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Adriana Rosas

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BREAKING THE BE NICE RULE: DIRECT ACTION COMMUNITY
ORGANIZING

by

Adriana Rosas

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BREAKING THE BE NICE RULE: DIRECT ACTION COMMUNITY
ORGANIZING

Adriana Rosas, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 2007

Focusing on the Kalamazoo Homeless Action Network (KHAN), this thesis explores the dynamics of transformation in community organizing, and the crucial and often complicated role of anger in that process. Current Anthropological literature on the topic of resistance and poverty leaves unexamined the micropolitics of individuals' transformation as they become civically engaged as well as the laborious organizing techniques culminating in such events that lead to social change and individual empowerment. I will contribute to the literature on poverty and resistance by examining the 'behind-the-scenes' dimensions of direct action community organizing that influence individual and social transformation.   Through this examination I demonstrate that social change does not happen through spontaneous epiphanies. Rather, there is a deliberate discipline through which leaders identify issues, build power, develop relationships, and identify their self-interest to create change. To examine the dynamics of transformation and the role of anger open ended interviews were conducted to collect life stories of KHAN leaders as well as the core Anthropological method of participant observation as described by Bernard (2002).

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"1664: Slave owners gave a great deal of attention to the education and training of the ideal slave. In general, there were five steps in molding the character of a slave: strict discipline, a sense of his own inferiority, belief in the master's superiority, acceptance of the master's standards and a deep sense of his own helplessness and dependence" (Community Voices 2007: 7).

Focusing on the Kalamazoo Homeless Action Network (KHAN), this thesis explores the dynamics of transformation in community organizing, and the crucial and often complicated role of anger in that process. In direct action community organizing, as I have learned and experienced time and time again, one must break away from conceptions of power and practices that influence people into hopelessness and acquiescence. This means challenging beliefs and ideas that the power structures, in Atwood's (1972) words, are so "vast, nebulous and unchangeable" that individuals become hopeless, apathetic, or even become part of the system. Consistent with the opening epigraph concerning the techniques of power for the domination of slaves, those involved in direct action community organizing begin with the understanding that marginalization and disempowerment are the *intended* outcomes of capitalist social structures. As with the ideal slave, marginal individuals in these systems internalize the very discourses that legitimate their disempowerment. On a very human level, this leads to feelings of hopelessness and anger that are unfocused or directed anywhere except the source of their marginalization.

"What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse" (Foucault 1997; 1919).

The purpose of this thesis is to closely examine the process by and through which individuals involved in direct action community organizing are positively transformed and empowered, placing that process in the broader context of an exploitative social and economic system. This transformation is left unexamined in much of the anthropological literature on the topic of resistance and poverty. Current literature on resistance does not examine the micropolitics of individuals' transformations as they become civically engaged. Instead it only examines the *results* of resistance, such as a march or the adoption of a new policy by local or national government. The how and the why behind how people got to that point is left unexplored. It does not examine the laborious organizing culminating in such events, nor the techniques of individual empowerment. I will contribute to the literature on poverty and homelessness and social movements, by examining the 'behind-the-scenes' dimensions of direct action community organizing that influence individual and collective transformations. Through this examination I will demonstrate that social change does not happen through spontaneous epiphanies. Rather, there is a deliberate discipline through which leaders identify issues, build power, develop relationships, and identify their self-interest in order to create change. As I will elucidate, this discipline leading to individual transformations is necessary to organized direct action and (ultimately, it is hoped) positive social change, and is predicated on tactical transgression, or what is understood as 'breaking the Be-Nice Rule'. Additionally, *emotion* is an essential and vital dimension of this transformation -- what community organizing identifies as 'cold anger'. However, in order to uncover cold

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anger a community organizer must identify individuals' self-interest. As we will see in Chapter Three, for marginalized and middle class individuals, self-interest typically stems from anger. When this form of self-interest is expanded and an individual's anger is channeled strategically, the process results in empowering transformations in the private and the public spheres of individual lives. Thus, anger is the lifeline for social change. However, just as anger can be the lifeline, some forms of anger can also hurt an organization, a tension I will explore in Chapter Five.

My own process to arriving at the understandings I examine in this thesis was also a transforming one. My original goal was to examine the transformation in people who became engaged in direct action community organizing through a collection of short edited life stories of those involved with KHAN. Thus, I proposed that in order for people to create systemic change, an alternative consciousness or transformation must occur within individuals who become civically engaged that requires them to become conscious of their situation, accept it, become angry, and work as a collective to build power and take action creating a consciousness of praxis.[1]

As my investigation progressed I realized that this was partially correct but, an incomplete premise. I entered the research with the following understanding of transformation: A life transition within individuals' consciousness that changed their beliefs about society and systems; how they function and can possibly be changed. Most leaders were ready to take action or had taken action in the past. Some engaged in grass roots organizing or activism, while others took action at the individual level (ex. retaliating against police or voicing their opinion). Individuals were very aware that there

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[1] By accepting I am suggesting the people take their situation for what it is. In other words they need to reflect critically to have an objective look at their reality.

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was something wrong with the system and that it could also be changed, but they did not know how to create change effectively. If they had previous experiences organizing they could not identify the specific details of the power they created, as in the case with Rhonda in Chapter Five. Their understanding of the workings of power was different to what they learned with KHAN. People interviewed such as Naomi and Mark among others knew about and experienced inequalities of the system. They also understood that a common mentality and social expectations about behavior, resistance, and/or disagreements about society existed. Marian, when angered and speaking up against injustices, was often put down by relatives because she was considered to be *too* angry. She was aware of injustices, but not what could be done about them. Resistance and action to injustice was part of their world view. This awareness of the injustices in the system was the first step towards their transformation. Their willingness and knowledge that the system could be changed predisposed them to learn how to create change effectively.

Through my many interviews consciousness about unequal distribution of power was not so much an issue when it came to people's involvement in community organizing. In some cases it was an affirmation of their previous beliefs that were often punished or rejected by others. This reprimand created unconscious behavior; individuals learned to suppress their emotions especially, in this case, anger. In all the cases community organizing provided an environment in which affirmation of previous beliefs of injustice were nurtured and encouraged to develop, which lead to an acquisition of tools and knowledge to identify specific wrongs and create change, thus transformation.

The transformation I found individuals to experience was the acceptance and nurturance of anger for building power towards collective organized action that in the end empowered individuals and encouraged them to continue to work to change the system. By the end of the research I walked away with a better understanding of the specifics of that anger. I learned that anger empowered KHAN leaders. Also, I became aware of the tensions between "cold" and "hot" anger that can help or hurt and organization, as we will see in Chapter Five.

In community organizing it is often pushed and ingrained in people that in order for the organization to work leaders must build relationships. Relationships are at the very center of community organizing and are necessary in order for the organizer to know his/her leaders. Within these relationships the organizer and leaders can build trust and learn to work closely with each other and other members of the organization. Building a relationship of trust organizers can get to a person's cold anger that will eventually lead to action. Therefore, it is important for the organizer to build a relationship with potential leaders and for that leader to build a relationship with others in the organization.

Building power is central to individual's transformation and systemic change. To borrow terminology from Nguyen and Peschard (2003), I found that power, as defined and practiced in community organizing, is indeed "therapeutic" power in that it is positively, empowering individuals in powerless situations to become engaged agents in their quest for social change. Building power empowers an individual and an organization giving them the ability to see that they can create change and it is only through power that change can transpire. I conclude then, that building power is a

process of healing the individual and the community precisely because it empowers people and changes systems.

To support my thesis I adopt a cross-disciplinary approach encompassing theories of hegemony and habitus. The strength of this approach is in recognizing that practices that oppress frequently naturalize people to acquiescence, while resistance to a current system only materializes when individuals learn how to use emotion (their anger) to make connections between their personal experiences, their historical contexts, their society, and others. This approach recognizes, as Susan Stokes (1991) argues, that individuals' consciousness is marked by the elites' ideologies and through discursive knowledge, and, I add alternative experiences, including re-education towards anger individuals learn to put their consciousness into practice by acquiring the right tools to create change. This is not to say that individuals are either completely blind to or completely aware of hegemony, rather individuals may have experienced power to be altruistic, punishing, unequal, and practiced over them instead of experiencing power to as positive, constructive, and equally shared, dampening any attempts to organize and take direct action. Discursive knowledge, as defined by Stokes (1991), is part of the knowledge formed by actors who are able to express at the level of practical self-consciousness (Stokes 1991: 285). This is the point of transformation I found with leaders in KHAN. They were aware of injustices but they needed an environment that positively re-enforced their ideas and encouraged them to think critically about their situation and gave them the tools to effectively create change. As stated by Stokes (1991) " 'the tacit stocks of knowledge which actors draw upon in the constitution of social activity,' the process of sloughing off hegemonized consciousness would seem in part to

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involve moving from practical to discursive self-understandings" (285). The connections between history, individual experiences, the self, and others, and I add anger is a part of this discursive knowledge that will lead to action.

Methodology

This thesis was a twenty month ethnographic project, from February 2006 to August 2007, of short edited life stories that examined the transformation of leaders and organizers working directly with (KHAN). I interviewed 10 KHAN leaders referred to me by others. Interviews were conducted at the convenience of participants and consisted of questions inquiring into their life experiences and their involvement with grass roots direct action community organizing. To generate as wide a range of responses as possible, I kept conversations open ended. Interviews were audiotaped and in addition, there were many public meetings and public demonstrations that I attended and documented through participant observation (Bernard 2002), a core anthropological method. I rely on reflections shared with me by KHAN leaders about the organization as well as newspaper articles for the research.

This is a qualitative study and the data collected are analyzed using anthropological methods, particularly textual analysis. In this context, textual analysis was useful for 1) identifying major and minor themes that ran through participants' conversations that revealed a connection between lived experience and involvement in community organizing, 2) the values of the organization internalized and practiced by individuals in the organization and 3) transformation. This research also includes self-

reflection on my behalf. For the past 4 ½ years I have been involved in direct action community organizing. I started with the Michigan Organizing Project (MOP), working as an organizer for immigrant rights and affordable housing. Then, I became a co-founder and leader of KHAN. This experience has both strengths and weaknesses. The main weakness may be the oversight of certain details that are new to people unfamiliar with direct action community organizing. This weakness was overcome through the constant presentation of the findings with the leaders of the organization, new and old. As a strength my experiences can facilitate explanations of certain topics that took me four and a half years with the organization to finally be able to critically reflect on, thus helping me hold the organization accountable to its main beliefs. I can also speak of the fears, the transformations, the insecurities, frustrations, and moments of anger that organizers and leaders experienced. I believe this is the point of critical consciousness that Freire (1970) speaks of that I have reached to better explain community organizing.

As part of this research I look at how successful KHAN is. Success is not measured so much by the victories won by the organization and its leaders, but in the belief and commitment people demonstrate towards the organization and the personal transformation of leaders. I take from Walker-Estrada (2004) and Salb (2001), that the most important aspect of community organizing is the investment placed in the education leaders acquire in community organizing and the empowerment they obtain by becoming engaged.

Chapter Organization

Chapter Two: In chapter two I provide the theoretical background orienting the thesis. I discuss the social science theories of hegemony, habitus, and individualism as they are pertinent to the understanding of community organizing.

Chapter Three: In chapter three I provide a working template of community organizing. It is not a "how to" for community organizing, but a "how it happens" in community organizing. I describe the theory and beliefs behind community organizing and how it is put into practical use. This includes a detailed account of the tools used by organizing to engage potential leaders into the organization such as, one-on-ones, relationships, anger, power, and self-interest.

Chapter Four: In chapter four, since I am arguing that transformation is key to community organizing, I provide a profile of three individuals interviewed. Biographies of other leaders will be in Appendix C and I will refer to them when discussing common themes found in the interviews. This profile is important and unavoidable as it illustrates how lived experience is intertwined with individuals' involvement in community organizing and their transformation. It also illustrates how leaders of KHAN came together through organizing techniques put to practice to create KHAN and to start of their campaign for affordable housing.

Chapter Five: In chapter five I present my ethnographic findings based on participant observation, conversations, and interviews. The goal of this chapter is to make a connection between the theories discussed in chapter two, the workings of direct action community organizing in chapter three, and the personal experiences of leaders retold in chapter four. I show how the homeless and those that worked closely with them found a solution to the lack of permanently affordable housing in the City of Kalamazoo.

Leaders in MOP and later KHAN understood that the lack of affordable housing was systemic. Michigan's economy was not great when the campaign for affordable housing started in 2003. Big employers were either leaving Michigan or laying people off in the state including in Kalamazoo. The conditions progressively got worse making it even more difficult for those families and individuals who were at the bottom of the economic ladder. While jobs were disappearing Kalamazoo city officials proposed primarily self-help policies, placing the blame of poverty and homelessness on individuals. In contrast KHAN leaders break away from this hegemonic mentality and we see how leaders challenge the city in their demand for equal access to the HAF. I bring the reader into the aftermath of the victory for affordable housing for the homeless: a victory as a result of a 3 ½ year battle between the city of Kalamazoo and KHAN and MOP. This is the best example of how leaders organized and how power reacts to an organized group of people, especially a group of people considered the undesirables of society. It is important to note that the victory of the HAF was due to leaders organizing and coming together using the tools learned in community organizing described in Chapter Three.

Conclusion: Finally, in my conclusion I provide a summary of the data gathered, weaknesses and strengths of the project, how the project could have been conducted better, and possible future investigations. I conclude that a transformation occurred by individuals becoming empowered when they learned how to use their anger along with community organizing tools for change.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter I present theories that provide a basis for understanding why organizing works the way it does. Each theory feeds into the other demonstrating that dividing and conquering the minds of people and enforcing certain ideologies of the powerful through cultural expectations can lead people to do one of three things. One, they can, as described by Antonio Gramsci (1918), exploit the system for selfish self-interest and personal gain regardless of those suffering. These individuals are very aware of the system that guarantees that their interests are met and will build power to make sure that it stays this way regardless of the damages to the world and its people. They are what Freire (1970) labeled as "conservatives".

Two they can become acquiescent by becoming part of the system, "making it through" by not "rocking the boat" so to speak or worse, by becoming hopeless. Those "making it through" are termed "liberals" by Freire (1970). They are aware of the problems in the system but feel they are inevitable. They join the power structure without the hope of creating any change or making the situation better. They learn to adapt, to systemic problems, not change them. In a way they are the gate-keepers of the system or as described in community organizing, they are the middle class. The middle class, according to community organizing do not want to risk losing what little they have regardless of the injustices and inequalities.[2] The fear of taking a risk prevents them from

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[2] This group is the difference between those fighting for the scraps off the table and those who want the steak.

taking action, therefore making them gate-keepers of the system. The "hopeless" believe what society says about them and believe they can not do nothing to change the system, are not smart enough or capable enough of creating any type of change even if they desired it. This is the slave mentality presented in the introduction.

The third option, as labeled by Freire (1970), are the radicals. These individuals see the injustice in the system and are willing to take risks to create systemic change. However, even the radicals need to know how to create change so as not to reproduce the same structures of oppression. To avoid maintaining the same injustices the radicals not only need the tools and knowledge but they also need to learn how to work with others, not for them. Working for others, to Freire, only disempowered individuals, a goal not suitable for the radicals. As the theories unravel in this chapter it is my goal to demonstrate how power works, both its oppressive characteristics and resistance to it. In chapter three we see exactly how community organizing counters hegemony.

Literature on Poverty and Consciousness

While there is a robust literature pertaining to homelessness and poverty, rare is the ethnography that describes how poor people as active agents organize as a collective with other allies at local or national levels in their fight for justice in local and national politics directly affecting them. The picture often created about resistance by the poor is at the individual level in order to survive. The focus often is on the lives or "culture" of the poor, often describing the stresses they face, the decisions they make in order to survive, and how they are treated by local and national politics in the fight against

poverty (Susser I. 1996, Mathieu 1993, Lyon-Callo 2000; 2004; 2001; Connolly 2000; Wagner 1993). Even more atypical are ethnographies that actually describe the process by which the poor and homeless actively resist as well as the transformations that occur within those who do take action. A brief examination of ethnographies on poverty and homelessness will nevertheless give us a synopsis of the history and causes of these conditions.

Many intellectuals attribute an amalgamation of historical, political, and personal conditions to poverty and homelessness (Burt 1992; Mathieu 1993; Lyon-Callo 2000, 2004; Wagner 1993). One point, however, is very clear throughout these works; that the increased unequal distribution of wealth creates poverty and homelessness. While there may be individual circumstances that lead to poverty and/or homelessness within this amalgamation, systemic causes of these conditions are often overlooked by citizens, agencies, and systems. Academic literature repeatedly illustrates this point (Lyon-Callo 2001a; Lyon-Callo 2004b; Lyon-Callo 2000c; Mathieu 1993; Burt 1992; Wagner 1993).

Anthropological literature on the topic of poverty and homelessness, as illustrated by Lyon-Callo (2004a; 2004b), Mathieu (1993), Burt (1992), and Wagner (1993) concludes that these systemic social problems are treated as pathologies on part of the poor. Experts, such as social workers, the police, and psychiatrists, among many others, are used to assure that the homeless become productive citizens in the fight against poverty. Individuals are blamed for their socio-economic status and solutions to homelessness and poverty, by institutions and experts, are geared at changing individuals' "pathological" behavior (Lyon-Callo 2004; 2001; 2000 Mathieu 1993).

Focusing solely on individuals' behavior medicalizes the systemic causes of these conditions, leaving the system unaddressed and unaccountable.

As stated previously, there are very few ethnographies that speak about resistance by the destitute. Ethnographies that address the topic of the poor and homeless as active agents provide a narrow understanding of that agency and leave the process by which they become organized unexamined. In anthropological literature the term active agents is used to portray individuals as engaging in their society for survival purpose not as becoming involved in the political process for social transformation. Several ethnographies poignantly illustrate this point.

Connolly (2000), in *Homeless Mothers*, shows us that the homeless mothers she studies are active agents in the everyday decisions they make given their limitations. In this ethnography we see women in powerless situations making detrimental decisions about their lives that are individualistic in nature as a result of the very few choices they are given by society. For example, some women are given the option to choose between their abusive relationship in which they will have some form of freedom or moving to a shelter which will separate their family and restrict their mobility. These homeless mothers in Connolly's (2000) account are surrounded by institutions which focus on blaming the individuals producing solutions aimed at changing their client's behavioral patterns.

Lyon-Callo (2004) in *Inequality, Poverty, and Neoliberal Governance* speaks to the frustrations of working in a shelter whose staff ignores or is afraid to confront systemic conditions because of consequences. However, when some of the staff in the shelter, homeless people, and other groups decided to work for more shelters, better

treatment in shelters, and affordable housing, the process by which they do this is not described. Lyon-Callo (2004) hints at individuals' transformation and mentions social change, but does not define or expand on these topics.

During the 1980's in the U.S. there was a large move to deinstitutionalize the mentally ill and this is where Mathieu (1993) brings us into the picture with *The Medicalization of Homelessness and the Theater of Repression*. She describes the rise of homelessness at this time and the reaction to this increase by New York City. There is a large push by the governor to remove the poor and homeless from public view by confiding them in psychiatric institutions against their will, regardless of their real or perceived mental state. Some people protested New York's clean up of the poor, but we are not told how this occurs.

In *Checkerboard Square,* Wagner (1993) focuses on individual resistance taken by homeless people he interviews from a pool list of individuals who were involved in North City's tent city protest. He writes this book to eliminate stereotypes that homeless people are unorganized, unconscious, detached, lazy individuals. Instead, he argues that homeless individuals contradict many of the stereotypes about poverty and homelessness. Most worked but were unable to afford a secured life. Wagner (1993) demonstrates that there are many factors leading people into homelessness from familial to systemic. Although the author's focus is on conscious decisions of resistance by the poor and homeless to systems that they deem oppressive, familial or governmental, he does not ignore the fact that to counter homelessness there must be collective resistance. He examines how people came together and joined or created various organizations for the North City's ten city protest. There is still however no descriptive understanding of how

this organizational effort was possible. One very important point illustrated by this work is the fact that relationship building among the poor and homeless was an important tool for creating social networks that would help them in the future with future necessities including money, safety, and companionship. Wagner's ethnography is an excellent example of how people build relationships based on previous experiences. David Wagner (1993) concludes that to counter homelessness there must be a collective resistance, yet how this resistance can be possible and the motivational factors for involvement are left unexamined.

Mathieu (1993), Lyon-Callo (2004), Connolly (200), and Wagner (1993) share a trend within anthropological literature on homelessness and poverty: a lack of material on resistance or understanding of resistance by the poor and homeless. Discussions on resistance to social political and decisions by the subjugated is found within literature that explores hegemony and power (often in reference to the "third world") (Scott 1990, Stokes 1991, Linger 1993). Within this literature consciousness is at the center of resistance.

This literature acknowledges and does not deny the existence of consciousness among individuals or the existence of power structures within a society. The debate that exists in this literature is what individuals do with that consciousness. Some argue that individuals hide it for their protection (Scott 1990); others argue that it is used as a tool to further manipulate constituents (Linger 1993), while others state that individuals do not have the tools to act on that consciousness to create change (Stokes 1991). Linger (1993) argues that in the political warfare of social-cultural politics, the elites use their citizens' internalized perceptions of power and cultural etiquette to maintain their

position of authority. She states that individuals are very aware of the manipulation and corruption of political leaders, but when the elites engage in political battles to remove someone from a seat of power for personal gain, social cultural etiquette (for example; male and female roles) and individuals' internalized comprehension of power are used to incite emotion and action. Linger (1993) states that the subjugated are manipulated by political rhetoric to engage in what they perceive to be political justice. The illusion is created that the oppressed are included in political decisions fighting for their rights when in fact, they are excluded from the entire process.

Scott (1990) argues that individuals are very conscious of their oppression and inequality. In public, however, they must hide their real sentiment towards the elite through public transcripts. Through public transcripts, as explained by Scott (1990), a persona is created to distract authority figures from individuals' real feelings of dissatisfaction with the system. This public persona is agreeable, compliant, and flows with the current. Resistance is only manifested through private transcripts in the shape of individualistic futile actions, such as stealing from their boss without his/her knowledge or delaying in carrying out a task. The subjugated will talk against the elites and dream of one day alternating seats of power in their private transcripts. Scott (1990) illustrates that these private transcripts create a mentality of revenge and as a result, as Connerton (1989) suggests in *How Societies Remember*, the King or leader will be changed but not the system of subjugation, thus reproducing and maintaining the same conditions of oppression.

Stokes (1991) in *Hegemony, Consciousness, and Political Change in Peru*, takes a different approach to Linger (1993) and Scott (1990). She argues that a lack of

consciousness as claimed by individuals who become engaged in social change, should not be disregarded. Instead, it should be understood that some individuals are not as conscious, as Scott (1990) would have it, submitting to voluntary acquiescence. She argues against voluntary subjugation and agrees with Linger (1993) that there may be psychological manipulation, but it is used to make people feel inferior, stupid, powerless, or incapable of creating any change. It is a lack of tools and language to articulate what is happening to people that weakens individuals' ability to change their social environment. The ability to express what is happening to them by power structures is what Stokes (1991) refers to as discursive knowledge. Discursive knowledge is the ability of individuals to identify the problem and describe the power relations that oppress them. Most importantly, it can become a tool that people are able to use to make a connection between their experiences (ex. reasons why they are poor) and the power structures. Through this discursive knowledge individuals are able to identify the sentiment incited by the elites, such as feelings of inferiority and stupidity, to keep them out of power. It is through alternative experiences, such as individuals becoming socially engaged, that individuals attain this form of knowledge and will to create systemic change.

This literature demonstrates that consciousness and hegemony play a vital role in individuals' reactions to power. Within the studies of poverty and homelessness the explanation of poverty and the difficulties of it are always present, but not how the poor and homeless fight systemically against such social conditions. Therefore, hegemony and power, as argued by Lyon-Callo (2004), are pertinent to our understanding of poverty and homelessness and those directly affected by it. As Lyon-Callo (2004) stressed, the

focus should not only be on systemic causes of homelessness and poverty, but also on the rhetoric, the ideas, and the hegemonic mentality behind how people in or out of poverty think about such social conditions. We must understand why people adopt, accept, and think about poverty and homelessness the way they do (Lyon-Callo 2004). For example, if people think these conditions are a natural part of life, we should also investigate how and why people have come to that conclusion. Or, for example, if people think that poverty and homelessness are a product of structural violence and not the result of individual decision making we must also understand why. If within academic literature it is concluded that unequal distribution of wealth creates poverty then we also must understand why individuals accept this inequality as normal thus, allowing it to continue.

Society and Thought

"Our emphasis is thus shifted from what beliefs 'mean' *intrinsically* to what they are *made* to mean, and what they accomplish for those who invoke and use them" (Jackson 1996: 6).

Phenomenologists understand that how individuals see themselves in a culture, their existence, themselves, or their embodiment is based on relationships; relationships between others and between others, culture, and themselves. Michael Jackson states, "This is not to say that human experience is without preconditions; rather, it is to suggest that the *experience* of these preconditions is not entirely preconditioned. A human life is seldom a blind recapitulation of givenness, but an *active* relationship with what has gone before and what is imagined to lie ahead" (1996: 11). Furthermore "A person becomes a subject for herself by first becoming an object for others-by incorporating the view that

others have of her. The self arises in social experience which is why one's sense of self is unstable and varies from context to context" (Mead as cited in Jackson 1996: 26).

It can be argued then, that how one experiences themselves stems from the relationship between powerful individuals and institutions. Acknowledging this makes evident the connection between the experience and the roots of information obtained and practiced by individuals in their cultural and social environment. Most importantly, particularly to this thesis, this relationship explains why people resist or remain compliant in the face of oppression. This same understanding can be linked to the hegemonic beliefs about homelessness and poverty.

The theories that I draw upon, hegemony, habitus, individualism, and education help provide the theoretical basis for individual's behavior and thoughts about particular societal issues. As we will see hegemony and power have much to do with how people react or do not react to a system due to ideas that individuals have naturalized about themselves, their society, and others in relation to power. From this perspective, we can understand the actions taken by individuals or organizations that want to produce temporary change, as we see with charity, and those who want systemic change, as we see with community organizing. The first assumes that individuals should adapt to the system, while the latter believes that individuals should not adapt to but, change the system. The study theories of hegemony, habitus, individualism and education helps understand where action and inaction are rooted.

Anderson (1975) and Gellner (1983) argue that institutions are used by the powerful to diffuse their ideas that subsequently dominate, influence, and control others. Individuals' reaction to systems of power can be attributed to institutions. These

institutions include the school system, the local and national government, religion, the police, military, the medical system among others (Anderson 1975; Gellner 1983; Lock and Scheper-Hughes 1990; Foucault 1977; Bourdieu 1977). The elite's ideologies are transmitted through various forms of media and institutions[3]. Therefore, in the quest for peoples' transformation of consciousness it must be understood where knowledge comes from and how it is used by those who control it when examining people's actions for social change. An understanding of what people view as normal, as appropriate or inappropriate must be first achieved to better comprehend how people react to systems.[4]

"What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression" (Foucault 1977: 521).

Within hegemony and the habitus is power. Foucault (1977) stressed that power could be both positive and negative, inducing both pleasure and pain. As it will later be illustrated, Antonio Gramsci and Pierre Bourdieu agree that within a system of oppression there are privileges for some. Foucault (1977), in accordance with Antonio Gramsci, would argue that the privileges and advantages would be for those individuals

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[3] Institutions are also a form of media.

[4] The theories of the habitus, hegemony, individualism, and education, point to ways of life that are vital to how individuals perceive their society and themselves in that society. They are also important concepts for my interpretation of individuals and social transformation. The debate for this investigation will not be whether or not such systems (hegemony, habitus, individualism, and education) exist in daily life, or whether or not they can be eliminated. This is another debate in itself. All are good social science theories that serve to explain how society works. This thesis will focus on how each influences individuals into acquiescence or action. As a cog in the wheel of a social system these theories are the persistent product of knowledge disseminated, from the public to the personal lives of individuals, successfully through regulated norms of institutions (Anderson 1975; Gellner 1983; Bourdieu 1977; Gramsci 1931; Foucault 1977).

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with power, who know how to build it and maintain it. As such it is important to note in the following theories, that although Antonio Gramsci and Pierre Bourdieu stress that hegemony or the habitus can not be eliminated, they argue that alternative ones can be created having the ability to be positive for those who create them or benefit from them, or negative for those who try to resist them or are excluded from them. Revolution, any revolution, seems to be positive to those who carry them out and those who benefit from them. Does this mean that change can never be positive? No. This point emphasizes that there will always be conflict within systems and that only systems supported by individuals with power, not the powerless, will survive and will be shaped as they desire. The following theories clearly demonstrate this point as they can never be eliminated but restructured only by people working as a collective, as Foucault (1977) would stress, with power.

There are four important factors about power. First, power controls and distributes all information and therefore, determines truth in all of its applicable dimensions, from the personal and public spheres of individual's lives and behavior. Second, power can be positive (constructive) and negative (destructive). People, however, acknowledges Foucault (1977) for the most part encounter negative power. Third, power is behind oppression and liberation. Finally, behind power there are relationships. Due to this observation Foucault (1977) felt that an investment should not be on individuals, but relationships behind power when addressing power. These attributes of power are prevalent in the theories of hegemony, individualism, and education.

Habitus

Habitus articulated by Pierre Bourdieu is defined as practices, bodily and mental, created by institutions that create harmony within a system of oppression (Bourdieu 1977). Habitus is a:

"Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures...as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations, which can be objectively 'regulated' and irregular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the point of the orchestrating action of a conductor" (Bourdieu 1977: 72).

An example of these durable transposable dispositions are the two structures identified by Bourdieu within the habitus, structural exercises/habitus of socializing and bodily hexis (Bourdieu 1977). Of particular interest here are the structural exercises. Structural exercises are rooted in institutions, particularly the educational system. According to Bourdieu (1977) these structural exercises transmit information that will be acquired in the consciousness and unconsciousness of individuals, causing them to behave in a certain way that is also displayed in the body (tastes, clothing, and mannerisms) and linguistically (you vs. I or I vs. we). Structural exercises can include ritual practices (and I add everyday practices as well), discourses, sayings and proverbs (Bourdieu 1977). These exercises then are part of the "systems of durable transposable, dispositions...which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'irregular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends...collectively orchestrated with out being the point of the orchestrating action of a conductor" (Bourdieu 1977: 72). Structural

exercises become so embedded in individuals' consciousness that there is no longer a need for direct enforcement. Individuals naturalize and internalize these habits extending to the different experiences individuals have in their positions in society affecting how they build relationships and how they perceive themselves and others (Bourdieu 1977). In the end the habitus is upheld by individuals who police themselves and others, so as not to break unwritten rules.

The habitus, although seemingly omnipotent, is not static or singular, but dynamic and multiple (Bourdieu 1977). The multiple habitus are the result of the different socioeconomic positions created by people in society as well as other structural barriers, such as race, sex, and/or class. There are multiple habitus because it is successful in reproducing itself due to its ability to naturalize practices implemented by those in power in the different classes created. The naturalizing and homogenizing of structures and practices within these positions in society, allows the habitus to successfully produce harmony and remove any attention from "discovering the *real principle* (my emphasis added) of the structural homologies or relations of transformation objectively established between them (structures and practices)" (Bourdieu 1977: 84). As Bourdieu (1977) makes clear, the key to keeping people under control is obfuscating the power source. Confusion is to the benefit of the elites and this can be done in many ways that are visible to us today such as the barriers and confusions created by current social agencies when we or others need help or want to create change.

However, all is not lost. Bourdieu (1977) argues that there are ways of resisting the habitus. He does not believe that the habitus can be eliminated, but just as Gramsci argues for hegemony, Bourdieu suggests that resistance to a particular habitus can occur.

For resistance to occur, a transformation must occur within individuals. To Bourdieu (1977) individuals must make a connection between themselves, others, and history/experiences to produce change. Reflecting on Jean Paul Sartre's philosophy of action, Bourdieu (1977) argues that change can happen through such a connection because the strength of the habitus is the lack of connection with the past, present, and future conditions by those who are subjugated. This lack of connections creates a false dilemma which fools people into thinking that their situation is unique (s.a poverty, low wages, war) and as result impossible to change (Bourdieu 1977). This false dilemma is reinforced by professionals, in particular to Bourdieu, such as statisticians and/or sociologists. These professionals invest in the habitus and their role is to make sure the system stays, even if this requires lying in spite of the daily truths people face. The experts, explains Bourdieu (1977), regardless of current social conditions, very much like we see in today's society, will be bold enough to deny the existence of the exploited. From my understanding of Bourdieu, if the experts do not deny they will simply explain social distress away by saying that the situation is not as bad as it looks[5]. Experts are successful with this, because as authoritative figures they use their power and support their arguments through "facts" (Bourdieu 1977). As we see in Foucault's (1977) four characteristics of power, the professionals as the elite create their own truths. In summary the use of professionals through institutions alters people's consciousness and ensures the vitality of the habitus.

Breaking away from this false dilemma is pertinent to the subjugated. As such, a connection between past and current events would inform the powerless that current

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[5] As we seen in today and throughout history, the experts also create distractions and mass social fear (war, illness, immigration etc.).

situations indeed are not unique, but are part of a vicious cycle to keep them powerless. This connection and this consciousness of one's exploitation is not enough for Sartre (Bourdieu 1977). To Sartre, individuals must accept that they are exploited. Individuals must come to that realization, and then he/she needs to talk to others who have achieved this consciousness in order to resist and act (Bourdieu 1977). For revolution to occur, argues Sartre, those individuals who resist must *want* (my emphasis added) to make their consciousness manifest through action (Bourdieu 1977).

Hegemony

Gramsci's hegemony is very similar to the habitus. A clear definition of hegemony is found in a letter written, by Gramsci, on May 2, 1932 on the topic of Croce (Gramsci 1931-1937). He defines hegemony as the "the consensus, of cultural direction". The exact excerpt reads:

"We can concretely say that Croce, in his historico-political activity, makes the stress fall exclusively on the moment in his politics that is called the moment of 'hegemony,' of consensus, of cultural direction, to distinguish it from the moment of force, of coercion, of legislative, governmental, or police intervention...It has indeed been possible to maintain *that the essential trait of the most modern philosophy of praxis resides precisely in the historico-political concept of 'hegemony (*my emphasis added*)'"* (Gramsci 1932:169).

In previous letters Gramsci (1931-1937) expands on the moment of consensus and coercion through his study of the state. Reflecting on the definitions that exist of the state in the 1930's, Gramsci concludes that the state is normally understood as a political entity not as a balance between the political society and civil society (Gramsci 1931: 67).

"My study also leads to certain definitions of the concept of the State that is usually understood as a political society (or dictatorship, or coercive apparatus meant to mold the popular mass in accordance with the type of production and economy at a given moment) and not as a balance between the political Society and the civil Society (of the hegemony of a social group over the entire national society, exercised through the so-called private organizations, such as the Church, the unions, the schools etc.), and it is within the civil society that the intellectuals operate…" (Gramsci 1931: 67).

Gramsci (1931) identifies coercion and consent as variables of the state that are pertinent to the understanding of hegemony. Civil society is to Gramsci what the habitus is for Bourdieu (1977): the durable transposable dispositions, which eventually become so natural that they no longer need direct enforcement. Within a civil society there are public and private institutions such as the church, school, military, and marriage among many others that elicit consensus. Political society is more evident during a time of war or great civil disobedience because at such times the use of coercion by elites is more prevalent to control populations (Gramsci 1931-1937). Nevertheless, these institutions are the medium by which ideas are transmitted to individuals. According to Reymond Williams (1977), Gramsci's definition of hegemony can be expanded to:

"A whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world. It is a lived system of meanings and values-constitutive and constituting-which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move, in most areas of their lives" it is a "culture…which has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes" (110).

Juxtaposing hegemony and the habitus reveals that both are systems with durability that affect every aspect of individuals lived experience. They influence individuals consciousness and as a result actions. From a cultural perspective then, this determines in a society who and what makes up an authority, who and what makes up the subjects, and more importantly how those "subjects" react to that authority when it

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directly or indirectly affects their way of life. Hegemony determines what is moral, what sin is, who God is, how people eat, what people wear, and even how individuals deal with, or think about, power. Is this to say that there is no original thought within the habitus and hegemony? No. Within hegemony, Antonio Gramsci argues that resistance is possible. Like Sartre, as introduced by Bourdieu(1977), Gramsci believed that change could only be achieved when individuals made a connection with themselves, others, society, and history (Bellamy 1994; Gramsci 1916; 1918; 1919a; 1919b; 1917). Reymond Williams (1977) further extends this point by stating that creative and original thoughts are possible and have occurred within hegemony. Furthermore, as stressed by Gramsci, individuals can become conscious through new experiences and re-education. I will explore this in the following section.

Counter Hegemony and Consciousness

"The search for the substance of history, the process of identifying that substance within the system and relations of production and exchange allows us to discover that society is divided into two classes. The class which possesses the instruments of production already, necessarily, knows itself, and has a certain awareness-even if confused and fragmentary-of its power and its mission. It has its individual ends and it realizes them through its own capacity to organize, coldly, objectively, without worrying about whether its path is paved with famine-ravaged bodies or with the dead of battle" (Gramsci 1918: 56).

In *Our Marx* (1918b) Gramsci argues that there exist two classes: the elite and the subordinate. The elite are very aware of the system and relationships of power that keep them in their place of authority even if this consciousness is fragmentary and somewhat confused (Gramsci 1918b). They exist because they are able to organize on the backs of others for their selfish interests. For this reason those in power are able to control the

instruments of production and, I add, the political arena. The subordinate class for Gramsci has some vague consciousness of their position in relation to those in power. Individuals are aware that certain instituted laws apply to them and not the elite (Gramsci 1918b). These laws control their physical and mental bodies and keep them in their place; subordinate, quiet, hopeless, and powerless, against the elite in both open coercive and subtle forms of power. Gramsci, therefore, refers to the subordinate class as the shepherdless herd (Gramsci 1918b).

This shepherdless herd is the product of the civil society described by Gramsci (1932). He understood that power had to be fought with power and the existence of the two classes in the state was a battle of a consciousness of praxis centered in history. As a Marxist, Gramsci (1918b) believed that history "remains the dominion of ideas, of the spirits, of the conscious activity of individuals, whether single or in cooperation…" (Gramsci 1918b: 55). This was vital to Gramsci because history affected and influenced peoples' memories. History to Gramsci (1918 b) is not an objective process, but a process of purposeful selection of recorded events. History is subjective and dependent on current economic and moral beliefs of a period in time in which it is produced (Gramsci 1918b; 1918a). It is the product of humanity, a humanity divided in two classes; one that is dominant "at a given time, and directs society in accordance with its own ends, challenged by the other side, which strives to assert itself and take charge" (Gramsci 1918a: 78). Being a product of time and the elite, history is a truth produced by a conscious and disciplined force with the ability to liberate and to dominate. So, within hegemony, Bourdieu's (1977) false dilemma appears to be present. A consciousness of praxis influences individuals to see their world as it really is, to look at their world

objectively, divided by classes, and unequal distribution of wealth, as either unjust or as normal.

Knowing one's history will enlighten individuals that behind hegemony and therefore, their civilization, are relationships of power that control, regulate, and disseminate information. Gramsci (1918) acknowledged this and he stressed that individuals should not just speak about their needs but actually fight for them. If not, the shepherdless herd will continue to exist until, it "becomes aware that its individual ends will remain purely arbitrary, mere words, and empty, bombastic whim, until it possesses the means to act, until whim has been converted into will" (Gramsci 1918: 56-57). Without action then, people's needs become rhetoric. Speaking about a problem or becoming conscious of the workings of power was not enough. Individuals needed to have the will to change their society. With the realization of their power and role in society, subordinate individuals will want to be different from those in power. They will become politically independent, and organize (Gramsci 1918: 57).

An analysis of Gramsci's works concludes that when referring to history, he was not simply referring to a collection of facts and dates, but also individuals' personal experiences, their life history, and their memories. It is only when individuals see history as a tool used by the elites to influence their memories that they will start becoming critical and acquire an awareness of their situation and the reasons behind their place in society.

"If it is true that history is a chain of efforts man has made to free himself from privileges, prejudices and idoltry, then there is no reason why the proletariat, as it seeks to add one more link to that chain, should not know how and why and by whom it has been preceded, and how useful that knowledge can prove" (Gramsci 1916: 12).

To Gramsci (1918; 1919a; 1919b; 1917; 1916) change only occurs when individuals make a conscious connection between current and past events through a reflection of history and their experiences, future goals, and self-interest. This consciousness stems from discipline and education among the subjugated to take action (Gramsci 1918; 1919a; 1919b; 1917; 1916; 1914). Since history is vital to a person's experiences and actions it was important for leaders to know and understand the world views and experiences of the proletariat because these experiences would determine the type, if any, action they were willing to take (Crehan 2002). History then has become a point of reflection for individuals in which they become aware of themselves and their place in society and history (Gramsci 1916), therefore they can stop being a shepherdless herd. Gramsci summarizes these points in his analysis of the Russian Revolution (1917; 1919b; 1919a).

In *The Price of History* (1919b) Gramsci argues that any change that happens within a society must come from those who are directly affected by a certain circumstance. In this case, to Gramsci, the Russian Revolution is a proletariat revolution because those who are involved in making the decisions are the proletariat. It is the consciousness of the worker that is directing and creating a new order. This new order is creating a new state that is answering the wants and needs of the proletariat. To illustrate his point, Gramsci (1919b) argues that the revolution aimed to eliminate the concept of individualism and ownership created by capitalism. Where previous revolutions sought to make changes to current systems, the proletariat revolution sought to eliminate current systems and create new ones. With the Russian Revolution capitalism was replaced by communism. This was made possible because those behind the revolution were able to

take what they perceived as good from the previous system, change what was bad about it, and create a new one. In other words, they were able to reflect critically on the previous systems to create one that they felt would benefit all of Russia.

In *Syndicalism and the Councils* (1919a) Gramsci argues against individualism promoting solidarity in order for change to occur. Speaking about Syndicalism and unions, to Gramsci (1919a) individualism was a result of divisions created between the worker and the factory. For example, workers within a factory were divided by the tools and the work they performed. The common mentality was that the worker was an economically independent individual within the factory. He/she was sold on the idea that he/she was only a producer, when in fact he/she was more than a producer, but an intricate part of the functioning whole of the factory (Gramsci 1919a).

By the proletariat becoming aware that he or she was an intricate part of the modes of production he/she would be lead to see himself/herself as part of a particular class that belonged to a larger functioning structure of society. Acknowledging that he/she was part of a class was the first step towards that realization.

"Starting out form the nucleus of the factory, seen as a unity, an act that creates a given product, the worker can move on to understand ever greater units, up to an entire nation, which taken as a whole, is a gigantic apparatus of production, characterized by its exports (laws/policies), by the amount of wealth that it exchanges with an equivalent amount of wealth coming in from everywhere in the world, from all the other giant production apparatuses into which the world is divided. It is at this point that the worker becomes a producer, because he has acquired a consciousness of his function within the process of production, in all its various stages, from the single factory to the nation and the world. It is at this point that he begins to feel what it is to be a member of a class" (Gramsci 1919: 129).

This example extends to all society as well. Replacing producer with citizen, factory with city or neighborhood, and class with society, illustrates that consciousness of

praxis does not end in the factory, but also extends to modern society. The point to take from this is that becoming conscious is vital for individuals to create change. This consciousness must lead into praxis especially after identifying the problems and the root causes of those problems in a society. Once this is accomplished, Gramsci argues, individuals will become communists, but for the sake of my current argument, I suggest that individuals will become active or engaged citizens.

In *Notes on the Russian Revolution* written on April 29, 1917, Gramsci identifies the Russian Revolution as by and for the proletariat whose ultimate goal was to change the system (Gramsci 1917). Change in this revolution was the result of reflection of individual experiences and history by the masses directly involved in the movement. The Russian revolution had two identifiable characteristics important to social change. First, the revolution came directly from the people. They formed a state for and by the proletariat (Gramsci 1919a). Secondly, a connection between the past, present and future was made to achieve self-interest among the proletariat. Those in the revolution were not only able to create new systems for the benefit of the proletariat and peasants, but they were able to improve on the old ones by using their knowledge of history. Their goal was to abolish private and national ownership, the separation of people through class, and they sought to overthrow aristocracy and authoritarianism. These two aspects of the Russian revolution led to consciousness because people were able to reflect, identify needs based on their self-interest, and demand changes. Although Gramsci (1919b) does not explicitly mention the term self-interest or say that leaders should access the self-interest of others or lead through examples to form new values, my understanding of his writings leads me to this conclusion. Gramsci's analysis of the proletariat's

consciousness in a system of modes of production does not fall short of what community organizing defines as self-interest.

To Gramsci the Russian revolution was an example of how social change should occur. It was successful because a connection between the past, present, and future was made for the proletariat to achieve consciousness and get involved in the revolution to make specific changes. He/she achieved this consciousness by reflecting on his/her current situation, place in society, and history. This is how the Russian revolution developed a new state that was for and by the proletariat (Bellamy 1994).

Gramsci's analysis of the Russian Revolution illustrates another aspect of consciousness of praxis; the need to "educate and organize the collective will of the masses, preparing them for the coming revolution through the dissemination of new values that gave them a critical purchase look on their current situation and galvanizing them into action" (Bellamy 1994: xiv). It was important to Gramsci for those leading revolutions to gain the support of others through the understanding of their history and understanding of their world views. Education was a part of this liberation to Gramsci (Bellamy 1994).

"To careless observers, all this may seem a natural spontaneous phenomenon, but in fact, it would be incomprehensible if we did not take into account the cultural factors which had already primed men's minds so they were ready to explode for what was felt to be a common sense" (1916: 11).

Although Gramsci's works focus on communism prevailing over capitalism a few points are imperative and illustrated in his analysis of the Russian Revolution. Like the proletariat any changes that the organization fights for must reflect the needs of those involved. Gramsci admired the Russian Revolution, because it was very counter hegemonic. It promoted solidarity between individuals who were told by society to be

individualistic. Gramsci also admired the Russian Revolution because it was a revolution by and for the proletariat seeking to change the system to reflect their needs. It was disciplinary in nature because people relied on history and their personal experiences to create the changes they deemed necessary in Russia[6]. The Russian Revolution started with a critique, a critique which to Gramsci was the beginning for change: "it is through a critique of capitalist civilization that unified proletariat consciousness has formed or is in the process of formation. A critique is something cultural; it does not arise through spontaneous natural evolution. A critique involves precisely that discovery of the self ...." (Gramsci 1916: 11).

The Russian Revolution was a unique and important societal transformation to Gramsci for several reasons. First, it stemmed from the proletariat and reflected their needs. Second, the proletariat reflected on the system and history to change it. Finally, during the transformation of Russia individuals also transformed themselves. Gramsci stressed that revolutions were not spontaneous, but deliberate acts. In sum, Antonio Gramsci's revolution can be summarized in his definition of culture. Culture to Gramsci is:

"...the organization, the disciplining of one's self the mastery of one's personality; the attainment of a higher self; the attainment of a higher awareness, through which we can come to understand our value and place within history, our proper function in life, our rights and duties. But all of this can not happen through a spontaneous evolution, through actions and reactions beyond the control of our will, as occurs in the vegetable and animal worlds, in which each individual entity adapts itself and develops its organs unconsciously, obeying ineluctable laws. Man is primarily a creature of spirit-that is, a creation of history, rather than nature. Otherwise, it would be impossible to explain why it is that, when the exploiters and the exploited have always existed, the creators of wealth and those who greedily consume it...The fact is that it is only step by step, stage by stage, that humanity has acquired an awareness of its own value and has won the right to live in independence of the schemes and the privileges of those minorities who

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[6] In Chapter 2 Community organizing gets to these experiences by a process known as one-on-ones.

happened to come to power at an earlier moment in history. *And this awareness has not developed beneath the brutal goad of psychological necessity, but rather through intelligent reflection.* First on the part of a few, then of a whole class, on the reasons why certain situations exist and on the best means of transforming what have been opportunities for vassalage into triggers of rebellion and social reconstruction. Which means that every revolution has been preceded by a long process of intense critical activity, of a new cultural insight and the spread of ideas through groups of men initially resistant to them, wrapped up in the process of solving their own, immediate economic and political problems, and lacking any bonds of solidarity with others in the same position" (Gramsci 1916: 10).

Individualism

Gramsci and Bourdieu agree that resistance can occur to systems of power that govern people at public and private levels.[7] Bourdieu (1977) speaks of change as occurring spontaneously while Gramsci (1916) argues the opposite. As Gramsci and Bourdieu address systems within society they do not talk directly about individualism. Instead they understand and expand on the idea that individuals alone can not make a difference within their surroundings. It can be deduced that their emphasis is combating the individualistic nature of society, what keeps members of society isolated and apart. Although they see each other, are around each other and may work together people still do not come together until they achieve a consciousness and an ambiance where communication with others is encouraged. Bourdieu (1977) in his analysis of Sartre illustrates this point by stating that individuals must first accept that they are being exploited and talk to others. Gramsci (1919c) pushes for individuals to realize that they are part of a big machine, in this case society, which can not function without them. Gramsci even pushes for re-education (Gramsci 1916, Bellamy 1994). Gramsci, more so

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[7] By private level I am speaking directly about individuals' personal experiences, his/her consciousness and behavior. All of which are affected by family, school, and society, thus education.

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than Bourdieu, emphasizes that the individualistic nature of capitalist societies isolates people from each other and as a result the need for solidarity among individuals to resist does not occur spontaneously, but deliberately.[8]

Although Gramsci highlights the importance of individualism, the concept itself was introduced in the 19th century by Alexis de Tocqueville. In his analysis of individualism, Tocqueville, like Gramsci, viewed individualism as detrimental to marginalized peoples. In *Democracy in America,* Tocqueville does what Gramsci and Bourdieu do not; Tocqueville identifies the characteristics of individualism, its functions, as well as ways to counter individualism.

"As each class catches up with the next and gets mixed with it, its members do not care about one another and treat one another as strangers" (Tocqueville 1835: 478).

Tocqueville's (1835) analysis of individualism comes from his perceptions of why in democratic societies individuals do not work with each other, particularly when they are being subjugated. Tocqueville (1835) argues that the power of the ruling class is in the divisions they create among their citizens. As such, it is the goal of those in power to isolate individuals, by breaking any connections between their history, their ancestors, others, and the future (Tocqueville 1835). Breaking these ties causes individuals to care only about their own personal successes and/or failures. Consequently when individuals are faced with a problem, for example the loss of employment, they will blame themselves instead of looking to the systemic causes of that particular problem (William 1977).

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[8] As we have learned from history in capitalists society's unity often does occur, and they do so because they decide to work together.

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Individualism produces habits of thinking about oneself as an isolated being who can control one's own destiny independently of the system (Tocqueville's (1835). Again, like in the habitus, there is a false dilemma. In a democratic society, where equality and freedom are regarded as a way of life this in fact is not true according to Tocqueville (1835). Tocqueville (1835) observed that a democratic society, like in many other societies, the existence of the elites and the poor was a sign of inequality. According to Tocqueville (1835) then, only the elites had more freedom and more equality than their subjects while delivering a message of equality to the poor, blatantly denying systemic barriers.

The elite in democratic societies, as understood by Gramsci (1918) are well organized. Precisely because they are well organized they are able to create the illusion that individuals could pursue the same professions and life styles as the powerful, when in fact the powerful have more freedom and more rights than their subjects (Tocqueville 1835). As such, individualism creates the illusion that an individuals' destiny is in their hands causing them to remain isolated from others regardless of triumph or failure. In a society where rugged individualism is encouraged, enforced, and rewarded, individuals believe and place much investment in the belief that they "can pull themselves up by their bootstraps". Unfortunately focusing solely on the individual neglects the system. This neglect encourages individuals to seek individualistic solutions positively reinforcing the lack of solidarity with others. However, there are two important factors that will end individualism for Tocqueville: self-interest and civic engagement. Before discussing the details of self-interest and civic engagement the roots of individualism in democratic societies must first be identified.

In a democratic society, as noted by Tocqueville (1835), there are two problems that cause individualism: democratic servility and the class gap. Democratic servility comes from the gap in social power between the state and the unaided individual (Salb 2002). It creates doubt among individuals, making them think that their opinions are not valuable and not worth fighting for, due to the fear of mass disapproval (Salb 2002). The class gap, like democratic servility, also stems from a gap created by isolating the classes, particularly that of the rich/powerful from the poor/powerless. Again, as identified by previous intellectuals, there is an attack on the psyche and consciousness of individuals very much resembling domestic abuse or as termed by social scientists, structural violence.

As previously mentioned, the solution to individualism is the identification of self-interest and civic engagement. To combat individualism, argues Tocqueville (1835) both classes have to unite. They will not unite however, until they develop a similar self-interest. A well understood individuals' self interest, argues Tocqueville (1835), will lead individuals to engage in their civic duty. The self-interest may initially be narrow, but as individuals start working with others this self-interest expands. The unification of the two classes and the broadening self-interest will happen when individuals of both classes get involved in a local issue of concern (Tocqueville 1835). This local issue will then open the eyes of those involved and will lead them to see that their problem may not just be local, but may actually be national. It will force individuals to understand that they have to work with others to demand equality. Then the rich and the poor might unite. What is important to Tocqueville (1835) is that people unite regardless of class

and economic status by making a connection amongst themselves, their society, their history, and their future to eliminate rugged individualism.[9]

Education

Conscientizacão: "the learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire 1970: 17).

We have seen in previous theories discussed that institutions have the power to disseminate information that can be internalized by individuals thus affecting their consciousness. It affects how they perceive themselves in relation to society and others. This knowledge then guides individuals' actions and decisions, based on what they perceive to be culturally appropriate and inappropriate. Freire (1970), like Antonio Gramsci and Pierre Bourdieu, believed that in order for individuals to change the world around them, they first need to see their world as it really is, acknowledge what the objective reality is, build solidarity with others, and take action. Freire (1970) proposed that action was only possible through re-education as education was at the center of oppression.

Education for Freire is a tool for liberating as well as oppressing. The goal of the oppressor is to create a class that would not go against it. So, the elite's main goal would be in "changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them; for the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated" (Freire 1970: 55). There are two forms of education for Freire (1970); the banking concept of education (that of the oppressor) and problem posing education

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[9] History to Toqueville is very similar to Gramsci's and Bourdieu's, definition of history. History is not a simple collection of events and dates, but lived experiences in the system and with others people needed to remember (s.a ancestors).

(that of the oppressed). The first form of education that will be discussed is the banking concept of education.

The banking concept of education is a tool of the oppressor as it promotes acquiescence. It teaches people that within society, there are authoritative individuals who posses the facts and non-authoritative figures who do not. As such those in superior positions will continue to control how and what information people receive, thereby controlling their consciousness (Freire (1970). Therefore, to Freire (1970) the banking concept of education creates oppression through the lack of critical thinking.[10] This form of education is the first step to creating the ideal member of society by the elite.

Within the banking concept of education, there is no connection made by the teachers (authoritative figures) or students (non-authoritative figures) between the facts given and the world around them (Freire 1970). The push here then is to control peoples' consciousness by regulating the information related to them that affects them at the personal and public level. The goal of the elite through the banking concept of education is to maintain the system, as such it is their goal to produce a "possessor of a consciousness: an empty 'mind' passively open to the reception of deposits of reality from the world outside" (Freire 1970: 56), forcing individuals to adapt to the rules of society through established institutions (laws, police, military etc,) minimizing any desire to change the system.

" Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other" (Freire 1970: 53).

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[10] This demonstrates how hegemony is created; how individuals are trained to behave. We see this in our current society that such education can train people to become good consumers, demand certain appearances because they are told what is beautiful and so on.

Viewing education as a tool for oppression or liberation, Freire knew that individuals would act according to their experiences. As such, Freire (1970) argued for conscientizacão that could only come about through problem posing education; the tool for liberation of the oppressed. Problem posing education, unlike the banking concept of education, encouraged an equal dialogical relationship between teacher and pupil in which both are critical and actively teach and learn from each other.

The heart of problem posing education is conscientizacão. Conscientizacão encourages critical thinking, leading individuals to engage in transforming their world and their consciousness. This transformation is not spontaneous; however, it is a step by step process of dialogics (Freire 1970). Dialogics encourages individuals to talk to other individuals, to work with them, not for them, to identify problems, to find solutions together, to build solidarity, and to take action (Freire 1970). Only then can even the most oppressed individuals become engaged in social change, becoming radicals (Freire 1970).

Paulo Freire (1970) sends a warning for those involved in social change. He warns that with action there must be reflection, because action without reflection will lead to advocacy. This advocacy will recreate unequal relationships of power, leading to inaction, doing *for* individuals not *with* individuals, fighting for individuals not fighting with individuals. Working with individuals empowers all individuals involved, encouraging those directly affected to be their own advocates. Advocacy only empowers those who have self appointed themselves to be advocates not the person with the problem. Within advocacy again a hierarchy has been created. Freire (1970) warns against this stating that action without reflection will lead individuals to create the same

systems they sought to change. For this very reason, Freire (1970) pushed individuals, radicals, to reflect.

Synopsis

There are various explanations for acquiescence and resistance. Antonio Gramsci and Pierre Bourdieu speak of systemic conditions that are powerful and naturalized. Gramsci and Bourdieu believe that although institutions create such powerful structures, they can be resisted. They cannot be eliminated, but alternative ones can be created. Gramsci believes that through organized action, re-education, reflection, and consciousness social change can become a reality. Bourdieu agrees with Gramsci, but falls short in his examination. Unlike Antonio Gramsci, Bourdieu (1977) feels that individuals' speaking amongst themselves is enough to become engaged as we see under the section of habitus. Gramsci disagrees, arguing that revolutions are not sudden but require more than just talking to others. It requires a critical look at society, demanding that individuals become familiar with the background of others, re-education, and planning. Both agree however, that individualism must be eliminated before individuals are able to work together. It can be taken from these theorists that revolutions, therefore any revolution can be positive to those who carry them out and those who benefit from them. Does this mean that change can never be positive? No. This point emphasizes that there will always be conflict within systems and that only systems supported by individuals with power, not the powerless, will survive and will be shaped as they desire.

While Bourdieu and Gramsci encourage solidarity and oppose individualism for social change to transpire, Tocqueville (1835) gives us insight into the workings of individualism. Tocqueville concludes that individualism is detrimental to societies because it creates divisions and the illusion that individuals are independent of the system. For individuals to become civically engaged they must come to understand their self-interest and once they do they will participate in local issues and eventually national beyond the vote. Tocqueville's (1835) description of civic engagement is very similar to community organizing explored in the following chapter. Foucault (1977) argues that power is behind these institutions. For this reason he stresses that the focus should not be on individuals or the state, but the relationships of power that maintain institutions. Freire (1970) would support this to an extent, arguing that before individuals can start working to change those relationships of power, they first must learn about them. Through problem posing education individuals will question and build solidarity with others to attain such a goal. The key however, for Freire would be that individuals reflect, with actions taken to avoid creating a similar system of oppression.

Foucault (1970) argued that behind power were relationships of power. These relationships of power, it can be argued are at the center for hegemony and habitus. Gramsci and Bordieu do not argue for the elimination of hegemony or the habitus. Instead they stress that alternative systems can be created stemming from power. Both theorists, Antonio Gramsci's with his analysis of the Russian Revolution and Pierre Bourdieu's reflection on Sartre, reveal that an alternative consciousness had to be achieved in order for change to occur. This consciousness created through praxis and

power, as well noted by Foucault, then could challenge existing power structures and change them producing positive or negative results.

Although, Foucault doesn't place a lot of importance on individuals rather relationships of power, other theorist do. Gramsci, Bourdieu, Tocqueville, and Freire, invest in the importance of individuals in society and relationships of power. For a society to change, they argue, there must be a study/reflection of those who have the power to be able to transfer power to the powerless and create social change. Community organizing is a reflection of this. It places emphasis on individuals with and without power because individuals are behind institutions and through them shifts in power can transpire. In the following chapter I examine specifically how community organizing places a heavy investment in individuals to change the system. First, I address a common theme in the literature on poverty, homelessness, and resistance, which is the lack of information of how people become organized and transformation within those who do. I also explore how community organizing challenges hegemony first by building purposeful and at times strategic relationships and leadership development. We see how community organizing encourages the use of anger to engage individuals and to create change as well as the tension between the two forms of anger describe organizing that can both help and hurt campaigns. Through the study of community organizing a more detailed account is presented on resistance and challenges to hegemony, rugged individualism, and the habitus with the purpose of demonstrating the necessary actions needed by individuals to be effective, the role of anger, and transformation.

CHAPTER III

ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT/COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

The oppressed, "whose task is to struggle for their liberation together with those who show true solidarity, must acquire a critical awareness of oppression through the praxis of their struggle" (Freiere1970: 33).

Grassroots Direct Action Community organizing is a reflection of Gramsci's consciousness of praxis. Like Antonio Gramsci, Pierre Bourdieu, Alexis Tocqueville, and Paulo Freire there is an investment in individuals. Stemming from this investment in community organizing there are only two type of people; the organizer and leaders. There are no volunteers in community organizing because they are viewed as temporary and uncommitted without a true self-interest. Leaders on the other hand are committed to the organization, the people in the organization, and the mission of the organization due to a clearly identified self-interest. The organizer is a leader in disguise, according to Trapp (2005), who has experience in organizing, whose job is to agitate and organize individuals who want change. This organizing effort is a long and tedious process that requires the organizer to have a critical objective look at the social cultural system as well as people. In the perspective and terminology of social science, the organizer must be aware of hegemony and the fluctuations of human agency.

Hegemony, as understood by Antonio Gramsci, is the result of the elites' ability to organize and maintain power. If hegemony is the power of the elite then, as Saul Alinsky (1971) states in *Roots for Radicals*, community organizing is the product of the oppressed and marginalized's ability to organize. Coming from this perspective Alinsky

(1971) broke society down between the have and the have nots, with the haves having the power and material resources to be comfortable and remain in power while the have nots lack the material resources and power to do the same.

Community organizing is rooted in conflict theory stemming from the belief that society is full of conflict, particularly over resources (Stoecker 2001). As stated by Chambers (2003) "The status quo in any particular set of circumstances in the world as it is always give some groups advantages over others. Initiatives for change will be perceived as threats by those with vested interest and thus controversial" (31). Conflict theory therefore, views barriers and confrontations within society as divisions between the haves and the have nots. In this theory, societies are seen as a product of a struggle between groups with and without resources (Stoecker 2001). Any form of stability achieved in society is then understood as the domination of one group over another. These divisions also create instability, never fully allowing a dominant group to be in control; because there is constant conflict (Stoecker 2001). With this analysis of society, community organizing is a polarized fight for social change in a battle between the haves and have nots.

Community organizing is the clear difference between fishing for a fellow human being and teaching a fellow human being to fish with the security of the necessary equipment.[11] The goal of community organizing is to create social change through power, solidarity, and education (Alinsky 1970; Trapp 2005, 1976, 1985; Stocker 2001). Accepting society as divided between dominant and subordinate community organizing

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[11] I say this because between my personal experiences with other minorities we have often heard pull yourself up by your own bootstraps. We argue that this statement comes from the assumption that we all have shoes or if we do have shoes we could afford the shoelaces. It is part of the injustice often forgotten, but important to true grassroots community organizing.

breaks power down into two forms: money and people. Therefore, the investment in community organizing is once again, social capital. To build this power and to bridge the gap between the haves and the have nots community organizing, works against hegemony in the following manner: one-ones, meetings, taking action, relationship building power, reflection, and self-interest all of which are part of leadership development (Trapp 2005, 1985, 1976; Walker-Estrada 2003, Alinsky 1971).

One-on-Ones

A one-on-one is the tool the organizer uses to meet and become familiar with potential leaders as well as a mechanism of training potential and leadership (Trapp 1986). Often these start of with door knocking in neighborhoods or references by existing leaders. Investing in the existing social network of current leaders or people the organizer encounters when door knocking highlights another attribute of the one-on-ones; building social capital. In the search for new leadership the organizer fishes, a term used in organizing, for issues that may be important to the community and the individual. Not all is learned about an individual and their community in an initial one-on-one, therefore an organizer is likely to conduct multiple one-on-ones before he or she learns anything about the person, their community, and their networks. The ultimate goal of a one-on-ones is to access the self-interest, a topic discussed latter in the section, of potential leaders. This process is long; it requires time and mutual respect. The organizer can not enter a neighborhood or approach individuals with a predetermined problem and solution.

Meetings

Meetings in community organizing are the ground for leadership development. These meetings include planning meetings, clergy caucuses (if the organization has a working relationship with a church), and house meetings. They are the venue by which people discover that they are not alone and have potential allies to create social change. As part of the leadership development leaders are encourage to talk to others, such as conducting their own one-on-ones with current and new leaders. Leaders are encouraged and trained to share their stories about a particular issue to the public and power holders. These meetings are also planning sessions for future actions and the growth of the organization. These meetings provide a setting to discuss an issue that the organizer has found the people to have in common and they serve to cut an issue that will ultimately lead their next campaign (Trapp 1986). The latter teaches leaders that the issue the organization takes on, must not only be an issue that they care about but must be winnable and controversial (Trapp 1986).[12]

Meetings, however, are not just with other people facing a similar problem. During leadership development these meetings turn to tactical investigations in which leaders with the organizer meet with power holders, such as political leaders. The purpose of these meetings is two fold: to find information that will help win the issue and to help leaders deconstruct common perceptions of those in power.

During these meetings leaders' perceptions of power are challenged. Most individuals, as stressed by Antonio Gramsi and Pierre Bourdieu are taught to believe that certain people, who are the experts, hold the facts and possess more knowledge then

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[12] For the details on leadership training refer to Shell Trapp *Dynamics of Organizing* (1986).

them. They are the experts because they have been put in a position of authority and as such make decisions that they deem best for their constituents. In these tactical investigations leaders come to realize that those in power may in fact not know how their city or how certain programs work. Shell Trapp(2005) illustrates this point well. In a fight for affordable housing a group of leaders went to the offices of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). They met with the director and told him how the CDBG (community development block grants) funds could be used and how in fact they were being used. During this meeting the HUD representative interjected to ask leaders what CDBG funds were (Trapp 2005). The leaders were surprised that a representative of the United States President, who handled millions of dollars, did not know about the fund he was supposed to be directing. Leaders were able to see the false dilemma Bourdieu (1977) spoke of. They realized that those in power in fact did not know everything and they also came to learn that as a group they are powerful and can push political leaders to serve their cause. The number one goal of an organization is to train leaders to do for themselves through empowerment.

Taking Action

"The organizer's job is to inch people along to the point where they're willing to do something that makes them afraid, something they have been told from childhood isn't nice, something that makes them step out of their place. That's crucial because nothing changes while we stay in the place society or the power structure has assigned us" (Trapp 2005: 99).

In community organizing there is a common knowledge that individuals must do for themselves and take action. The job for the organizer is then to break individuals from the practices they have internalized that make them feel helpless, unworthy, and

powerless. Alinsky (1971) stresses that people only understand things in terms of their experience, which means that the organizer must get within their experience (81). Therefore, actions taken by the organization must never go outside the experience of individuals, but be within their experience in the beginning. Actions are never violent and they all start with what makes leaders comfortable and what is fun for them. Leaders may not be ready to go eye ball to eye ball with those in power because it is outside of their experience. They have been taught to stay in their place and respect those in authority. Many actions may start with petitions, often viewed as a useless tactic by experienced organizers. Leaders start with what they are most familiar with, often tactics which are weak, and the organizer begins with this familiarity. The more leaders are ignored and if tactics do not produce results, the more they will search for different tactics. It is the job of the organizer through his or her experience to guide leaders towards the direction that will give them a victory. The goal of the organizer is to create different experiences with the individuals beginning with small victories. A victory resulting from the use of tactics new to the leaders, such as direct action, gives them confidence to do it again and it empowers them.

Community organizing believes and practices direct action (Stoecker 2002; Trapp 2005, 1983, 1976; Alinsky 1971). Direct action is taking the problem directly to those who have the power to make change. Action is the life blood of community organizing (Alinsky 1971; Trapp 2005). Leaders learn more about organizing through action. There are various forms of actions, each with the intent to deal with the one in power to make the desired changes. These actions may include three people meeting with a city leader, while a hundred stand outside the office or building. If the public official refuses to meet,

then there is the option of going to the city officials' front yard (also known as a hit) or attending public city or county meetings. Actions draw public and media attention to the issue and also put pressure on political leaders.

Tactics should be fun and purposeful. The tactics, the actions the organization takes, are never prescribed. Organizing is constant reorganizing. Actions transpire because the enemy has refused to meet and negotiate with the organization (Trapp 2005). Demonstrations add pressure to those who are able to make decisions, to come to the negotiation table (Trapp 2005). As Trapp (2005) strongly points out, they result when "all other avenues have been blocked, are the result of injustice, and reflect anger at injustice…" (89-90).

As Trapp (2005) suggests, actions are where leaders and the organization grow. It is where individuals learn organizing, get a sense of their power, and build new experiences that teach them that working together is the only way they will create systemic change. These new experiences deconstruct individuals' internalized perceptions of power. That is, they go against the stay in your place and be-quiet mentality. It demands of individuals to step out of that be nice rule breaking the social expectations about how individuals are to treat those in power.

Relationship Building

The first step in eliminating hegemony is by terminating individualism. This is done by the processes described above, one-on-ones and meetings. Individuals learn to take ownership of the organization. It is through taking up the responsibility of a leader
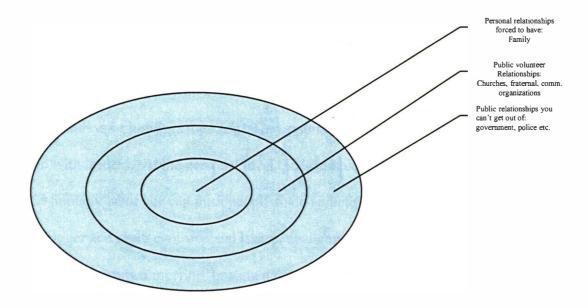
that people become aware of their own power and gain some dignity. The following quote, from Walker-Estrada's (2004) thesis on community organizing illustrates this point.

"Me being part of the big picture…it brought us together for me to be able to look at how the things should be ran for people in poverty. A lot of us in poverty don't know that we are able to do the things that we do. It's through being organized it showed me to do it. So what I'm doing now is taking my organizing skills that I learned and putting it to use so that it is not only benefiting me, its benefiting others" (Walker-Estrada 2004).

Through an initial one-on-one an organizer has taken the initial step to build a relationship with a potential leader and ally. Relationship building is not limited to potential leaders in the organization but, other organizations and public figures, such as political leaders and clergy. When individuals are able to identify their self-interest, a topic that will be described in detail later in this section, they start building relationships. These relationships are not just between other individuals who share their same self-interest within the organization, but relationships with future allies. This solidarity can be built between people and organizations that care about a particular issue, people of different classes, and political leaders (Stoecker 2001, Alinsky 1971). Building relationships is important to the organization because they build solidarity, increasing people power and social capital (Trapp 2005, 1976, 1985; Alinsky 1971, Freire 1970).

With communication, particularly the one-on-ones, or dialects, the organizer can come to know those he/she is organizing and give them the opportunity to know him/her as well as allowing leaders and organizers to build a relationship. Through this relationship the organizer can start challenging common beliefs leaders may have towards those in power, social change, and anger. There are differences between these relationships.

Figure 1: Types of Relationships

Personal relationships
forced to have:
Family

Public volunteer
Relationships:
Churches, fraternal, comm.
organizations

Public relationships you
can't get out of:
government, police etc.

In community organizing there are volunteer and forced relationships. Volunteer

relationships are those people can end at any minute with a friend, church, or club and

can become personal. Forced relationships are those individuals are pushed into, such as

family, government, and capitalist organizations, and they can not remove themselves

from them. In the inner circle, as illustrated in the diagram, the relationships are very

personal while those relationships in the outer circle are very public[13]. The latter includes

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[13] This does not mean that individuals can not build relationships with those who work for the government
or other capitalist institutions, but even then an individual can be held accountable when breaking the law
or leaving a phone bill unpaid.

relationships with capitalist institutions (ex. phone, water, credit report companies) and government.

Leaders in community organizer are taught to distinguish between these relationships to understand how power affects them. Within the organization leaders will develop personal relationships with each other, helping each other where they can and/or celebrating birthdays or holidays together. The organizer can build a personal and public relationship with leaders. At the personal level the leader can become the shoulder to lean on and publicly he or she can push people to do something they are afraid of such as, addressing bigger and more controversial issues, challenge those in power through direct action, testifying, running a meeting, hosting a meeting, and/or negotiating with the power holders. Before an organizer can push a leader to take more of a leadership role some type of personal relationship of trust is first developed. Leaders are also trained that when dealing with power they should treat this as a public relationship, because those in power can react personally to a specific demand or action by the organization. Those in power can use their status and their charisma to dissuade leaders from their goals, by portraying themselves as caring individuals, by being nice. For this reason the organizer pushes individuals to act on their cold anger.[14] Therefore, one-on-ones serve to make individuals think critically about their situation, to see their world, their objective reality, as it really is (with problems, inequality, unjust) and not as they want it to be (without problems, equal, and just)/subjectively.

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[14] In community organizing there are two forms of anger, cold and hot. Hot anger in community organizing is seen as detrimental and damaging to the person resulting in apathy. Cold anger is the persons' ability to recognize and identify a problem that makes them angry and their willingness to address it tactfully. Cold anger requires individuals to digest their situation, reflect on it, and the will to change it, therefore creating sympathy.

Building Power

"The organizer is about building power behind the issue so that people can win and find dignity through the process" (Trapp 2005: 100).

Power is defined as the ability to act (Trapp 2005; Alinsky 1971). Organizers stress that power, as Foucault (1977) illustrates is not always negative. Community organizing has the same understanding of power as Foucault. My interpretation of this topic is such: Foucault (1977) argues that power can induce both pleasure and pain. Community organizing puts power under two categories; power over people and power with people. I would argue that power over people is the power that causes pain, while power with people induces pleasure. The goal of community organizing is to make sure that power is shared with people and they do this through social capital of committed leaders. In the process they teach leaders the 7D's of power (See Appendix D for details). By learning how power works power is demystified and this new found knowledge is truly empowering to leaders, particularly because they are able to identify how power will react.

Like self-interest, as we will see later, power has the potential to be positive or negative. Power is never seen as static, but as always transforming itself. The world functions on power and "Power must be understood for what it is, for the part it plays in every area of our life, if we are to understand it and thereby grasp the essentials of relationships and functions between groups and organizations..." (Alinsky 1971: 52). Community organizing is very aware of this and their philosophy is that all organizing is constant reorganizing. However, the word power, like self-interest is viewed as negative

and corrupt and people fear it. Trapp (2005) states that this fear stems from three reasons; power requires people to take responsibility for acting, using power requires taking the risk that individuals will not be liked, and some organizers fear power will make people lose control (Trapp 2005: 116). Community organizing requires confrontation and actions most people deem unacceptable, but power will never concede anything without a demand, as stated by Frederick Douglas. As such, community organizing trains its leaders that disapproval is part of the territory. Those that fear people becoming empowered in fact show their own insecurities within themselves, argues Trapp (2005: 116). Finally, power requires responsibility and accountability. It requires that leaders and the organizer take responsibility for their actions and as such they must work together to make the best decision that represents those directly affected by the problem. This responsibility is best illuminated in the actions taken.

Reflection

Hegemony is alert and responsive "to the alternatives and opposition which question or threaten its dominance" (Williams 1997: 113).

Another aspect of community organizing is, as Freire (1970) suggests, action with reflection. Both of these tools are part of power analysis, cutting an issue, and the assurance of a victory. In order for individuals to make demands they must know who to go to and identify strengths and weaknesses in their organizing efforts. Community organizing strongly believes in reflection before and after any action. Part of this reflection is knowing how power works. In community organizing the workings of

power are broken down by teaching the 7D's: 1. deny 2. delay 3. deflect 4. deceive 5. divide 6.derogate 7. destroy.[15] This is important to organizations because it identifies successes, failures, strengths and weaknesses of the issue, organization, and actions taken by the organization. Furthermore, reflection is an analysis of the organization's goals and accomplishments. This is so vital to community organizing particularly because as Paulo Freire and Antonio Gramsci illustrate, an alternative society must be created. The society of the oppressor must not be recreated at the local or national level, because it will continue a system of oppression.

What is so unique about community organizing is the knowledge people gain through their leadership training. For community organizing Freire (1970) would argue that it promotes knowledge of liberation. Like the knowledge of the oppressor, this knowledge of liberation will be internalize and practice by the oppressed. Leaders will no longer take no for an answer or wait for a solution, but will become active. They will fight for an alternative reality and this is only made possible because individuals have reached an alternative consciousness to that of their oppressors. The central driving force behind all of this, however, is self-interest.

Self-Interest

Within grass roots community organizing self-interest is at the core of individuals' involvement. Ed Chambers (2003) in *Roots for Radicals,* defines self-interest as "the natural concern of a creature for its survival and well-being. It's the

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[15] Leaders in KHAN learned these seven phases of power to understand how power worked and reacted to those who seek change. See Appendix D for more details on the workings of power.

fundamental priority underlying the choices we make. Self-interest is based on nature's mandate we secure the basic needs and necessities of life, and develops further to include more complex desires and requirements…It is the source of the initiative, creativity, and drive of human beings who are fully alive" (Chambers 2003: 25). The term itself is a combination of two Latin words; *inter*/between or among, and *esse*/to be (Chambers 2003: 25). Self- interest is understood as peoples' interests being between and within relationships with others (Chambers 2003). When defined too narrowly, self-interest becomes selfishness (Chambers 2003). This selfishness is what we in society see every day from individuals who want to increase their material wealth for example, the number of houses, cars, t.v's, and property they can own with the goal of attaining more. On the other side of the spectrum is the counter-part to self-interest; self sacrifice, which is having the ability to suppress ones' own interests for others (Chambers 2003). Self-interest, states Chambers (2003), "involves knowing when and how to assert your concerns effectively" (27), therefore, too much of self sacrifice and an individual will be less likely to have a self-interest or ask for what they want. The self sacrificing individual will not be willing to make demands of any kind either for themselves or the organization. Knowing what you want and asking for it effectively is what community organizers looks for in individuals. The selfish person will be in it for themselves. They will not be willing to sacrifice, and will look to only maximize their needs. Neither is deemed a desirable leader in community organizing.[16]

There are four parts to self-interest that fall under two categories and are necessary in community organizing to hold the organization and its' leaders accountable. Chambers (2003) explains that to understand self-interest one must break it down into

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[16] This does not mean that neither exists in the organization.

two categories: 1) the world as it is and 2) the world as it should be. In the first, the world as it is, individuals are trying to survive based on the environment they live in. In the world in which they live there are certain necessities that they need for their own as well as their generations' basic survival. This can only be attained by securing the basic necessities such as food, clothing, shelter, safety, health care, education, and work (Chambers 2003). To Chambers (2003) necessities are what individuals are thrown into, not what they create for themselves; it is the "real world" per se (Chambers 2003). In the second, the world as it should be, are the hopes and aspirations of people. It is how people want their world to be or imagine it to be for themselves and others particularly their generations. Here are the dreams and expectations, yearnings, values, hopes and aspirations of individuals who see a potential for their reality to be different (Chambers 2003).

Between these two worlds Chambers (2003) further explains that there are four polarities, each explained below.

The World as It is← tension→ The World As It Should Be
Selft-Interest	↔	Self-Sacrifice
Power	↔	Love
Change	↔	Unity
Imagination	↔	Hope

(Chambers 200: 25).

Self-Interest ↔ Self-Sacrifice

There is a clear distinction between the self interest and self-sacrifice and a good understanding of both helps individuals work better together. There is a give and take relationship between self-interest and self-sacrifice. You understand your interest and learn how to give up a little of your own (self-sacrifice) to help others achieve their goals.

They in return will later help you achieve yours. With self-interest well understood individuals can assert their concerns effectively. The tension between the two polarities is learning when to do either one; when to give in and when to take.

Power ↔ Love

Power and love should be seen as equals, both having the ability to nurture, create and be shared or destroy. Both are very relational and equivalent to Newton's third law of physics: for every action there is an equal or opposite reaction. In power and love there are actors and recipients, each with the ability to give, take or share. There are two forms of power, equal and unilateral. Unilateral power is selfish and has its own agenda. It hurts others because it is taking more than it is giving. In an unequal relationship of power, power can be used over another individual or individuals to hurt them. Love can be wielded like power equally or unilaterally. We see this in many domestic violence situations where the predator uses the love the victim has for him or her to get the results he/she wants. So, like power it can be used positively or negatively affecting both parties equally or unilaterally.

> "To be affected by another in [a] relationship is a true a sign of power as the capacity to affect others. Relational power is infinite and unifying, not limited and divisive. It's additive and multiplicative, not subtractive and divisive. As you become more powerful, so do those in [a] relationship with you. As they become more powerful, so do you. This is power understood as relational, as power with, not over" (Chambers 2003: 28).

Change ↔ Unity

In order to create change people need to be united. How do you unite people from different thoughts, economic backgrounds, and/or religion? People are united by putting differences aside in the process learning how to compromise. When dealing with

power, they are also aware that compromises will transpire to reach their goal.

Compromise *is* involved in the process. Working with those in power, politicians and others involves good negotiations and compromises to avoid violence. Change and unity are rooted in the idea that you give a little to get a little, for a particular goal.

> "Maintaining creative tension between change and unity requires that we move beyond isolated politeness into collective public actions that include both acknowledgement or real differences and the search for workable compromises" (Chambers 2003: 34).

Imagination ↔ Hope

Imagination is the product of memory, good or bad, from individuals' lived experience. It is the igniting spark of hope for people. For example, if you remember being excluded from some type of activity because of your skin color, sex, or religion, you will never want to experience this in the future or better yet, you will hope that you and others won't have to deal with such discrimination. Imagination is the process by which we visualize and hope is the energy by which we can realize this. Imagination is needed to think of a different world, based on memories, to create that world. Memory is key to what we can imagine.

> "What we remember makes possible and limits how we understand the signs of our time; how we understand those signs makes possible and limits the future we can imagine. Imagination and memory allow us to recall, reflect, relive, and reorganize...imagination is what allows the tension of living between the two worlds to create newness, first in our mind and body, and then through our actions, in reality" (Chambers 2003: 34).

In community organizing the organizer is searching for individuals to organize. To organize them he or she has to get to their self-interest; what they care about, what makes them angry, and what they are passionate about. Sometimes this is an immediate need or concern for individuals. The organizer may speak to different people, from different backgrounds across all social barriers that distinguish and are used to separate people. To get them together he/she must bring them together based on a common self-interest. The organizer will then have a meeting (such as a house meeting) stemming from common issues people have brought up where they will come face to face with strangers and build relationships. Working together and caring about each other they will be able to imagine a better situation for themselves, their society, their family and/or their new found allies.

Taking this understanding of self interest, it can be argued that within hegemony and the habitus the powerful are able to organize based on their self-interest. Within academic literature, however, self-interest is described and understood as negative, coercive, and selfish. It is often associated with greedy and corrupt politicians, companies, and globalization. Yet, in community organizing self-interest is understood as the key motivator for peoples' involvement in everything and anything that they do (Alinsky 1970; Trapp 2005, 1976, 1985; Salb 2001). It is the key that the organizer is in constant search of when looking for leaders. A common misconception among intellectuals is that a part from being negative, self-interest is destructive. Self-interest in community organizing, just like the organizing itself, is understood as a force that can be positive and constructive as well as negative and destructive.

"Insofar as emotions entail both feelings and cognitive orientations, public morality, and cultural ideology, we suggest that they provide an important missing link capable of bridging mind and body, individual, and society, and body politic" because "emotions are the catalyst that transforms knowledge into human understanding and brings intensity and commitment to human action" (Lock and Scheper-Hughes 1990: 69).

Self-interest is dependent on peoples' personal experiences with institutions at the personal and public level (Trapp 1976), therefore it is important that a level of trust exist or develops between the organizer and individuals. When discovering someone's self-interest the organizer is not only battling against people's internalized perceptions of power, but may find him or herself fighting against apathy. Behind self-interest there must be anger (Trapp 1976; 1985). This is part of the transformation process that is left unexplored in academic literature, yet it is so vital for social change.

Anger

"But anger expressed and translated into action in the service of our vision and our future is a liberating and strengthening act of clarification, for it is in the painful process of this translation that we identify who are our allies with whom we have grave differences...Anger is loaded with information and energy" (Lorde 1998; 127).

Among second wave feminists, anger has come to be understood as a tool that can be constructive as well as destructive. Feminist academics along with psychologists agree that emotions, how we react to a particular situation, are determined by lived experience within culture, society, and power (Hooks 1995, Kitayama et. al 2006, Lorde 1998, Holmes 2004). This is also true for anger. They illustrate that even emotions or anger are part of social constructs, determining who is able to become angry and/or show their anger publicly (Lorde 1998, Atwood 1972, Homles, Hooks 1995). Within this

literature, anger is acknowledged as either constructive or destructive, different, yet complementary, to community organizing.

There are many analyses of anger within academic literature. Among psychological literature anger is understood as a product of the feeling of being denied the attainability of certain goals (Kitayama et. al 2006). Kitayama et. al (2006) explains that the "experience of anger implies…that the person is appraising the situation as one in which his or her own personal goals are being unfairly blocked by someone" (890). Others, like Audre Lorde (1998) and Bell Hooks (1995) argue that anger provides information and clarity for criticism. Others, like Holmes (2004) argue that anger, although a valuable tool is very chaotic because it comes from individuals and as such it is very ambiguous in creating or destroying relationships. Each of these orientations to anger is complementary to the definition provided by community organizing, yet incomplete.

Within academic literature amongst feminists, anger is accepted as a valuable tool that can be empowering and a catalyst for change (Lorde 1998; Holmes 2004; Hooks 1995). Yet, this change is never defined or made specific. It is not clear whether change only occurs within the individuals or within a community or both. Also, Lorde (1998), Holmes (2004), and Hooks (1995) do not describe how this change is to or can occur. Within community organizing, as I often heard the lead organizer say, "Anger is our gut feeling telling us that something is wrong". Mary Rogers (1990), in her work with Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS), discovered that anger is about taking charge, a process of self-discovery, getting to know one self and ones needs through a process of reflection producing questions such as; what makes me angry, why can't I live

the way I want, why am I in this situation? Anger requires a consciousness to realize, acknowledge, and accept what is wrong in individuals' lives. As this self-realization is tapped into it will become a viable tool for individuals to take action to change systems blocking their goals, thus empowering them. To identify specific problems requires individuals to see their world objectively as stressed by Saul Alinsky (1971), not as they would like it to be. It can be concluded then; that identifying what makes individuals angry requires that individuals come to know themselves. Therefore, as feminists hint at an individual transformation, but never describe it, and illustrated by community organizers, anger becomes the tool for the process of transformation that empowers individuals (Hooks 1995, Lorde 1998, Atwood 1972, Rogers 1990).

Using Kitayama et. al's (2006) analysis of emotions, it can be concluded that anger is heavily influence by cultural affordances re-enforced by subtle nuances. Cultural affordances are the understanding that "cultural environments can carry the potential of evoking very different sets of emotions and other psychological responses" due to experiences or nuances within cultural institutions (Kitayama et. al 2006: 892). It is the re-enforcement of positive or negative responses of individuals since childhood by the same institutions as in the habitus, such as the family structure, education system, religious sector, and or political system. Kitayama et. al (2006) set as an example a child whose behavior and grades are socially acceptable in school. This child is applauded by parents and school teachers alike. As this behavior is valued and encouraged, through these subtle cultural nuances, he or she is most likely to continue to produce this behavior and attach to it certain feelings, in this case good positive feelings. Social re-enforcement will produce a very high continuation of such behavior which the individual

internalizes for future re-creation and continued social enforcement. This internalization of what individuals learn is socially acceptable is part of our lived experiences as described by Antonio Gramsci, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michel Foucault.

Another difference between feminist literature and community organizing is the distinction made about anger. Within community organizing there are two types of anger, hot and cold. Within feminist intellectuals there is no such clarification. Each hints at their own understanding of anger but none refers to it as either hot or cold as is done in community organizing. Bell Hooks (1995) recounts her incident at the airport with her friend. Her anger turns to rage inciting feelings of murder towards the white man who has taken her friend's seat. Hot anger is what Holmes (2004) refers to as neurotic anger in which there is "misrecognition of the origins of emotion brought about by mythologizing the past. It cannot be transformed into effective political action because it is directed at an essentialized enemy 'other'" (Holmes 2004: 217). Neurotic anger or killing rage or, as referred to in community organizing, hot anger can have negative consequences. Hot anger is reactive, immediate, and typically non strategic. It can be unpredictable. We are all familiar with this hot anger when we are hurt when we feel attacked and immediately burst. We can burst into tears, harsh words, and or hurtful actions or we can shut down and never talk about what is bothering us. As unpredictable and as hurtful as hot anger can be, it is an undeniable human need and action to release. It also comes before cold anger.

Cold anger on the other hand, as described by Rogers (1995), is a result of reflection, probing, coming to know oneself whose goal is transformation within an individual and a society or environment. Cold anger is channeled and is very powerful

when working with others, more so than at the individual level to assure that those in power react. Cold anger does not attack as hot anger and can have the tendency to do, it is not personalized, but maintained public when dealing in public with public officials. A person with hot anger is most likely to meet with a politician and curse him or her or just the opposite, be very nice and agreeable and accomplish nothing. Someone with cold anger on the other hand, will not hurl insults. A group of individuals with cold anger will be very direct, assertive, will refer only to public decisions or promises made by the public officials and will come to the table with clear and specific demands. Such focus is accomplished through reflection of the groups' common interests driven by their cold anger. Cold anger is business like, acts powerfully, and when done right will accomplish its goals. In community organizing these goals, are geared towards systemic change. However, cold anger originates from hot anger. Hot anger points to a problem, ex. he hit me, the city took my house. Cold anger is reflective and strategic, ex. He hit me. What should I do next time to avoid this? The city took my house. What can I do?

Holmes (2004), as other feminists, also points to the benefits and productiveness of anger. Feminists agree that anger can become a catalyst towards change, it can clear the mind to think critically about a situation, and it empowers individuals (Hooks 1995, Holmes 2004, Lorde 1998, Helal 2005). Most importantly, as demonstrated by Lorde (1998), Rogers (1995), and, later as it will be discussed by Atwood (1972) it can create a positive transformation. This transformation that feminists speak of leaves the reader to conclude that it only happens within individuals. As part of this transformation, anger is acknowledged, welcomed, accepted and reflected on. It is no longer seen as negative, but a powerful tool.

A history of anger within the feminist movement highlights another point about anger. As stated previously feminists have come to see anger as positive, but before this, feminists viewed anger as an emotion to be directed specifically towards men, as illustrated by Lorde (1998) and Holmes (2004), often ignoring that they too were becoming gatekeepers of emotions suppressing other women's (such as lesbians' and minorities) emotional expression. Hooks (1995), Holmes (2004), and Lorde (1998) remind us that when first wave feminists were discovering and embracing anger, it was mostly the dominant white middle class women who were shaping the debate. They often left out minorities and until the 1990's still refused to talk openly about their anger not only towards men, but towards each other as women of different classes, ethnicities and sexual orientation. Hooks (1995), Lorde (1998), and Holmes (2004) argue that these feminists' anger was based on restrictions on their emotions due to pre-determined social cultural feminine roles, while minority women were facing economic stress, racism, along with sexism from men, society, fellow women, and colleagues. Raising this point, these women bring to our attention the societal restrictions of anger; the gate keepers and the unspoken rule of social etiquette.

Among feminists, there was a fear of being too critical or becoming angry with one another because there was an unwritten understanding that as feminists they should stick together (Holmes 2004). There was a fear that to become angry would be to participate in the patriarchy of abuse and control over others emotions (Holmes 2004, Lorde 1998). As stated by Lorde (1998), "The anger of others was to be avoided at all costs because there was nothing to be learned from it but pain, a judgment that we had

been bad girls, come up lacking, not done what we were supposed to do. And if we accept our powerlessness, then of course any anger can destroy us" (131).

This past history demonstrates that there are still gatekeepers of emotions. Gatekeepers, as participants of the oppression, will not and do not want anger expressed, but suppressed (Lorde 1998, Holmes 2004). Therefore, as Holmes (2004) stressed anger is only seen as negative or as dangerous, not because it is an emotion, but because it has the ability and power to threaten those in power. As stated previously, within feminist literature on anger, the transformation that occurs within individuals who embrace their anger, does not explain how this empowerment is to occur nor does it describe the type of change that it is to produce. In community organizing, how individuals react to an unjust system is the key to a transformation within individuals towards empowerment. As Mary Rogers (1995) cites "The IAF (Industrial Areas Foundation) organizations concentrate on the development of skill and insight that allows people to act for themselves, to transform themselves from passive participants who are content to have things done for them into actors who initiate change in their inner as well as outer lives" (50).

Towards Change

Margaret Atwood (1972) in her study of literature provides an excellent model that best illustrates how community organizing understands anger and why it wants people to get in touch with that anger. This model best complements what Mary Rogers came to understand from her study of COP's, that anger helps people get in touch with what is wrong while at the same time helping them to discover something about themselves.

Margaret Atwood (1972) shows quite clearly the connection between hot anger and cold anger. With each phase of Victimization the reader is exposed to the hot anger in stage one towards cold anger in stage 4 and possibly stage five.

Atwood illustrates the transformation from hot anger to cold anger from victim to actor. This fits perfectly with community organizing. In position one Atwood (1972) is demonstrates that there is a strong sense of denial. The Victim refuses to acknowledge she is a victim and all the other victims in his or her opinion are complaining because they have nothing better to do, that they are the ones misguided and lack understanding. The Victim in this position refuses to empathize with a person in the same position he/she is coming from because they happen to be in a better position. For example, two homeless people stay in a shelter. There are discrepancies in how the rules are applied by the staff showing favoritism. According to the rules, everyone who is to be provided with a bed must be at the shelter by 10p.m and out by 6 a.m., there are chores for everyone, and everyone has to participate in a group prayer (regardless of religion) before they eat. The homeless person who is given a break from these rules will be less likely to appose anything in the shelter for the fear of loosing what little advantages they have (a clean bed, a meal). The un-favored individual will not be happy with this irregularity in the rules and may express discontent. A situation of rugged individualism is created with the idea that every person is by and for themselves under the hands of those in power. The homeless individual with the upper hand is less likely to admit there are any problems vs. the homeless individual held accountable by the arbitrary shelter rules. There is anger here, but it is directed at others like that person; like the victim. For Atwood a person in this stage is not really in touch with their anger. Community

organizers will come across people like this. In community organizing, the organizer searches for a leader who expresses some frustration; some anger. He/she will come across those individuals who deny that there is a problem and who feel uncomfortable with the idea of anger. It is unavoidable. The organizer can continue to meet with such individuals until he/she deems the effort fruitless.

In position two the victim feels that there is a sense of hopelessness and feel the position they are in is inevitable, very much like Paolo Freire's (1970) description of a liberal. There is also anger here, but that anger is directed at others like the victim and the victim him or herself. An organizer deals with this sense of hopelessness when talking to individuals who have been stepped on and pushed down by the system. It is up to the organizer to get the individual to Atwood's step three; to admit that there is a problem, they have been treated unjustly, but that they can do something to change their situation and the system.

In position three the individual starts questioning things and getting in touch with his or her anger. This will be the emerging radical, as described by Freire (1970). Here the individual no longer accepts that their role as a victim is inevitable. Individuals are able to do this because they can now view their experiences objectively and critically. Paolo Freire (1970) refers to this as critical consciousness. The individual is able to reflect and decide whether or not to take action to change the situation he/she is in as well as the causes of that situation. From step two to step three, a community organizer agitates potential leaders into action by probing. He/she in the one-on-ones wants to get to what makes the person angry, what they are passionate about, and what they are willing to do. This position is dynamic and anger is directed at the source of the problem,

but Atwood (1970) warns that individuals can be consumed by their anger retracting to step two. Becoming in touch with the source of anger makes this position dynamic because it leads to constructive action (Atwood 1970). In community organizing this is the difference between cold anger and hot anger. Hot anger, in whatever form it takes has transformed to cold anger. The organizer searches and encourages the cold anger that will lead to constructive action. Before the organizer can get to that cold anger he/she will hear a lot of hot anger and will have work to channel this anger towards cold anger into action. With cold anger the organizer and leader can reflect, think, and plan clearly about a specific issue towards action, but just as Atwood (1970) points out there is always tension in this phase particularly to community organizing between hot and cold anger. Like those in position three leaders and organizer for KHAN are in danger of retreating to hot anger.

Finally, in position four, the possibilities for change are wide open. In this position the individual is able to accept and acknowledge that they were a victim and reflect on that experience. The individual is no longer a victim and is ready to take action. This is the phase that community organizers want their leaders to be in: reflective and accepting of their anger and their situation, and ready to take action. Their anger is channeled to a source and it becomes the energy for possible action. However, Atwood (1970) argues that in order for an individual to stop being a victim the society that made him/her into a victim has to be changed completely. Community organizing says otherwise. By taking action and working with others towards systemic change at the public and personal level individuals have stopped being the victim. They are willing to resist and do so. Not being a victim leads to constructive action to change the system.

Margaret Atwood leaves the reader with the final statement in her analysis: "There may be a Position Five, for mystics; I postulate it but will not explore it here, since mystics do not as a rule write books" (39). Daring to be a mystic, I believe that Position Five is fulfilled by community organizing. Community organizing searches for potential radicals as defined by Paulo Freire. In the process the community organizer becomes a friend, a consultant, confidant, a carrier of burdens, and inspiration of hope while in the search for leaders and developing leaders. In Paulo Freire's terms in Position Five the individual is now a radical. He/she is no longer degrading others who were in the same position as he/she, but is ready and willing to work with others in the same position to create systemic change. However, I would argue, that because of the constant thin line between hot and cold anger, people may retract to position three even if temporarily This is so because people are emotional beings. Whether we decide to go back or move forward is up to us.

Although Atwoods' (1972) analysis of victims and anger comes from her study of literature it is very complementary to community organizing. Community organizing understands that anger is viewed by the dominant society in the same manner as highlighted by Atwood (1972); as a negative emotion and as something to be hidden by the victim as well as society. Unlike feminist literature, community organizing clearly states that anger does not only empower and transforms the individual psyche, but also empowers and transforms communities. Without anger individuals will not identify their self-interest or take action (Trapp 1973, 1985). This self-interest leads to reflection and as Atwood (1972) illustrates, it provides room for a clearer picture and goals. It cannot be neglected that this self-interest initially can be narrow, for example wanting a stop

sign put up in a neighborhood to stop speeding cars, to be eventually broadened to education or housing. Anger becomes a tool for action and for this reason communication is very important to community organizing (Alinsky 1970).

In the following chapter my goal is to look at the dynamics of transformation amongst leaders. Prior to this, however, I speak about the origins of KHAN. In the search for transformation in chapter three I introduce three leaders to illustrate the connection between lived experience and community organizing.[17] I also show the reader that in community organizing empowerment is part of the transformation that transpires within individuals, as a veteran organizer states, leaders:

"…change not only physically but also mentally, to the point where they are somebody and have a contribution to make. Most of our neighborhood leaders in the beginning do not realize they have a contribution to give because nobody has ever asked them before, except to put money in the offering plate on Sunday morning… Then everything changes, not just for the organization but for the person who realizes she or he can accomplish something" (Trap 2004: 62).

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[17] For the reader interested in the biographies of other leaders interviewed please refer to Appendix C.

CHAPTER IV

KHAN

Adriana: Final question, how would you describe KHAN?

Marian: How would I describe KHAN? I can give you what we self describe (laughing...) We're a union of homeless and poor people and their allies who use direct action and go to the people that have the power to make changes. We keep going back and we keep going back, and we keep going back cause they always say no. They always say no first and we keep going back until they either get tired of hearing of us or they get afraid of us and our group numbers or whatever and they say yes. That's part of the definition that we have and that's my own little... (laughs...) (Interview 12, 2007).

The Origins of KHAN

The Kalamazoo Homeless Action Network (KHAN) is an organization and union of paying dues members of homeless and middle class allies who believe in grassroots direct action community organizing. There is a core leadership of 35-45 people with 80 to 90% who live at or below poverty level or who are homeless, and the remaining percentage is made up of middle class allies and organizations supportive of KHAN. Each leader can gain voting rights to the organization by paying an annual $25 dollar membership fee. These monies are invested into weekly meals and meetings, as well as other organizational expenses approved by the leadership and board. Leaders selected this style of organizing with the model of Cesar Chavez's migrant organizing in mind for leaders to have ownership and say in the organization.

It is diverse in its membership and issues taken up. The members include women, men, children, poor, homeless, and some middle class, White, African American, Native American, Mexican and Middle Easterners. The goals of the organization are to hold accountable any and all agencies and systems (including social service agencies,

hospitals, housing commissions, police, local, and national government,) that exist to help the poor, to provide services in a just and nondiscriminatory manner. For example, some issues taken on by the organization include permanent affordable rental housing, just treatment by police, social service agencies in Kalamazoo, business, and local shelters. Apart from holding existing agencies and systems accountable, KHAN fights for social justice and systemic change for the benefit of its leaders and the community through its model of grassroots direct action community organizing.

Coming from a grass roots direct action model, KHAN does not believe in doing for or advocating for individuals. Instead it promotes strong leadership for individuals to do for themselves in collaboration with others to create systemic change. To produce a strong leadership experienced KHAN leaders with organizers expect future leaders to become engaged in the organization by attending meetings, trainings, and actions. Those individuals who become leaders in the organization that are not affected directly by a problem are also expected to learn the dynamics of community organizing, to speak for themselves, and to support other fellow leaders. No one in KHAN is expected to be a volunteer, but a leader, regardless of economic status. This means that each member has been or will become trained in community organizing where they learn about the organization's values and workings. The leaders are responsible for the recruitment of more leaders as well as the functioning and existence of the organization.

KHAN flourished out of the Affordable Housing Trust Fund (AHTF) initiated by their leadership in Michigan Organizing Project (MOP). The core leadership of KHAN started from Dave's (who is now the lead organizer for KHAN) work as an organizer for MOP. By May of 2003 Dave had been working for MOP and living in Kalamazoo for 4

months. Within this period he had conducted hundreds of one-on-ones and had the Affordable Housing Trust Fund (AHTF) as a campaign. The lack of affordable housing became the number one issue selected by the original MOP leadership, which consisted of homeowners and social service agencies. Dave met Martin, (a former leader of MOP and KHAN) and together with other leaders began their tactical investigation. They researched the city's economy, politics, the number of working poor, and homeless in the city. The issue for affordable housing originated from a story that was being shared by the homeowners with Dave. People were very angry and upset with the death of an 8 year old girl. They informed Dave that this young girl lived in a condemned house with her mother and younger sibling. The house was condemned by the city, but the owner still rented out the house to this girls' mother. This was the only place the mother could afford, but lacked electricity, gas, and water. The young girl died in a fire that started in her room. That night she fell asleep doing her homework by candlelight. She knocked the candle down in her sleep starting the fire that took her life. The people Dave was meeting kept sharing this story with him. Upon closer inspection of the situation this leadership determined that the fact that the condemned sign had been removed was the problem. Then they fought for the city to make the condemned signs bigger, the size of legal paper, in bright colors and bilingual. They succeeded, but then as Dave and Martin continued to study the demographics of Kalamazoo they realized that the population most affected by slum lords was the poor and the homeless in desperate need of housing. This is how the affordable housing trust fund campaign was started. Some homeowners did not agree with Dave's and Martin's findings. Some believed that the death of the girl was due to the irresponsibility of the mother and therefore, the problems of the poor and

homeless inability to make the right decisions. These homeowners dropped off and the leadership of the organization changed drastically.

The lack of safe permanently affordable housing became the number one issue. Dave started volunteering at the local day shelter Ministering to the Poor. He started talking with the employees of the shelter and the people who used their services. By 2003 he had established good rapport and relationships with the employees, the Director of Ministering to the Poor, and the homeless. These efforts changed the face of the leadership of KHAN as throughout the years of its existence the prominent leaders became the poor and the homeless. Dave was allowed to use the facilities to hold meetings. At times the organization provided T.V's and computers for the organization to use as well as meals for big meetings or actions. These organizing efforts resulted in a core leadership of the housing campaign for MOP and a stable meeting place. This too changed, however, as the director of MOP kept questioning the organizational tactics of Dave and Dave's interaction with the homeless.

Disagreements with Dave and the director of MOP ensued. There was constant pressure on Dave to do something else other than the AHTF and his work with the homeless. During this time Dave was training emerging homeless leaders and by December of 2003 KHAN was official. People voted on a KHAN board and the name of the organization. This started the steps for grant applications and a non for profit status. People were approaching KHAN with issues they were facing in the KHAN weekly meetings. By December 2003 KHAN started addressing many issues affecting the working poor and homeless populations of Kalamazoo.

The new leadership of KHAN was very busy by January 2004. Naomi and I spent hours grant writing for KHAN's financial independence. KHAN was now continuing its work on the affordable housing trust fund and the discrimination of the poor by McDonalds, other social service agencies, and public spaces. The discrimination against the homeless led KHAN to the human rights campaign to reform the 1964 public accommodations act. The momentum created by this new leadership did not sit well with MOP. Many of the board members of MOP from Kalamazoo were the new KHAN leadership and the ones working on the affordable housing trust fund. In a period of a year an a half KHAN branched out from MOP due to the disagreements between the executive director of MOP and KHAN board members. This move re-enforced KHAN's power and capability to become an independent entity from MOP as an organization for and by the homeless.

Counter Hegemony: Building Relationships

KHAN is a very diverse group for several reasons. First, KHAN is the only homeless organization in Kalamazoo that is grass roots and uses direct action. Second, it does not exclude anyone from its efforts, but is realistic about those people or organizations that will work with them in the future and remain. Leaders welcome anyone willing to take direct action, become a leader, and learn the art of grassroots direct action community organizing. For this reason those who become leaders of KHAN or observe KHAN from a distance will see that in the organization itself there are homeless, working poor and middle class individuals working together. Finally, KHAN itself is very grass roots in that every issue the organization has taken on has been

brought up by the leaders. This means that every campaign the organization has pursued was due to the self interest of the individual who is willing to talk about the problem and get others involved. This grass roots movement begins by breaking the individualism created by the power structures of hegemony and the habitus. Each person interviewed for this research came to the organization because they had a relationship with someone who was already involved in the organization. The same is true for those that left the organization. Those that left and worked against KHAN did so because of a relationship they had with another person or because they broke the relationship they had with KHAN or other leaders of the organization.

For this thesis 10 people involved directly with KHAN were interviewed. Out of this group six participated in follow up interviews. People who did not have a follow up interview did not have one because they dropped out of the organization, organizing in general, or worked against the organization. A common theme that was prevalent in the data was the connection between personal experiences and involvement with community organizing and a transformation/consciousness. Also, everyone interviewed understood the working philosophy of KHAN. This transformation was not a change in individuals' consciousness regarding injustices or inequalities in the system. People were aware that the society in which they lived was good for some and not others. A transformation occurred at the personal and public level. At the personal level individuals became empowered. In some cases people describe themselves as ex-victims. At the public level a transformation occurred in the manner in which they thought power worked and how systems could change. For example each knew about and understood the following organizational strategies shown in Table 1.

Table 1 KHAN's Philosophy.

KHAN's philosophy	Out of 10 interviewed	Out of six follow up interviews
Number of people who identified a self interest for involvement in KHAN	10	6
Number of people who became involved with KHAN due to a relationship with someone in organization	10	6
Number of people who identified anger as being part of their involvement with KHAN or grass roots direct action community organizing	4	3
Number of people who did not identified anger as being a part of involvement with KHAN or grass roots direct action community organizing	2	3
Number of people who understood cold anger and hot anger as defined by KHAN	1	6

The following interviews highlight the following: the connection between personal experiences and community organizing, the role of relationships in the involvement with KHAN, the use of one-ones, and the role of self-interest.

The Leadership

Marian: KHAN leader and treasurer

Marian is a woman who appears to be in her late 40's. She is about five feet and wear's her salt and pepper hair short. Looking at her one would never guess that she had a weight problem all of her life. She is an ordained pastor, a hospice worker, and the treasurer for KAHN. She is best described as a bold sinner. In a conversation we had about Luther she commented that "It is better to attempt to do something and be wrong, or do it in the wrong way, than to do nothing at all, to sit there and twiddle your thumbs.

God is more likely to forgive us for bold errors than for cowardly inaction" (Interview 2006).

Marian was born in Southern Illinois. All of her life she's had problems with her weight as a result she became a victim of scrutiny, criticism, ridicule and discrimination. "This is where most of my kicking around comes" she stated in one of our conversations. Her weight problem wasn't the only experience she had with injustice. Growing up any time she expressed anger about the way the world operated her family would react in shock and questioned her anger. During her studies in seminary school she came face to face with a tier system of privilege. Only those individuals who lived on campus and were pursuing a masters' of divinity received the mentoring and guidance to help them succeed leaving the rest to fend for themselves. Marian fended for herself in seminary as she had done all of her life. At one point she was put on emotional probation for seeking help to learn Hebrew. Only the males were allowed. When she insisted she was asked to settle for less, told that maybe ministering was not for her and was threatened with the removal of her certificate of wellness from the administration. Marian, as she stated, felt that she took many personal risks defending her rights and was often shunned from expressing any anger.

Marian was brought to Kalamazoo by work and schooling. She became a pastor for one of the churches in the surrounding Kalamazoo municipalities and studied to get her Masters' in social work at Western Michigan University. She became involved with community organizing by coincidence and then due to her personal and close relationship she developed with Dave. Marian was acquainted with Pastor Martin, a long leader of KHAN and MOP, and had heard of MOP many times in the social work classes she took

from a professor who worked with both organizations. In a particular class session Professor Mann spoke about MOP and a "shop in" the organization was going to do on a local grocery store that was discriminating against the homeless. The goal was to go to the store and fill the carts with food and then abandon the carts full of merchandise without purchasing a thing. Professor Man also brought in many recorded city commission meetings to show to the class which coincidently encouraged Marian to continue watching them on her own. "I remember watching the meeting where there were a lot of people in City Hall. The mayor said, 'If you don't have anything new to say, don't waste our time.' I remember Rev. Martin walking to the podium when the mayor said this and telling him off. He told him off really good with civility" she said laughing.

Martin was a part of a project that Dave was working on with local churches. Martin always talked about the clergy caucuses he had to attend and help organize. Marian had been looking for a clergy group to belong to and this sounded perfect to her. Her interest perked, Marian proceeded to ask him about these caucuses. Reverend Martin was slow to realize that Marian was really interested in attending these. When it finally dawned on him, Reverend Martin invited Marian to attend the clergy caucus organized by MOP.

Marian declares herself a quiet person when in new places. This time it was different. She found herself talking at this particular clergy caucus. These gatherings hosted by MOP served to help and guide local clergy to make a connection between their religious beliefs about Jesus' work and society beyond the walls of the church. For some

it was difficult to accept what MOP was proposing; that Jesus was about social justice. Some clergy still held on to "blame the victim" mentality.

The conversation at the caucus turned to the poor. A pastor from a local church questioned the credibility in the stories that some of the homeless were telling. He felt that the poor and homeless were in such conditions because they were making bad choices and he felt that the homeless should be held accountable. To prove his point he shared a story about a poor person who spent his money on a new T.V. set. This upset Marian and she spoke up. She asked him: "Who holds those accountable for what they do have?" She shared the story of a friend and parishioner who'd recently divorced.

As part of the divorce her friend was to stay in the house she once shared with her ex-husband and he was to provide the funds to fix it. This did not happen. Her friend was going to school, working full time, and was on welfare. Then, a sewer pipe broke in the house filling the basement with raw sewage. Being a member of the church she asked for help. Instead of receiving immediate help, her credibility and necessity were questioned. The deacons of the church met with her occasionally and asked her many questions regarding her lifestyle. They wanted to know how she spent her money and even went as far as to ask her if she ate at McDonalds and if so how often. Marian shared with the caucus that she could not understand how her own church could not help her friend; a parishioner of the church. So, she started attending many prayer meetings and as a prayer request asked that someone would help her friend. A wealthy church member, who attended these prayer requests, could not believe the situation, "You mean this problem has not being taken care of yet?" she asked Marian.

"No, it has not" responded Marian.

"I'll see what I can do", answered the woman.

The woman managed to push her church and in a matter of weeks she fixed the problem that had taken the deacons a month to address. Upon concluding her story, Marian tabled the question again: "Who holds those that do have accountable for what they do have?" She received no answer.

After the meeting she was approached by Dave. He insisted on scheduling a time to meet with her. Marian misunderstood his intentions and was standoffish. "I didn't understand what was happening. I was wondering why he would want to have lunch thinking that he might be interested in me. Now of course he tells me that he *was interested* in me becoming a leader," she said laughing. She went out to lunch with Dave "I was wondering why he would want to know so much about me, but I didn't understand that he was organizing then and was doing a one-on-one. I didn't know. Later he wanted me to do a prophetic call and I asked, 'why me?' He responded by telling me that I knew the bible more than he did and therefore I could talk about it better from a clearer and better understanding. I had my own reasons, but I asked him for the book, "The Prophetic Call". He lent it to me, I read it and I understood what he was doing. The "The Prophetic Call", was about Jesus organizing and I understood then what Dave was doing and what his intentions were. I got it then. The book spoke about what I had been thinking for many years in a much better and clear way. I got it."

Lili: Leader and board member.

Lili is an African American woman with two sons. She is of short stature, wears her hair short, has a strong character and is highly intelligent. She has two sons, one with

a disability. Lili is well known in the city. Where ever she went there was always someone to say hi to. This made her a great leader. Lili worked for the Kalamazoo Police Department for over 20 years until she had a nervous break down. From that point on she went on disability while trying to maintain a family with a fixed income. She became involved in community organizing when she became homeless based on the failure of her landlord to pay the water bill. The water to the house was shut off and the house was condemned by the city, regardless of whether or not Lili had paid her rent on time. A month before the house was officially condemned Lili called housing resources on three different occasions, she called family independent agency, went there personally, and called the water department to no avail. No one was able to help her. The shelters were another problem for Lili. Living in shelters meant the separation of her family with availability only for single women or men under a certain age. The only shelter that took in families only allowed mothers and sons under the age of sixteen to share the same room. Lili did not want her 17 year old son with bipolar and ADHD out of her sight, so this was not an option. She had to take her son's safety into consideration.

Lili tried to get other forms of assistance offered by the shelters. When she tried to get assistance for a motel room, the shelter was unable to provide this, stating that they could only help one out of nine people at the time. As a final attempt in her search she called the only shelter she had yet to reach, she called Open Arms, where Martin was the director. Martin took her call and listened. She shared her story with him and he informed her that he could not help her, but knew someone who probably could. Martin directed her to Dave. Dave saw this as a terrible situation that once made public could draw attention to the need for the affordable housing trust fund and put pressure on the

city to help Lili. He and Martin quickly prepared for a press conference on the steps of Lili's condemned house.

The local news media took the bait. There were pictures taken of Lili sitting underneath the steps of the house she once rented. This had been her home for a week, a terrifying experience for her and her two sons. The local newspaper, Kalamazoo Gazette and the local news channel 3 were there. Lili shared with me, "…they [MOP] had a press release, so the public could know this is what's happening. I had called every shelter, they was all packed, had called churches nobody could help me. But after the press release I started to get the help that I should have gotten from the beginning. They did not write the article, they just took down the information and contacted the city building division and housing resources, the other non profit agencies that had turned me down". The newspaper, wanting to get everybody's side of the story, started calling the different agencies that Lili had contacted. Before Lili knew it, the agencies that would not help her before were now offering her assistance. The city turned the water on in the house for a limited time, until Lili could find another place to live. Lili was given cash assistance for a security deposit on an apartment selected for her by the city and she was given money for a hotel room while she waited. Lili learned from this experience and stuck with organizing since then, "Up until then I was not involved in any type of organizing, but after going through what I had to go through and doing it alone and getting no help, no kind of answer, no kind of resolution, I decided that after that…after contacting Michigan Organizing Project at the time, and getting and seeing the results in a group I decided that this is the best type of organizing and I could get involved in. I didn't want anybody else going through what I had to go through" (Interview 3; 2006).

Naomi: Associate organizer for KHAN

Naomi was born in Niles Michigan. She comes from a middle class family and remembers getting everything that she asked for. However, life was not easy for her. She experienced sexual abuse, rape, and homelessness at an early age. By age three Naomi's father had walked out on his family. He divorced and remarried when Naomi was five. After this life transition he moved two houses down from where Naomi, her mother, and siblings lived. She remembers visiting him on the weekends. Naomi's mother tried to get her realtors license, but the market bottomed out. Her mother looked for other options. She interviewed for a Girl Scouts position with out success, but this did not stop her from moving her family to Chicago. When Naomi was thirteen, her sister and mother moved to the northwest side of Chicago where her mother found work as a barmaid.

The move did not help the relationship between mother and daughters. Naomi was constantly fighting with her half sister, whom was preferred by her mother's side of the family. Naomi and her mother did not get along and Naomi was not receiving much comfort from her extended family. She felt that she could not confide in her mother about earlier abuse and pain. So, Naomi resorted to running away and drinking to deal with her victimization.

At age fifteen Naomi became homeless for the first time in her life. She went to the store for her mother and on her way back she was lured into a car, drank, and was dropped off in an unfamiliar and dangerous part of Chicago. Seven to eight months later Naomi was found and the state took custody of her. As she became older she entered abusive marriages. As a result of the domestic violence and poverty her family lived in

her children were taken by social services. She still celebrates her children's birthdays. One of these bad marriages brought Naomi to Kalamazoo. Unable to tolerate his abuse she fled to Florida leaving him behind. There she befriended a stripper. As Naomi expressed how homesick she was, the stripper offered to buy her a ticket to anywhere in the country where ever home was. Naomi was touched by this gesture. Although the woman had a child to care for she still offered her help. She accepted the offer and when Naomi was asked where home was, she replied Kalamazoo. She doesn't know why she chose Kalamazoo as her previous stay had been with her ex-husband and it had been a bad one. As fate had it, on her way to Kalamazoo her train stopped in Chicago. There she hesitated towards the continuation of her path. She stepped out of the train station for a smoke. As she smoked she thought about her decision. She asked some men for a penny. This penny in a toss determined her final destination be Kalamazoo and in 2002 Naomi once again set foot in the city and she remarried.

She became involved in community organizing when a friend at the local day shelter invited her to a meeting about housing at Ministering to the Poor. She walked into the room where the meeting was held and remembers a video on Saul Alinsky being played. There she met Dave. She didn't quite understand what was happening, but she knew it had to do with people trying to attain power and she wanted it. "I did not quite understand what they were doing, but I understood they were getting power. What they were doing was getting something done about the problem…" she said. The meeting was about housing, and as Naomi put it, she needed housing and went to the meeting. At the time Naomi and her husband became homeless because of a car accident. Naomi was hit by a car and found herself receiving the minimalist assistance from the hospital. The

same day she was received by the hospital she was asked to leave because her knee injury was not considered damage enough. The injury did not heal properly and the pain was immense. Naomi was forced to quit her job. The work that her husband had at a local fast food restaurant was not enough to support both of them and they lost their housing. Her participation in this housing meeting held by Dave started a snowball effect in her participation. She attended many meetings and made a brief testimony one summer at a city hall meeting. In November 2003 as the elections for city commission ensued she testified about the lack of affordable housing and the situation that led her to homelessness. That night she gave city commissioners invitations to a dinner with the homeless hosted by MOP. That cold and wet November night of 2003, all running candidates attended the dinner and ate the meal prepared Naomi and her husband: sliced hot dogs and bean casserole.

Observations

All individuals interviewed understood the working philosophy of KHAN's direct action. However, not all individuals describe a transformation in their consciousness. Instead they describe what Susan Stokes (1991) describes as discursive knowledge. This discursive knowledge gained by individuals is described by them as their ability to identify specific actions and feelings unease or anger towards a specific issue, something happening in their society, or simply how others reacted to their actions. They were not only provided with the language and tools, but they were in an environment that confirmed previous beliefs about their view of society and injustices. A good example

here is Marian.[18] Continuum of care meetings focus on the causes and effects of poverty

with the complexities of Mental Health. KHAN moved the focus to the real effects of

poverty beyond the typical areas addressed by the social service providers of lack of

employment to affordable housing. As a strategy to change the ways the system (local

government and social services) addressed homelessness and poverty KHNA attended

many public continuum of care meetings. The providers became weary of KHAN and its

leaders' willingness to put forth input in the way public federal dollars should be spent in

the City of Kalamazoo.[19] Marian shared her experience about attending a continuum of

care meeting.

> "Going to the continuum of care meeting, I was recovering from surgery, so I wasn't at work during the day. So, I got to go to this meeting. Naomi kept making statements and asking questions. What she wanted was the assurance that they were going to listen to homeless people and include homeless people in their decision making process. And they just kept ignoring her. She said, I don't know how many times, at least three and me being the stupid middle class person that I was, I thought they weren't understanding her" she said laughing "So after three times at least, I spoke up and restated what she had said. Well, because a middle class person had restated what she had said, they got mad and this one woman ripped me one side and down the other. I can't think and tell you who it was, but I can't remember. That's exactly the same reaction I always got every time I would say something; this is not right. I wouldn't even be angry when I was doing it, it was just; this isn't right we need to do it differently, it doesn't work, it's not just, it's not equitable. We need to do it differently. Then people would get mad at me and somebody would always, inevitably, would come back and say 'Marian you were angry, you were too angry even when I wasn't angry and...I said that with out anger, which she came back to me and ripped me one side and down the other. I came back even more adamantly and restated it again and then that is when Nick came in and said time out, 'this is what's really going on folks, and blah, blah, blah,' you know and tried to smooth everything over. Not because I was angry, but because the woman got angry cause she felt attacked. When we were walking out from that meeting I said 'This is what happens to me every time I just state my case and that's when Dave said, 'that's because you weren't keeping your place. You weren't playing the nice game and keeping your place.

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[18] Social service providers attend meetings called continuum of care for the purpose of deciding where to spend federal dollars to either help the poor, homeless and mentally ill, or find solutions to the problems these populations face in their city.

[19] As a legal requirement any organization that received public funds must have public meetings.

You forced them to address the issue and they got angry at that. Big light bulb went on… 'Ah, that's what the problem has been all this time. (Laughs) I won't keep my place (laughs some more, big rich laughter)" (Interview 12: 2007).

Other members of KHAN describe a complete transformation in the way they viewed the world an example is Mark, a prominent homeless leader of KHAN. At the age of twelve Mark was struck by the distinction between the rich and the poor during a church service.

Like I told you just before, when I was twelve years old I took a good look around that Methodist church one day, I knew something was wrong and that day alone I was so damned mad I had to go fishing just to stay away from everybody just because I was so pissed off, at twelve years old (Interview 12: 2007).

Mark knew something was wrong with his environment, but was not able to describe exactly what was wrong with it. With KHAN's leadership trainings, like other leaders, he learned the functionings of power (See Appendix D), he was able to demystify power's grip on society. The following example shows Mark expressing empowerment from this new found knowledge as well as his acceptance of his anger.

"…I have absolute reason to have fire in my belly to be ticked off all the time about issues that other people…they get stuck on this herd mentality, I have broke free from that a long time ago. Now, I am fully realizing why I broke free from that" (Interview 10: 2007)

Another perfect example of a confirmation of beliefs is Rhonda another former KHAN leader. Her economic situation with a single mother showed her that it was not a just system for people, therefore she related to the underdog. She has a certain understanding of the system that the rest of the KHAN people expressed time and time again, the power and resources were not equally shared, therefore a false dilemma as described by Bourdieu was present.

I am not sure what it was in my life, uhm, that led me to always look for equality, but I remember I was arguing with my father. He had a very racist understanding and sexist understanding. Even as an 8 or 9 year old I would call him out right there, and I am not sure if that was because growing up as the kid that was different than everyone else or does not have enough as everyone else, ah, but I think I had a good perspective on what it takes. I think also, the other night we heard a politician that anyone who is working a minimum wage can raise their family and live somewhere and I know that's not true. Also, people say all you need to do is get a good college education and then you'll have a good job and then you can buy a house, and I know that's not true. Both of my parents had a college education and they still had to struggle and so this part of me that has lost that naiveté which I think leads me to work for justice because you just can't sit in your little house and be sure that if everybody else works as hard as you do they can be here too. I think that watching my parents struggle as college graduates, uhm, and things like depression I am pretty sure that's what happened to my dad. That's a real thing. You can't say, 'well is his fault that he's poor', like we heard a politician say the other night. Uhm, so I think that all of those perspectives led me to understand that it's not…well, sometimes, most times, it's something going on with the system, it's something going on with the person that you just can't say that it's your fault your poor. (Interview 7: 2006).

Addressing systemic problems is central to KHAN. Rhonda's focus on the system was always encouraged by the organization in order to find solutions. In the interview with Rhonda, she was very aware of a problem with the system, she lost that naiveté, but it wasn't until she became involved in community organizing that she realized specifically how to deal with those problems and how power would react to her actions.[20] Joining KHAN served to confirm her beliefs then about the system and that working with others was the only way to create change. However, KHAN provided her with the tools to break down the workings of power as it did for Marian and Mark.

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[20] She shared with me the story of a commissioner calling her after she, as a leader of KHAN, expressed publicly the disappointment in his failure to show up in a KHAN and MOP meeting. He chastised her.

Table 2 Years of Experience.[21]

People interviewed	Number of years in organizing	Previous involvement in direct action community organizing	Activist involvement
Dave	20+	Yes	Yes
Marian	2+	No	No
Naomi	4+	No	No
Mark	4+	No	No
Tony	3	No	No
Rhonda	2	No	Yes
Martin	3	No	Yes
Lili	4	No	No
Cathy	2+	No	No
T.K	7+	Yes	Yes

As table three shows, ninety percent of the individuals in KHAN had no prior experience in direct action community organizing other than the lead organizer Dave and T.K. Others however, 40% did have some type of experience becoming involved in some form of movements that weren't necessarily direct action but activism, this also includes Dave. Dave, Rhonda, and Martin were involved in activist groups in their high school careers and or college. Rhonda was very active with the Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Ministerial Alliance in Princeton. Although her organization consulted with a professor who was very familiar with grassroots direct action community organizing, Rhonda did not make the connection between her actions in Princeton with the student organization and grass roots direct action community organizing. In her interview she realizes that she was doing this form of organizing prior to KHAN, but was unable to break it down in terms to understand power as KHAN taught in their various trainings.[22] Dave and Mark were involved in their high school's Students for Democracy and

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[21] For table three under number of years, those with (+) continue with the organization or organizing with KHAN, those without this sign have left the organization and organizing.

[22] This again refers to the seven D's used in KHAN as well as all direct action community organizing to break down the power structure and its actions.

engaged in activities that questioned the power structure. Martin in particular wrote articles on how to avoid the draft during the Vietnam War. Dave became involved in the right to busing to black neighborhoods so his classmates could make it to school. In college Martin became involved in the antiwar movement. During the gap between high school graduation and college Dave became involved in desegregating a Big Boy restaurant in Indiana. Later he became involved in building co-ops across America and solar energy for America until becoming involved with direct action organizations. T.K was involved with the AIM movement while he lived in Tennessee and while in prison he and other AIM members fought for better treatment by the warden until they won. The rest of the individuals prior to KHAN had not been involved in any organizations or other forms of organizing. It is important to mention any other form of involvement individuals had with any form of social engagement as it serves to better understand their involvement with KHAN, their perceptions about the world, thus their transformation.

These KHAN leaders, like the rest interviewed understood that the system was not just, that there was something false being created. For example, Marian, was angry about a lot of injustices. All of her life she had a weight problem. Then in her experiences with college, and life in general, when she questioned authority, she was reprimanded. Like Marian other leaders once involved in KHAN they were provided with an environment that encouraged them to question authority and systems and welcomed anger. In KHAN too, they were provided with the language to name the wrongs and the functioning's of power. A transformation per se, in their consciousness about a system that was unjust did not happen but what did occur was the encouragement and development of that awareness by providing them with the tools to objectively and

critically analyze their society and change their environment. They were not only provided with discursive knowledge, but training.

In KHAN and MOP I heard a famous quote by Frederick Douglas that, power concedes nothing without demand, to the point that it is ingrained into everyone involved in the organization. When demands are put to power, there is motion which creates friction.[23] Friction is the beginning of breaking the be-nice rule. All individuals in KHAN learned that breaking the be-nice rule causes reactions by those in power as was the case many times. Challenging power begins with bringing people together with a clear set of demands. Dave began this process by conducting many one-on-ones.

<center>*   *   *</center>

As stated previously one-one-ones are the first step in establishing rapport and finding leadership. In interviewing Martin he explained how in his fist encounter with Dave he shared this story he had read about a PETA victory over McDonald's treatment of chickens. Martin shared with me, "So, that's how it happened. I really didn't know what I was saying. I was telling him that I was angry, and I had seen from the PETA business that, 'wow you could actually affect companies on issues they don't have any interest in dealing with', and it just shocked me that no one was doing that for the people in Open Arms shelter. I had learned by then that no one was asking about public resources or about public methods of handling things; what affect it was going to have on people? No one was asking about that, we were not allowed to even bring it up like they had ruled that out of order in that strategic meeting". Martin was invited by Dave to attend house meetings. He attended two and then told Dave that he had no interest in

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[23] This was Dave's favorite quote and he would never let us forget that when making demands from the elite, that there would always be friction. This friction would then lead to heat or change.

making neighborhoods safer for middle class people or have any interest belonging to such a group. Dave insisted that he stick with it, because it was nothing like Martin perceived. He told Martin that at such meetings people were given an opportunity to express what they were feeling, what was most important to them and in this case their neighborhoods. Dave insisted that things would get worked out and then there would be an election to vote on the most important issues. Martin stayed, and became part of the original group to vote housing as an issue to be taken on.

Dave as the organizer appealed to Martin's self-interest which was to find housing for a population he was very close to and familiar with; young males who aged out of shelters and all housing assistance was non existent for them. Working as a director of a shelter Martin got to see first hand how a real solution to ending homelessness was not a priority to the social service agencies that worked with the poor and homeless.[24] By becoming involved in house meetings that he originally had no interest in, Martin was able to use his voting power towards and issue he cared about; affordable housing. Martin learned to compromise by putting his biases towards middle class people aside.

Martin joined MOP and later KHAN because a self-interest and a relationship he built with Dave. Marian is also an example of a person joining the organization because of a personal relationship, but not the only one. The majority of the people involved with KHAN knew somebody who was a leader in the organization and later they too became

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[24] Martin recounted his experience with a local organization named LISK. On the first day of the strategic meeting for affordable housing people were asked to select the three biggest unmet needs in the community, then they were to report back. Martin reported three, the first being the need to pay low wage workers more because no matter what they did they could not afford housing, prisoners returning to the community could also not afford housing due to the regulations, and finally there was nothing available for children aging out of foster homes. The director of LISK at the time walked up the three things Martin had selected, he pointed to them and shouted that " 'this stuff right here, this ain't going to happen'" (Interview 5).

leaders, with the exception of Martin. Martin became involved because of an issue that appealed to his self-interest and later because he too developed a relationship with Dave. Leaders came to the organization with an immediate self-interest, from housing to a personal relationship, that later expanded. Lili is an excellent example of this:

Lili: I was thinking about finally somebody listening to me. Previous to that I had done everything that Dave and Martin and the Michigan Organizing Project had to do, I had done it by myself and made phone calls; called housing resources on three different occasions. I had called family independent agency and went down there, I had called the water department, so they were just giving me the red tape. You know, uh, but after they got involved I was pissed because they got the results that I had been working for, for weeks to a month before being condemned.

Adriana: But after all of that was taken care of, what did you think?

Lili: I thought what an organization. I thought if this is the organization that is willing to work with people not for people, then this is the organization that I am definitely going to get involved in so nobody else would have to go through what I have been through.

This desire to prevent others from experiencing homelessness, led Lili to participate in actions that did not pertain directly to her. Lili as well as Naomi's involvement with KHAN was due to a self-interest in housing. They committed to the organization and others in the organization on other issues besides housing. This is an example of self-interest expanding. As these new leaders continued working with the organization relationships with others evolved. Naomi stated that she knew that without relationships things would not get done and expressed an importance in them:

Naomi: Cause I also build relationships with people by talking to them and when we build relationships you become upset with what is happening in our lives. It helped me a lot.

Others like Cathy and T.K discussed in their interview how KHAN is like a big family.

Adriana: And how would you describe KHAN?

T.K: Uh, pretty much a big family, everybody sticks together and defends one another. So, that's the way I picture family, that's the way my family was, and that's the way I picture KHAN.

Cathy described KHAN in the same way in her interview:

Adriana: What have been your experiences with direct action community organizing; Positive and negative?

Cathy: Everyone supports everyone else and its just one great big family.

<p align="center">*   *   *</p>

By becoming involved with KHAN the leaders had a transformation. With this transformation came empowerment. In some cases they went from victim to victor. However, this wasn't always the case. There were many people that came in and out of the organization that seemed to buy their role as victim or a person who deserved what they were getting. Larry was such a guy. In a weekly KHAN meeting Larry expressed how he felt he needed to earn his housing. Those he conversed with strongly disagreed with him.

"Housing is a civil right," Larry said.

"That's right," answered Marian.

"No," I interjected, "Housing is a human right because a civil right can be taken away at any minute".

"Well," continued Larry, "what I was saying at the last meeting was that we need to do something to earn it."

"Why?" I asked "You shouldn't have to. Programs are keeping people away from housing to begin with….." Before I could finish Marian interjected.

"See, most poor and homeless people can not get a job because they do not have housing. They can not get a job because they do not have that address", said Marian.

"Yeah," answered Larry, "but I feel that I should earn it".

"Well if you have housing," Marian continued, "you can get a job and you can then earn your housing".

"You see," Larry continued "when I was over there they had me do community service to be able to stay in their place. I earned my way." Apparently Larry had belonged to a housing program that I was unfamiliar with.

"Yeah, but" said Marian "the fact that they made you do community service was them telling you that it was your fault. They were blaming you when in fact…."

"It is the system's fault", Dave cut in "It is a systemic problem. It is the system that is creating poverty".

"They were treating you like a criminal," said Marian.

"Yes they do," said Larry.

Marian, Dave, and I nodded our heads in agreement.

Marian continued, "They were treating you like a criminal when in fact homelessness is not a crime. There is no way that homelessness is a crime".

"Well," explained Larry "what I was trying to say at that meeting is that we should have programs for people who want housing. Say, someone does not have a job, what you do…."

"We decided that we would keep it at 30% of people's income," interjected Dave. "We keep it simple so we don't end up with a 50 page document. Therefore, if you do not have an income you do not pay anything, but you have housing. If you collect cans then you would pay 30% of the three dollars you make."

It wasn't the first time Larry spoke with such complacency about the homeless need to earn what he appeared to consider a privilege. Larry is an extreme example of someone who invested in the belief of self-blame and self help policies. KHAN leaders could not believe what he was saying after all that he had gone through. Larry stayed at the Julius Mission earlier in the winter of 2006, when he found a job as a security guard. He got hired to work third shift, which conflicted with the 10p.m-6a.m. program of the mission. According to the shelter rules anyone who wanted to use the shelter had to arrive by 10 p.m. and leave by 6 a.m. and sign up for chores.[25] This automatically excluded Larry. He was kicked out of the mission, which meant no bed and no meals. Larry eventually lost his job and was able to return back to the mission.

Naomi on the other hand transitioned from stage one to stage four of Atwood's model. All Naomi seemed to know was victimization. She was molested, raped, abandoned by those close to her, and married abusive partners. She learned to use her victimization as a tool to attain what she wanted, thus becoming a predator. As she became more involved with KHAN she learned to leave this role behind her.

Adriana: Was it different for you in the beginning, what organizing expected from you?

Naomi: Yes. It was the first few weeks because I didn't think it would take very long? Right? (laughing) Well, there was a need and there was an idea, o.k.: problem, solution. Unfortunately it takes a while to get people to realize that you actually have the solution.

Adriana: This actually leads to my next question. Does this form of organizing challenge any common beliefs that you had on how you were supposed to create change or get what you wanted?

Naomi: I wasn't supposed to get what I wanted. I was suppose to be quiet, be good, and know my place like I was doing. I was supposed to be part of the system and let them make money off of me and not question them at all because they knew what was best for me.

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[25] Shelters in Kalamazoo require that those using their facilities do chores to earn their stay and meal.

Adriana: And what did organizing say about that?

Naomi: (laughed before continuing) That I am the expert on my own problems. Yep, that as poor people, this is me personally, that I'm the expert, that I actually do know what is going on with me and what solutions can be, that I am not the victim.

Adriana: Again, how long was it before you realized this were involved in organizing?

Naomi: Oh, God, that was three years before I realized that. That was in my organizers' training where I realized that organizing moves you out of being a victim.

Adriana: And to complement that, I remember that change in you. It was about a year ago.

Naomi: Strong whirl within the six months, but I consciously know that now and I am different in a way. I understand that. I understood that before, in a kind of vague 'yeah sure' kind of way. But, from acting, from doing things to change my personal life and the things that were hurting me, I understood that I had the power to not be a victim even if people are doing wrong things to me. I could take action and change the things that are being done against me. That's what…you are only a victim when you are not taking action when you are accepting what's going on. You're not a victim when something bad happens to you and you take action. I think that a lot of people have a fight going on, that they don't have no clue of even in their heads, in their own heads, cause that was years and years of being a victim, most homeless people are, most people that live in poverty have victim so internalized and its hard for them to move beyond that. Until somebody or something comes into their lives and shows them.

Adriana: So, you would say that it wasn't an easy transition for you?

Naomi: No, I still have to consciously think about it.

Adriana: But now you would say that you are aware of that victimization?

Naomi: Right. Correct, I didn't even know I did it.

Adriana: So, how does that awareness affect you as an individual?

Naomi: It gave me more power. It gave me the power to seek out people and talk to people when I needed help. They gave me the power to get behind my own fears of being rejected or whatever the case may be or just not getting help. I knew somebody would because they had already proven to me in organizing, that if you ask enough people something you will find what you need.

Naomi also learned that she was vital to the system, demonstrating again how she became empowered.

"Confronting people is working outside of what I understand is something most people don't realize they can do, in a way that's positive; in a way that's just not screaming or something or nothing, because that's not organizing. It changes how you view the world and how you view yourself because you realize that a lot of what the system has been telling you, whether is 'oh you're no good' or 'you're disabilities or this and the other', it changes the way you feel and think about yourself and you view the world differently when you begin to view yourself differently and not just as a person floating around on its own, but as a part of a whole picture, or maybe even as part of a machine. Like you are in a machine operating, your operation is essential for that whole machine to operate right" (Interview 3 with Naomi 2006).

Both Larry and Naomi show us that transformation is a process that takes time. I never got to see Larry change. In the three and a half years he was in and out of the organization his mentality did not change. Naomi in her fluctuation with the organization, learned how to stop being a victim by learning how to organize and working with others would help her change the system and empower her as well. In her transformation, Naomi was able to break away from hegemonic thought that fed into her beliefs of her victimization: that she was helpless in making any changes in her life and society. She is also an example of what organizing wants all their leaders to accomplish at the individual and public level.

*   *   *

The organizer as well as KHAN leaders upon meeting potentially new KHAN leaders were breaking away from hegemonic individualism by making contact with people. They did this by not only making contact, but by building purposeful relationships with others. This contact began with an invitation to a meeting followed up by conversations and the budding relationships they made amongst themselves. Another

excellent way of demonstrating that individualism as defined by Tocqueville was broken is as Dave states in his interview, "Individuals are willing to do things not only for themselves but for others". This was done, as I often watched in weekly meetings and actions, by taking a front leadership role in the organization by running weekly meetings, cooking meals, testifying in public meetings, and getting up early in the morning to go to city commission meetings or staying up late, risking the loss of a shelter bed, governmental meetings to make their voices heard. However, each joined and stayed with the organization because there was a common self-interest. All the participation described above is part of training and leadership development.

The win for the creation of affordable units of rental housing was not a fast win. It was a three and a half year battle that up until this point needs some correcting. During the fight for affordable housing these individuals became involved in other issues within the organization such as court watches, police harassment, and violence against the homeless, safety for the poor and homeless, and no panhandling zones. Apart from these issues something else became a part of the self interest of these individuals, to make the organization bigger by networking with others locally and nationally.

Locally, leaders tried to get more people to attend meetings. Nationally they were willing to participate in actions held in Washington D.C., Chicago, Tennessee, and Indiana. Two very noticeable examples are Naomi and T.K. Naomi in March of 2007 was nominated by the president of the National Coalition for the homeless to sit on the board of the organization. T.K knew of other homeless organizations that KHAN was unaware of and attended a big action in March 2007 that gained the full support of the Mayor of Tennessee to make 1000 vouchers available to people for affordable units.

This willingness and need to network is a continuation. With each meeting or possible action that KHAN leaders can attend, whether it be Washington or Chicago, KAHN leaders are willing to attend and participate to meet other potential allies and funding resources.

In March 2006 KHAN leaders and I went to Washington. We attended several workshops as part of the National Peoples Action. We attended several workshops on Housing, Immigration, and Worker's rights. We participated in everything that we had to and we also came with our own agenda. As part of our network we went to the National Homeless Coalitions office. There we talked to the director of the organization. I was surprised to find out that Naomi and the director already new each other and kept in touch with each other. The director described the goals of the organization and the services they provided for homeless people. We told him that we would like to partake in national meetings to work with their organization for housing and rights for the homeless. We left on good terms and continued to keep in touch with each other. Now, Naomi sits on the board of the coalition. Also, due to her relationship with the director of the organization KHAN was able to get Kalamazoo listed twice as a city that was dangerous for the poor. We were also able to invite Michael Stoops, from the Coalition for the Homeless, to our annual KHAN meeting.

Organizing is not for the weak hearted. It requires time, commitment, energy and focus. It is a grueling process in which an organizer finds him or herself working 80-100hrs a week. There are highs and lows. The organizer and leaders are constantly building and trying to maintain relationships, preparing for actions, weekly meetings, conducting research for issues, and preparing solutions. In the period of the twenty

months of this thesis the only day that organizers might have free was Sunday. KHAN was on the constant move. The schedule is punishing as Dave describes.

Adriana: So, what would you say have been your positive experiences as well as your negative experiences?

Dave: Let's start with the negative. There is always a constant self questioning because when you are essentially asking people to do what they don't want to do; to give up their individualism and to fight the rules and the power they live in, it is very frustrating. It is a very frustrating kind of activity and you have to learn how to have kind of a thick skin in that sense, but people won't move forward, you just have to keep pushing and keep pushing. That's been a negative because you can lose heart. But, if you are in organizing for any period of time you start seeing amazing victories. You start seeing things change, you start seeing systems change, and you see people grow. Our experience here with homeless people is pretty remarkable, but I've seen very low income people all over the country also get together and do amazing things. You know, old people do a sit in, in a police station in Indianapolis, and make the police listen to what they wanted. It wasn't even planned on. They just sat down and took over a police station. Hispanic people in Washington D.C, a long time ago, were not going to be pushed away from an outside stand, a stand they wanted to eat at, because they were janitors in a building.

Adriana: What did these experiences do for you?

Dave: It gave me a sense of hope and a sense of power. You know being a part of it gave me a sense of self-worth. I am very proud of my education, including what I know about the law, but my real sense of my self, the sense of power I have is what I've accomplished working with other people. You know moving money here in Kalamazoo, like we did or having kids really learn how to read in Louisville, cause they made the school system spend the money and teach those poor kids in those projects how to read. Some of them are going to college next year and they would have been in prison if we hadn't done that organizing, you know, stuff like that.

Dave talks about the frustrations in community organizing. The frustrations for Dave are overcome by the rewards. These rewards come from the victories: winning on immigrant rights, winning on a housing campaign or making condemned signs larger.

Lili describes the emotional euphoria that comes with the confrontations and victories.

Adriana: What have been your experiences with direct action community organizing? For example positive or negative, both, empowering, dignified, anything?

Lili: It is very powerful experience. There is nothing to explain how you feel after organizing event. The adrenaline... Once you do one you want to do more, you want to do more. You know, uh, it shows us that we have some dignity, that we are not just laying around and being pushed around. We are actually fighting back.

Why do people remain in organizing? In an article written by a small student newspaper, I remember reading the description of KHAN leaders by the author. The author wrote about his experience attending an action in city hall by KHAN leaders and he described leaders as having no passion. Passion is what all KHAN leaders have in order to stick to community organizing. Part of this passion is the cold anger, aside from the highs described above. This introduces other aspects of community organizing; emotion. In an interview with Dave he referred to anger as an emotion similar to hunger that informs individuals that something is wrong and something should be done about the problem.

David: Anger is the key; it's an emotion I believe that tells us when something is really wrong in our lives. It's also an emotion that helps us push through the moment, of kind of fear or indecision to do something about the problem in our lives. There is, I'm sure you've talked about with other people, the be-nice rule, the...I've always operated under, that we in our culture, you're supposed to know your place and stay in it. Anger is what moves you through that position of staying in your place where you're being pushed around and I think anger, as I learned much later in life it was described as an emotion a lot like hunger. Anger and hunger are both emotions that tell you something is wrong and you need to do something about it. You're hungry you need food, with anger you probably need a little more justice in your life, you need to change something to make it fairer for you.

Dave also went on to say that anger can be the point that pushed individuals to do something about their situation. Dave is not alone in his conclusion about anger or emotion as previously demonstrated by Psychological and Feminist literature (Atwood 1972; Kitayama, Shinobu et. al 2006). The first step to breaking away from hegemonic power structures is to eliminate individualism. The second is to continue nourishing that

relationship by creating a public relationship of accountability and reciprocity by challenging misconceptions people have about anger, the system, and how change is to occur. Anger is an emotion often talked about in community organizing that is accompanied by self-interest. Those who were available for follow up interviews were asked if anger had anything to do with their involvement in KHAN. Several, those who had been in organizing for over two years quickly replied yes, those who had been involved in organizing for two years said no with the exception of T.K. However, those that replied no, upon reviewing their interviews and experiences, emotion was very much involved in what they wanted KHAN to do. A few examples come to mind.

Adriana: Naomi, did anger have anything to do with your involvement with KHAN or community organizing?

Naomi: Yeah.

Adriana: Could you be specific?

Naomi: O.K. I was angry because I was homeless…again, for I don't know how many times in my life. I was homeless because I was injured. I wasn't homeless because I chose to be. My need was ignored because I didn't qualify for help because of rules made by other people. I didn't think it was fair or right.

In order to get to peoples' anger past experiences are always tapped into by community organizing. Cathy, when asked if anger had anything to do with her involvement in organizing said no, but did tell me in an earlier interview that what she wanted to offer people with KHAN was what she was not able to have while growing up. She told me that her parents were always working, they rented most of their lives causing them to move a lot, constant harassment by kids in reference to her economic status, calling her family white trash, and simply not having enough while growing up.

Adriana: And what does this form of organizing require from you?

Cathy: Commitment…Plus it is fighting to give people stuff they don't have and stuff I never had while growing up. Always on the move, my parents always working two jobs just to make ends meet.

T.K responded that anger was not a reason for his involvement in KHAN, but he did want just treatment for others. Finally, Dave reflected on his life and replied that he was angry with what this country did to his Japanese American family. His uncle had been second generation Japanese in American and during the World War II he and his wife were sent to a concentration camp in California from Washington causing the family to break up. As a result he witnessed his uncle drink himself to death, his cousins enter into heavy alcoholism, and their sister suffer psychological damage. Other experiences were also a factor in his involvement in direct action community organizing, such as growing up during the sixties and witnessing the civil rights movement, Vietnam War and protests, and Martin Luther King Jr. His father was also a major influence teaching him that justice was a need and a right.

Experiences of being pushed around or witnessing others being pushed around are important to community organizing to get a better understanding of individuals and their willingness to participate in the organization. Some leaders have been quicker than others to testify in meetings, to negotiate, or take a lead role in direct actions or hits. Foucault (1977) argued that to understand knowledge or information it must first be understood where information is rooted. In current phenomenology, as stressed by Jackson (1996) the same debate is there, the knowledge that we have, we receive, we organize, we analyze, and we try to understand, we must first uproot its origins, and ask the question who does it serve? It is argued here that institutions, those in power

disseminate and re-enforce certain thoughts and actions from people. In community organizing this is understood also and they ask their leaders to break the all existent unwritten be nice rule, which is to know your place and stay there. This be nice rule is what in anthropology and the social sciences have termed hegemony, habitus, or cultural etiquette. Therefore, challenging one's dictated place is the first step to transformation. In my interview with Cathy she expressed extreme hesitation and discomfort in standing in front of city commissioner to testify. That was just something she was not ready to do. In June and July of 2007 she stood in front of city commissioners and spoke eloquently against police harassment.

In community organizing breaking the be-nice rule is speaking up at meetings, talking about the problem, and providing solutions along with those problems. When individuals do this it goes against what those in power want. As a group they also broke this be-nice rule and the reactions by those in power are what Marian shows us: reprimand or people are simply asked to change.

KHAN became and remains a powerful, effective, and very active organization recognized by the media and the city of Kalamazoo within the last 3 ½ years of its existence. Like any other organization it has its number of problems. In chapter five we see how everything comes together and incorporated in the fight for inclusion in the Housing Assistance Fund by KHAN leaders. During this campaign we see how leader's personal experiences lead them to the fight and how they apply what they learn in community organizing to make this possible.

CHAPTER V

KALAMAZOO'S TERRIBLE DILEMMA AND KHAN'S SOLUTION

In their fight for affordable housing KHAN leaders made a connection between a systemic problem and the lack of affordable housing. As the economy spiraled down the working poor were the hardest hit. Leaders found a solution and put all their training in community organizing for HAF into practice. This chapter will illustrate how hegemony, habitus, and individualism are challenged by leaders who make a connection between a systemic problem and their lives.

The Housing Problem

In the recent six years, between 2001 and 2007, Michigan has been suffering from job loss, high rates of home foreclosures, business flight, decrease in k-12 educational funding, poverty and homelessness. In November of 2005 it was reported by *The Detroit News* that Michigan had lost 15,000 payroll jobs (Aguilar 2005). Michigan's jobless rate had climbed to 7.3 percent in December of 2005, leaving the state in what could have been considered the worst jobless rate in the nation (Aguilar 2005). Local large employers in the area, such as Pfizer were down sizing or moving, forcing people to either move with them or stay and try to make it. Michigan, including Kalamazoo, was desperate to keep people. People did what they needed to do in order to survive. Those who could afford it left the state in search for opportunities elsewhere. In an attempt to

salvage Michigan and its future, Governor Graholm proposed the Cool Cities Initiative. This was exciting for Kalamazoo politicians and local businesses. Money was going to be invested in the downtown area to attract more young college student clientele willing to spend money to local downtown businesses. In the long run it was the hope to convince this young clientele to create a life in the city and hopefully the state. Although attempts to salvage Michigan this grim picture did not stop as the state continued to loose jobs, including in Kalamazoo.

During Michigan's economic turbulence the medium income for families dropped for the city and county of Kalamazoo. In 1991 the reported medium income for Kalamazoo City was 42,438 (Poverty in Kalamazoo 2003) and by 2006 it dropped to 31,189 (Poverty in Kalamazoo 2006). Kalamazoo City is one of the six and the largest municipalities in Kalamazoo County. It is also the only place in the Kalamazoo County and it's the only place that provides emergency shelters, services for the poor, such as FIA, and the highest number of affordable rental units. In 2000 the population of Kalamazoo County was 238,603 with 12.0% of its residents living below the federal poverty level (Housing Resources Inc. 2007; b. Census Bureau 2007). From a documented population in Kalamazoo City of 77,145, 24.3% of all residents were living below the federal poverty level (Housing Resources Inc. 2007; c. Census Bureau 2007). In August 29, 2007 the poverty rate in Kalamazoo jumped to 33.4% (Ricks 2007), while the poverty rate in the nation was12.3% |a. Census Bureau 2001]. In executive summaries by the city of Kalamazoo, the numbers were broken down as such (Poverty 2003 Report Highlights: 1; Poverty in Kalamazoo County 2003: 11; Poverty in Kalamazoo County 2006: 3).

- 27,482 persons in the county live at or below poverty (12.0%).
- 44,723 county residents live at or below 150% of poverty (19.6%).
- 16,641 persons, almost two thirds of the county's poor live within the City of Kalamazoo (60.6%).

Poverty, as defined by the federal government, is "the minimum income necessary to sustain life" (Poverty in Kalamazoo 2003: 8) such as food and shelter, and it is measured by income before taxes. It does not include any other form of assistance, compensation or awarded monies such as public housing, Medicaid, and food stamps (Poverty in Kalamazoo 2006: 5). The census defines and calculates poverty by taking into account these income variables, which include assistance, inheritance, or compensations such as earnings, unemployment, and worker's compensation among others (Poverty in Kalamazoo County 2006).[26] All resources for those in poverty are used for survival making it difficult to save for emergencies or social activities. The income level to determine poverty varies according to family size and makeup. In 2000 the income level of poverty for a family of four, two adults and two children, was $17,050 (Poverty in Kalamazoo 2003: 8) and 2006, for the same family makeup, it was $20,000 (Poverty in Kalamazoo County 2006: 12).

Economic instability wasn't the only trend in Kalamazoo. It was reported by the Kalamazoo County Emergency Shelter Providers in their Annual Statistics Report that between 2000 and 2005 the number of people seeking emergency shelter was increasing. Between 2001 and 2002 there was a drop only to be followed by a sharp increase from 73,059 shelter nights in 2002 to 82,941 in 2003 (Kalamazoo County Shelter Providers Join Annual Reports 2005). By 2005 there were 97,475 reported shelter nights (Kalamazoo County Shelter Providers Join Annual Reports 2005). These numbers,

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[26] For more information on these variables refer to report.

however, do not reflect those individuals who are banned from the shelters either temporarily or permanently, those who simply refuse to spend their night in Kalamazoo's shelters, those who couch serf, and those who do not want to be found. Table Three provides more details on the persons who used the shelters in Kalamazoo for 2005.

Table 3 People Sheltered.[27]

2005 Totals

Number of individuals sheltered	3,666
Number of adult men sheltered	1,269
Number of adult women sheltered	1,208
Number of children (0-18 years) sheltered	1,189
Nights of shelter provided for all client groups	97,475

(Kalamazoo County Emergency Shelter Providers 2005 Annual Report 2005: 5)

People living at or below poverty include both homeowners and renters. The 2000 census documented that 93,479 people occupied housing units in the county of Kalamazoo (Poverty in Kalamazoo County 2006). Out of these units, 66% were owner occupied while 34% were renter occupied (Poverty in Kalamazoo County 2006). Within the households that were owner occupied, 23.7% were living below poverty and 76.3% of the renters were also living below poverty level (Poverty in Kalamazoo County 2006). With the highest percentage of people living at or below poverty, Kalamazoo City also provides the most affordable rental units. Only 5% of the Kalamazoo County's housing stock is subsidized with Kalamazoo City having the most out of all the surrounding municipalities with 3,127 units (Poverty in Kalamazoo County 2006). Keep in mind that

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[27] Table taken directly from the Kalamazoo County Emergency Shelter Providers 2005 Joint Annual Report. January 1, 2005 to December 31, 1005: 5.

this is with a population of 16,641 living at or below poverty.[28] With such a low number

of subsidized units to serve those living at or below the poverty level those who are

unable to get into these units seek extra help. This does not mean that those with a home

do not seek assistance either. In 2000 the number of households served by the shelters

was 3,767 and by 2005 the number of households served by shelters was 7,089

(Kalamazoo County Shelter Providers Join Annual Reports 2005).[29] Less than half of the

poor in Kalamazoo are able to get into subsidized housing often having to get on waiting

list of 6 or 8 months to a year. Sometimes, as we see with the section 8 vouchers, it even

takes years to receive assistance.[30]

On May 17, 2006, after the State Development authority was accepting names for

Section 8 vouchers, two thousand five hundred Kalamazoo residents waited in line to

have their names on that list with an unsure date of availability.[31] It was reported by the

Kalamazoo Gazette, the local newspaper, that it would be several years before the

vouchers were made available.[32] Only 800 people, out of the thousands that stood in line

were going to be the lucky ones to receive a voucher. Officials and representatives of the

City of Kalamazoo could not ignore the fact that the lack of affordable housing was an

issue. In 2001 the fair market rent for a two bedroom apartment was $554 (Poverty in

Kalamazoo County 2003: 39) and by 2004 it went up to $576 (Poverty in Kalamazoo

County 2006: 11). The 2006 report on Poverty by Kalamazoo reported that housing costs

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[28] The number of people that rent is 15,351 with 5,491 living at or below poverty level. The number of people who rent is 14,060 with 1,099 living at or below poverty for the city of Kalamazoo. The numbers don't add up. This information can be found in Poverty in Kalamazoo County 2006.

[29] There is no definition of household, so it is unsure if this only pertains only to homeowners or both renters and home owners.

[30] Section 8 vouchers are a government subsidy for landlords to rent to people at or below poverty level. This makes available affordable rental units of which the government covers 30% to 100% of the fair market rent (http://www.hud.gov/progdesc/voucher.cfm November 14: 2007 12:40 a.m.)

[31] Rick, Cedrick. Thousands wait for limited housing vouchers. In *Kalamazoo Gazette*. May 17, 2006.

[32] Rick, Cedrick. Thousands wait for limited housing vouchers. In *Kalamazoo Gazette*. May 17, 2006.

were a burden for many, taking into considerations hourly wage and current rental

housing market rates (Poverty In Kalamazoo County 2006: 37):

Housing Cost- A burden for many
- The 2003 hourly wage needed to afford a market-rate apartment in the Kalamazoo/Battle Creek MSA was $11.08 for a two-bedroom apartment and $15.50 for a four-bedroom apartment. The minimum wage rate in the State of Michigan is $5.15 per hour.
- 37.6 percent of all renter households in Kalamazoo County spend more that 30% of their income on rent and utilities (housing cost burden). 18.8 percent of all renters spend more than 50% of their household income on rent and utilities (severe housing cost burden).

The Solution

As these numbers indicate only a single person with a living wage could afford a

two bedroom apartment at market rate. This person working a full time job of 40hrs a

week would make an estimate of $443.2 weekly amounting to $21,273.6 a year. A single

person working at the minimum wage of $5.15 an hour to make any where near a living

wage would have to work 86hrs a week to afford a two bedroom apartment. Organizers

and leaders of MOP took these numbers into consideration. They used the most recent

census information and reports on Kalamazoo's economy to start of their campaign.

Taking into account that a living wage was struck down in 2003, MOP realized that the

city of Kalamazoo was against raising wages towards living wages for everyone across

the board. As the problem of housing started becoming more of a concern for leaders

Dave was meeting through the one-on-ones it became clear: if the city would not provide

living wages across the board why not create permanently affordable rental units. This

would give people making a minimum wage of $5.15/hr and those with no income a

permanently affordable place to live. It would also give those renters, with the aspirations of owning a home, an opportunity to save up for that dream. Having an affordable place to live then would give renters the dignity of having their own stable place to pursue their goals and, economically speaking, invest in their community's local businesses. In 2003 MOP found a solution and organized towards an affordable housing trust fund that would create 1000 units of affordable housing for a period of five years.

The battle for housing was difficult and long in 2005 KHAN won its campaign as we saw in the previous chapter. In the following section I bring the reader in the middle of the fight to equal access to the HAF and the conflict between hot and cold anger. We learn that anger is an important motivational factor in the actions people take in Chapter Four and that leaders need to make use of their cold anger. In this section we see how a veteran in community organizing and political leaders surrender to their hot anger resulting in negative consequences. It also illustrates how power reacts, the hegemonic thought of those in power about the poor and the solution to ending homelessness, and how KHAN challenges this.

The Fight for Equal Access to HAF and the Conflict between Hot and Cold Anger

On December 5, 2005 the county invested 500K dollars into the Housing Assistance Fund and challenged the city to match the dollars. The city did not. The total money invested into the Housing Assistance Fund was 75K; 250 from the city and county, and 250 from the federal government, Michigan State Housing Development Authority (MISHDA). For the later funds MISHDA, the county needed to provide proof

that they were working with poor and homeless individuals and that they were also part of the decision process. In order for these funds to be given to the city they needed a signature, which KHAN's president provided, as proof that they were working with the homeless.

Assuring that the County Housing Resources used the funds appropriately turned out to be a tough fight. KHAN was not only plagued by these problems but, internal ones as well that tested the resiliency of the organization and its leaders. After the funds were allocated for the HAF, Nick the liaison between Kalamazoo County Public Housing Commission (KCPHC), Housing Resources, the county, and city, informed the city, county, and KHAN that the application for the HAF would be done within a month. By December 2006 an application would be made available for KHAN and other organizations to distribute. KHAN was included as one of the organizations that would be handing out the applications because the organization was in touch with people who did not use the shelters, but instead lived in the streets or couch surfed. KHAN leaders questioned this service role taken up by the organization. After all, the organization was a direct action organization, not a service agency. However, the opportunity was open and the leaders took it to help those in the KHAN and other homeless.

The KCPHC made it public that applications for the housing assistance fund would be available by December 1, 2006. By February 2007 the applications were still a work in progress. Meetings were held where other social service agencies, such as Mental Health, where one of the city commissioners worked, Ministering to the Poor, Open Arms, and Julius Mission could help construct an application for the HAF. KHAN started inquiring about these meetings and insisted on attending them. After attending the

initial meetings and the many delays, Dave started asking questions and asking for deadlines. Each time he was given an unsure answer, but was welcomed to continue to be part of the planning phases of the application. Friday February 9, 2007, social service providers once again gathered to work on the application excluding KHAN contrary to what the county employers agreed to.

A group of us stood in our regular meeting place waiting for Dave to continue our planning. Prior to arriving to the place I saw Dave walking down the street on this sunny, dry, cold day. I looked for him and did not see him with the group. I asked and I was informed that he was in a meeting with the KCPHC which was scheduled at the last minute. Just then Dave walked in, red nosed, hair disarray, shirt untucked, and fuming.

"I just came from that useless meeting," he said, "they can't even come up with an application". He proceeded to tell us that Nick along with the other members of the KCPHC wanted a very invasive application for the vouchers. The application wanted to know about a criminal record, drugs use, as well as reasons for homelessness. Dave went on to say, "the application should be easy and short, are you homeless yes or no, and that should be it?" He stated that he walked out of the meeting telling them to fuck of. As he was leaving he told them he had a meeting to attend and that he would bring those people back so they could see what the committee was doing. He debated in front of us on whether or not to go back. In less than a second Dave made up his mind and walked out of the coffee shop.

We stood there in shock, staring after him as he walked out of the door. "We should go" several people said. We put the tables and chairs back and car pooled. We got to the county building and the group of us entered the room. As soon as we walked in

we were confronted with out right rejection. This did not stop us. We took whatever seats were available. Marian and Dave arrived there before the group and sat right in front of Nick and Sis. Reed. There were fourteen KHAN leaders and 6 KCPHC members.

"This is a private meeting", said Sister Reed.

"No, it is not," responded Marian, "It is a public meeting dealing with public funds"

"Only one of you was invited and that was you Dave" said Nick.

"I am not KHAN. This is KHAN" responded Dave as he stood leaning his body towards Nick, extending his hand to point at the large group that had taken over their meeting.

Nick was highly upset as was Sister Reed. They stated that it was a private meeting and that KHAN shouldn't be there or at least that only the one person that was invited to it, the lead organizer, should be there. They were upset with the group that came back to the meeting especially after Dave left in the most unpleasant form.

Within five minutes of debating KHAN leaders' right to be there and heated comments between leaders of both organizations, Nick shut down the meeting. Four days later KHAN took this problem to the county commissioners. When I arrived to the county chambers some KHAN leaders were already there. I took my seat quickly and waited for my husband. After normal introductory briefings of the meeting the agenda moved to citizen's comments. Giving 27 minutes of testimony KHAN Naomi, Mark, Lili, T.K, and others held them accountable and asked the commissioners why Nick their employee had not completed the applications. Not only that, but we questioned them on

the private meetings the housing commission was having when they were dealing with public funds. Nick's employer, a white elderly man with thick graying hair and mustache went on to say that one of the members of KHAN had said some very offensive and derogatory things to the Public Housing Commission that he had stormed out off and later came back with a group of people. Later that month, KHAN was informed that we were no longer on the sponsor list, meaning that we could no longer participate in handing out applications for the HAF.

On March 6, 2007 KHAN once again returned to the county chambers twice to question their position on the HAF. Since December of 05, KCPHC and Nick had drastically changed the Fund. The first meeting attended by KHAN was the meeting of the whole where the changes to the HAF were explained. Originally KHAN along other social service agencies was to distribute applications for the fund and the county was to have a public lottery to award the recipients. Everyone who qualified would be served on a first come first serve basis and be given the opportunity to apply. No one who qualified would be turned away. As stated previously this was no longer true. KHAN was excluded from passing out applications and applications turned in by the organization would be rejected. If applications were not distributed by a list of social service agencies selected by the KCPHC the applications would not be accepted. Whereas before there were no limitations to the applications made available, now there were. Earlier in the year the plan was to limit the availability of vouchers to 20 and by March only 18 vouchers would be available and distributed only by the six sponsors selected by KCPHC. Each of these sponsors would only receive two vouchers per organization. Then they would select individuals they felt would pass the program to apply for the

voucher. Nick explained that this would be no problem as the sponsors would do this at no extra cost. After being asked many questions by commissioners, Nick further shared that there would be no public lottery. The sponsor would choose which applications would be accepted.

As the explanations continued and questions by commissioners were answered the following is what the program would look like:

1. Only those individuals who were associated with any sponsor would be guaranteed a place in the lottery and the acceptance of an application. Someone who just walked through the sponsor's door and applied were less likely if not very unlikely to be able to have access to even an application.
2. The sponsors would select the applications that could be put in the lottery drawing.
3. The lottery drawing would be held on a certain day, but it was not made clear whether or not it would be a public drawing.
4. Those individuals who couch surfed or were not part of any social service agency would be excluded because if they had somewhere to stay, they had a home.
5. There would be no guaranteed that those barred from the sponsor's organizations would be allowed to benefit from the program.
6. Assistance would be provided only for two years.

KHAN was displeased at this meeting as it was obvious that this was going to be a bureaucratic, unilateral, unchecked use of coerced power by the social service agencies and the county. The county was operating on the hegemonic belief of the deserving poor. We, KHAN, leaders were angry. It was that hot anger. We could see it in our faces. We shook our heads, made side comments, grunted in disapproval, and laughed at the ridiculous abuse of public funds by officials. We were displeased but left the meeting and went to the KHAN weekly meeting. There we kept talking, eating, and expressed our anger and frustrations. These people were basically taking the money we help recruit and pushing us aside.

We prepared for the meeting later that evening. We took signs with us that read: "Housing is for Human Beings, Shelters are 4 Dogs". The entire left section of the county

chambers was occupied by police officers that eventually took a picture of KHAN leaders. They followed us into the chambers and in the conclusion of the meeting they followed after us. One of the KHAN leaders made a comment that we still did not have as many cops as the city commission.

The meeting started, the commissioners quickly moved through the agenda. Nick was asked by commissioners to provide a public report on the status of HAF. Nick took the podium and provided the same information he had earlier in the meeting of the whole. After Nick shared publicly the changes to the HAF the floor was opened for public discussion. The first person to testify was Lili. She made it clear that the county commission had the power to change things and KHAN only dealt with such people. Lili shared with them her first and only experience with homelessness. She told them, that because of a mental illness she had to quit working for the city of Kalamazoo, and lived in a house that was eventually condemned. Lili shared with them how she was an example of a person who desperately needed help, but was excluded from the system leaving her with no source of help to keep her from becoming homelessness. She made it clear that her homelessness was not as County Commissioner Hailey thought, due to drugs and a lack of job, but a systemic problem that excluded her from any help from the government and the lack of affordable housing. Lili continued by asking the county to do their job, "As the Kalamazoo County Commission it is *your* job to make sure that all commissions, boards, and committee's follow the laws. If you allow the Kalamazoo County Public Housing Commission to not include all of the homeless people in participating in the voucher program, or are not allowing equal access to voucher

applications, then you will be as guilty of class discrimination as the Public Housing commission. And we the people (KHAN) will hold you accountable."

A total of 10 leaders followed suit, sharing their experiences of homelessness, the unfairness of the new changes to HAF and the discrepancies of the program with the likelihood to discriminate. In the process they challenged the county commissioners' hegemonic mentality towards the homeless. Mark shared his story as well, that he had been evicted due to the loss of a job and inability to find one. He told them that he became homeless as a result of their delay in the applications for the HAF. If the applications had been done sooner he could have avoided homelessness. T.K informed the commission that he was a student, currently had housing, but it was becoming too expensive. He feared that his girlfriend, their baby, and he might end up in the streets.

Wendy, a former leader of KHAN, went up with anger and spoke with eloquence correcting earlier comments made by county commissioners, in the meeting of the whole, that homelessness was a result of drugs. Wendy corrected them sharing with them that her homelessness was due to the sole bred winner of her family, her son in law becoming disabled due to an injury. As a result they were evicted. She told them she was KVCC student because she chose to, not because she was forced. Wendy expressed offense to the invasiveness of the application and the requirements to attend drug rehabilitation asking, "For what?"

Other leaders spoke on the specific problems with the HAF program demanding the following:

1. That there be a public lottery, allowing all who qualified to apply and be put in the lottery.

2. To include individuals who did not use the services of the sponsors to be allowed to apply.

3. Required accountability for possible discrimination by potential slumlords.

4. The separation between religion and the sponsors as there was history of discrimination based on religion.

5. Inclusion of those individuals banned from shelters to apply

KHAN's concerns seemed to fall on the deaf ears of the stoic faces. I proceeded to leave. As I was walking out I heard someone question the non for profit status of KHAN.[33] My husband went up to the podium and reassured them that he could answer their questions regarding KHAN's non for profit status. He told the commission that under state law KHAN was a non for profit organization. As a response Commissioner Barley stated that if this was the case we needed to send a copy of our status to them. Another concern regarding KHAN emerged with the commissioners and my husband again proceeded to answer their concerns.

The chair was not happy about this. Raising his voice and loosing his composer he pointed his finger at my husband and demanded that he sit down. My husband responded by standing there and insisted that he could answer their questions about KHAN. The chair came back yelling, "Sit down! Sit down!"

"Wait a minute," my husband said, "you are talking about us without us".

"Sit down! Sit down" the Chair continued to yell, "Sit down or else".

My husband unable to contain himself and caught of guard responded "Sit down or else what?"

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[33] One of the reasons given for the removal of KHAN from the sponsor list was their lack of the non for profit status, but they never specified which status, state or federal.

"You had your chance to speak," the chair burst out , "I have been patient, no I have been more than patient enough with this audience…as a matter of fact we will close this session. Let's take a vote to close this. How many in favor of closing the session?" he asked, "Good, motion passes." Commissioners appeared to be taken a back and had no opportunity to respond or vote. The chair made the vote unilaterally and none of the commissioners questioned it. The session on the HAF was closed.

Reflections

This action clearly demonstrates how those in power react. There was an attempt to take power away from KHAN by belittling or degrading leaders. Removing KHAN from the sponsor list was another action towards immobilizing KHAN. Each reaction by those in power was to put a stop to KHAN's actions. When KHAN questioned these changes on March 6, 2007 the county commission believed that KHAN had gotten what it deserved because of its actions. During this process a lot of hegemonic thought was coming out of those in power. The commissioners that night continued to talk about the program using language such as "graduate homelessness" and self-help. From commissioners I heard that people became homeless because of the drugs and alcohol problems and for this reason the housing assistance fund would let them get their act together. Commissioners truly believed that in society dignity and rights are earned, not a human right. Their thoughts about the homeless were stereotypical. For example, the On February 13, 2006 when KHAN testified one of the commissioners pushed for the idea that the housing assistance fund was to help change individuals change their lives.

Meaning that this could be the time where they could turn their lives around by kicking drug addiction or any other substance dependency as well as finding a job. This fits in with Wagner's' 1993 ethnography in which he demonstrates that most individuals that are homeless are constricted by self help policies due to the stereotypes about them as drug addicts.

An organization with a weak leadership would probably have given up once denied access to what they helped create. Before the funds were granted towards housing the name of the AHTF was changed to the HAF. "They want us to stop," Dave said to me, "but we are not going to stop just because they changed the name". We knew that now the HAF was going to be a temporary solution with no intentions of creating permanently affordable housing. The city and county gained MSHDA funds, which required the participation of homeless individuals in the creation for affordable housing, including applications, by getting the signature of the president of KHAN.

Dave's hot anger goes clearly against the cold anger leaders are trained for. Dave could not get away from human nature. He demonstrates that even with years of experience under his belt, he can break away from organizing training. This was not the first time KHAN leaders were exposed to Dave's hot anger. It was not a surprise and when it would come out leaders took it as a given, as a part of Dave. As long as he did his job as lead organizer and kept providing the guidance to keep KHAN ahead, leaders overlooked it. KHAN was taken off the sponsor list after we shut down the meeting on February 9, 2007. Did his hot anger have anything to do with KHAN being removed from the sponsor list? I could easily come to this conclusion. Dave did not regret any of his actions and KHAN leaders did not complain about his behavior. In more ways than

not they were happy he expressed himself. Originally KHAN did not want to be pulled into providing a social service because leaders did not want to be distracted from direct action. However, after many discussions between lead organizer and board members, it was decided that it would be a good opportunity to help KHAN leadership and the population neglected by social service providers. Once KHAN was removed from the sponsor list, leaders kept on moving. Dave's hot anger exposed the unilateral, corrupt power of political leaders; no, surprise there. The county, KCPHC, and city commissioners with connections to the social service agencies were willing to risk the life of men, women, and children because Dave expressed his hot anger.

In assessing that night's events and the events that led to the changes to the HAF we realized that we had to continue by taking the issue to Washington. KHAN did not stop, we went to Washington. Our mission was to informed HUD, Senator Dodd, and Senator Debby Stabenow of the abuses of the McKinney-Vinto funds and 24 CFRT 576.56(b)/42 USC 11375. We informed them that Kalamazoo officials were excluding homeless people as was required by the 24 CFRT 576.56(b)/42 USC 11375. Naomi and I requested that funds be terminated for those who received McKinney-Vinto funds and did not abide by this federal law. HUD officials and Senator Dodd's representatives said they would look into this. We also requested a site visit by HUD official Pam Patenaude. A week after our visit to Washington Commissioner Alley stopped by a KHAN meeting. The leaders confronted him and told him that he was discriminating against poor people and Nick started working with homeless people that were in Tony's organization.[34]

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[34] After leaving KHAN Tony started his new organization. KHAN believed that as a strategy by the city to divide and conquer went to this organization to say that they were asking for the input of the homeless community. What is ironic is that a year before Nick and Tony were hostile to each other. This however, fits perfectly with the organizing's belief that there are no permanent enemies and not permanent allies.

As stated previously KHAN was not without problems. Due to disputes between Tony, Dave, the organization, and Tony's failure to execute his job as associate organizer for KHAN, he was terminated from his position. Tony became very defensive about a board meeting that required that he and Naomi work on different aspects of their organizing for the improvement of their organizing skills and the organization. Tony took offense, resigned and later was terminated. When he left he took with him other KHAN leaders who he had a close relationship with, Martin, Rhonda, and a funding source, the Catholic Campaign for Human Development. He took advantage of his position working at Ministering to the Poor to organize against the organization, telling people that KHAN was lying, that Dave was manipulative, and my husband the board president, was after his job as part time organizer. KHAN leaders and board members heard many things coming from people that were around Tony. Dave and board members were hurt and offended by this, and decided not to address it, but ignore it. KHAN leaders decided that the best way to address this was by continuing to organize and prove otherwise. Wendy was another individual that left the organization due to a relationship. She entered the organization because she had a relationship with Karl. Before the Washington Trip, Wendy ended her relationship with Karl making it very difficult to contact her. She started attending the meetings very sporadically, where as before she attended every meeting and action. By April she completely dropped off. She became one of the first people to receive a HAF voucher. She is no longer with KHAN, joining Martin, Tony, and Rhonda in their abandonment of KHAN. Tony and Rhonda continue to organize with MOP and they have also started their own organization.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Consciousness is at the center of the debate about social control and social liberation. The question is: are people aware of the systems that oppress them? Some argue that people are indeed aware of the systems that oppress them. There is the belief that individuals choose to be acquiescent to oppression so that one day they can be in the place of the oppressor (Scott 1990), while others believe that individuals simply lack the tools to create the change (Stokes 1991). Stokes (1991) argues that individuals are aware of the systemic problems, but they lack the discursive knowledge to create change and have internalized what the elites think of them leading them to believe for example, that they are unintelligent and powerless to stop their oppression. Others, like Freire (1970), believe that there are three types of people in this world, the conservative, liberal, and radical, all aware of the system. What differentiates these three types is what they do with this knowledge. Knowledge to Freire, as it is with Stokes, is important in people's ability to change the system. Those seeking change must know how to do it and do it effectively. I found this to be true with KHAN. People were very aware of the systemic problems and in their fight for social change they needed not only the right tools and knowledge, but emotions as well. In my exploration of the ways that transformation operated in organizing I found that transformation was not about the lack of awareness of what Bourdieu defined as the false dilemma, but in how to harness anger to create change effectively. Anger was important, often provoking leaders to discover something about

themselves, but I came to realize that there is constant tension between hot and cold anger in community organizing.

This thesis has aimed to contribute to academic literature and community organizing and the role of emotion and transformation within individuals who organize using direct action community organizing. My original thesis was to examine the transformations of individuals who become involved in direct action community organizing. I intended to argue that for individuals to become civically engaged they need to become conscious of their situation, accept it, become angry, work as a collective to build power, and take action to create a consciousness of praxis. However, to my surprise I found that consciousness was not so much of an issue, it was what people did with this awareness. People were very aware of their situation and the unfairness of the power structures. KHAN leaders acknowledge that some of their problems were systemic while others were a result of decisions they made within their life time, but while they might be ready to better their situation, the system was not ready for them, and it would take years before it would be. For example, some KHAN leaders turned to alcohol, drugs and/or abusive relationships, but then they sought to change that life style to become productive citizens. Jobs were scarce and there was no permanently affordable housing. Leaders also denied employment because, the address they used to receive mail was to the Ministering to the Poor. A service offered to anyone who used the shelter. They became victims of the system's self-help policies that ignored systemic causes.

Most leaders never found an effective outlet that encouraged or showed them how they could change things and as a result they faced reprimand. For example Marian took

individual actions to protect herself but, often found that she was not liked by others throughout her life. Her behavior was constantly being corrected or criticized as was the case in seminary school, and she engaged in personal battles with society concerning her appearance. Community organizing only enforced and encouraged what she was already feeling: anger. Her anger was a result of the awareness of unjust societal expectations of personal appearance and proper behavior. Thus, her anger was not only a result of personal reflection but society's constant put-downs.

Naomi also had a sense of injustice, but never took action at the individual. Growing up as a victim, she unwillingly learned to embrace her victimization engendered through her abusive relationships and used it as a tool to attain sympathy for material resources. (At a point in life she identified herself as a predator in order to survive.) KHAN provided an outlet that confirmed her feelings of victimization, but instead of encouraging her to use these as a tool to get what she wanted, it encouraged her to look at the source of her victimization and do something about it. In this case she was taught to look at the system. As a result, after three years of fluctuation within the organization she realized that she no longer had to be a victim. Empowered by this realization she continued to organize and she stopped drinking.

This awareness was not enough, however: as community organizing demanded of leaders to reflect on their past experiences to make a connection with the system to change it. With the focus on the system, KHAN leaders organized for systemic reform. KHAN provided an environment that nurtured individuals' use of cold anger, while at the same time providing the tools and education to create social change effectively. KHAN provided an environment in which leaders could express their feelings and make a

connection between their feelings, others feelings, and the reactions by others when they held society accountable. Naomi was empowered through her involvement in KHAN and realized that she could stop being a victim. Unlike advocacy and government self-help programs and investment in charity, the focus of grass roots community organizing is on the empowerment of the individual through leadership development. Leadership development entails teaching individuals to speak for themselves, to reflect on their lives, become angry, and build relationships with and work with others.

In the process of this leadership development self-interest and anger are prevalent. For KHAN leaders to become in touch with what they are passionate about they have to be in touch with their anger, as well as their hopes. Through cold anger they not only learn something about themselves, but their society as well, in the process empowering themselves and changing Kalamazoo. Anger gives them the energy to change the system and make their hopes a reality. However, as we saw in Chapter Five, cold and hot anger are in constant flux. Hot anger is the predecessor to cold anger. It is immediate, usually not strategic, and in most cases ineffective. In contrast to hot anger, cold anger is critical, reflective, and constructive. In community organizing individuals are taught the difference between the two, but the reality of it is that leaders and even organizers have a difficult time keeping their hot anger out of public view during actions, where it is especially important to keep the organization's reactions out of the sight of those who have the potential to create the changes desired. Out of public view leaders shared their hot anger towards an issue quite readily, but through organizing they learn to channel this hot anger to cold anger. Sometimes however, hot anger emerged as we see with Dave in Chapter Five. His anger in the end damaged what the organization had achieved with the

Housing Assistance Fund. The leaders did not hold Dave accountable for his actions, but instead saw it as a part of Dave. It can be argued, however that the removal of KHAN from the HAF sponsor list was something that the county already intended to do to the organization because they were tired of its leadership. This is something that could have easily transpired with or without Dave's expression of hot anger. It is common knowledge in organizing that during the battle for social change those who resist in the beginning often take complete credit for an organizations' victories. Who is to say that this was not the case? Reflecting on the goals of a direct action organization like KHAN and what actually happens with the use of anger only unveils the undeniable tension between hot anger and cold anger in humans. Through cold anger the organizer was able to get to the self-interest that led them to action and transformation of their society and empowerment of the leaders and hot anger does come first.

Within grass roots direct action community organizing hegemony is understood to exist within the personal and public lives of individuals. As defined by KHAN and MOP personal relationships can be voluntary or forced. As discussed in Chapter Three forced relationships are those individuals are pushed into and can not get out of. These include family and relationships with government and capitalist organizations. Voluntary relationships are people create in their work environment, education system, and/or clubs and individuals can leave this at any time. These voluntary and obligatory relationships as I observe heavily influence how individuals acted, thought, and perceive themselves, their feelings, and their hopes in the social structure. For Marian, parents, colleagues, and social service providers did not want to deal with her assertiveness or anger. Her critical perspectives and analysis of certain situations were interpreted as unwanted anger.

Marian was teased and not liked because of her weight problem and in seminary school her area of study was not considered as valuable as those pursuing a Masters in Divinity. Other leaders demonstrate a similar connection between personal experiences and their involvement with community organizing. They all wanted to create something better for somebody else and in the long run themselves.

They all learned with community organizing that anger was positive, especially anger towards the conditions they were facing. Some, however, like Cathy, T.K, and Martin, were still uncomfortable with the idea of anger while on many occasions they understood that cold anger was important to organizing and knew how it was to be used. Another similarity between all individuals interviewed is that at one time or another they were victims of the system and they wanted a better future not only for themselves, but others. So, although they were uncomfortable with the concept of anger they understood it and wanted to change the system.

KHAN challenged hegemony by breaking the "be-nice" rule. Leaders broke away from this by building purposeful relationships with the undesirables of society (the poor) and the desirables (middle class) and demanding social change, which required direct actions, negotiations, and dealings with the powerful. Breaking the be-nice rule is key to the transformation within individuals, but at times it is not an easy process for certain individuals. Many leaders at one point or another expressed discomfort with the necessary steps to break away from this complacency. They understood that this was an important part of community organizing but, they could not help but feel uncomfortable with the concept at one time or another. As stated previously, KHAN provided an arena for individuals to become good leaders of the organization. Within this environment they

were able to reflect and share their concerns with others, while at the same time they were able to speak and think critically about current political workings in Kalamazoo and nationally in their fight for justice in Kalamazoo. Breaking the "be-nice rule questions the hegemonic belief that people should not create tension; tension that is created when exposing an existing problem.

Relationship building is the first step in any organizing. Once that step is taken the organizer as well as leaders want to know more about the person, particularly what their interests are, what concerns them, what makes them angry, and mainly personal experiences. All is not found in an initial one-on-one, but as one-on-ones continue it is the goal of the organizer to find out what is in the self-interest of individuals. One-on-ones also serve to challenge misconceptions individuals might have about their situation and about the system. The misconception that is challenged here that is very much a part of the empowerment of individuals is that they must be nice and accept injustice. In contrast KHAN believes that not being nice brings change therefore, leaders learned how negotiate with them, hold meetings with those in power, how to hold them accountable, and make demands. This is how the Housing Assistance Fund became a reality.

I observe two forms of relationship building in KHAN; permanent relationships and temporary. KHAN is a strong believer in relationship building for the future existence of the organization and to its own build power. Through its four years of existence the organization has witnessed a major flux in leadership and potential leadership. Many homeless people came and went, often times leaving the area for warmer climates during the winter. Some were not so fortunate to leave voluntarily. Many died during the fight for affordable. They died from exposure to cold harsh

weather and many attributed their deaths to being turned away or permanently banned from shelters.

Being in a college town KHAN also witnessed and experienced the fluctuations in excitement of college students. KHAN participated in many events held by college students during the regular school year working with students from K-college and Western Michigan University, but nothing permanent has flourished as of yet. I believe that organizers understood this part of community organizing, but in order for those college students to participate, the organizer and leaders participated in one-on-ones and presentations with the students. The organization would have loved the students to become leaders more so than volunteers, but the students did not make the time to learn how to become effective leaders. Therefore, community organizing also relies on temporary relationships based on reciprocity. Regardless of how strong a relationship may be between individuals, individuals and KHAN, or KHAN and other organizations, making contacts is the hook.

KHAN leaders demonstrated that relationships have everything to do with community organizing. Like many relationships both organizations, MOP and KHAN, demonstrated that they are fragile. When tensions between former associate organizer Tony and lead organizer Dave erupted Tony proceeded to organize against the organization by pulling those who were close to him out of the organization, like Martin and Rhonda. Later the somewhat non existent relationship Tony had with a funding source served to hurt KHAN's future finances. In community organizing there is a hard core belief that there are no permanent allies or enemies and this case proved to be

right.[35] It is understood that as much as relationships serve to pull people away from the organization, they also serve to recruit leaders into the organization. This is and was the first step Dave as a lead organizer and later leaders took to make the organization grow, as well as a way of hurting it. For example, Naomi gained a sense of power by becoming the associate organizer for KHAN. Now employed she was able to find a place to live and provide for herself and her boyfriend. Later, she was doing less work and demanding more money from the organization. Does this mean that no transformation occurred or the will to change a system stopped? No, it means that people are people. They should not be romanticized regardless of economic status, and as such should be held accountable to make the choice to continue with the organization or leave. In the end, what I have learned from this research is that affirmation, nurturing environment, and relationships are vital for change and transformation in the individual and society.

By demanding social change KHAN challenged the hegemony behind social services and self-help policies. Social service agencies and local government focus on individual behavior and changing the individual. It is an "It's your fault" mentality. Direct Action Community organizing focuses on the individual and the system. Community organizing does not blame the individual but the system. Through leadership development leaders learn how to use their anger as a motivational tool for change and in the process they are empowered.

KHAN always promoted the idea that no poor people should be romanticized, but should be held accountable like any other person. For Naomi, Mark, and Dave these life

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[35] This aspect of community is not understood by many, especially liberals. Community organizing requires compromising. Compromise to many self proclaimed "hard core" believers of righteousness is seen as a weakness and hypocrisy on behalf of the organization claiming to fight for justice. Compromise is what makes the difference between saving the village or getting the village terminated during a time of unrest.

changes meant that the abuse of drugs and alcohol stopped. Accountability and personal responsibility are also major factors in transformation because it forces leaders to take responsibility. I witnessed, and experienced this myself, people put under pressure by leaders and organizers alike for missing meetings or actions and for not speaking up when informing the organization otherwise.

The difference between social services and local government, which focus on the individuals and direct action community organizing, which focuses on both the system and the individual, *is* that direct action community organizing's focus directly challenges hegemony, the habitus, and power structures. While social services agencies and government attribute blame to the individuals, direct action community organizers view this as a norm that favors those in power, and these organizers challenge that norm by demanding change that begins with questions such as "Where is your accountability?" Social service agencies and governments as well as people directly affected by them may know, identify, and recognize that there is a problem with the system, but are hesitant to assert this, recognizing that those in power are unlikely to willingly share power and resources and work for change. Those subjugated can understand and see this, but may feel powerless to do anything about it. Community organizing comes in gives people discursive knowledge, social capital, training tools, and the network to get power.

Many people would argue that questioning the system is part of people's democratic right and thus that there is nothing new about it. The difference between people who understand their democratic rights and KHAN is that KHAN leaders--oppressed, abused and with very little resources were--able to find allies who helped

them *exercise* their democratic right and win various battles.[36] By exercising their democratic right KHAN was able to hold their leaders in power accountable and do it effectively. Exercising and holding their democratic rights is what distinguishes KHAN and its leaders from typical individuals and organizations that simply decry injustices. It is a clear difference between what Shell Trapp calls the roaring lions and the radicals.[37]

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

Twenty months as a participant-observer led me to make a strong connection between the lived experiences of individuals and their involvement with community organizing. Participant-observation is considered a humanistic and scientific approach as described by Bernard (2002). It allows the researcher to speak with experience and knowledge on the topic. As a tool it allowed me to collect life histories, participate with minimal reaction from KHAN leaders, and speak concretely about the victories and difficulties of community organizing. Most leaders interviewed knew who I was as a result of working with them for over 2 years and because I had developed such a relationship with leaders, there was never a problem of being welcomed or being included in the organization's decisions or actions. I was re-elected as a board member and always considered a leader. I was taught the fundamentals of community organizing by Dave as soon as I expressed interest. I learned to conduct one-on-ones, to conduct trainings, I became an organizer, and remain a leader. I attended many if not all the trainings held by KHAN and MOP. I took part in negotiation meetings, thus becoming a representative of the organization in local and national meetings. My test was my

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[36] KHAN won its housing campaign and stopped a 20 ft. ordinance that would literally banned them from the down town area along with other victories.

[37] Shell Trapp (2004) writes about individuals who can talk about a problem, in particular in reference to intellectuals, but when it comes to taking action to change the problem they will not do anything.

commitment to the organization, the people, and the cause as well as my sincerity, my attitude towards others, and how well I myself learned and practiced community organizing.

Because I was so intimately connected to the organization, people did not wonder why I was around them, but wondered why I missed meetings and why they saw less of me during some periods. New leaders to the organization who had never seen me around looked at me with questioning looks and were standoffish until they saw me testify or realized I was married to their board president. This accountability demonstrates the organizations' commitment to their leaders and their cause, making sure their leaders will remain effective, honest and committed.

Having the relationship I did with many leaders opened the doors to me in many ways. The interviews served to inform me about organizers' and leaders' beliefs and attitudes towards the organization while also revealing something new about the individuals. Discovering this, allowed me to ask more intimate questions away from the tape recorder, at the same time, it gave them an opportunity to ask more questions about me. As in a family, secrets are kept or there is an attempt to hide undesirable behavior, but through the grapevine sooner or later this information is exposed. Often when leaders were concerned about others they would come to me and share some of their concerns while also revealing a problem I was unaware of. Noami and Max had drug and alcohol problems that I was not paying attention to. Once they told me or others informed me of their addiction, a few of us could get together and hold them accountable. The relationship between me and researcher was full of reciprocity.

My intimate involvement with KHAN as a leader could be argued could be a weakness in this thesis. I may have become too involved in the organization and people's lives, thus neglecting specific details or I have avoided being to critical. At the same time, however, it served to show me that in community organizing there is a tremendous personal involvement with leaders to the point where you not only laugh together, but you share your most intimate fears and worries. This type of relationship is what KHAN as a direct action community organization could extend to other organizations that work in a similar fashion. People start confiding in the organizer and other leaders, sharing some of their stresses and worries that could later transform into an issue the organization will be willing to take on.

I could not remove myself from the values of KHAN because their values were so universal that I could not be a detached observer. KHAN leaders were fighting for the right to a home, for respect, dignity, and basic human rights. Such a fight can be understood cross culturally, across languages, and across borders. Even the reactions by the powerful elites and the middle class can be understood across social and physical barriers. This however, did not affect my ability to look at the organization critically and hold it accountable for its actions or to what they believed. For example, in direct action grassroots community organizing, individuals are taught to do for themselves. This means testifying, sharing their stories, presenting a workable solution, working on a solution, and even talking to the media; all of this with the help of the organizer who is to stay in the background. This was not always true with KHAN. As the recruitment of new leaders or an issue progressed, such as the human rights ordinance, having such a small core of leaders trained in organizing meant that, there were times when the

organizer was in the front. Although, there were periods where the lead organizer and associate organizers were in the front lines, it did not deter other leaders from stepping up to the plate. It made them all the more eager to speak, testify, and demand more trainings, thus in the end holding organizers, leaders, and board members accountable. It made me realize that it is impossible to stay behind the scenes when your organization is building itself, seeking financial stability, and leadership.

KHAN had clear goals that it made public to its leaders. As such, I was able to use their goals to analyze the effectiveness of the organization. The leaders and organizers did not stray from their philosophy or their goals, except for the direct role in media described above and the use of anger. Dave, along with many leaders, could not avoid hot anger at some times that cold anger was needed. This exposes the constant conflict between hot and cold anger that is not spoken of in KHAN. Cold anger was always emphasized as positive and necessary in contrast to hot anger as something to be avoided, but when an organizer became angry no one held him accountable. Hot anger also pulled Tony, Rhonda, and Martin away. The three attempted to destroy the organization financially and with the new organization started by Tony and Rhonda, the county officials attended their meetings for HUD requirements. The organization faced and continues to face many problems from different directions, internal and external. Out of these struggles core leadership emerged and it is this core leadership that continues to organize for the future of the organization.

Possible Studies and Contributions

One thing that people can take from community organizing is the idea that emotion has everything to do with people's involvement. In this case the changes were positive, but the opposite is also true. Emotion, hot anger or fear, can be used to drive people to take actions that will harm them in the end. Community organizing demonstrates that emotion, in this case cold anger, can motivate people to take action for positive transformation in an individual's personal life as well as their society.

This study demonstrates the role of emotion in social change and the steps necessary to create it are a contribution to the study of social change, poverty, and homelessness. As much as science would like to remove emotion in the construction of societies I believe that emotion is very involved. There is the politics of fear and with community organizing are the politics of cold anger. Through emotion organizing can get to leaders self-interest. Self-interest itself requires of individuals to think critically about their situation, make a connection between their past and present experiences. As we saw in Chapter Three self-interest and anger are intertwined revealing something about the individual. This in turn motivates individuals.

As part of the study of human agency in Anthropology, emotion has come to the forefront of a number of studies so it is better to recognize those with literature on social movements so that the role of emotion in the process of organizing for positive social change can be recognized and more fully addressed (Strathern 1996; Rosaldo1984; Lutz and White 1986; Rosaldo 1984; Scheper-Hughes 1984; Desjarliais 1992; Ahmed 2004) is this how you want me to do this?

The study of emotion should be used to analyze societies in the past and present and understood in conjunction with power as it is integral in people's decisions. Although, this study focuses on those who get involved, a study on those who do not become involved can also stem from this study and the role of emotion and/or the different forms of engagement (advocacy vs. direct action). Community organizers would simply say that those who do not get involved do not do so because they have no self interest. I witness this to be true, but a study that focuses on those who do not get involved in direct action community could contribute to understandings of social change. Another study that can stem from this project is the expansion on the three types of people identified by Freire (1970) and how their mentality about society affects current and future politics at the local, national, and international levels. A final suggestion for a study would be the political association of those who become engaged in community organizing.

<center>*   *   *</center>

In our society talking to a stranger is abnormal. Community organizers catch people off guard by working with those in society who are powerful, those who are comfortable, as well as those who have been normalized as the undesirables, the undeserving poor. Transformation of consciousness occurs when individuals in grassroots direct action community organizing have been empowered. This realization comes when individuals realize that working with others and all aspects of grassroots direct action will achieve results, empowering individuals and changing the system.

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Will grassroots direct action community organizing work in every situation? Consistent with most authors writing on community organizing, I see this as uncertain. What I do know is that where there is a will there is a way and emotion and the right tools are necessary. One cannot go at it blindly or alone. What is for certain is that the same strategies will not always work. Every situation has to be appraised for what it is. Change comes with a price and the point of it all is this: what community organizing offers is a viable tool for studying, understanding, and changing power. The workings of power I strongly believe will never change, therefore this platform will always remain the same. However, how those in power take action may be different. The most important lesson community organizing can teach us is that for any change to occur, it must come from a group of people who from strong relationships, use anger effectively, share a well defined self-interest and create a good plan.

Appendix A

HSIRB Approval Form

Date: February 20, 2006

To: Bilinda Straight, Principal Investigator
         Adriana Rosas, Student Investigator for thesis

From: Mary Lagerwey, Ph.D., Chair   *Mary Lagerwey*

Re: HSIRB Project Number: 05-11-15

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled "Breaking the "Be Nice Rule": Direct Action Community Organizing" has been **approved** under the **expedited** category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you may **only** conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: February 20, 2007

Appendix B
Interview Guide

Interview Guide
For those in KAHN

1. How long have you been in grassroots direct action community organizing?
2. How would you define grassroots direct action community organizing?
3. Why did you become involved in this form of organizing?
4. What do you do in this form of organizing?
   a. Have you ever done this before?
5. What does grassroots direct action community organizing expect from you?
   a. Is it different to you? If so, how?
6. Does this form of organizing challenge any common beliefs that you have/had on how you are/were suppose to create change or get what you wanted?
7. What have been your experiences with direct action community organizing?
8. What are the goals of direct action community organizing?
9. What have you learned with this form of organizing?
10. What is important to community organizing?
11. Do you work as individuals or as a collective? Why do you work in this manner?
12. What have been your positive experiences with this form of organizing?
13. What have been your negative experiences with grassroots direct action community organizing?
14. What do you think of the other forms of help that exists for people that are poor and homeless or in disadvantageous situations compared to what you are doing in direct action community organizing?

Appendix C
Biographies

Dave: Lead organizer for KHAN.

Dave is a white middle aged man and KHAN's lead organizer. As he describes it, he grew up in a working middle class family. He was adopted by his parents who raised him in Indiana. He grew up during the sixties which inspired him in many ways. In his own words, "It was a different time a different mind set. Hegemony, you know this idea or really corporate control of our lives in American was being challenged all the time..." (Interview 2; 2006). This inspired him to become engaged in various activities that would lead him to community organizing in high school and after high school. In high school he wrote for the high school news paper and fought for transportation rights for the black students in his high school. After high school he organized with a group of friends to desegregate a Big Boy restaurant in Indiana that had kicked out some of their friends. He and others were arrested during this attempt. He also worked creating food co-ops across the country and working to create alternative energy programs during the Reagan administration. All of this would later lead him to direct action community organizing.

In summer of 1971, before graduating high school, Dave came across *Rules for Radicals*, by Saul Alinsky. Captivated by it he immediately purchased it. The book talked about power and shared organizing stories. Dave was hooked. His interest in community organizing was highly perked. It wasn't a particularly difficult decision to pursue organizing as change was happening all around him and his personal familial experiences had a lot to do with his involvement as well.

In the midst of Dave's family there was a story in which family members were denied their American rights because they were Japanese. His oldest aunt had been

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married to a second generation Japanese man and both had everything, their farm and their home, taken from them during WWII. The couple was sent to a detention camp for Japanese Americans in Tully Lake California from Washington. This broke up the family with immediate family members sent to different places. His oldest female cousin was sent to live with their Grandmother while her parents were sent to California. In their adult years, his female cousin had severe emotional distress, her two brothers became alcoholics and their father drank himself to death. Dave understood that his family had not been viewed as American enough and power was used to hurt them. This was the story his family shared with him. His father also had a lot to do with Dave's sense of justice and injustice. His father fought in WWII, he was a Republican and a strong supporter of Reagan, but he taught his son not to deal with injustice. Dave recalls his father defending others when they were unfairly treated. Dave could not understand why his father supported Reagan, but he learned from his dad to not let others push him around.

Growing up in the 1960's was also a period of revelation and wonder for Dave. The world was changing right before his eyes and he liked it. He did not understand exactly what was happening, but he liked it. There was always something new changing making him think about power. However, a real turning point for Dave was the 1967 anti war speech by Martin Luther King at the Riverside Church. "I understood right then, that he wasn't just about civil rights in American, but about human rights throughout the world. It made me look back, look closer at what he had done in the civil rights. Yeah, I didn't understand it. I was just a white kid who was pretty privileged, you know, basically, and I didn't...when the civil rights was happening around me I wasn't looking

at it very closely, so I went back and took another look then, after King came out against the War, and I saw he was organizing and doing social change, and for some reason that just clicked with me. It was just something I wanted to do; I wanted to be a part of that".

This moment remained with Dave and after reading Alinsky's book he looked forward to attending a training at Alinsky's Industrial Area Foundations Institution. In the summer of 1972 Dave looked forward to taking a semester off from college to do this, but this was the summer Alinsky passed away. He did not think he could attend until he met someone who had been involved with the IAF. In the fall of 1972 Dave found himself going to Chicago where he met Shell Trapp and Gail Sincota, organizers for National People's Action. From this 26+ years of community organizing developed, with a break in between.

Years after graduating from high school Dave went for his law degree. He became a lawyer but quit after he realized that the system was not going to be changed helping one individual at a time. As the story goes, there was a man he was representing who was facing eviction from his apartment. His neighbors had complained about this noise that kept coming from the man's apartment. They later found out that the noise was the man tapping his teaspoon on the sink after a cup of tea every morning. Dave was successful in reversing the eviction. This victory was short lived. During the weekend of this victory Dave received a phone call from the police informing him that the man had been found dead under a bridge. The police were able to get in touch with Dave, because the man was still carrying his business card. Apparently the man had been forced out of his apartment by the landlord during the weekend. This was a hard hit for Dave. He quit

his profession as a lawyer and found himself back in community organizing. In 2002 he moved to Kalamazoo, Michigan to continue his career with MOP.

Tony: Associate organizer.

Tony is a white male in his early thirties who was born into homelessness. He traveled the country with both of his parents until his mother passed away. For as long as Tony knew both of his parents never stayed in one place, they constantly traveled and stayed in hotels. Due to the constant mobility Tony never went to school, but he taught himself how to read and write. Tony's traveling days came to an end when he and his father were arrested in Kalamazoo for certain activities in 2003. His father was an expert con man and brought his son along with him as an assistant. Tony had been assisting his father since childhood. Their activities came to a quick halt when they were arrested in Kalamazoo. Due to no previous jail or criminal record both were released on probation. Both father and son stayed in Julius Mission and searched for work. Tony's father's health began to fail then, passing away in 2006. Tony, in good health, moved out of the Julius Mission. He moved out of what he referred to as an "unconstructive and discriminatory program" and moved to Open Arms shelter. Once in Open Arms he was treated with dignity. He was able to find a job at a local restaurant moving up from dishwasher to manager assistant; fourteen months later he was hired at a local day shelter. After 5 months of working at Ministering to the Poor Tony was asked to go full time with full benefits. Throughout this time he became involved in community organizing. His first action was at a local north side church were he was asked to testify about his experiences and ask the mayor some questions. After participating in this action he wanted to continue organizing he felt empowered and "because it offered me community

and I…one of the things, one of the things that…one of the things that I really enjoyed in this first public meeting that I attended, the leaders and the organizers had enough confidence in me to put me on stage with the mayor of Kalamazoo and it was my job to ask the mayor of Kalamazoo three questions…" (Interview 4; 2006).

Martin: KHAN leader

Martin grew up in Michigan most of his life, primarily in Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo. His father's ministering and personal experiences encouraged Martin to get involved with anything that had to do with justice. There was a time in his father's ministerial career in which he was working at desegregating neighborhoods in Cleveland. He preached about this in one of his sermons. Some of the church members were not happy with this sermon or what Martin's father was doing. After the service Martin's father was confronted by a member of the church. Martin peaked in from the kitchen window witnessing his father being screamed at and cornered by this man. He feared that his father would be killed by this man.

The church and his father had a lot to do with Martin's need for justice as well as the times. Like Dave, Martin witnessed many changes happen to this country. He witness protests, buildings shut downs, and wars. He grew up in the 1960's, attending high school during the Vietnam, anti-war movements, and the time after the civil rights movement. In high school he joined Students for a Democratic Society after he watched the televised police beatings of anti-war protestors in the city of Chicago. Later he also became active in the anti-war movement and used his position as the editor of his

school's Christian newspaper to make this possible. As the editor he wrote controversial articles on how to avoid the draft, reflecting back on the draft enforced by Abraham Lincoln. It was so controversial that his father's ministerial position was jeopardized. After the threat of his fathers' job Martin quit the newspaper. During his college years Martin searched for something to be passionate about. He became involved in many movements particularly the anti war movement and he even traveled to France searching for his calling. Into adulthood Martin went into Ministry and became a pastor in Richland thinking that this was what he wanted to do. After years as a pastor he found the job tiring and overwhelming. He felt it was too much of a popularity contest and did not want to be a part of that. Eventually he went to work at a day shelter for single men.

Martin became involved in community organizing after meeting Dave at a weekly ecumenical lunch for pastors. Prior to his meeting with Dave, Martin had participated in many community planning meetings to end homelessness. After attending the meetings for two years Martin came to realized that several things were not being addressed by the housing resources services of Kalamazoo County, such as the lack of affordable housing for the people who came to his shelter, men who aged out of foster care and low wage workers who were not getting paid enough, or people returning to the community from prison. There was no housing market for people like them. He realized this in a particular planning meeting. Here everyone was asked to list what they thought was needed to end homelessness. Martin listed the need for low wage workers to get paid more, the need for housing for people getting out of jail, the need for housing for children aging out of foster care. After every social provider was done writing down their ideas they were asked to share. The director of LISK went to Martin's list, shouting the

director stated that "stuff" like that would never happen and Martin's concerns were removed.

Martin continued to participate in planning meetings to end homelessness because it was a requirement, but not with much passion. The day he met Dave was at a meeting of such sort. Martin sat away from the crowd. Prior to their encounter Martin recalls receiving many calls from Dave, but never returned them. "We started talking at the lunch and I got to know him a little bit, heard about what he was doing, and he was new in Kalamazoo. We went out and it was raining and stood out in Michigan Ave. across Michigan News. Outside I remember telling him about reading that PETA article in the New Yorker and I said, 'Here is what...the people that I work with in the Open Arms shelter are getting screwed just like those animals, and if PETA can do it for those chickens we need a People for the Ethical Treatment of Humans', and Dave says 'You got to talk to me and we got to stick together'".

Rhonda: Leader with the KHAN and MOP.

Rhonda came to community organizing due to her relationship with Tony. Prior to this she had been very engaged in activism. Rhonda was born in Illinois to a middle class family who dealt with unemployment and the death of her father. She comes from a family of three children and two parents. Her family was the stereotypical patriarchal image of *Leave it to Beaver* American family. Her father worked outside the home, her mother was a housewife and they lived in a middle class life style. When Rhonda was nine this changed. Her father lost his job and the family struggled financially. Her

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brothers and sister were older than her and did not experience this blow as she did. She remembers her parents always arguing about money. Rhonda's father refused to look for assistance and turned to alcoholism. This wife found herself working and seeking assistance to make ends meet. He father's refusal to seek assistance had a lot to do with pride and a lot of her mothers' struggle. Rhonda recalls her mother doing whatever she could to make ends meet. She went to pantries and sought financial assistance for Rhonda to go to private schools. Rhonda explained to me that her mother was very good at hiding their economic situation. She remembers coming home one day and the electricity was shut off, yet her mother had saved up enough money for her daughter to have a prom dress. During this economic struggle within her family Rhonda became familiar with some injustices within the system. Both parents had a college education and both found it difficult to find well paying jobs. Her father never found employment and her mother could only find clerical work. Her mother's efforts managed to keep the house and the family together.

Rhonda's father died when she was sixteen. With the passing of her father Rhonda faced stereotypes put on children with single mothers. This did not stop Rhonda from participating in school activities. Instead it pushed her to work harder. While in high school Rhonda became very engaged in clubs, going to a predominantly white school she made sure that the minorities that did attend were welcomed by her. This need to make sure that people were treated equally and fairly where ever they were extended itself to her college days in Princeton. There she fought with the bisexual, gay, lesbian, and straight seminarian's (BGLSS) community to be accepted in Ministry and the university as a whole. The opportunity to be a pastor in Richland brought Rhonda to

Kalamazoo. The chance to make a difference was the driving force behind her decision to come to Richland since the church appeared to be open to ideas. Rhonda did not become involved in MOP or KHAN until she developed a relationship with Tony. Prior to meeting Tony, Rhonda was receiving calls from Dave. She also knew Martin and about his involvement with KHAN and MOP. They were fellow pastors and had been attending the same meetings. "I am ashamed to say", Rhonda told me, "that the reason I got involved in MOP and KHAN is because of my relationship with current fiancé".

T.K: KHAN board member.

T.K is a board member of KHAN and has been involved in grass roots direct action community organizing for 7 years, two out of these with KHAN. T.K was born in Kalamazoo but grew up in Tennessee. He is of Irish and Native American descent. His family was very close. Growing up he remembers everybody taking care of each other and ready to help if any one needed something. He has been homeless on and off for 10 years. The first time he became homeless was because he wanted to travel the country. At another point in life he chose to leave home because there were too many children in the home that needed care. His father at that time had had back surgery and his mother was working 50 hrs a week at a Family Dollar. T.K did not want to be a burden to the already difficult economic situation of the home, so he left.

His first experience with community organizing was with the American Indian Movement in Tennessee. He became involved with AIM's fight for Indian rights. Their organizing efforts were focused completely on Native Americans. He attended many city

councils meetings and went to the state and national government. In 2003 T.K moved back to Kalamazoo. He stayed at Julius Mission, enrolled in school, and became involved with KHAN. His encounter with KHAN started with a meeting with Naomi and another KHAN member. Both told him about the organization and what the organization was doing. In 2005, T.K along with many other homeless individuals became victims of the City's clean up of the parks and bridges for the "Cool City's" initiative. He lost everything that belonged to him that day. He was also part of the group of young adults that were ticketed for sleeping at an abandoned building that summer. This matter was brought up to KHAN and KHAN brought media attention to the matter and attended the court hearings to fight against the tickets. Everybody who was ticketed that night, including T.K., had their tickets dismissed and made the front page news of the Kalamazoo Gazette.

Cathy:

Cathy is a young 22 year old white female. She was born in Grand Rapids. She remembers a lot of moving from home to home growing up. Life was very difficult for her family and siblings. Her adoptive parents worked many hours so the kids rarely saw them. There was much instability in their housing situation. Her parents found themselves moving from job to job, and renting. When Cathy was eleven she remembers stability in her family's housing situation when her Grandmother bought a house for them in Kalamazoo. Her family lived in their new small house behind a school. At school she was teased, called white trash for her family economic situation. She remembers being

unable to get things that she wanted, her family's poor working class background, and no job security. Cathy became involved with community organizing two years ago, due to an invitation to a KHAN meeting by T.K and his wife at the time. Cathy went, saw what it was about and liked it. Cathy was also part of the group of youth that had been ticketed for trespassing and belonged to the group of homeless youth T.K was a part of. She saw KHAN as an opportunity to do something about a problem and to be able to help others have what she didn't have. She began as a leader and now is a board member of the organization.

Mark:

Mark is a man in his mid fifties. He was born and raised in Arkansas. Mark has seen two faces of life, one in which he are provided for and the other where basic human needs are denied. He grew up in a middle class family where he remembers getting everything he wanted. After the death of his last parent, his mother, when he was eight and he went under the custody of his older sister. His older sister's husband was abusive and both husband and wife took possession of whatever monies were inherited by Mark. Upon graduating from high school, Mark left his abusive home and wandered the streets. He went to live with a brother in "nature" who had been in the Vietnam War. Life after leaving his abusive home was a collage of drugs, alcohol, and the streets. Eventually he met his wife and married her at an early age and had a daughter. He was able to maintain steady employment and housing for 14 years until 1997 when he lost his job in Indiana.

In Arkansas there was promise of work and he and his family moved from Indiana to pursue this offer. Once there, the job was no longer available. This did not help his relationship with his wife. It only served to strain their marriage. They fought and her alcohol and drug abuse only made things worse. They separated and the divorce became final in 2003. Mark found himself moving back and forth between Michigan and Arkansas. His final move to Michigan was determined by a group of friends who offered him a position as a home care provider for a disabled friend. Everything was going well until the person under his care called a social worker on him. He claimed that Mark had been spitting in his kitchen sink. Mark was fired and kicked out of the home in mid February in 20 below zero degree weather. From Bangor, he found his way to the Kalamazoo's Julius Mission. He quickly left the Mission after he was screamed at and belittled by some of the employees. A week after this incident Mark bumped into Naomi and her husband in Bronson Park. Naomi was complaining about getting kicked out of the hospital for trying to use the courtesy phone. She introduced herself and invited him to the KHAN meetings. In the beginning he stayed away until he saw Naomi and KHAN on the Channel 3 news having dinner with city commission candidates. Slowly Mark started attending the meetings and participating venturing in and out of the organization. Dave the organizer confronted him about his drug use and Mark decided that he had to choose between doing something productive about his life and circumstances or lingering on with his drug abuse. Out of money his drug use and drinking stopped and he committed himself to the organization and quit drinking and using drugs.

Appendix D
7 D's

Countertactics:

The Seven "Ds" of Organizing

Anticipating how powerful decision-makers will react to our demands for change

When directly challenged, those in power always react with a combination of the following tactics:

1. **Deflecting**
   a. Sending assistants or flunkies
   b. Suggesting a different solution for the issue
   c. Blaming someone else, passing the buck
   d. Changing the subject

2. **Delaying**
   a. Putting off a decision
   b. Asking for more time to "research"
   c. Changing the forum for decision

3. **Denying (calling our bluff)**
   a. Declining to meet (a second or third time when negotiating)
   b. Too busy, "not it"
   c. Saying "Yes" but meaning "No"
   d. Not on Planet Earth-no money-prohibited by policy-not realistic

4. **Deceiving**
   a. Perplexing red tape and statistics
   b. Change in style
   c. Outright lies and deception
   d. Bringing in outside experts
   e. Canned presentations

5. **Dividing (Divide and Conquer)**
   a. Appeals, communication with individual leaders
   b. Offering jobs or recognition to individual leaders
   c. Creating a stealth community group
   d. Refusing to meet with certain leaders
   e. Meeting needs of individual leaders

6. **Demoralizing**
   a. Attacking the credibility of the organization (unprofessional, shadow government)
   b. Attacking the credibility of critical leaders (outside agitators)
   c. They Sky Is Falling- blaming our organization for the end of the world
   d. Challenging our research and testimony (official expert opinion)

e. Attacking the organizational "tactics" (not nice, confrontational, too loud)

7. Derogating (taking power from)
   a. Attacking funding sources
   b. Arrests
   c. Job losses
   d. Evictions
   e. Legal Action
   f. Investigation
   g. Surveillance

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