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ORGANIZING THE POOR

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One area of interest in poverty in Urban America has focused attention on the urban poor and their participation. A major consideration about the problem has been the view that poverty is a pervasive condition and that it can be a determinant of behavior. The notion of a "culture of poverty"¹ and a "welfare syndrome" was an expression of this viewpoint indicating poverty is a way of life. A second viewpoint suggests the urban poor are victims of urban society and are therefore restricted from meaningful participation.² This viewpoint is in contrast to a "culture of poverty", but it does indicate that poor people are confronted with a number of obstacles in maintaining themselves in society. Given the social and economic constraints on the poor, such as lack of income and opportunities, it should come as no surprise if they can't compete with other segments of society. The cross pressures on the poor make it difficult for them to involve themselves in societal structures in a traditional manner. Although it might not resemble a traditional model, the form of participation that develops among poor people might occur through a process that is compatible with the people who share common problems. In this research, we will provide a case study of how one group of poor black people mobilized themselves around common problems and observe the nature of their participation.

The Near North Welfare Rights Organization (NNWRO) is an illustration of how one segment of poor people in a large metropolitan area attempt to become a viable entity of their city. Throughout the investigation, we will be interested in how the group used the ethnic variable as a theme for mobilization. It is a study of poor people and welfare rights, but in this case, it is the common ethnic background---a black experience---that is used as a unifying bond instead of the conditions of poverty. For this minority group, ethnicity becomes a strength and theme for organization as it implies a common experience and background that transcends problems of poverty. It is a tool that can be used to overcome various obstacles as the group attempts to normalize their life situation in some very abnormal situations. In addition, the concern about ethnic problems and mi-

nority group problems with society at this time is more useful as a coalescing force than the diverse problems of poverty. S.M. Miller and Frank Riessman³ are two observers who support the use of the ethnic factor as a tool for mobilizing low income minorities to social action. They argue there are possibilities for large scale politicalization of the ethnic poor because of the interweaving of class factors with ethnic issues. NNWRO does not fulfill the predictions about large scale politicalization, but the organization does give us some indications how ethnicity can be utilized in the mobilization process.

Character of the Organization

Originally, NNWRO was to be an organization for the low income people who lived in the area known as the Near Northside. While the area includes low income whites, blacks and Spanish-speaking persons, the largest response to the organization was the black population in the public housing project. A number of reasons seem to account for the response of these tenants to the formation of the organization. First, the early organizers were residents of the project and had a vested interest in the locality. More important, perhaps, the housing project was the most stable housing in the area, particularly for blacks who had difficulty finding other low income housing. The density of this population and the stability it provided tended to overpower the other people in the area.

In this respect, the tenants in the housing project provided a captive group for the formation of the organization. The members and potential members were quite visible as they were neighbors. The organizers also lived in the complex and shared common problems with their neighbors. This arrangement made the organization accessible for the residents of the project and perhaps discouraged others from participation. However, there was some mystery about the origin of NNWRO as other attempts to organize people in the project had failed. A review of the origin and some of the initial activities of the group can help to provide a picture of the character of the organization.

Charismatic Origin

The formation of NNWRO was characterized by an obscure beginning, for no one has been able to recall when the group actually began. However, there are two accounts of the initiation of the group in the community. One story relates an evolutionary process as two of the early members recall:

....a number of us had been meeting in each others homes to talk about problems with the public aid office and we were also talking about the bad conditions in the project....

The second account of the origin relates the experience of the two community workers who were involved with NNWRO in the beginning and recognized the need for some collective response to problems in the community. These two persons are reported to be responsible for stimulating interest in the formation of an organization. One worker, a woman who had lived in the housing project, had a good rapport with many of the people who lived in the area. She boasted of her knowledge about the community, the operation of the social agencies and housing conditions because:

....I raised my children in the project and I have been a client of the agencies including public aid and I know what they can do....

Although it is difficult to determine when the organization began, the person who was to emerge as the leader was a woman, Susie B., who had been involved with the community worker and present at the early meetings that were held in the housing project. Susie B. was described by many people as a "natural leader", therefore, it was not a surprise when she became leader of the organization. She had "grown up" in this area of the city and had been involved in a number of "community minded" organizations, yet, prior to NNWRO, she had never been in a leadership role. Susie B. considered herself to be well abreast of problems in the community. She was known

to deliver fiery speeches that aroused excitement in people, but Susie was also an abrasive person who tended to belittle her audience.

Nonetheless, Susie was able to deliver some concrete examples of organizing potential, for in less than two weeks the organization was known throughout the community. Soon after, the group received city-wide attention through T.V. interviews and newscasts. Within two weeks of the time Susie became leader of the organization, she had formed a cadre of women, who like herself, had experience in "activists" groups. These women made up an elite group within the organization that served as a bulwark. They developed strategies for the organization and recruited members to participate in the organization. It was through this group that the general membership was involved in the activities of NNWRO. Since the leader devoted a great deal of time publicizing the group in the community at large, the routine of the organization was shared with these faithful disciples.

Membership and Actions

In the initial stage of NNWRO, the role of the indigenous membership was diffused because there was no clear direction set by the leadership. The inhabitants of the community were attracted to the organization, because it had not only raised issues that concerned them, i.e., public welfare, accountability of government agencies, but it also afforded them the opportunity to participate in a structure without too much effort. The inclusive nature of the organization, although restrictive to the larger public, was opened to these people in such a manner that it was easy to "check the group out." Due to the close proximity of the residents in the housing project, people were able to know about the activities of the organization without attending regular meetings. Furthermore, the leadership were their friends and neighbors, thereby giving them a closer view of the organization. The structure of this organization also opened an informal arrangement whereby persons could either participate with the group, or remain on the periphery and maintain communication.

The action that transpired in the beginning phase of

NNWRO was the development of a program to take into account the immediate concerns of the constituency---public welfare---and attempt to show the ramifications of the problem for long range objectives. What happened in this process became a stimulant for a form of citizen participation in a poverty community. Essentially, the program that developed was a two step plan; it first attempted to involve the general membership in a group action around the concern of public welfare, and then to mobilize them around the larger concern of a community structure as a more viable force. The initial action took the form of an advocacy group for public assistance and connected with this action was mobilization of the organization around issues of public welfare. For example, the group set up a picket around the public assistance office to demand better services. Another group action involved the development of alliances with black professionals who were concerned about problems of the urban poor. Consequently, the activity of the group led to participation with black social workers in a cooperative effort.

Significance of Development

The significance of the Near North Welfare Rights Organization is the development of an organizational structure within an urban poor community; to confront problems of poverty at a local level; and, to seek redress of grievances against society. To a large extent, this group is typical of the many organizations that utilize the idea of "participatory democracy" as a philosophy to express some manner of citizen participation. NNWRO embraces this principle, which stresses community involvement, but modifies its approach in the development of the organization. First, NNWRO is an indigenous organization, composed of only people who reside in the housing project, a contrast to the "outside agent" as the catalyst for the organizational structure. Generally, such organizations develop by design, around specific issues and usually definite goals.⁵ NNWRO had a vague beginning, but received a favorable response by the inhabitants of the community.

Several elements influenced the formation of NNWRO as an organization and contributed to the manner in which constituency participated. The charismatic beginning of

NNWRO played a significant role in the formation of the organization because it provided a coalescing effect upon the community. Essentially, this quality helped to bring together a social order in a rather dispersed population. Charisma generally viewed as a disruptive force, is associated with an individual personality---a gift of grace---but it can also conserve and maintain social order.⁶ In this situation, charismatic power influenced the organization in two ways: 1) individual charisma; and 2) institutional charisma. Clearly, the leader was endowed with certain qualities that could be explained as charismatic; for example, her abrasive manner would seem to "turn anyone off," yet she acquired followers. The cadre of women became the disciples of the leader. Another character of the charismatic domination that seems more encompassing, however, is institutional charisma as it surpasses the individual personality. This form of charisma is attached to the structure or organization; therefore, one is not "spellbound" by the personality, but responds to vague and powerful nimbus authority of the entire institution.⁷

Hence, the constituency's participation was a response to the believed potential of an organization to solve their problem because institutional charisma does not depend upon the individual personality, power is invested in the institution. The organization, in this illustration, was managed by the cadre, so the inhabitants became attached to the organizational structure as a resolution to their problems. While the inhabitants shared similar conditions of oppression, they did not look to an individual for solace---it was the mystical character of the organization. Institutional charisma when linked with the ethnic bond was crucial in blending the varying viewpoints and different lifestyles of individuals without threatening individuality. Participation in NNWRO offered its members the opportunity to confront mutual problems as a collectivity. In this sense, the charismatic nature of the organization brought order to the community.

A third aspect of the charismatic authority in this illustration is that it had the tendency to "sweep" people along with the thrust of those involved in the charismatic domination. One does not have to be awed by the

spirit of charisma, but only follow the movement because it seems to be the logical course at that time. A number of persons, for example, responded to the organization because of their friends or neighbors. Several persons joined because it was developed by blacks, although they were not particularly locked into an ideological viewpoint. These informal interactions among the tenants made it easier for them to know about the organization without becoming diligent members. Through these informal arrangements, people were able to keep in contact with NNWRO without attending regular meetings.

NNWRO in its development, presents a different approach to the formation of a community organization. First, the organizers are found in the ranks of the community, rather than an outside professional person. Second, the specialist-client relationship that is frequently used with welfare institutions is replaced by a relationship that is based on ethnic group solidarity.

There was a decrease in the formal constraints of the group, while emphasis was placed on shared common experiences of oppression as the binding force for the organization. This commitment to the organization tends to be linked with ethnicity, common life style, and residence in the housing project. Not only did members of the organization share these qualities, the organizers were also residents of the housing complex. This type of closeness reduced the social distance between the leadership and membership, but it also made accessible an informal channel of communication that may not have existed otherwise. The relative ease of conversation between members of the organization and recruits (neighbors) provided some advantage for the growth of the organization.

Ideology and Organizing Strategy

The strategy used by the leadership in building an ideology was to attack the services provided for the community as part of the oppressive system. The two areas to receive strong criticism were the community-oriented programs under governmental sponsorship, i.e., OEO, city programs, and the traditional social agencies. Generally, the criticism of these institutions related to

their lack of effectiveness in the community; they were not intended to help the community. Indeed, these programs were only pacification devices as it was said they had no community people involved in these programs. But, not only were these institutions insensitive to needs of a poor community, they were also linked with discrimination of black people. The attempt of the leaders in these accusations was to attack the existing social order, to promote group interests of NNWRO. The membership became more responsive when the social agencies and caseworkers were indicted as a part of an "oppressive system;" there was an increase in the attendance at meetings and committees were developed to deal with specific problems.

The leader stated that social agencies were in part responsible for conditions in the community, because they only wanted to deal with individual problems rather than the issues that concerned the entire community. "These agencies, it was further contended, wanted the inhabitants of the community to remain apolitical; the segmented approach to services in the community provided the insurance that no meaningful organization would develop. Meanwhile, it was held that agencies were tied to the political structure and were an integral part of the society that was responsible for the oppression.

Essentially, the message to be conveyed to the group was: although the community is reported to have a lack of productivity---in a society that stresses productivity---they have a right to more benefits from that society. However, these benefits can only be acquired through mass participation of the people in an organizational structure.

Ethnicity, which was early used as a "mobilizing tool" by the leaders, also set up the basis for the ideology of the group. The organizers recognized that the ethnic factor was a common bond for people in the community as well as a pervasive problem in the lives of the constituency. Although class factors were intimately and intricately related to the circumstances of the people, the ethnic variable was utilized as the theme for the organization. Racial oppression was viewed

as the most detrimental problem, so, while the concern about poverty was dispersed throughout the activities of the group, the concern about an ethnic identity became the focal point. Hence, the program for NNWRO was to assist "black people who are in need of help," rather than to help "poor black people." For NNWRO, this approach represented a continuity of concern that was linked to a common background that was a stronger bond than the service activities.

The constituency, although not as sophisticated as the leaders, recognized racial oppression as one source of their problems and therefore sanctioned the development of the group as an ethnic organization. The inhabitants conspicuously shared conditions of poverty, but the bond of "blackness," a more universal dimension of oppression, presented the unifying element for the group. Because of this belief, racism was lifted as the broader problem for concern. The activities of the group focused on solidarity of the community as an ethnic group for protection, with particular interest given to the problems of poverty in the locality.

The issue of race was clearly explicated in meetings as illustrated in a discussion about conditions in the community:

....black people have got to start
taking care of their own business,
'cause we are the only ones to know
what we need and we don't need no
white folks telling us what to do....

Susie constantly reminded the group of their inferior position in the social order and underscored the relationship of that position to the fact of ethnic background. "We know things are bad because we are black." She further confronted the group about their shortcomings and how they were related to their impoverished conditions.

Both racial discrimination and poverty were considered to be detrimental forces in the community, but singularly these conditions were not intolerable to people in the community. That is, certain arrangements had been

made to cope with racial discrimination as well as for basic essentials, such as food, shelter, and clothing. When the constituency began to see these two conditions as interrelated in their problems, however, it provided a stimulus for mobilization. One member commented:

....it is bad enough to be poor, but
to be black and poor makes things
that much worse, so I am for anything
that is going to help the situation....

Ethnicity as a Social Network

While the program strategy did not present a new approach to organizing, the manner in which ethnicity was utilized as a common bond---both the internal structure and outside linkages---set up a different arrangement for the development of a social network. An earlier affiliation with a black social agency located in the community, provided an alliance that reached outside of the local community. This agency, a professional group, shared a common concern about ethnic solidarity, with particular interest in the area of the black poor. Because of this common concern, the agency had little difficulty in cooperating with the welfare rights group. Not only did the group support NNWRO, they provided a meeting place for the group and encouraged their clients who received public assistance to join the welfare rights organization.

So, in contrast to the limiting aspects of an inclusive order, ethnicity opened up a network for NNWRO through which their problems could be viewed by a larger audience of black people in order to solicit cooperation with their activities. Ultimately, this network would connect the group with other institutions because the black professionals were very intricately involved in these structures through employment and affiliations. The membership of these black associations had developed such a complex network of interlocking functions in both the traditional structures and ethnic organizations that it is difficult to determine the influence that could be used. For example, the director

of the agency was a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association of Social Workers as well as involved with the Association of Black Social Workers (ABSW).⁸ Meanwhile, the president of the local chapter of ABSW was a member of the budget committee of a city-wide agency that serves as a source of funding for a number of social agencies including the black agency. Another link in this "black network" was that a great many of the membership were employed in public welfare agencies and therefore provided some inside contact with the structure.

NNWRO and Alliances

Although the network was a complicated one, the experience had great potential for the group because it exemplified their idea of ethnic solidarity. The ethnic alliances were beneficial to the welfare rights group in several ways. Cooperation with the black agency provided the group with a facility for meetings and accessibility to view a professional group at work in a manner that had not existed before. Further, the network that was opened to this lower class group afforded them the opportunity to get a broader view of society. Essentially, this experience provided the group with an entry into the "system" that would not have existed otherwise. Through these supportive efforts the group also became a recognized entity in the community and was treated with deference.

The collaboration of NNWRO, a lower class group, with the professionals, a middle class group, presents an illustration of a cooperative effort that cut across class lines. The group tended to focus on activities to highlight an emerging race consciousness, a product of a common oppression. In a strange sort of way, this isolation provided strength for the organization, for ethnicity was so highly involved in the formation that it was easy to determine who could make trouble for the organization in its day to day operation. To introduce change or insight into the organization, one would almost have to be a member of the ethnic group.

Consequences: Constraints and Potential

The formation of inclusive ethnic networks as part of a mobilizing process is not without problems. The "enforced closeness" of living in a housing project can also develop a point of tension. Ethnic ties and localism contributed to discontent and rivalry among the membership of the organization. Tenants in the project seemingly were involved with NNWRO because they believed that in some way it would make life easier for them. On the other hand, these tenants were seeking a peaceful existence that would not involve their total styles of living. While they shared common ethnic backgrounds, they wanted to sustain some privacy in their day to day activities and maintain individuality. Essentially, the general constituency did not want to be overburdened by the organization nor did they want to relate to all of the tenants on an intimate and personal basis. They saw ethnic solidarity as a resolution to one problem, but it also placed restrictions on individuality. To a large extent, tenants were suspicious of people they did not know and were cautious about the nature of their interactions. Two women conversing about this problem seem to be typical examples of how ethnicity was used as a constraint by the members of the organization.

...honey, you have to be careful what you do and say around here, cause, you know sometimes you can't trust your own people. It's a shame, but it's the truth....

Another tenant makes a similar comment to indicate the strain ethnicity can place on one's involvement.

...you do have to be careful about what you do. I go along with them (NNWRO) up to a point because they do help. But you still have to be careful....

If not carefully considered, the ethnic variable, particularly the "enforced closeness" of a captive group like the residents of a housing project can undermine

an organization

The shrewd leadership of NNWRO was able to avert many of these problems, but in some ways, this elite group was also constrained by the organization. An official political power base in the housing project seemed to have been their aspiration, while the membership seemed to be more concerned about day to day matters. The conflict was one of a sophisticated leadership with perceptive foresight vs. a complacent constituency. Both segments of the organization were locked in this ethnic group and therefore, a compromise had to be negotiated. Although a compatible agreement was made, the ethnic factor was also used as a barrier to organizing these poor people.

A positive consequence of the ethnic variable as utilized in this study is that it promotes a different kind of relationship between lower class blacks and middle class black professionals. In this new relationship, both segments of the racial group have a rather distinct identity, while they also share the common bond of ethnicity. In this arrangement, the two groups may cooperate around common problems when possible and be able to recognize their differences. The middle class group, of course, is in a better position in terms of the larger society, yet this arrangement can open up different forms of interaction. Lower class people in some instances were able to obtain a few jobs and positions in the agencies and some other positions, but this kind of interaction was not harmful to NNWRO because the leadership did not particularly want to work as case aide or community aides. Distinctions between professional and nonprofessional was clearly evident, however, there was a disruption of the old traditional specialist-client relationship. NNWRO, then, provided a more worthwhile identity for these poor black people. Black professionals were involved with the organization, but not in a leadership capacity. They had to interact in accord with guidelines established by NNWRO. While there was some breakdown in terms of class, this point seems to have been arbitrarily determined. Nevertheless, at this point, only persons who were a part of the organization could participate in the decision making process.

Implication of Ethnic Cooperation

For the urban black, ethnicity becomes a strategy for mobilization, and to some degree, a link to sustain the organization in the face of a common oppression. While some observers suggest that ethnicity may be utilized as a political force for urban minorities in this illustration the politicization of "ethnicity" was expressed at different levels: the leadership grasped the political potential, while the constituency embraced ethnicity at another level; yet, the idea of common racial background---"black experience"---was an important stimulant to the group.

The use of ethnic coalitions provide a number of possibilities for the urban black population. First, it provides an opportunity for class cooperation among blacks. For NNWRO, the alliance provided an entre for lower class blacks to the "system" and a larger network for organizational affiliations. Meanwhile, black professionals were able to relate to their lower class brethren on a meaningful level, that cut across class boundaries in search for a common ethnic identity. Race, as one member of NNWRO stated, "was something that everyone could relate to." The black professional, on the other side, manifests allegiance to his people. As one person expressed in a meeting with NNWRO:

....we may not be as black as we
want to be, but we are blacker than
we used to be and not as black as
we are going to be....

Thus, it appears that the "blackness" or identity the people were seeking was something to be shared mutually irrespective of class affiliation. The strength for such a collaborative effort, however, rests on the ability of the different groups to maintain separate identities although they share common problems.

This type of cooperation begins to question some earlier ideas about the conflict between lower class and middle class groups working together on a common problem. Such a development suggests that, maybe Frazier's positing a black bourgeoisie, who is so detached from their lower class counterpart that they share no mutual bond, is no longer as appropriate. Similarly,

Rainwater⁹ states that the black and white middle class group performs the mediator role and thereby maintains the lower class in their lowly ascribed caste status. While the limited evidence with NNWRO does not contradict these earlier writers, it does suggest that middle class blacks and lower class blacks do share some common problems and that the bond of ethnicity cannot be dismissed.

Ethnicity was used as a bond for solidarity because of the inclusive structure of the group. This ethnic solidarity had practical application for the organization for several reasons: 1) the population of the community was black; 2) the ethnic factor provided an organizing strategy against a racist society; 3) the ethnic factor set limits for the group, yet permitted linkages with similar groups, i.e., black ideological groups, black professionals. The common ethnicity involved shared understandings and beliefs that were common to the population. It suggested a shared experience---a "black experience"---that is in some way unique to this group of people and to some extent determines their perception of the society in which they live. This collective identity in this illustration provided a basis for organization.

Conclusions

The Near North Welfare Rights Organization is a study of how ethnicity is used as a tool for mobilization among a low income black population. A guiding question that seems to permeate the case of organizing among the poor is: Given the constraints of such a constricted group, such as minimal resources and unsophisticated population, how does one begin to develop an organization? For this group ethnicity, life styles and residency are intricately related and together provide a stimulant for an organization. The shrewd insights of the organizers played a crucial role in the mobilization process as they were able to recognize how the ethnic variable could be used as a unifying theme. Tenants of the housing development shared this viewpoint and therefore sanctioned the formation of such an organization as a solution to common problems. An ethnic organization,

it was believed, served more utility than an organization that was only concerned with depressing issues of poverty. The idea of a common oppression resulting from racial biases was insufficient to make people cooperate, although they had different life styles.

Ethnicity becomes another force in the development of organizational structures with urban poor minorities because these communities are largely populated by one ethnic group. For our population, the ethnic variable provided an additional bond for the community as a tool for mobilizing against an oppressive---racist---society. While poverty was a pervasive problem, only when linked with ethnicity the inhabitant saw the need for some collective response to problems. More significant perhaps, the focus on the aspect of ethnic solidarity brought about alliances with other black organizations that shared similar viewpoints about the importance of ethnic identity. This collaboration tended to elevate the problem of poverty to a larger concern of racial oppression, with the concern of poverty dispersed throughout the activities of the organization. In addition, the alliance suggests a role for a community institution in response to the development of indigenous groups in poor communities. In this situation, the social agency provides a model for interaction; the agency provided space for meeting---a concrete service; the agency provided moral support---a "cushion effect" for the inhabitants, to circumvent the despair and hopelessness associated with impoverished communities. The involvement with black professionals reinforced the idea of ethnic solidarity, and allowed this lower class group a view of professionals at work. Such coalitions as witnessed in this experience, can strengthen the organizational potential and provide a broader exposure for the lower class.

This utilization of ethnic alliances has implications beyond this study, for other groups may be afforded contact with larger societal structures via local structures. Miller and Riessman believe there are real possibilities for larger scale politicalization of the ethnic poor because of interweaving of class factors with ethnic issues. They contend that the racial-ethnic factor will cement solidarity of groups toward political

mobilization. The possibility of this occurrence seems plausible; however, the attempt of NNWRO to develop a para-political structure was met with resistance by the constituency. The response of the welfare rights group to this idea is a complicated one and difficult to interpret. Does it mean that the group is not interested in the political aspect of the problem; or, does it mean that overt involvement in such an endeavor is viewed as too risky, i.e., cause more trouble, produce frustration.

The major constraint to the utilization of ethnic solidarity in the approach to problems is that it tends to polarize other ethnic groups. As a result of polarization, the problems may be forced to remain on a local level when the resolution to the problem is outside the locality. Another problem related to an inclusive order is that perceptions of problems tends to become narrow and one loses sight of the larger picture, a particular precaution for the poor, who may not have sight of long range objectives. The danger of exploitation of ethnicity is eminent with focus on ideological viewpoints in spite of ultimate objectives.

The development of the Near North Welfare Rights Organization presents a challenge to the traditional specialist-client relationship in its formation, because both roles are acted out by the inhabitants of the community. This phenomenon is of particular interest in the discussion of urban poverty as it is generally characterized--- a dependent relationship. Usually, there is an outside source that administers "needed services" to the urban poor; however, NNWRO, in their experience, contradicts this practice, and they then develop their own mechanism and determine their own priorities. Although the objectives of the group are not always clear, it implies that this population is not a docile group, and when certain situations occur, they are able to mobilize themselves in an attempt to confront the obstacles. While the response of the group may not be the most appropriate or effective, it gives one an indication that it is in some way related to their experiences, life style and perhaps, culture. This aspect of poverty is important for the understanding of the ramifications of the problem; the response, i.e., resignation, appears to be apathetic,

but is based on experience. This experience of "organizing the poor" illuminates what a group with little resources can do in a collective endeavor at a local level in spite of the limitations.

FOOTNOTES

1. The "Culture of Poverty" as discussed here, is not limited to the work of Oscar Lewis. It is intended to include those observers who generally view the poor as an apathetic group who are unable to maintain themselves as an integral part of society due to their incompetency. For an elaboration of this viewpoint, see Charles A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
2. Pamela Roby, The Poverty Establishment, pp. 23-25.
3. S.M. Miller and Frank Riessman, Social Class and Social Policy, New York: Basic Books, 1968.
4. The names of persons and places used in the study have been disguised.
5. See, for example, Murray Ross, Community Organization: Theory Principle and Practice, for a social welfare approach to this process. Saul Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals, is a more radical approach to community organization. For a discussion of a radical approach to organizing in poor communities, see Paul Bullock, "On Organizing the Poor", Dissent, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 65-76 (Jan.-Feb., 1968).
6. Edward Shils, "Charisma Order and Status," American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, p. 200, (April, 1965).
7. Shils, op. cit., p. 206.
8. For a discussion of a recent trend among black social workers, see Andrew Billingsley and Jeanne Giovannoni, Children of the Storm: Black Children and American Child Welfare.
9. Lee Rainwater, Behind Ghetto Walls, pp. 6-8.