conceived in the six broad phases as suggested by Kent.

Table 1. Six phases of FUND projects

1. 1967-72	War on Poverty
2. 1972-76	Social Impact Mitigation
3. 1976-81	Large-scale Systems Change
4. 1981-84	Pre-crisis Management with the Business Community
5. 1984-87	Family, Individual and Community Empowerment
6. 1987-future	Individual Enterprise

FUND has been involved in over 60 projects of varying size and duration during its 21 year existence. This chapter contains examples of projects representative of each phases of FUND's evolution. These summaries are meant to document the scope of the application of FUND principles and the changes which have occurred over time. A more detailed account of one project may be found in the case study presented in Chapter V.

Phase 1: War on Poverty 1967-72

FUND s inception occurred during an era when a major goal of the federal government was to help poor people improve their lives. FUND projects focused on strengthening natural survival networks as a means of eliminating poverty in the United States. The most ambitious project undertaken during this phase was the Migrant Settlement Project (1969-74), action research funded by the Great Western Sugar Company and the Great Western United Foundation. The objectives of the project were

to aid migrants in settling once they left the migrant stream by providing physical, economic and social support, and to develop a model of the settlement process which could be applied to migrant settlement in rural areas elsewhere in the country. Migrant families who had traveled from Texas and Oklahoma to harvest sugar beets were helped to settle in the Brighton area of northeastern Colorado.

The concepts and methodology employed by the project's staff demonstrate the foundation upon which more recent refinements were based. The staff used migrants' own words in the identification of issues relevant to their situation, and their everyday activities, or routines, were a critical factor in analyzing the problems inherent in the settlement process. Thus the description and conceptual categories which emerged were grounded in the migrant's reality. Reflection was used to clarify observations of everyday activities and to monitor relationships between staff members and between staff and migrant families. Staff members identified and utilized natural caretakers and their informal networks to help gain entry into the militant society They functioned initially as liaisons between migrants and existing formal systems to match employers with newly settling workers and to secure housing and other necessities. FUND's emphasis was on helping to create a positive situation which participants would then maintain on their own after the project staff had left the area. To this end, participants were encouraged to be actively involved in the problem-solving process, including decisions concerning the use of funds available through the project. Natural caretakers were also assisted in gaining and refining the skills required to interact effectively with the larger culture (FUND 1969).

A separate but closely related project which was carried out in the same geographic area and with the same clients as the Migrant Settlement Project was the Plan de Salud del Valle. This project, funded by a grant from the United States Public Health Department (1970-72), established a comprehensive medical/dental cooperative in Ft. Lupton, Colorado. It was designed to provide preventative and acute health care services to migrants, settled migrants and other area residents. A Consumer Governing Group was developed through a slow interactive process with migrant families in the area. In each of five sections of town and in several smaller communities near Ft. Lupton, an individual was identified who was the natural caretaker, or consejero, for the members of his or her small area. These consejeros were chosen not on the basis of their formal positions (such as crew bosses), but rather by a consensus of the migrants who would be receiving medical services. Consejeros functioned in several key roles. They guided the development of procedures by which services would be provided (based on their knowledge of migrant needs and cultural patterns), they interpreted the program to their neighbors, they brought needy cases to the clinic and they alerted clinic staff to health problems in need of their attention (FUND 1971).

Cultural accessibility and community ownership were primary goals addressed by FUND's attention to participant involvement at the policy-making level. The structure of the Consumer Governing Group demonstrates FUND's reliance on informal networks as conduits of information exchange and program implementation. FUND's holistic perspective is evident in its inclusion in the program of health-related difficulties such as

sanitation, environmental, school, probation, welfare and legal problems. This reflects a broad definition of health and the origin of health problems related to stress which has become prevalent only much more recently in the design of health care delivery systems.

During this phases FUND was also involved in projects with Native American groups focusing on designing and implementing a Head Start Program, developing a corporation to compete for human service contracts, designing education programs concerning resource development, and developing a new town on a reservation. FUND staff also trained nurses in the Discovery Process and designed the conceptual model for using the Discovery Process in a public school (FUND 1986d: Appendix D).

Phase 2: Social Impact Miti~ation 1972-76

While still engaged in their work with migrants in northeastern Colorado, FUND secured a contract (the Beaver Creek Recreation Area Project, 1972-79) which would lead it in a new direction. There was increasing recognition that the rapid and large-scale growth which accompanies resource development produces deleterious social effects on existing communities. Federally mandated Environmental Impact Statements (EISs) were to include Social Impact Assessments (SIAs) to be completed prior to the approval of any major federal projects. FUND techniques, especially those of description and issue identification, were well suited for making such assessments and for facilitating the mitigation of culturally disruptive effects. Although assessment and mitigation processes were not new territory for FUND, their application to problems of resource development gave rise to techniques specific to such situations. It was during this phase that there was a shift in emphasis toward working with company and agency employees as opposed to focusing exclusively on training community members directly. The Beaver Creek project is the largest and most comprehensive project undertaken by FUND to date. It will be examined in detail in the case study presented in Chapter V.

While the emphasis during this phase was on resource development projects. FUND continued work in other areas. In 1972, FUND was retained by the Rapid City Steering Committee for Mental Health Activities to develop an outreach program for communities affected by a disastrous flood in the Rapid City, South Dakota area. The existing mental health system had been operating on a traditional "wait and treat" model, which depended upon individuals seeking out professional services. This approach had proven inadequate in handling the many flood-induced psychological crises area residents were experiencing. FUND developed a "search and find" model, based on the identification and involvement of natural caretakers who were trained in the Discovery Process and became paid crisis intervenors. These people worked with their neighbors in resolving their practical, disaster-related problems which, if not dealt with effectively, would have precipitated the onset of psychological symptoms such as clinical depression and anxiety. The goals of the program included responding to the immediate needs of residents affected by the disaster, permanently changing the mental health system so that it would include expanded outreach service!; and improving the ability of individuals to respond effectively to crises in the future. The last goal reflects FUND's philosophy of leaving participants with new or refined skills which they can generalize to a variety of problems.

Description of the area, together with the identification of networks, natural caretakers within these networks and issues owned by area residents provided the basis on which recommendations were made (FUND 1972).

The next project to be examined is one of the earliest examples of work done by FUND under contract to energy companies for the purpose of identifying and mitigating social problems associated with energy development. In 1975, FUND was hired by The Rio Blanco Oil Shale Project (RBOSP), a joint venture of Gulf Oil Corporation and Standard Oil Company of Indiana. FUND was one of three consultants retained to work on social, economic and community development problems anticipated in the northwestern Colorado area surrounding the project. It was to provide qualitative data concerning local attitudes, goals, and decision-making processes. In its role as lead consultants FUND influenced this group to work together as an interdisciplinary team, rather than as an aggregate of experts, each submitting separate reports. This interactive approach was designed to foster a more creative and responsive planning process.

Initially, FUND associates were hired to do a two month study of area communities. They documented values and priorities which clearly identified one town (Rangely) as being willing and able to accommodate the rapid growth that would accompany oil shale development. In marked contrast, a nearby community (Meeker) was shown to be a poor choice because of its residents' wish to proceed slowly and cautiously with any growth in order to preserve the community's agricultural identity and highly valued socialpatterns. Based on these results plus corroborative evidence from other sources, RBOSP decided to focus its planning efforts on Rangely, and FUND was hired to carryon the implementation social impact prevention process.

Facilitating communication between RBOSP and the community in order to maximize trust and the exchange of accurate information was one facet of FUND's involvement: in this prevention process. FUND associates also interacted with members of cultural group (management and residents) separately. They consulted with RBOSP management to modify the company's actions and philosophies so that they were more compatible with local citizens' goals for their community. They worked directly with local individuals and groups to facilitate their participation in planning and action related to growth. FUND was also engaged with residents in developing several self-help programs, including day-care center and a recreation district. In addition to encouraging participation in formal meetings, FTJND associates were present informally with residents to discuss what was happening with the project and to correct misconceptions about it. While FUND's contract ended before development actually began, its involvement with residents as described above probably allowed for beneficial learning to occur which would prepare them to handle problems more effectively when they did arise during the development phase. Citizen attendance and participation at local and state government meeting~ had increased by the time FUND left the area. This was interpreted by FUND as a reflection of people's improved confidence in their ability to influence community affairs and as one measure of their increased power (FUND 1976).

Other projects undertaken during this phase included work for the National Forest Service, facilitating citizen participation in planning for coal development and providing training and technical assistance for culturally sensitive use planning. FUND also produced an SIA and mitigation program for a hydro-electric project and trained occupational therapists in the Discovery Process (FUND 1986d: Appendix D)

Phase 3: Large-Scale Systems Change 1976-81

FUND's association with the National Forest Service, which began with the Beaver Creek project, grew into an ongoing relationship which continues into the present. FUND sees its mission in working with this and other large-scale systems as being to facilitate institutions functioning in ways that enhance the individual's access to power. This has required the creation of more structured training programs for the employees of these systems in order to educate large numbers of people. Trainees learn the practical, business-oriented rationale for increasing positive citizen participation among residents of their geographic area and the methods of facilitating that participation. development of these training programs occurred over the course of several projects.

Following two smaller training and technical assistance projects for the Forest Service in 1974, FUND was retained in 1976 to develop an approach for regional planning. This required an application of FUND concepts and methods to a much larger geographic area than had previously been done. Indeed, geography became a very influential factor to be considered, and FUND produced a new kind of map based on the concept of the Human Resource Unit (HRU) and the Social Resource Unit (SRU). FUND sees the development of the HRU/SRU concept as its most important contribution during this era because it is more useful than a display model based only on data from major economic indicators. Because HRUs and SRUs are cultural units driven by human values, this concept provides a model which can allow those engaged in a planning process to predict how people are likely to react to various actions. During 1976-78, FUND mapped the entire Rocky Mountain/Great Plains region into SRUs for the Forest Service, and produced a description and resource analysis for each SRU. FUND staff also provided training to Forest Service personnel in the use of the SRU as a basis for planning public involvement (FUND 1986d: Appendix D).

By 1979, FUND, again under contract with the Forest Service, had expanded and formalized this training into a comprehensive management approach called Social Risk Management (SRM). SRM is based on the assumption that if one has an understanding of a community (acquired through description and maintained through regular interaction with its networks), one can identify issues before they become disruptive and facilitate their resolution with the involvement of the issue-holders. FUND produced an SRM training manual complete with case studies of projects that succeeded or failed by virtue of how well they attended to citizens' interests. It also contains activities for participants

to carry out during the course of the workshop; active participation and discussion of situations relevant to their own situations is encouraged. They even spend an evening walking through and describing a local neighborhood and its predetermined informal gathering place as a way of putting the techniques being taught into practice. As in other projects, the wisdom of adopting SRM methods is explained primarily in terms of participants' needs. In this case, the need is to minimize disruptive responses from the community to Forest Service projects and policies. The fact that the learners are exclusively Forest Service employees rather than community members is a departure from FUND's history. Empowerment of individuals in the community is to be accomplished not by training them directly in FUND methods but by training government agency representatives to facilitate that empowerment. The assumption is that thus empowered, residents will put their energy into working with the Forest Service rather than against it (FUND 1984).

Concurrently with its work with the Fore.st Service, FUND had an opportunity to apply certain concepts being refined during this period to an urban setting. In 1979, FUND was retained by the City Council of Honolulu to evaluate and advise it on the social consequences of the city's development plan which was in the process of being drafted into its final form. FUND staff interviewed citizens in 14 areas of Oahu to discover their issues and describe their cultural patterns; they interviewed people in city agencies to determine how they planned for social impacts; and they analyzed the social impact components of 22 major Oahu Environmental Impact Statements. Their recommendations were presented using the same conceptual framework as in previous projects, including attention to people's geographic orientation (in this case, neighborhood units), networks and the three stages of issue development.

FUND recommended that the city institute a Social Impact Management System (SIMS), defined as a review process involving citizens in any proposed land use decision or project located in or near their neighborhoods which was expected to have an impact on their issues. Like the Discovery Process, SIMS is presented as an ongoing circular process in which citizens have access to information about and participate in the development and monitoring of projects which affect them. The importance of involving citizens as early as possible in this process in order to minimize the negative effects of surprise, with the possibility of citizen ambush of a project, was presented. The phrases "managing surprise" and "ambush" occur frequently in later documents geared to marketing FUND's work to business. The burden of improving communication was placed on the project proponent but, recognizing that this would be an unfamiliar task for most developers, FUND suggested that another actor be included to facilitate effective communication between residents and project proponents, that of a Social Impact Representative. Unlike similar roles in other projects, FUND did not insist that the representative be indigenous to the affected area, but rather that she or he be or become familiar with people in the neighborhood units and their issues. Emphasis was placed on people's need to predict, participate in and control their environment; this was not described as power, however, but rather as staying in harmony with their specific environments. It was suggested as a means by which the restoration of confidence in government might be accomplished. Clearly, empowerment of local residents was again

being advocated in terms understandable and desirable to the recipients of the report, in this case, politicians (FUND 1981a).

During this phase, FUND also studied the social impacts of a potential ski area expansion, of the development of the land surrounding Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines, and of geothermal development on ethnic Hawaiians. FUND staff worked with Egyptian policy-makers on the social impact of technology transfer and presented a series of workshops on citizen participation in natural resource decision-making sponsored by the National Science Foundation (FUND 1986d: Appendix D).

Phase 4: Pre-Crisis Management with the Business Community 1981-84

After the election of President Reagan in 1980s federal funds were becoming less available as social programs were dismantled. FUND used expertise gained through previous impact mitigation projects to successfully market itself to do Social Impact Assessments (SIAs) for energy companies and other businesses in order to survive during this era. FUND reinterpreted the philosophy of empowerment into concepts of value to business leaders. What had been required in SIAs was then described as good management practice in projects not mandated by federal law. Business interests were addressed through the concept of pre-crisis managements developed in Forest Service projects but easily adapted for use by industry. Some projects undertaken during this period were not substantially different from earlier work done for energy companiess for instances Rio Blanco Oil Shale. What makes this a new phase in FUND's history is the increased reliance on such contractss an example of FUND's ability to adapt itself to the larger political and economic environment in which it exists.

In 1981s on the heels of the SIMS project in Hon01ulus FUND produced the SIA for a wind-generated electricity installation being constructed on the island of Oahu in Hawaii by Wlndfarms Ltd. Prior development on Oahu had been characterized by disruption and controversys and unresolved issues had made citizens predisposed to opposition. Uuaware of thia historys Wind farms viewed wind as a "clean" energy sources and expected a positive reaction from residents. FUND provided information concerning citizen issues which helped the proponent understand the existing situation, thus reducing the element of surprise The SIA report consisted of three phases: description of the social and economic situation in the region, identification of community issues and management concerns and suggestions for strategies and mitigations to resolve potential conflict. The emphasis was on each party (proponent and community) being empowered through the creation of an ongoing process for handling change. The concepts discussed in the report are consistent with the more management-oriented approach which had been evolving over the previous several years (Mithen 1981).

In addition to the examples cited above, FUND also worked on several projects for other energy companies, doing situational assessments of the social risks of resource development, assisting in proposal development and training management staff in FUND methods of description, network and issue identification, and mitigation strategy development. Several projects which more accurately represent this phase were done confidentially for oil and gas companies and no documentary reports were available. An unusual project was one done for United Cable in which FUND identified neighborhood issues relevant to the company's bid for a franchise in Denver (FUND 1986d: Appendix D).

Phase 5: Family, Individual and Community

Empowerment 1984-87

As the funding climate changed again, projects were sponsored less frequently by government and business; this included formal SIAs (see Van Willigen 1986: l71). The burden of support for preventative social programs was placed increasingly on the private sector and communities began funding their own projects. FUND obtained contracts with several towns and community groups to help them deal with impending changes in ways that enhanced people's power in the decision-making process.

In 1984, FUND became involved with a project for the Upper South Platte Water Conservancy District (USPWCD) board of directors to facilitate citizen participation and support comprehensive planning of water resources in the district, located in central Colorado. By this time, the district had lost the water rights to many large parcels of land through their sale to downstream users over the years. The new board president was concerned that this trend constituted a threat 1:0 the viability of the area, and contacted FUND to assess the situation and make recommendations. His opinion was that the remaining water rights should be kept within the district in order to enhance economic stability and quality of life in the area's communities. FUND's initial input was to support this view that water issues existed in the larger context of the economic, legal, social and political life of the area. Using the same descriptive techniques employed in previous projects, associates identified five general themes relevant to the viability of the area and produced a map and descriptions of the HGAs within the district. They developed a strategic action model based on the concept of boundary permeability, and suggested that if permeability were managed better, a balance of resources going into and out of the district could be attained. This referred to more than just water rights For instance, many residents worked outside the area because that was where the jobs were, and much of their income was spent outside the area because goods and services weren't available in their own communities. FUND' 8 recommendations centered on fostering the development of small businesses and working for the improvement of the area's woefully inadequate telephone service. FUND also assisted the board in locating and developing

sources of funding for the district's work. One important hurdle was to increase the visibility of the USPWCD 80 that citizens would support a bond election to finance an initial purchase of water rights. To this end, FUND urged board members to frequent the local gathering places which its study had located, to listen carefully, to be available to discuss people's issues and to feed accurate information into the informal networks. It even created a slide show to help educate residents about USPWC1Q. FUND's efforts toward empowerment were directed primarily toward board members, part of the formal system in the area, but it made suggestions about ways to increase the active participation of ordinary citizens in the process of taking more control over their community's future (FUND 1986a)

In 1985, the Forest Service notified the town of Dubois, Wyoming that it intended to reduce substantially the timber harvest in nearby areas, which would ultimately force the local lumber mill to close. The loss to the local employment base was estimated to be 25%, and the danger existed that the town would not survive such a serious blow to its economy. Concerned citizens organized a lobbying group, Citizens for Multiple Use. Out of that group's activities, the town government decided to hire FUND to help develop an economic diversification program. Through description of the community, FUND associates produced an inventory of local assets, resources and limitations relevant to implementing such a program. They found that there was a rich array of skills existing in the community that constituted under-utilized resources which could be tapped. The stumbling blocks identified were in the form of community dissension about common goals for the future of Dubois. FUND recommended that action be taken to expand three areas of the existing economy and presented detailed strategies for accomplishing that task. The emphasis was on strengthening key sectors of Dubois' economy without attempting to reshape the community. The report had a decidedly more economic focus than many others, without reference to such FUND staples as informal networks, for instance. However, the attention paid to people's issues and to ways of encouraging their participation in implementing the program made it clearly recognizable as a FUND document (FUND 1986b).

The emphasis in several projects during this era was on preventing the dislocation of residents which ~ould have been the result of certain public policy decisions, especially those

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to conduct a study to identify and assess the options for alternative uses of the site, specifically including the consideration of an employee-owned tire manufacturing facility. This idea had been proposed by a group of former employees and other community people, organized into Project Impact (Inter-regional Manufacturing Plant Acquisition and Coordination Team) which worked closely with FUND during the project. While the scope of the study involved an assessment of the total situation, including market, financial, infrastructure, and labor factors, FUND's emphasis was on evaluating the ability and desire of the community and employees to develop and support an employee-owned business. FUND referred to this as a human resource based approach, and justified its use by citing the necessity for active participation by the "stakeholders", the people most affected by the crisis at hand. In addition to techniques used in previous projects such as on-site description and informal interviewing, FUND conducted two surveys to acquire quantitative data on the skills and vocational intentions of displaced workers, on the current situation and future needs of the business community and on the views of both groups concerning the feasibility of an employee-owned tire plant. It also facilitated the opening of communications between Kelly-Springfield and Project Impact. The study concluded that employee ownership of the facility would best address the issues of reemployment of the workers and stabilization of the local economy. The report urged the Tri-County Council to support Project Impact's efforts and underscored the need to give these stakeholders the responsibility and authority to carry the action so that the county and state government would not get irreversibly enmeshed in the planning and operations of the business. FUND also noted that there existed in the community sources of economic development and diversification which could help provide jobs until the new plant began production. It recommended that this source be nurtured by providing direction, encouragement and financial backing. The primary element of empowerment was in FUND's support of the concept of workers assuming responsibility for their vocational futures rather than allowing themselves to be victims of a corporate decision. The objectives of the Tri-County Council were served by providing a response to the crisis which would reduce the potential for greatly increased welfare claims and a severely depressed local economy (FUND 1987).

During FUND's 21 year history, there have been changes in the language used to describe its goals and methods, but not in the basic assumptions on which its work has been based. Concepts and methodologies have been added and refined as the focus of projects varied over the years. It has expanded its scope of expertise to include technical areas such as natural resource development. These changes have been part of a developmental process for FUND as it has matured in the real world of shifting funding priorities, its course dictated in part by the opportunities at hand. The common denominator in all of its projects has been the emphasis on facilitating the successful interaction of the individual and her or his community with the larger, more complex formal systems which confront {and often confound) the ordinary citizen. The case study presented in the next chapter demonstrates the methods by which that is accomplished.

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acres that surrounded the nearby town of Minturn. Colorado (in the Upper Eagle Valley sometimes referred to as the Meadow Mountain area), and was interested in developing that land into a downhill ski area also. The small communities of the valley, Minturn, Redcliff and Gilman, economically stable and socially well-integrated over several generations, were experiencing negative effects from the development in 1962 of Vail ski area and were apprehensive about further expansion. However, they were also anticipating the closure of the New Jersey Zinc Mine at Gilman, a major employer for area residents, a1ad so were interested in the recreation industry as a source of alternative employment (FUND 1975:2-6, 1986d: Appendix F).

Late in 1972, FUND obtained a contract to do a social description of these communities as part of Vail's required social impact statement. FUND associates moved into the area and began their observations with the physical environment, noting details about the location of homes, schools, businesses, health facilities, recreation areas, and roads, and related 'these human geographical features to the mountains and the river. Maps were drawn showing the relationship of various physical elements to each other. As these observations were being made, the staff also noted people's routines and gathering places, such as where and when people went to relax, do their shopping and use the laundromat. Associates then based their own movements on these patterns so as to provide opportunities for casual and unobtrusive conversation with individual residents. These conversations centered on what was going on in the community, what people did routinely and how they felt about topics being discussed. As areas of concern were identified, they were added to notes being taken or tapes being made following the conversation. and were pursued during subsequent conversations with other community members. As familiarity with staff members increased, discussions were directed more toward projected resort development and Vail. At this stage, the staff's presence in the area was explained as it came up in discussions, and interactions between staff and residents began to lean more toward informal interviewing, focusing on the community's social and economic functioning. Areas of interest included the nature of relationships between friends and family members and between the Hispanic and Anglo populations, concerns about education and health care, and people's feelings about working in Vail. The goal was to clarify people's usual way of handling problems, which included identifying natural caretakers and informal leaders, and to distinguish between difficulties that were easily managed and those that were causing real disruption in people's lives. Certain individuals were sought out for interviewing because of their association with local institutions such as schools, clubs health clinics and service agencies. Data for economic descriptions were obtained through discussions with business people in stores and people working for major employers such as the Gilman mine and resorts in Vail. Staff also interviewed people identified by VAI as playing an integral part in the projected economy. Census and employment data were gathered to provide statistical information on the area.

During reflection sessions. describers reviewed data with the aid of additional FUND associates acting as reflectors. In sorting through the actual language used by residents, themes and topics were discovered, and information was then organized around them. As these themes and topics were discussed and related to the experiences of the describers, the team generated a description of the physical, social and economic character of the communities, which were seen as one analytical unit. This description emphasized social and ideational components of the culture. To place the existing situation in historical perspective, settlement patterns of the Hispanic and Anglo populations were traced, noting similarities and differences between them.

The Hispanic culture was found to be firmly rooted in family relationships which provided the structure for their helping and communication networks. Families moved into the area primarily due to employment opportunities in mining. They became homeowners, putting down roots in the area, and developed systems of survival for health care, religion, self-education and recreation. These "natural systems" were based on family relationships and interactions and mutual trust which provided social behavior controls, allowing the social system to be largely self-governing. The family networks served to inform members both in and out of the area about available jobs, and the Hispanic

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During the decade just prior to FUND's research there, significant changes had occurred in the area. The development of Vail in 1962 had produced impacts which were predictive of future disruptions. When the recreation industry moved into the nearby Gore valley were Vail is located, land values there became inflated as a result of speculation. In 1967, Vail bought 3,000 acres surrounding Minturn, severely limiting the town's ability to expand although the population was growing in response to Vail's work force requirements. Inflationary land values spread into the Upper Eagle Valley, creating a situation in which the new generation of families could not afford to buy their own homes Anglos moved away; young Hispanic couples, consistent with cultural traditions, bought mobile homes and set up housekeeping on their parents' lots. As the inflationary trend continued, the cost of living rose until family survival depended on the primary wage earner, typically the husband, taking on a second job and/or the wife starting to work, disrupting traditional role patterns and routines of social interactions within families. In Hispanic families, this problem was especially prevalent because their members could secure only lower paying jobs, typically as laborers or maids, seemingly regardless of individual skills and capabilities.

Several problems resulted from the influx of people to the area because of development. Over an eight-year period, 2,367 people moved into the two valleys, more than doubling the population. These new residents plus the arrival of tourists produced significant

increases in congestion and traffic and changes in accessibility to traditional public recreation areas Less tangible effects included the stress incurred in dealing with large numbers of strangers in cultures where relationships have been more personal in nature.

Discussions between FUND associates and residents served dual purposes of supplying data on which they would base their report to VAI, and providing a forum for residents to become actively involved in planning. For example, parents in Minturn expressed much concern about the increase in automobile traffic in relation to the safety of their children and teenagers, for whom bicycling was a continuous activity. Adults were also at risk because they tended to walk rather than drive when they went shopping or to visit family and neighbors. Observation revealed that most of the traffic was caused by people just passing through town, not only creating difficulties for residents, but also not contributing to the local economy by stopping to shop or use facilities in Minturn. Several alternatives were examined with residents to address the issue, including building bicycle paths in town. The solution chosen by participants in these discussions was to use land across the river from the present road to build a new road completely bypassing the town. This solution was incorporated into FUND's recommendations to VAI.

Local and county governments were ill-equipped to deal with changes of this magnitude. There was no master plan in place to guide the rate and direction of growth according to locally determined goals and objectives. Instead, decisions were being made piecemeal in response to specific request of developers. Neither VAI nor the Forest Service, in its permit issuing process had anticipated the impact on the quality of life of these residential communities. FUND listened as people talked about their anxieties and fears concerning the results of development, and their anger that decisions about their community were being made by outsiders. In discussions with these outsider decision-makers, it became clear that they were not aware nor did they understand residents' concerns. Forest Service personnel despite living in the communities, were unaware of these feelings and issues because they were not a part of the informal networks where they were being discussed (FUND 1973a: Appendix A, 1973b:12-14, 1975:4-6).

FUND was present in the community for one month during the research phase. Based on the description they formulated during this time, FUND associates produced a report for Vail containing 19 recommendations. It emphasized the need to view the several communities as a single human ecological unit in a delicate balance, and called upon the Forest Service to make a commitment to preserve that balance. It also stated that the recommendations should be addressed in a coordinated way with community members, the Forest Service and the County Planning Office. The report emphasized the value of a stable, productive community and the dangers of destroying the self-sustaining culture which still existed but which was at risk of being seriously undermined. Specifically, FUND predicted that all or most of the following events would occur if there were no social/economic implementation plan. There would be a breakdown in the family system, in trust relationships within communities and in the employment caretaker system; massive unemployment would ensue, and the resident workforce would be hostile. Erratic building land congestion would create aesthetic eyesores. Opportunism and racial

and cultural separatism would become prevalent (FUND 1973a:ll-l4). FUND stressed that prevention would be much less costly than treating problems which had become serious, and suggested that VAI had an opportunity to " ...set a national precedent in promoting human ecology as apriority element in positive growth" (FUND 1973a:15).

To seize this opportunity, FUND recommended that VAI do the following. 1) Forgo plans to develop the Minturn-Redcliff valley floor as a resort area due to the predicted high degree of disruption to the existing residential communities. 2) Work closely with residents to develop employment options for them and at the same time provide a stable, dependable residential work force for VAI. 3) Develop cooperatives to maintain a reasonable standard of living in the valley. 4) Isolate Minturn from resort traffic by building a bypass for the local highway across the river from town. 5) Locate ski lifts outside the physical limits of Minturn. 6) Modify housing development plans to minimize "horizontal congestion" (buildings crowded together on ground level) and "vertical congestion"' (mid-rise or high-rise buildings). 7) Develop land use plans to recapture open space and decongest the residential sections of Minturn. 8) Involve both Anglo and Hispanic residents in land use planning. 9) Set social and economic goals which include full participation of residents, a systems approach to operations planning and the availability of VAI resources to help resolve crises associated with rapid development. 10) Facilitate greater participation by residents in systematic planning by making planning projections visible to them. 11) Coordinate planning with the informal political network, including patriarchs, young businessmen, church leaders and female market caretakers. 12) Facilitate entrepreneurship and career development in the local population. 13) Hold Forest Service hearings concerning use permits in Minturn and Redcliff and help Forest Service personnel contact individuals in family networks. 14) Address the issue of racism in VAI's organization and in its policies with residents. 15) Address the underemployment (employment without regard for an employee's talents and potential) of Hispanics. 16) Consider developing a summer recreation program which is oriented to the cultural history of the area. 17) Work with the public school system to develop an experientially based education program to provide training relevant to employment in the recreation and resort industry. 18) Work with parents and students to develop a leadership program for promising students in the school system. 19) Help residents to develop a consumer owned and operated preventative health care system (FUND 1973a: 1-10).

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scarce housing. FUND's suggestion was to includle in the Forest Service use permit a requirement for the developer, Vail, to provide residential employee housing, whose cost was set to be compatible with wages. Employment issues concerned underemployment and the anticipated employment needs of miners due to the closing of the New Jersey Zinc Mine, which was expected sometime between 1975 and 1977. FUND proposed that the use permit require developers to establish employment policies which would attend to the manpower potential among residents, paving the way for communities to plan for and implement manpower conversion programs. Recreation issues center around the impact of development and crowds of tourists on traditional resident activities such as hiking,

hunting, fishing, rafting and picnicking. It was suggested that developers be required to build recreational facilities for employees at the development site, and that accessibility to publicly owned land be maintained, again through the permitting process. The issue of cultural growth concerns the need to maintain a physical separation between the residential communities and the ski area itself in order to maintain the communities' cultural integrity. FUND suggested that some alternative use of the Meadow Mountain area be found which would be consistent with that goal

In this report, FUND makes the assumption that development would probably continue in the area, with attendant negative impacts, regardless of whether the Forest Service granted a permit for Beaver Creek. What was unknown, FUND reasoned, was the degree of negative impact, which would be determined by the quality and extent of community organization and of resident involvement with developers and the county in comprehensive planning. With these factors in mind, FUND considered three potential development alternatives: the development of the public lands at Beaver Creek, no development of these public lands, but assuming development of private land at Meadow Mountain and/or Beaver Creek, and development of both public and private land. FUND's conclusion was that the only alternative which would provide a positive direction for the residential communities was the first, because Forest Service involvement would interject a control mechanism to guarantee that citizen interests were addressed (FUND 1975:13-27).

In January 1974 the Forest Service filed its Draft Environmental Statement with the Council on Environmental Quality, then in August 1974 it filed the Final Environmental Statement. During the next several years there were a series of delays in the approval process including a change in governors. In the Environmental Analysis Report (EAR), the Forest Service document in which the permit is finally granted. there is a summary of events which carries a decidedly weary tone when referring to "...extensive and unusual participation by State agencies, local governmental agencies, and the public" (1976:85). The EAR contains requirements based on all of FUND's four areas of concern described above, and was cause for celebration among FUND staff and community members.

FUND continued its involvement in the area over the next two years via periodic consultation with the Manpower Training and Development Committee. This task force was composed of representatives of Colorado Mountain College, the Colorado Division of Employment, Vail, a county planner and the Forest Service. plus the mayor of Redcliff, and Bob Gallegos, a resident of Minturn. The committee was charged with implementing FUND's recommendations concerning expanding employment options in the area. It sought and secured funding for a career conversion research project which was carried out under FUND's direction over a period of six-months. Data were gathered on jobs available in the area and on the obstacles and enabling factors to making a career change for people in the Hispanic community. In December 1978, a two-year Manpower Training and Deve1opment program was undertaken by Colorado Mountain College to continue working on this issue.

Bob Gallegos is an example of an individual who became empowered during the course of a project. He had been a meat cutter when FUND began its initial research phase, and became involved in the process of description. He was an informal leader in the community and a primary link into one of the local networks. He worked on several subsequent projects with FUND and now runs his own construction business in Minturn. During the Beaver Creek project, he directed a grant-sponsored project focused on the employment of Hispanic youths and a local oral history project involving high school students.

The significance of the Beaver Creek project lies in three areas, the first being its duration and the range of issues addressed. The second area is its success on both levels defined by FUND as important: the resolution of concrete problems and the facilitation of citizen empowerment. In addition to the development of the career conversion program, eighteen minority businesses were established after the Gilman mine was closed in December 1978. The bypass desired by the residents of Minturn was built, and in a five million dollar land deal the Forest Service bought Meadow Mountain from VAI to guard against future disruptive land use. The supervisor of the National Forest involved in the project reported that FUND was instrumental in the land purchase process and in getting the ski area site changed from Meadow Mountain to Beaver Creek, which in his opinion saved Minturn from cultural annihilation (FUND 1986e). The third area of significance concerns the institutionalization of the process of citizen participation. The Beaver Creek project was the first instance of social impact mitigations being included in a Forest Service permit, and the Discovery Process was later integrated into Forest Service regulations (Preister and Kent 1981). It seems that the Forest Service was impressed with the quality and value of FUND's work, considering the amount of work FUND has done for the agency since this project.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The data reported in Chapters IV and V demonstrate breadth of applications in which FUND concepts and methods been used. FUND associates operate in several roles within their projects. As researchers, they focus on describing aspects of communities which are directly relevant to the task at hand. They have developed a streamlined approach to fieldwork which is tailored to the demands of the community description marketplace. Corporations simply wouldn't pay for exhaustive, traditional research. Frequently, FUND staff members function as brokers, translating information into language understood by the other side, carrying it back and forth until people are able to talk directly with each other, and in the process, educating both sides about the other. They take an advocacy role in a general ways by talking about empowerment issues and by teaching people to advocate for themselves. In the present phase of their development, they appear to be taking on a new role which could be in conflict with their historical dedication to the self-definition of solutions. In emphasizing entrepreneurship as the way to combat the dissolution of the middle class, they begin to sound like change agents, with their own agenda for what people need to do to deal effectively with their issues. This is a relatively new chapter in their story, so their commitment to this approach is yet to be known. Judging by previous transformations, if it doesn't work, they will find another approach that will. They have proved themselves to be survivors in the applied social science marketplace.

The emphasis FUND places on the empowerment of individuals is fairly consistent, regardless of the context of the projects in other words, it does not appear that this ideal has been forfeited as FUND has realigned its sights, in the interest of its own survival, to business interests. Reinterpreting the issue of citizen power in order to sway businesses to pay attention to citizen interests has been an adaptation to diminishing funding. FUND's arguments concerning citizen power may also reflect an actual change in resident activism. Even if the risks to businesses are not as great as the literature warns, FUND's work with people in communities appears to be mutually beneficial to both citizens and project proponents. Selling the idea of facilitating citizen participation by appealing to the self-interest of business and government is a practical approach which seems based on the realities of what primarily drives management decisions. This external rationale overlays a philosophical commitment to people's inherent rights to self-determination, a resistance to giving in to the oppression of formal systems and a wish to effect an influence on broad societal trends which they judge to be dangerous.

FUND's approach to activating meaningful citizen participation is applicable to work being done by applied anthropologists in a variety of situations. Their durability seems related to their skill in adapting to an environment of diminishing funding. They have done this by streamlining their research techniques, by learning to market themselves to private business and by redefining what they do to appeal to the self-

interest of change agents. However, it is not clear how effective they are in achieving their continuing goal of the empowerment of individuals, and how that weighs out in relation to their goal of surviving as independent social researchers. Given the amount of time they must spend in securing and carrying out their projects, it is unlikely that they will develop any systematic method of evaluating their results. This could be done, however, by integrating their techniques into a larger-scale research project in which relevant criteria for empowerment would be defined and follow-up data would be gathered and analyzed. With adequate evaluation and documentation, FUND's approach could be an important contribution to the body of methodological techniques available to applied anthropologists who are concerned with increasing citizen participation in the planning process.

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