

"PLANNING WITH THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY OF LAWRENCE"

5.0 Introduction to chapter.

In this final chapter, the discussion begins with an assessment of the planning modes which have characterized the intergovernmental action-responses to the riots: planning 'at' and planning 'for.' I will then advocate an alternative mode: planning 'with.' I will present examples of this planning mode based on my experience in collecting stories for this report. Following a discussion of the role of language and dialogue in planning and political participation, we will turn our attention to the final point of this report: a resource view of the potential for mobilization of Lawrence Hispanics.

We will examine the resources which the Hispanic community in Lawrence can bring to their mobilization effort. These resources will be assessed in view of the dynamic interaction between the Hispanic community and the city government; particularly, in terms of entry into the political arena. The resources for mobilization identified by the Browning, Marshall, and Tabb study will provide the framework for examining the Hispanic community at a closer level.

The chapter will conclude this report with two open questions: the political will to move toward political incorporation of Hispanics into city government in Lawrence; and the political necessity for so doing.

5.1 Planning modes.

5.1.0 Overview.

Throughout this report I have included excerpts of stories about the various interpretations of the riots and action responses to them. In the course of reflecting on these stories, participating in some of the social planning efforts on the part of one institutional action-response, and, observing at close range other action-responses, I have developed a conceptual framework for discussing the distinct orientations of different planning responses. I will briefly describe these planning modes with an emphasis on the role of language and communication in these planning relationships. I advocate one such planning relationship because I believe it responds to a conspicuously absent relationship between those who plan and those to whom plans refer.

5.1.1 Planning 'at' mode .

At the executive and legislative echelon of the intergovernmental context public officials have described the social problem situation of Lawrence in global terms which reflect both the collective behavior perspective -- "a sense of alienation" -- and the resource management view -- "fed up with the lack of access to decision-making." The action-response has generally been to allocate financial and human resources, in the main, to address the problems. I refer to this perspective in terms of planning 'at' a problem, as characterized by a common criticism of "throwing money at a problem." This mode is typified by a relationship to the constituency which is

channeled through various levels of government, most directly relating to those to whom plans refer by way of a service delivery system or bureaucracy which is charged with the task of implementation. In most cases, this is the environment influenced by concerns for, and for the larger political economy, where policies are usually decorated with global abstractions, such as those 'paper promises' of "cultural sensitivity" which have emanated from the executive offices and those of "increased governmental access" which have come forth from state legislators in the aftermath of the Lawrence riots. Implementation here is a matter of control, over resources, with such control authorized by elective or appointed office. Channels of implementation are vertically determined with the locus of action at governmental providers 'closer' to the people, admitting to a socio-political distance between governors and governed.

The key actors in this 'allocative' planning response have been the governor and the state congressional delegation from Lawrence; remarkably absent have been the Lawrence city officials whose public proclamations range from denial of the problem to verbose and empty proclamations such as those which claim "we have to get at the bottom of the problems of minorities in this city." With regard to the Governor's actions, many informants remarked that the message of the chief executive to the service bureaucracy was clear: get services to Hispanics. They claimed the sense of priority was extraordinary, urgent, and crisis-like. One informant's comments are telling: "The executive order was clear....get at the problem. It didn't matter how, just get at it...and soon."

A dominant metaphor in this planning response was that of 'mainstreaming.' The problem was described as one of Hispanics being

outside the main current of society and the solution was to bring them into the flow of things, to extend the metaphor for purposes of description but still in keeping with the nature of the response. Because Hispanics were seen at a relative societal disadvantage, the planning response was to throw resources 'at' them, with the tacit assumption that such resources would enable them to dive in the mainstream of civic life.

Another common set of metaphors are those 'gun' metaphors -- target, setting sights, aiming -- which suggest planning from a distance, aiming 'at' social problems; the tacit assumption being that problems can be 'shot down.'

Much of the language, mixed metaphors and all, within which plans were couched ranged from the ideological abstractions of legislators on the House floor -- "We are talking about equal opportunity here. They need help to pull themselves up by the bootstraps and come into the mainstream of civic participation as free and equal citizens" -- to the wording of technocratic plans -- "The Lawrence Initiative is a comprehensive agenda of economic and community development, the goals of which are capacity-building, institutional support, and leadership development, for the purpose of closing the gap between Hispanics and mainstream Lawrence."

5.1.2 Planning for mode .

Within the service bureaucratic levels of the intergovernmental context, the planning mode seems more 'prescriptive' in focus with the medical metaphor much in use, in keeping with the collective behavioral view of social protest. The key actors here are

social planners who seem to identify themselves as planning on the behalf of 'service recipients' for whom they prescribe specific 'treatment interventions.'

The problem here is one of a population 'in need' for whom the logical action-response is a program of services formulated to respond to their needs, and help to alleviate their problems. Again, the view is one of a marginal population who needs external assistance proffered as a means of human resource development. Implementation here is through a service provider-recipient relationship in a relationship formally designated and authorized by the governmental source of funds.

The extant language in this mode is a form of bureaucratic jargon, not unlike the technocratic orientation of the planning at mode. Here plans talk of "needs assessments" and "social indicator indicies" which are basic planning building blocks for programs and services "aimed at the alleviation of the social psychological stress exacerbated by such social ills as poverty and racism, compounded by chronic unemployment and disturbing social conditions of poor and crowded housing." (Proposal submitted to Department of Public Welfare from Lawrence-based state agency).

5.1.3 Planning with mode .

The planning 'with' mode is based in an interactive, side by side, relationship between the planner and those with whom plans are mutually determined. This mode does not necessarily conflict with the two former modes, except that plans are derived from among those to whom such plans refer, as is the legitimate authority to conduct and implement said plans. This mode, therefore, is

'derivative' in nature.

Of critical importance here is the notion that any program which seeks to be of service to a particular community is 'unofficially licensed' by that community. Licensure is determined by a gradual development of the trust and confidence that is ensured by specific demonstrations of the connection between planning intent and achievement. Word-of-mouth endorsements, referrals, and personalized support by 'informal authority figures' are important aspects of this critical licensure. In particular, cultural customs and traditions, some of which are highly ritualistic, play an important part in the welcoming and 'adoption' of community-based programs. In Lawrence, the approval of an Isabel Melendez or a Carlos Ruiz is a signal of approval to which a larger Hispanic audience responds. In my travels through Lawrence, that I had been a guest in the home of specific persons provided me with access and legitimacy that no amount of 'paper promises' or actual resources could garner. "I heard you attended Mass at our church," "I understand you played at one of our softball games," "The Torres family were so happy you joined them for dinner," went beyond expressions of social amenities; these comments represented an 'informal,' albeit critical, permission to enter the Hispanic community, and part of the welcoming process to it, without which one's actions lack legitimacy.

While locally-derived resources are insufficient to enact plans, implementation proceeds only insofar as control and designation functions (by those who provide necessary resources) do not conflict with locally-derived intentions. This mode has been characterized by such mixed metaphors as "grass-roots," "lifting oneself up by one's bootstraps," "streetcorner" and "street-level" programs. The language

is colloquial in nature and suggests a more familiar and personalized view of planning.

A common reference to this type of planning mode has been to refer to programs with this objective as "community-based" or more specifically, "neighborhood-based." The notion is one of decentralized authority, typically referred to as "community control," which vests the meaning of policies at their point of action. Consequently, many policies for which no channels of realistic implementation exist are dismissed or disregarded as impractical or irrelevant. The criticism here is that the policies and policy-makers are "out of touch" with the constituencies for whom plans are intended; a common complaint is levied against the loftiness of espoused ideals, the technical complexity of proposed practices, and the discrepancy between both and the realities of the practice context. These criticisms, as common as they are, suggest that the implementation of a planning 'with' strategy is indeed a difficult one, particularly as those with whom planners attempt to engage in a planning relationship lack the necessary resources, the skills to utilize them, and the experience to confidently proceed.

As difficult as such a planning with relationship may be to establish, utilize, or even articulate, it is seen here as the one necessary and missing link to the Hispanic community in Lawrence; conspicuously absent in the main of action-responses to the riots, with the potential exception of Centro Panamericano and the Hispanic Political Action Committee which will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

As the following example of this mode of planning attempts to suggest, the close social distance, trust, and confidence which marks

this planning relationship ought not be regarded simply as a matter of personalistic style. 'Planning with' is as much a 'social technology' as the modes of planning often characterized as more 'sophisticated' in their approach. That it is more difficult to articulate and does not lend itself as easily to 'replication,' ought not detract from its power. Indeed, relative to those regarded as the 'disaffected,' its virtual necessity ought not be discounted by anyone seriously intent on genuinely communicating with a community at the 'folk level.'

5.1.4 Examples of 'planning with' dialogue .

Following are two excerpts from 'political' accounts expressed at two sessions of dialogue I participated in, as a means of collecting stories for this report.

" We have talked much this evening about what it means for us to live under these conditions in Lawrence....You understand how important 'confianza' (interpersonal confidence and trust) is in 'la politica'....when people speak to us in terms we do not understand it becomes easy for us to believe that they do not respect us a people with a different view and different language and customs....We sense that the politicians mean only to intimidate us or dominate us. When they pay most attention to us is when they mean to impress us into voting for them....But we clearly understand their intention even if we do not always understand their words....They do mean for us to join them in city hall, they only want us to put them there...When we ask them questions as we have done in the past (with the Latin Alliance for Political Action and Progress) they ignore us or try to set us up one against the other....We asked them why they have ignored us and we are told to sit down, shutup, or get out....Always we are told to

wait...and we are made to feel that we have no place in city hall...To me this is more an act of war than the riots could ever be....this is the first time I say those words...but in my heart I have believed them for a long time...the riots proved them to be true....we did not escape war when we came to the United States....we are at battle in a free land...but we fight each other needlessly and foolishly...the real enemy is our ignorance of one another...a world which has neighbor competing against neighbor and does allow or reward the time it takes to learn your neighbor's name..the enemy is an impersonal world....a world without personalismo...a neighborly love...I am a realistic woman, though, and I realize that even love must be fought for...sometimes I had to fight for and with my family because I loved them and because I could see no other way....anger blinds us...as does love....I am not an educated woman but I have learned that this country itself was built by those willing to fight for their freedom...as old as I am I will fight in whatever way is necessary to make sure my children and their children can have their rightful share of dignity and hope in Lawrence...if it takes riots then let it take riots....we can no longer be ignored....we are at battle in a free land....and we will win...with the help of God..." (translated from Spanish).

At another evening dialogue session, another informant expressed his view in this way: "I do not understand the political system here...partly because I do not speak English and partly because when things are explained to me.... about what the leaders say they are going to do...I look around and I see nothing....politicians here are masters of the words....and we are slaves to their inaction" (translated from Spanish).

5.1.5 The politics of planning with .

The 'planning with' mode I advocate here is inspired by the writings of Paulo Freire (1) who refers to such a side-by-side relationship as one of co-intentional education, the praxis of cultural synthesis which is based on a coming together of opposing factions against the structures of oppression. He writes: "Any situation in which some men prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiry is one of violence. The means are not important; to alienate men from their own decision-making is to change them into objects" (p.73). He continues: "Trust is contingent on the evidence which one party provides the others of his true, concrete intentions; it cannot exist if that party's words do not coincide with his actions. To say one thing and do another -- to take one's own word lightly -- cannot inspire trust. To glorify democracy and to silence the people is a farce; to discourse on humanism and to negate man is a lie. Nor yet can dialogue exist without hope. Hope is rooted in men's incompleteness, from which they move out in constant search -- a search which can be carried out only in communion with other men. Hopelessness is a form of silence, of denying the world and fleeing from it. The dehumanization resulting from an unjust order is not a cause for despair but for hope, leading to an incessant pursuit of the humanity denied by injustice"(p.80).

This "naming of the world," seen in Paulo Freire's terms, is a 'political' act. When Lawrence observers 'name' the riots and 'name' the attendant implications, they are engaged in "the awakening of critical consciousness." Which, per Freire, "leads the way to the expression of social discontents precisely because these discontents are real components of an oppressive situation."

For many observers, this naming of the world -- recognizing

the social discontents observable in the riots -- represents the beginning of an important political emergence from the "culture of silence;" that immobilized state of internalized oppression, seen here as a form of political 'unconsciousness.' They 'feel' the oppression in the concrete circumstances of their everyday life even if they have been hopelessly silent in the experience, as their feelings are articulated they are empowered to act. This empowerment is the objective of the 'planning with' mode.

For other observers, the naming of the world surrounding the riot continues in their familiar pattern of closing themselves off into "circles of certainty" within which they make their own truths. These truths are partial. They deny the oppression, deny 'feeling' it, deny responsibility to and for it, and still claim a certain hopefulness that somehow everything will work itself out, or a resignation that things proceed as they should even if the process is unjust.

The critical point here is not that the riots of last summer ought to be seen as the standoff between those formerly 'silent' and those who continue to feel so 'certain.' To be sure, this standoff is evident in Lawrence today. What this discussion hopes to contribute is how the whole of the Lawrence community can learn from the riots and how they can teach each other their meanings; not in spite of the riots but rather because of them.

The stories collected here indicate the potential for an actual 'social dialogue' which can only be created by the bringing together of the city's observers, in various constellations, with their various names, in a side-by-side learning relationship. This could represent the foundation from which a new social contract for Lawrence could emerge, based on dialogue and "co-intentional education" -- a

cultural synthesis of citizens so in conflict with one another they are unable to surmount the antagonistic contradictions of the social structure within which they all reside. For all the citizens of Lawrence, a social dialogue of co-intentional education could provide the requisite societal learning to move this city beyond its current state of conflict.

5.2 Premises for community mobilization.

5.2.0 Overview.

In this section, we will briefly overview the political environment in Lawrence, as indicated by the stories collected for this report, and as related to the findings of the Browning et al study.

5.2.1 Assessment of political environment.

Following is a brief list of premises upon which the mobilization of the Hispanic community may be based. There are offered here as conclusions, based on my own interpretations derived from the stories I collected, and from my own direct observations:

- The dominant coalition occupying the Lawrence city government is resistant to the political incorporation of Hispanic citizens.

- Thus, the city government in Lawrence is a relatively closed, inaccessible, and unresponsive in both policy and practice.

- Members of the state legislature are sympathetic to the need for political access and responsiveness with regard to Lawrence Hispanics.

- The human service delivery network, including the state service bureaucracy and local private institutions, are likewise sympathetic to Hispanic concerns and interests; with institutional competition representing an inhibitory factor.

5.2.2 Trends in Browning study.

"Factors Perceived as Most Responsible for Minority Oriented Programs of City Governments, 1980."

The findings of major interest here are those concluded from a survey conducted by the above researchers regarding the perceptions of importance of city officials and outside pressure in bringing about "minority-oriented programs." They found: "When the dominant coalition was opposed or less committed to minority interests, respondents perceived (outside) pressure as more important than city hall in bringing about minority programs. It is interesting to note that minority mobilization is typically viewed as more important than either city hall or (outside) pressure in both kinds of cities -- those with liberal and those with more resistant dominant coalitions ." (In this study, the authors reviewed the impact of federal programs. In this thesis, I am assuming that the role of the state is analogous to federal pressure given it has similar regulatory and monitoring functions and power in relationship to the channelling of outside funds into the city).

5.2.3 "Four main patterns of mobilization.

According to Browning, Marshall, and Tabb: "We identify four main patterns of mobilization and incorporation that resulted from the interaction between minority mobilization and white response. Levels of incorporation achieved depended not only on the resources of or political pressures exerted by (minorities), but also on the context in which they mobilized, on the response of the dominant coalition, and the amount of support for challenges to resistant coalitions. The four main patterns of incorporation and mobilization are:"

"1. Biracial electoral alliance. Strong incorporation was achieved early as a result of leadership by blacks and whites in forming liberal electoral alliances..."

"2. Co-optation. Partial incorporation was achieved where minorities had less control over issues and candidates in liberal electoral coalitions ...these coalitions used co-optation strategies to respond to minority demands, which limited the levels of incorporation achieved...."

"3. Protest and exclusion. The levels of incorporation in these cities varied. All the cities experienced intense demand-protest and tenacious resistance by conservative dominant coalitions over a long period of time....(one city won a challenge to the dominant coalition by a coalition led by a minority candidate)..in other cities no such breakthroughs occurred, and incorporation was either transitory or very weak."

"4. Weak minority mobilization. No incorporation was achieved in cities where little or no demand-protest or electoral effort occurred and where the dominant coalition was extremely resistant."

5.3 Resource view on group size.

As indicated by the relative and absolute group size, and growth and migration characteristics, the Hispanic community in Lawrence could represent a significant electoral bloc to the extent it is mobilized to register and vote. Such mobilization will depend on the success of community organizers to educate the Hispanic community and the extent to which Hispanic interests are represented in electoral campaigns by virtue of Hispanic candidates and/or supportive non-Hispanic candidates. The announced campaign of Modesto Maldonado for city council and the anticipated announcement by Rev. Danny O'Neill (known as 'the man with the Irish name and the Spanish American soul') are expected to generate considerable motivation to register and vote.

One additional feature of the Hispanic group size is the active existence of several social, cultural, political, and athletic clubs and organizations of various Latin national origins which range in membership from fifty to three hundred members. These clubs are long standing communications networks and community support systems which have been estimated as "being able to deliver as many as one hundred people within one hour's notice to any location in Lawrence if the issue warrants" by one community informant. To the extent this assertion is true, mobilization efforts which might include demonstrations or demand-protest activities could be significantly facilitated.

One potential inhibitory factor is the history of intra-community tensions related to national politics and personal socio-political disagreements. One informant claims that the factionalized character of the various Hispanic groups represents one of the major obstacles to political action. More will be discussed in

this regard in the following section on organizational development.

5.4 Resource view on political experience.

The Lawrence Hispanic community has a history of political activism that dates back at least ten years. The Alliance of Latinos for Political Action and Progress (ALPA) was organized eight years ago with a charter group of thirty-three members, twenty-four of whom are still active in community affairs. The original agenda around which ALPA was organized was to apply pressure on the city council eight years ago to formulate and implement an Affirmative Action Plan which would bring Hispanics into the city's employ.

The failure of the city council to have an adequate plan was the basis upon which the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development froze nearly four million dollars of funds from being channelled into Lawrence.

The protest activity launched by ALPA, the opposition demonstrated by the city council, and the disorganization within the larger Hispanic community, resulted in what one informant claims "a tear in the social fabric that has not yet been repaired. The Hispanic community was pitted against itself, one faction against another, by a very divisive city council....we tore ourselves to shreds and the city council looked on with glee. For many of us the protest against the city was met with such antagonism and racism on the part of the city council that many of our own members were so disgusted they gave up very early in the fight. Despite our attempts to engage in a peaceful dialogue with the city, we were given the runaround so many times that it took us a while to realize that cooperating with a city council we could not trust was a politically naive and totally unsuccessful

strategy.....Unfortunately, the experience exhausted our limited resources and although we had plenty of energy many of our members decided instead to direct their energies in their own self-interest by working at their jobs and getting more security for their families...."

Many of the original group regard this activism directed at city hall as a distinct failure in that the city council was able to "coopt one of our own people into a puppet by naming him the Affirmative Action Officer and granting him no power....not to mention the fact that his commitment to fight for our civil rights has been very weak..." Informants point to the fact that in the last eight years no additional Hispanics were hired into positions of authority or influence within the city government as a failure on the part of the Affirmative Action Officer to implement equal opportunity measures and the concomitant success of the city council to block any such effort.

Despite the self-identified lack of success of ALPA, it should be noted that one of its ideas was implemented and has survived for the last seven years. The annual Hispanic Festival is a product of ALPA's Cultural and Recreation Committee and has represented the singularly most well-attended and significantly participatory event for the entire Hispanic community since its inception. According to Reverend O'Neill, an ALPA founder and one of its most active participants: "The mother (meaning ALPA as an organization) died in childbirth...we gave birth to the Hispanic Festival and everything else died...maybe it is a testimony to the fact that the Festival was a pleasurable activity while the political struggles were ugly and brutal.."

Informants who describe the current rise in political consciousness and commitment to action claim that "the short two year history of ALPA serves as a great lesson from our own history....we see

now where we went wrong and also where we went right....Danny O'Neill's plan for community education...based on a rotating Ezekial's Wheel with six committees rotating through six zones in the city and revolving around a central coordinating committee was what produced the Festival....the Festival became a reality because it was the one idea that was met with support on a community-wide basis....it was the one idea that we could get excited about because it looked possible and it looked like something we could create, own, and not lose....it would always remain ours....also it was the one idea we could implement without outside help....the one idea based on our cultural pride and strength and our sense of identity..."

Another informant continues: "Although the Festival is not a political activity per se...it shows us what we can do as a community....it is a real achievement we can point to with pride....what we need to do now is transfer this knowledge into the political forum....with our own candidates this year and our two new organizations we have the opportunity to put our hindsight into practice...."

5.5 Resource view on organizational development.

What Browning et al found to be significant among the Hispanic demand protest of the ten cities they studied was that the emergence of organizations through which political campaigns could be channelled represented, along with coalition membership, the key to the successful political incorporation into city government. Such is the hope and potential for the Lawrence Hispanic community in the development of two organizations which emerged as action-responses to the riots. One is the Hispanic Political Action Committee and the other is Centro

5.5.1 Hispanic Political Action Committee (HIPAC).

According to the recently elected president of the newly formed HIPAC, Carlos Ruiz, "the purpose of this organization is to educate the Hispanic community and bring them to the awareness of what the political process is in this country and how important it is for them to participate."

Based on an NAACP model described at a recent convention in Boston, the Lawrence HIPAC will serve as a "non-partisan body for the primary purpose of voter education, registration, and voter turnout."

In consideration of this ambitious task, Ruiz comments on the potential inhibitory factor: "...we have to keep in mind that we can have 10,000 Hispanics registered to vote, but if only 300 turn out on election day, then we haven't accomplished anything."

While we do not have statistics about the previous level of political participation among Hispanics in Lawrence, certain assumptions can be drawn from national figures. Nationally, we find that the percentage of eligible voters who register and vote is not all that different for Hispanic, black, and white populations (2). In 1982, 68% of all eligible white voters registered, and 76% of those registered voted; for Blacks the figures were 61% registered and 73% of those voted. While only 52% of eligible Hispanics were registered in 1982, 72% of them voted. Since younger (18-21) people are less likely to register than their elders, and a very high proportion of the Hispanic population in Lawrence is in this age cohort, it is possible that registration rates for Hispanics and other groups would look similar once one controls for age.

If Lawrence Hispanics register and vote at the same rate as U.S. Hispanics, then we could assume that 52% of eligible voters (approximately 4080 representing citizens over 18 years of age), or 2122 people would be registered. Of those 2122, anywhere from 1528 to 1740 would vote, also depending on whether it is a presidential election year.

Given the average grand total of citizens voting in Lawrence elections over the past twelve years is 9,500, a Hispanic bloc of votes could represent a significant factor although it is unlikely that any Hispanic-supported candidate could win solely on this electoral support. It appears, therefore, that the Browning et al finding regarding the necessity of participation in biracial electoral alliances for successful electoral mobilization would hold in Lawrence as well.

5.5.2 Centro Panamericano, Inc.

The following collection of stories is offered here to indicate the planning challenge which this newly formed organization faces in its attempt to provide an organizational channel for concerted social action on the part of the Lawrence Hispanic community; a formidable planning challenge indeed.

The planning impetus for Centro Panamericano was part of the executive level Lawrence Initiative which included a planning and implementation contract awarded to Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion (IBA), a Boston-based Community Development Corporation. IBA was contracted with the state "to design and implement an organizational strategy to improve the social and economic well-being of the Hispanic community in Lawrence." IBA's specific planning task has been recorded as having

been "to develop and implement a plan that would yield an independent, ongoing multi-service center at the service of the Hispanic community."

"First," begins one key informant, "it sounds like too ambitious an organization if it is really expected to improve the social and economic well-being of Hispanics in Lawrence. No one agency can do that alone. Second, the social and economic problems which Hispanics face have a political basis in the hostile way the city fathers view Hispanics. Will Centro Panamericano adopt a political agenda? How are you going to fund a political program?"

"Don't expect too much support from the existing human services network," advises another informant. "It's not that we don't support the need for services to Hispanics, it's just that we are already into heavy competition with existing service providers for limited human services funding. And many of us have been attempting to increase our service delivery to Hispanics...many of us serve substantial numbers of Hispanics....for yet another agency to come in and compete for these funds...and even to compete for the clients..sounds like we are all going to fight for a share of the pie.."

Another informant admits: "I am totally frustrated and confused....most of my clientele is Hispanic....does that mean my agency has to stop serving Hispanics simply because we are a primarily non-Hispanic staff and we are seen as a white agency?...and where does Centro Panamericano expect to find qualified Hispanic professional staff?...we try and can't afford to pay them...or they don't want to work in Lawrence...so what does that mean? ...once Centro Panamericano opens up we have to refer our Hispanic clients to them?.....I heard they will help to evaluate our services...what criteria will they use? How do I know they won't bad mouth us just so they can cut into our

funding sources?"

"If Centro Panamericano starts out saying it is going to provide services to needy Hispanics in Lawrence," predicts one Hispanic community leader, "they will close down in less than six months.....there are too many needs here...once Hispanics throughout the whole community find out there is one special agency only for Hispanics they will swarm in on Centro Panamericano....when Centro Panamericano finds it cannot meet everyone's needs...the community at large will get angry...stop using the services...and withdraw its support."

On the matter of community support, one informant states: "The last thing we need in Lawrence is another letterhead agency with a nice-sounding name and a list of the Hispanics who have tried and failed to get organizations going in the past....just how are they going to help?...what are they going to do?....just exactly how are they going to come here and tell me what I need to do to help myself? What do they mean by self-help? What kinds of services are those? If they come here to provide better jobs, better housing, and better schools, then I will support them all the way....but if they are going to come here promising those things....then they won't get my vote."

Another informant put it this way: "Centro Panamericano is our chance to get the services we need here. You go to the state offices and they are rude to you ...they make you feel like you are stupid because it's so hard to understand their procedures...or other programs you have to wait for two months to get someone who can speak Spanish. With an agency of our own hopefully we can get services we can understand....with simpler procedures...less wait...and in Spanish...by Hispanics....I hope they open soon....I know many people who need help

now and don't want to go to the state offices or the other centers here."

Ana Perez, Interim Director of Centro Panamericano, describes the concept behind the center "is to provide an organization that allows for local community self-help initiatives and to provide more control over community development resources in the hands of the Hispanic Community....it can be a storehouse of information for the evaluation of existing services and the planning of new ones... Ultimately, it aims at enabling Lawrence Hispanics to increase their capacity to address their social and economic problems."

A state legislator, expresses his expectations this way: "We are expecting Centro Panamericano to provide a local voice for Hispanics in Lawrence....a voice that can speak to the city and state on behalf of the Hispanic community...a community voice is our vision....in order to do this legitimately Centro Panamericano will need to be well connected with the local folks at the community level...in order to speak on their behalf successfully Centro Panamericano will need to become well connected throughout all levels of government and in the non-Hispanic community as well because that's where much of the power and resources exist."

"Centro Panamericano needs to stay out of the business of human services and get into the business of political development." adds another informant. "By political development I mean they should educate the Hispanics in Lawrence to become the political force their percentage of the population suggests is possible.....political equality should be their goal....and that means political clout all the way to the state house....they must have some clout already to have brought all the politicos and state bosses here for the MIT

symposium....that's the first time I've ever heard the mayor of Lawrence welcome any Hispanic...much less a group ...to Lawrence!"

An informant with one of the executive state offices states: "What we are looking for with Centro Panamericano is an agency that can do the bidding for the Lawrence Hispanics. An agency that can participate on equal footing in the human services delivery system and community economic development network as a Hispanic provider."

"How do you get something like that funded?" asks a Centro Panamericano planner in reference to goals of a political nature. "I know organizing the community is necessary but there are no funds to do that sort of thing."

"For the Hispanic community, Centro Panamericano can be our symbol of pride and opportunity....a place for our vision to become a reality," says one informant, adding: "We need our own agency that speaks for us.... and knows us.....and represents our interests in Boston and in local affairs....it will be like our own little city hall....like they tried in Boston.... where we can take our community problems and have Centro Panamericano put them into the right words to argue before the city council or at the State House."

Again, Ana Perez expresses here vision for Centro Panamericano in these words: "Centro Panamericano seeks to identify, develop, and support Hispanic leaders who can speak for Hispanics interests in a variety of areas. In addition to being a training ground for Hispanic leadership....Centro Panamericano can lessen community tensions.....it can provide the infrastructure on which to conduct community-based economic development. Lastly, Centro Panamericano can help to lessen the strain between Hispanics and other groups by establishing positive working relationships with organizations that

represent these other groups both in areas of potential conflict and mutual concern."

To the extent that Centro Panamericano is able to respond to these planning challenges and scale its programs and services accordingly, will determine whether it can provide the organizational development resource seen as a critical resource in the Browning study.

5.6 Resource view on coalition building,

What Browning et al found to be the major critical key to successful mobilization of minority communities represents the most significant area of lack with regard to the Lawrence Hispanic community. As the stories above indicate, the competition for funds and the relatively disorganized nature of the human service network are serious inhibitory factors among the most significant potential source of support that could be summoned by Lawrence Hispanics. The human service network is perhaps the most sympathetic, if not yet coalesced, sector to the interests of Lawrence Hispanics. Their participation in numerous meetings with regard to the social problem situation within which Lawrence Hispanics exist has educated them beyond any previous level of awareness. Additionally, their increased attention to Hispanic issues, motivated by the riots themselves and the various action-responses, indicates a predisposition to a potential alliance. Although their service orientation may predispose them in this manner, their public funding base may inhibit a full expression of their political interests and action.

One significant boost to the political involvement of the human service network came recently in the form of a strong message

issued by the coordinator of the Lawrence Initiative, Jorge Santiago, a spokesperson and employee of the Executive Office of Human Services: "Human service managers can no longer operate in a vacuum. They must be politically active. Human service agencies should take part in city politics and show they are part of the city's future. Human service workers must reach out to the community, attend public meetings, and be articulate representatives of their services within a political agenda."

The extent to which human service staff respond to this encouragement and the extent to which the Lawrence Hispanic community elicits their sympathetic predisposition of support, may determine the extent to which a broad-based coalition could be formed from among this sector.

5.7 CONCLUSION:

In the final analysis what remains for each sector which plays an important role in Lawrence city politics to answer are two open questions: Does the political will -- to work together to politically incorporate the interests and members of the Hispanic community -- exist within each governmental sector; within each community service sector; and among the various population groups which comprise the body politic? To what extent does a critical consciousness exist regarding the social necessity of exercising this political will?

I regard this social necessity as the higher ground of political expedience upon which the future welfare of the whole of Lawrence is staked. To get there, in Saul Alinsky's words, we must take: "the low road to morality..... There is no other. A major revolution to be won in the immediate future is the dissipation of

man's illusion that his own welfare can be separate from that of all others....The fact that it is not man's "better nature" but his self-interest that demands that he be his brother's keeper....the most practical life is the moral life andthe moral life is the only road to survival."

I believe this is the kind of argument that the actual experience of Lawrence citizens' equips them to understand...an argument they have no alternative to accept if they wish to keep the riots as events of the past. The riots are part of that political pragmatic lesson which informs us that civilized society functions best when its citizens learn to live with other political ideologies....not on an elevated plane of altruism and self-sacrifice but on the higher ground of Everyman's daily desires and self-interests.

To not see the riots as the political expressions of a community seeking entry into the political arena is to miss their essential truth: of the interdependence of all citizens.....socially, economically, and thus politically. A truth upon which the ideal of pluralist democracy is based; an espoused ideal which democracy-in-action often denies, avoids, or otherwise falls short..... at great social cost.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE:

1. Protest Is Not Enough . (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
2. Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America . (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1966).
3. Terry N. Clark, and Lonna C. Ferguson, City Money: political processes, fiscal strain, and retrenchment . (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
4. Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and power in an American city . (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961).
5. William A. Gamson, The Strategy of Social Protest . (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1975).
6. E. E. Schattschneider, The Semi-Sovereign People . (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960).
7. Theodore Lowi, The Politics of Disorder . (New York: Basic Books, 1971).
8. Michael Lipsky, Protest in City Politics . (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1970).
9. Charles Tilly, Collective Action and Conflict in Large-Scale Social Change: Research Plans, 1974-78 . (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1973).
10. James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics . (New York: Free Press, 1960).
11. Robert M. Fogelson, Violence as Protest . (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1971).

CHAPTER TWO:

Special Note: The census data cited in this chapter are from both the 1970 census and the 1980 census. Special note should be made regarding the count of "persons of Spanish origin or descent." The Hispanic population data for 1970 and 1980 were obtained with the same question, in which people identified themselves as of Spanish origin, but the 1970 data are estimates based on a relatively small sample (5 percent); also, the Census Bureau acknowledges an undercount of Hispanics in 1970. Spanish surname was the only census criterion for "Hispanic" in 1960 and was one of the criteria, along with Spanish language, for most of the data on "Hispanics" reported in the 1970 census.

1. Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America . (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1969). p. 639.
2. U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968 Report . (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1968). Preface.
3. U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing . (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1981). Advance Reports.

4. Ford Foundation Working Paper, Hispanics: Challenges and Opportunities . (New York: Ford Foundation Office of Reports, 1984). pp.29-30.
5. U.S. Commission on the Cities, 1970, The State of the Cities . (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970). Preface.
6. State Department of Education, Report on Per Pupil Expenditure . (Boston: Department of Education Official Reports).
7. *ibid.*
8. Ford Foundation Working Paper, Hispanics: Challenges and Opportunities . (New York: Ford Foundation Office of Reports, 1984). pp.15.

CHAPTER THREE:

The quotations cited in this chapter were obtained in personal interviews with the author. In some interviews, anonymity was assured. In others, as noted by name of speaker in this report, anonymity was not an assurance of the interview; in most cases, these interviews were with public officials whose statements were collected 'on the record.'

CHAPTER FOUR:

1. Richard Bolan, Community Decision Behavior: The Culture of Planning . Article contained in Readings in Community Organization Practice . (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1983). p.219.
2. Lisa Peattie, Realistic Planning and Qualitative Research . (Great Britain: Pergamon Press, 1983). p.227.
3. Charles Tilly, Violence as Politics . (New York: Harper and Row, 1973b). pp. 6-7.
4. Ronald Aminzade, Revolution and Collective Political Violence: The Case of the Working Class of Marseille, France, 1830-1871 . (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Working Paper #86, 1973). p.4.
5. Eric Hoffer, The True Believer . (New York: Harper & Row, 1951). p.7.
6. William A. Gamson, The Strategy of Social Protest . (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1975). p.131.
7. Anthony Oberschall, Social Conflict and Social Movements . (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973).
8. David Walker, Intergovernmental Response to Urban Riots . Article found in Urban Riots: Violence and Social Change . (New York: Columbia University, 1968). pp. 169-182.
9. Joe R. Feagin and Harlan Hahn, Ghetto Revolts . (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973). p. 199.
10. Jerome H. Skolnick, The Politics of Protest . (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969). pp. 329-339.

CHAPTER FIVE:

1. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed . (New York: The Continuum Publishing Corporation, 1983).

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