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STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS IN INDIANAPOLIS

Avra J. Johnson

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
in the School of Public and Environmental Affairs
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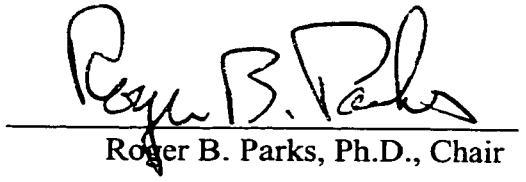

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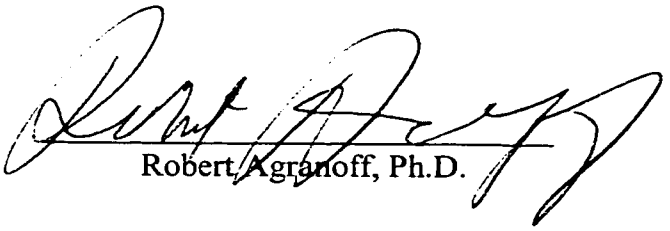

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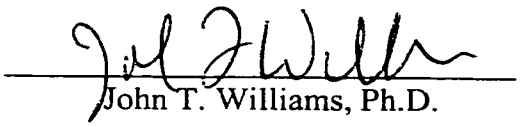

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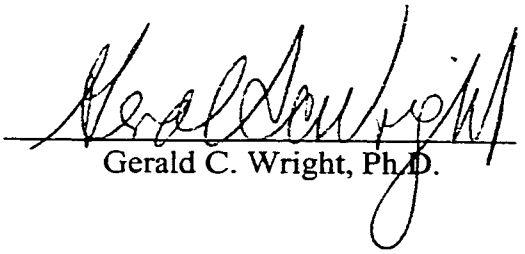

Gerald C. Wright, Ph.D.

7/9/2001

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I dedicate this dissertation to
William A. Johnson and Lawrence C. Johnson
Shirley J. Braxton, my mother
Louis Braxton, Sr., deceased father
Catherine L. and Wayne H. Puckett, deceased grandparents

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ABSTRACT

Avra Juanita Johnson

STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS IN INDIANAPOLIS

This dissertation examines the theoretical question of whether it is possible to construct an economic entity or organization with political considerations. The research examines the role of community development corporations (CDCs) in Center Township of Indianapolis. The CDCs claim to incorporate community political and community economic development activities within socially disorganized communities. The question addressed is: Can an organization do community economic, political and social activities? A political economy theoretical framework is used to explain the activities of CDCs, and comparative analysis is used to show similarities and dissimilarities among these organizations. The findings suggest that the community development corporations in Indianapolis have primarily focused on housing development and ignored other community development. However, a small number of these organizations have begun to focus beyond housing development to address other community economic development activities. Unfortunately, community political development activities are minimal, and, if it is done, community social development has been left to multi-service centers and other social service agencies.

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1. INTRODUCTION

"The mushrooming movement of community-development corporations (CDCs) is spreading like the kudzu vines in inner cities across America" (Holmstrom, 1994, p. 14).

In the study of politics and public policy, a continuing debate exists concerning the ability of economically motivated private institutions to contribute to the democratic process (Dahl, 1985; Denning, 1984; Cochrane, 1986; Jezierski, 1990; Koresh, 1986; Orlans, 1980; Pateman, 1970; LaMore, 1987; Robson, 1985; Walsh, 1978). Dahl questions the feasibility of designing an "economic order" that "would best achieve the values of democracy, political equality, and liberty" (1985, p. 84). Other social scientists believe that it is possible to construct an institution or organization that could resolve the conflict between democracy and economic order (Blakely, 1994; Dahl, 1985; Denning, 1984; Pateman, 1970; Peirce & Steinbach, 1990; Robson, 1985; Walsh, 1978). However, these social scientists disagree as to what that economic order should be and at what level it should operate.

The inherent conflict between community democracy and community economic development relates to the process of decision making. Theorists such as Lindblom, Stone, and Wittman posit that decisions are made with different participants in the process. Lindblom and Stone suggest that economic coalitions occupy a privileged position, but Wittman suggests that public accountability is part of the process. Accountability in this case means putting elected representatives in key positions to prevent favoring certain economic interests. However, Stone argues that election coalitions are different from governing coalitions: Election

coalitions are more inclusive than governing coalitions, since they have a broad constituent base; governing coalitions have a limited constituent base: economic elites or interest groups—Lindblom's privileged class. Urban development and redevelopment theorists question the uneven development and lack of accountability related to development decisions and the decision-making process (Barnekov and Rich, 1987; Bradford, 1983; Kantor, 1987; Stone, 1989; Squire, 1994).

At the community level, democracy relies on public decision making. Community residents are brought into the policy-making process, giving them a say in decisions that affect them. Community residents also can use political mobilization techniques such as protest, boycott, and adversarial techniques as a means to force political and economic entities to respond to community residents' land use, job creation and business development needs. Community economic development strategies differ, and require community residents to limit political activity to bargaining and private decision making. In addition, the assumption that markets will make rational and efficient decisions may change the direction of job creation and business development to reflect priorities counter to those of community residents (Barnekov & Rich, 1989, p. 221). Community economic development and privatism emphasize capital accumulation and profit maximization, which runs counter counter community politics and community public policy, which emphasize the social needs of the population (Squire, 1994, p. 197). Privatism may lead to economic restructuring or gentrification, which force poor and needy populations out of spaces that are

economically attractive to other private interests (Barnekov & Rich, 1989, 228; Peterson, 1981, 28; Squire, 1994, p. 202).

By constructing a private independent entity—the community development corporation—community economic development theorists suggest that the organization will allow community residents to make community economic development decisions. In essence, community residents have the ability to make land use and other decisions in a public forum. However, Kantor argues that this is a method of exclusion rather than inclusion of different interests in the decision-making process. Because the CDC is a private entity, the participants in the process can exclude some voices, and some participants themselves are co-opted: making the possibility of mobilization efforts limited. Usually, in a development planning process, all decisions are made in private, and include only a limited number of participants—ensuring confidentiality until all details are addressed. In a public planning process, the details and decisions are public knowledge, allowing community residents to voice opinions and oppose some decisions. By co-opting some community residents, the voices of the least powerful are excluded from the process, and the development elites have the upper hand (Kantor, 1987, p. 513). Therefore, a source of conflict lies in the method of policy-making, whether including or excluding multiple interests in the decision-making process.

Researchers and scholars have studied institutions and structures that combine economic and political orders. Dahl, Pateman, and others focus on workplace democracy that increases workers participation in private industry. Denning, Robson,

and Walsh study public authority exemplifying public decision making over private interest. Particularly, public housing authority, along with their resident councils, combine public decision making with supplying a private good—housing—to the public.

In literature on community development corporations (CDC), the assumption is that the community development corporation is the economic order that combines both economic principles and political process (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Blakely, 1994; Peirce & Steinbach, 1990; Pecorella, 1994; Rubin & Rubin, 1992). Further, it is assumed that this organization has the potential to bring the two conflicting theoretical perspectives together at the community level within a city. This organization is community controlled; however, the organization can contribute to both community economic development (CED)—increasing economic and business development (Alperovitz & Faux 1984; Blakely 1994; Shaffer 1989; and Swack 1990), and community political development (CPD)—increasing residents' participation in the political process (Altshuler, 1970; Barber, 1984; Cochrane, 1986; Dahl, 1989; Held, 1987; Kotler, 1969; Pateman, 1970; Zimmerman, 1972). Furthermore, this organization presumably can contribute to the community social development (CSD) of residents, alleviating the poverty and social disorganization within distressed communities (LISC, 1993; NCCED, 1989 & 1991; Sviridoff, 1994; Sullivan, 1993; Taub, 1990; Wilson, 1987).

The Question

The purpose of this study is to determine if community political development, community economic development, and community social development can be pursued in community development corporations in Indianapolis. Can these organizations, which focus on community economic development (a private activity), contribute to community political development (a public activity)? Does practicing community economic development and community political development lead to a revitalized community? What factors contribute to the ability of organizations like CDCs to achieve the goals set by the two conflicting social structures? What factors prevent these organizations from producing both democratic and capitalistic outcomes? Can CDCs, along with CED and CPD's expectations, contribute to CSD? If so, how? Can they provide the necessary impetus to change distressed communities?

Put more specifically, this study examines community development corporations' participation in community development activities in the local political economy of Indianapolis. Four basic questions are addressed:

(1) Can an economic entity or organization, designed at the community level, also address democratic processes and community control?

(2) What factors affect the nexus between community control and community economic development?

(3) How does this nexus affect community social welfare within these communities?

(4) What external factors might affect the nexus between community control and community economic development beyond the community level?

Each question attempts to discern the relationship between community economics and community politics. Beyond that, the questions attempt to understand these relationships within social disorganization. Thus, if theory holds true, then research should show that both community economic and community politics exist simultaneously assisting to correct disorganization. If not, then community economics and community politics compete with each other and one will dominate; then social disorganization will continue.

In order to answer the above questions, we first must understand what we mean by a community development corporation. What criteria distinguish a community development corporation from an array of other organizations that might display similar tendencies? A community development corporation is a comprehensive, geographically based organization that is community controlled, consisting of place-based antipoverty and development strategies.

The literature presents several recurring themes that support this definition. First, it often is mentioned that community development corporations are place-based strategy, local institutions, or community based entities, indicating geographic boundaries (Faux, 1971; Pecorella, 1994; Rubin, 1993: Sullivan, 1993). Second, to some degree, the literature indicates that the CDC is some kind of entity, instrument, institution, nonprofit, quasi-public corporation, or cooperative model (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Berger & Kasper, 1993; Pecorella, 1994; Rubin 1993; Shaffer, 1989; Sullivan, 1993). Thus community development corporations are artificially constructed institutions that serve some purpose. Third, the purpose of this entity is to engage in some type of development, economic, business, social, political or

citizen participation (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Faux, 1971; Pecorella 1994; Rubin 1993; Shaffer, 1989; Sullivan, 1993). Fourth, community development corporations have some type of relationship with another group, for example, a partnership between city, government, and business (Berendt, 1977; Shaffer, 1989). Fifth, they are used by investors and funded by government, at least initially (Berendt, 1977; Shaffer, 1989; Sullivan, 1993). Sixth, these organizations address specific needs of poor, impoverished communities (Berger & Kasper, 1993; Faux, 1971; Rubin, 1993). Finally, these institutions are community controlled, have resident involvement and provide political empowerment (Berger & Kasper, 1993; Faux, 1971; Peirce & Steinbach, 1990; Pecorella, 1994). Hence, community development corporations used by investors, government officials, and residents are community-based institutions that concentrate on development activities and are community controlled.

Additionally, several groups see these organizations as the answer to some growing concerns of distressed communities. Community development corporations (CDCs) have played an increasingly important role in the development or redevelopment of urban and rural communities for the last 30 years. All levels of government officials, foundations, and community residents have recognized the potential that CDCs have for the development and redevelopment of urban communities. For example, Clinton's first presidential administration introduced legislation—Neighborhood Leveraged Investment For Tomorrow (LIFT)—that would allow the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to allocate funds directly to CDCs, bypassing both state and local governments. Moreover, the Indiana Department of Commerce's Community Development Division has

aggressively promoted its Neighborhood Assistance Program (NAP) as a tool to help CDCs and other neighborhood groups raise funds to revitalize their communities. In Indianapolis, Stephen Goldsmith's mayoral administration used CDCs to rehabilitate and revitalize "clustered" areas within the 13 operating CDC geographic communities.

Foundations like the Ford Foundation (through the Local Initiative Support Corporation [LISC]), Enterprise Foundation, Howard Heinz Endowment, Mellon Bank Foundation, Moriah Fund, Annie B. Casey, the Lilly Endowment through the Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership (INHP), and others have funneled millions of dollars to increase the capacity of CDCs to revitalize "blighted" urban areas. Foundations generally prefer to give grants to nonprofit organizations like community development corporations rather than directly to governmental agencies. More importantly, some foundations mandate a resident council and broad resident participation in programs for the urban poor.

Many researchers and practitioners of community development believe that this policy instrument can assist in the alleviation of urban poverty, in the empowerment of residents, and in the revitalization of communities merely because this instrument is a "bottom-up" approach to urban challenges (Bradford, 1993; Shavelson, 1989). Another researcher writes that CDCs are used "to break the cycle of poverty in low-income communities by arresting tendencies toward dependency, chronic unemployment, and community deterioration" (Berendt, 1977, p. 33). Osborne notes that community development corporations are mechanisms that address economic growth and the inclusion of the poor in that growth (1990, p. 13).

In addition to that, these organizations are used to avoid "bureaucratic and inflexible programs" (Osborne, 1990, p. 13). Finally, NCCED notes that "CDCs remain committed to serving the very poorest people in America" (NCCED 1991, p. 3).

More importantly, community residents recognize the possibilities of neighborhood empowerment and community revitalization through the use of community development corporations that are community-controlled organizations. Some residents see the opportunity of serving on CDC boards that design and implement plans relating to their communities. Other residents see the opportunity to actively participate in a planning process that might revitalize the community. Community development corporations give them an active voice in the decisions that directly affect their lives.

David Holmstrom quoted Paul Grogan of Local Initiative Support Corporation (LISC) as saying, "the mushrooming movement of community-development corporations (CDCs) is spreading like the kudzu vine in inner cities across America" (Holmstrom, 1994, p. 14; see also NCCED, 1991, p. 1). The CDC movement has proponents from all levels of government, foundations, researchers, and practitioners, and, most importantly, from community residents who see these organizations as the "instrument" to address urban challenges and to deliver much needed services. These groups see CDCs as community-based revitalization institutions; we need to understand how certain contextual and structural factors affect their activities.

Even though community development corporations are expected to achieve certain outcomes, little research has been done to explain how these organizations achieve their goals in their communities and for their residents (Puls et al., 1991).

Furthermore, little research addresses the effect of community and organizational structures on these organizations. Few political scientists, including urbanists, have addressed the political consequences of having these organizations within the urban context.

Evolution of Community Development Corporations

Economic Self-Help Traditions in America

Many researchers argue that community development corporations evolved out of the self-help tradition in America (Berendt, 1977; Janha, Wang, & Whelan, 1994; Lemann, 1991; Shavelson, 1989). In this section I will present a brief overview of the self-help tradition in the United States, focusing especially on the black self-help tradition. Christenson and Robinson state that "self help is a community building strategy" and "a commitment to self help is to put a normative specification of what community life should be, as such is firmly embedded in a Western democratic and pluralistic ideology" (Christenson & Robinson, 1989, p. 45). Shavelson argues that the CDC is the "country's oldest institution of economic self help which can trace its roots to the Plymouth Colony" or "democratic commonwealth" (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984, p. 252; Shavelson, 1989, p. 115).

Although the Plymouth Colony may have given us the first self-help community, in 1825 in New Harmony, Indiana, Robert Owen's early attempt at both self help and community development failed. Dolbeare posits that the cooperative community effort failed due to individualistic tendencies on the part of participants

(1984, p. 214). Also in 1825, an effort was made to incorporate freed African slaves into Southern society—Frances Wright's Nashoba, Tennessee experiment. It failed too (Dolbeare, 1984, p. 214).

Berendt argues that while incorporation of freed slaves was the motive behind the Nashoba experiment, all black communities were modeled on contemporaneous European communes (Berendt, 1977, p. 17). Other communities that were established to accomplish similar goals were Augustus Wattles's Carthagena settlement, the Refugee Home Society settlement, and Port Royal, a famous experiment on the South Carolina Sea Islands.

Berendt notes that "while the concept of the CDC often is viewed as an innovation of the 1960s, it is an outgrowth of ideas that have shaped 'poverty programs' at least since the early nineteenth century" (1977, p. 4). However Berendt, asserts that the pursuit of self help was indeed "a form of work enforcement" (1977, p. 5).

Black Self-Help Movement

The logic surrounding the black self-help movement was expressed by such African-American scholars and activists as Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey. Berendt argues that Washington advocated industrial education to improve the condition of African Americans in the late nineteenth century (see also Lemann, 1991, p. 289). Lemann asserts that Washington "proposed in a famous speech in Atlanta in 1895 that blacks set aside the goal of legal rights and concentrate instead on self help, so that the great mass of poor rural blacks could become

economically self-sufficient workers, farmers, artisans, and small businessmen without arousing white hostility" (Lemann, 1991, p. 289). Like Washington, Du Bois and Garvey also noted the need for reducation, however, these proponents of self help also advocated the establishment of business enterprise. Contrary to Washington, Du Bois wanted the "whole person" educated not just the "working person." He especially felt that legal equality was essential to the social development of African Americans. Both Washington and Garvey encouraged the development of all black communities to allow for the creation of a black capitalistic culture. Subsequently in the late 1950s, the nationalism movement was the acceptance of both Washington and Garvey's ideology of black self help. In 1964, Reverend Leon Sullivan began the Opportunities Industrialization Center to provide job-training opportunities for inner-city Philadelphia residents. Miller (1969) posits that the black economic self-help movement led to the introduction of the Community Self- Determination Act of 1968. In its present form, the black self-help movement is represented by such advocates as Harold Cruse, Robert Woodson and Louis Farrakhan; and professors as Glen Loury and Shelby Steele (Lemann, 1991).

Modern Tradition of the Self-Help Movement

Wileden cites these movements as the historical roots of community development as we know it today: the 1869 charity organization movement in England, the social betterment movement at Toynbee Hall in 1884, the 1886 playground and recreation movement in Boston, the 1901 school community center movement in New York, and the development of a federation of social agencies (1970, pp. 81-84). Wileden argues that the rural development movements included

special interest organizations, along with the urban interest groups spreading to rural areas (e.g., YMCA, YWCA, Boys Scouts, Girl Scouts, Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions). Intergroup movements were a representative body of an area, and included cooperative extension services through land grant colleges.

Although the self-help movement has been associated with African Americans, Herbert Hoover also concentrated on the "virtues of self-help" (Berendt, 1977, p. 6). Hoover particularly supported the efforts of voluntary cooperatives, big business groups, trade associations, local communities, and charitable organizations (Berendt, 1977, p. 6). Furthermore, Berendt points out that the Civilian Conservation Corps was a self-help program. Other programs also associated with Franklin D. Roosevelt that were based on the self-help philosophy are the Agricultural Adjustment Act, Home Owners Act, and Works Project Administration (Berendt, 1977). Each of these programs incorporated the concepts of capitalism, individualism, and work ethic. The Eisenhower Foundation introduced the philosophy of "bubble up" which led to the "gray areas project by the Ford Foundation." Presidents Kennedy and Johnson saw the resurgence of the self-help philosophy in the War on Poverty program. Its objective was to "organize the poor to work on their own behalf" (Berendt, 1977). However, Berendt argues that "the client" became the community, rather than individuals. This change in focus permitted the creation of institutions whose theoretical bases were "twofold ones: community control and community" (Berendt, 1977, p. 7). This was the beginning of the CDC movement in the 1960s.

Over the last 30 years, policy makers have experimented with several decentralized instruments to implement policies in urban areas (Nathan, 1992; Yin, 1982, p. 77). For example, policy makers have used community action agencies (CAAs), multiservice centers, and community development corporations that "would be miniature umbrella agencies acting primarily as planning and coordinating bodies rather than as operating agencies" (Hallman, 1970, p. 14). Hallman argues that community development corporations would be "governed by boards selected by residents through some form of democratic procedure, the precise method to be worked out in each community" (Hallman, 1984, p. 16). CAAs' creation, Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, was dismantled by the Nixon administration (Lemann, 1991, pp. 199, 133; Jones, 1983, p. 338).

Multiservice centers, known as settlement houses during the 19th century and used from the late 1960s through the 1990s, have focused on providing social services to the low-income population within geographic communities in urban America (Nathan, 1992, p. 76; Yin, 1982, p. 77). However, these agencies/centers do not address such issues as housing and economic development in these geographic communities (Lemann, 1991, p. 197; Miller, 1969).

Zimmerman notes that Kotler suggested that a "private, nonprofit neighborhood corporation, chartered by the state, is the most desirable mechanism for forming a new government and increasing public alertness and popular participation" (Zimmerman, 1972, p. 18). To illustrate his point, Kotler formed the East Central Citizens Organization (ECCO) which was funded by the federal Economic

Opportunity Act of 1964 and later "received antipoverty funds in 1966" (Zimmerman, 1972, p. 18).

Kotler shows how federal policy moved from community politics of "maximum feasible participation" to community economic development. He argues that mayors' calls for more control over community action programs shifted the focus of funding away from neighborhood-controlled community action agencies. With the passage of the Green Amendment by Congress, funding was redirected to city bureaucracies, thus curtailing the financial capabilities of independent community action agencies, especially those that had openly opposed the local power structure. According to Kotler:

> The new arrangement enabled the government to withdraw funding form neighborhood organizations that confronted city power and to begin to fund anti-poverty programs within a pro-city framework. This rearrangement, in the sensitive world of politics, required a "felicitous" adaptation of the theory of poverty to which the political intention of placing OEO powers in the hands of the city management would conform. The theory of local economic enterprise, referred to as "community economic development" (Kotler, 1969, p. 3).

Kotler argues further:

> Now the idea was to encourage the enterprising people in the communities, and assist them to establish small businesses and little industries which could employ the poor people. And it was to be this group of people--those ambitious for gain--on whom established power would place the task of cooling off the cities. They thought this would demonstrate the mobility of the system and, at the same time, suppress the political movement of the underclass (Kotler, 1969, p. 4).

Kotler argues that the ideas of "organization-action approach" were threefold. First, the organization of the poor was required to pressure the city government (pressure politics). Second, because the poor generally were located in specific neighborhoods, it was logical to organize them by neighborhood (Kotler, 1969, p. 6). Third, this approach would satisfy the requirement of maximum feasible participation (Kotler, 1969, p. 5). Therefore, Kotler argues that "it [the organization] gave a political structure back to neighborhoods which had lost their political identity because of annexation and municipal reforms had destroyed the power of the neighborhoods at the municipal and ward levels" (Kotler, 1969, p. 7). From his perspective, "when the federal policy changed in 1968, and favor shifted from community action based upon maximum feasible participation to community economic enterprise, it seemed to contain a possible temporary solution to the problem of funding the neighborhood political organization. The government wanted enterprise rather than political action in the neighborhood; it would move the people out of the meeting hall and put them behind cash registers" (Kotler, 1969, p. 7).

In recent history, the self-help movement has found proponents in the Bush administration, especially Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Secretary Jack Kemp. With the support of Robert Woodson and Glen Loury, Secretary Kemp "called for a new war on poverty, based on the principle of the regeneration of the ghettos through self-help (and) 'empowerment'" (Lemann, 1991,

p. 290). While self help has taken a distinctive African-American flavor, the concept has been part of the cultural tradition of the United States from the beginning.

Clinton's HUD has placed emphasis on increasing funding to CDCs through Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds, Empowerment Zone legislation, and other housing programs. In addition, HUD proposed the Neighborhood LIFT program, which would have allowed direct funding of the CDCs without involving state or local government agencies. This legislation, supported by National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED), a national community development association and interest groups, other national development corporation interest groups, and foundations (e.g., Ford and Enterprise Foundations), was not passed in 1994, however, the administration intended to reintroduce this legislation in the Spring 1995 session of Congress.

Plan for This Study

This study seeks to demonstrate the ability of community development corporations to affect different community development activities. This dissertation is a comparative case study of community development corporations in Center Township, the eastern portion of Wayne Township, and southern Washington Township in Indianapolis, Indiana. Indianapolis is a single urban political economy context, permitting an in-depth analysis of community development corporations. This suggests consistency in the pursuit of local economic development policies across corporations. A theoretical framework of structural community political economy and a model of community development corporation participation in that

economy frame the analysis for this study. Descriptive mini-case analyses using census data, field research, participant observation, primary and secondary data sources, and survey data illustrate community context and organization structure that might influence community development activities and decision making. Cross-case analysis of specific community development activities uses information obtained by participant observation, semi-structured interviews, field research, and primary and secondary data sources.

This study of community development corporations in Indianapolis uses two specific approaches to analyze the ability of this organization to achieve its expected outcomes in the community. The first approach is to do an in-depth study within case analyses of each community and its organization structures. This analysis describes the neighborhood contexts in which these organizations exist, how they are organized and operated, and their accomplishments and struggles.

The research covers all 13 active community development corporations by participant observation, interviewing over 50 community developers, their constituents, local officials, and others associated with these organizations. Participant observation is essential to analysis. Content analysis of other case studies also informs this search for specific activities performed by community development corporations. Along with literature, these observations provide information with which to code responses and other data sources. As a research assistant at the Indiana Center for Urban Policy and the Environment, I had access to Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mappings of the city; a 1993 Indianapolis Community Baseline Survey; the Marion County Community Leader Organization Survey

conducted by David Swindell; and interviews of city/county councilors conducted by David Swindell, Sue Crawford, and myself.

The second approach is cross-case comparative analysis of community development activities between community development corporations within Indianapolis, showing similarities and differences among these organizations. Cross-case comparison might show that the size of an organization influences the outcomes of that organization. This type of analysis might also show that the community might influence organizational outcomes. Only by using both approaches are we able to assess these organizations.

Contextual analysis of community development corporations can provide us with an understanding of the functions of certain organizations at a lower level than usually is studied in the urban context. By studying these organizations, we can determine if they can provide a community both the opportunity of community control, as some advocate, within an economic order that practices economic development simultaneously. Furthermore, I question whether the community (micro) level of analysis is sufficient to explain all of the activities that these organizations face. Could macro-level structures have some influence on the community development and their activities?

Journey Forward

Chapter Two will present a theoretical framework by which we can analyze community development corporations. This framework includes both a structural analysis and political economy approaches. These approaches assist the study of

these organizations both internally and externally. Chapter Three discusses research methodologies and proposes an organizing framework for studying community development corporations. Besides defining the framework, I define and operationalize factors that are included in this analytical framework. In this chapter, data techniques are discussed extensively.

Chapters Four and Five present the analysis of CDC communities and their organizations. In Chapter Four, I present descriptive analyses of CDCs and contextual analysis through mini-case studies. In Chapter Five, I present a cross-case analysis of the Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership CDCs showing similarities and dissimilarities in their outcomes. Finally, Chapter Six presents the findings of the study of community development corporations at the community level. Inferences will be made about the ability of these organizations to do both community political and community economic developments simultaneously and successfully. These findings might provide clues to understanding the tension between politics and economics, and perhaps indicate how to minimize that tension. I will conclude with some policy recommendations that might help these organizations to achieve both goals.

2. A STRUCTURAL POLITICAL ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE

Most theorists and researchers approach the study of community development corporations from a distinctive disciplinary perspective. Sociologists focus on organizational characteristics and outputs (Vidal, 1992; Taub, 1988). Organization theorists limit their discussion to internal organizational structure and process, ignoring external influences (Kelly, 1976 & 1977; Mayer, 1984; Perry, 1987; Vidal, 1992). Economists and economic development theorists focus on outputs, although some also recognize the importance of community control (Blakely, 1994; Glaser, 1985, 1986, & 1992; LaMore, 1987; Mayer, 1984; Mayer & Blake, 1981). Political scientists focus on power, community control, board representation, and membership attributes, often ignoring internal structure and process (Hanssen, 1993; Kelly, 1976 & 1977; Perry, 1987; Turner, 1992 & 1994). Journalists and proponents of CDCs provide interesting case studies of successful community development corporations, highlighting resident participation and the implementation of programs and projects (Berger & Steinbach, 1992; Hallman, 1984; DiPasquale & Keyes, 1990; NCCED, 1990; Osborne, 1990; Pierce & Steinbach, 1987 & 1990).

Each approach provides an element of a multi-disciplinary strategy for the study of community development corporations. Sociologists and economists contribute an organizational perspective, while political scientists, journalists, and advocates argue that community residents, the organization, and community power structures are interdependent. By building on these distinct approaches, different

analyses can be made. This multi-disciplinary approach provides an integrated framework to the study of these organizations.

A perspective that enhances this discussion is the political economy approach (Caporaso & Levine, 1992; Elkin, 1987; Nichols & Wright, 1990; Schultze, 1985; Stone, 1989; Tabb & Sawers, 1984; Wade, 1983; Wamsley & Zald, 1973). Urban political economy frameworks focus on the interaction between macro-level structures and processes in the urban context (Elkin, 1987; Schultze, 1985). However, most of these analyses neglect micro-level structures and processes. Political economy frameworks of CDCs often focus on internal structures and processes (Berendt, 1977; Stoecker, 1999). As a result, these approaches ignore external constraints that influence these organizations. By expanding the research to include external contexts, we can study macro- and micro-structural effects on CDC processes and activities.

This analysis will also consider how structural constraints such as race, class, and gender may influence the outcomes of CDCs. Merton argues that structural analysis requires "multiple theoretical paradigms" or an eclectic approach that complements the political economy analysis (Blau, 1975, p. 51; Austin, 1988, p. 10). However, eclecticism is not without logic or reasoning, but it is "disciplined eclecticism" or the linking of "complementary ideas in other paradigms" to a theoretical framework to explain a unique phenomenon (Blau, 1975, p. 52). By incorporating structural analysis along with the political economy model, the analysis will show that constraints within and surrounding CDCs affect their ability to accomplish certain goals.

This chapter introduces a theoretical framework for the analysis of community development corporations within their context. The framework seeks to show how contexts might influence expected outcomes. The analytical framework introduces two levels of analyses, three parameters, and three dimensions of those parameters. The research tests whether community development organizations can produce certain activities: community social development, community political development, and community economic development.

Laying the Foundation

This section contributes several theoretical strands to the building of a framework to study community development corporations in Indianapolis. This framework, although eclectic in design, has several overarching theoretical perspectives that facilitate pulling these strands together.

The foundation of the framework is political economy theory, with philosophical roots traced back to Locke and Smith (Caporaso & Levine, 1992; Nichols & Wright, 1990; Wade, 1983). There are three competing models of political economy: neoclassical economic theory, Keynesian, and Marxian approaches—or neoconservatism, liberalism, and radicalism (Caporaso & Levine, 1992; Nichols & Wright, 1990; Schultze, 1985; Wade, 1983). However, political economy not only is considered a theoretical model, but also a methodology. In the neoclassical model, the relationship between economics and politics is understood within rational choice or individual choice models. Politics is described in the sense of "private transactions in pursuit of utility maximization" (Caporaso & Levine, 1992, p. 4). Economic

calculus or economic logic is used to describe political processes (Caporaso & Levine, 1992; Wade, 1983).

Keynesian models of political economy attempt to reverse the role of politics or public authority in relation to the economy or the market. Fundamentally, the Keynesian approach attempts to challenge the "foundational assumptions of that (capitalistic economic) system concerning the proper limits of the market" (Caporaso & Levine, 1992, p. 4). In fact, the Keynesian model recognizes the interventionist role of government to correct market imperfections (Wade, 1983). Consequently, the Keynesian political economy model illuminates the "relationship between the political and the economic institutions of a culture" (Schultze, 1985, p. 9).

The final model—radical political economy or Marxian approach—focuses on politics as the use of power and social stratification (Wade, 1983). Marxians see the state as "repressive force" or "the great coordinator of bourgeois interests" (Wade, 1983, pp. 14-15). Marxians accept that conflict is rooted in economic relations, which cause disparity between social classes (Elkin, 1987; Lang, 1989; Schultze, 1985; Tabb & Sawers, 1984).

Lang (1989) argues that a political economy framework provides a multi-disciplinary approach that includes the many paradigms useful in describing a public policy issue. Accordingly, the political economy approach is a public policy approach, because it allows the researcher to look not only at a particular phenomenon, but also at the context (sociological, political, or economic) in which that phenomenon occurs. In other words, the political economy approach presents an

alternative perspective to "conventional explanations of urban problems" (Tabb & Sawers, 1984, p. 3).

Urban political economists posit an interrelationship between the political city and its economic order (Elkin, 1987; Schultze, 1985; Tabb & Sawers, 1984). The social structure of class is integral to this discussion (Elkin, 1987; Tabb & Sawers, 1984). Accordingly, urban political economists argue that the urban policy reflects economic interests, which are integral in the planning process (Elkin, 1987; Tabb & Sawers, 1984). Their models recognize the role of various participants, elected officials, local business, developers, and local bureaucracy in the process. The pursuit of economic interests may lead to spatial segregation and fragmentation among social and economic groups (Denton & Massey, 1993; Tabb & Sawers, 1984, pp. 4-14).

In their models, Stone and Elkin include citizens as supporters of elected officials. For Schultze, the setting itself is as important to the study as the participants and urban institutions (1985, p. 10). Underlying all these models is the inherent conflict between competing interests (Elkin, 1987; Schultze, 1985; Stone, 1989; Tabb & Sawers, 1984).

I begin the process of drawing a blueprint for a structural community political economy framework (SCPE), which rests on the foundations discussed above. This framework will integrate theories from politics, economics, and sociology to assist in the examination of community development corporations and their outcomes. Let's begin constructing the walls.

Building the Framework:
Community Political Economy (Structure and Process)

Structural Community Political Economy Framework

In this section I present the analytical approach that will be used to study community development corporations. My approach will incorporate theoretical concepts from sociology, politics, local economic development, and organization theory. My framework specifies two levels of analysis, the community and the organization. This framework develops the inter-relationship between the two levels within a spatial locality. Implicit within this framework are interactive and dynamic processes. The community may affect the expected activities for a community development corporation and the context in which this organization resides might determine what resources are available.

Figure 1. Theorized Framework

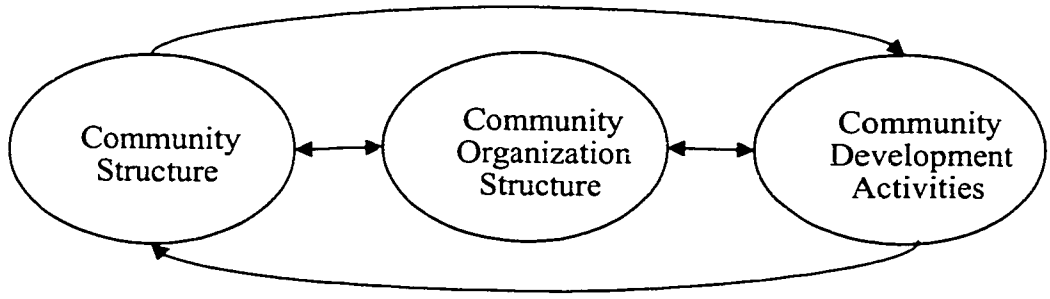

Figure 1 presents a theorized structured community political economy (SCPE) framework that represents analysis at a different level than is usually discussed in urban politics (Lang, 1989; Peterson, 1981; Schultze, 1985; Stone, 1989; Tabb &

Sawers, 1984). The structural community political economy framework has three social structures with two dimensions within each social structure. These three structures are social, political, and economic, with dimensions of structure and process. As is true of urban political economy, integral to the building of SCPE framework is the inclusion of class, race, and gender. These institutionalized structures can shape the politics and policies of affected communities. In the framework, social structures cut across two levels of analysis: community and organization.

Structures (Institutional Arrangements)

The first dimension of the model is structure, or institutional arrangements. Structures are formal or artificially derived institutional arrangements to address a problem (Simon, 1981). Wamsley and Zald (1973a) suggest two distinct structures in the studying of public organizations. These structures are external structure (the context), and the internal structure (the organizational or administrative structure). The importance of these two structures is their interaction in the delivery of goods and services. Another feature of these structures is that they reflect three distinct ideologies: social welfare, democracy, and capitalism.

In Indianapolis, formalized structures include communities and community development corporations, which fit a policy need. Others, such as neighborhood organizations, ward districts, and social institutions are sub-elements within a community. Some formally constructed institutional arrangements are created by community residents (for grassroots activities), and others by city officials (for

planning purposes and allocation of resources). The two formal structures discussed below are community and community development corporations.

The Community

Theorists, social scientists, and practitioners have grappled with the elusive concept of community (Bonjean, et al., 1971; Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Chekki, 1989; MacCallum, 1970; Poplin, 1972; Shaffer, 1989; Warren, 1970).[1] Their studies contribute a set of components. Some suggest political or corporate boundaries, while others question the ability to specify location (Bonjean, et al., 1970; Warren, 1970). Another view of community considers social interaction and mutual interdependence (Bonjean, et al., 1971; Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Lyon, 1987, p. 3; Poplin, 1972; Warren, 1970). Others see communities as marketplaces or as shared ownership, such as condominiums, planned developments, and cooperatives (MacCallum, 1970, p. 59; Chekki, 1989, p. 4). All of these social scientists would agree that people are an important ingredient of community.

Five models of community assist SCPE in the framework building process. Each model contributes necessary components to the SCPE framework. The Poplin model specifies three components: 1) units of social organizations, 2) meaningful fellowship with other people, and 3) units of social and territorial organization (e.g., hamlets, villages, towns, or metropolitan areas) (Poplin, 1972, p. 29). This model

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[1] The definition of community is the focus of studies in sociology and anthropology. Bonjean, et al., suggest that it has become an important discussion in political science with the advent of behavioralism (Bonjean, et al., 1971). At least 94 definitions of community exist, however, these authors recognized only 69 definitions. Accordingly, communities have been defined as territories with organized populations, soil-based population, and mutually interdependent living (Bonjean. et al., 1971; Lyon, 1987, p. 5).

focuses on social elements and territory, but ignores political relationships at a micro level or within a community.

The Warren model includes the following components: 1) specific population, 2) living within a specific geographic area, 3) psychological structures or shared institutions and values, 4) significant social interaction, and 5) communities within communities (Warren, 1970, pp. 1-7).[2] The Warren model is a socially constructed entity within a social system and having a social function (Warren, 1970, p. 9). Within this model, there are three major community processes. These are economic activities (production-distribution-consumption), social activities (socialization, social control, social participation), and psychological activity (mutual support) (Warren, 1970, pp. 9-10).

In the Warren model, key components are: population and geography (Warren, 1970, p. 3). Communities may have populations of differing sizes; however, geography is a limitation, because of the issue of overlapping jurisdictions of governmental districts, especially quasi-governmental organizations (Warren, 1970). The Warren model includes social institutions such as churches and schools, and also industry, stores, and government—political and economic entities (Warren, 1970, pp. 6-7).

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[2] Warren sees geographic location as integral to his discussion of community. However, there is a limitation to considering boundaries as part of the definition of community, because of the overlapping jurisdiction of governmental districts, especially quasi-governmental organizations (1970, p. 3). For Warren, differentiated communities have complicated our ability to delineate a geographic community, and our interdependency has changed our ability to clearly define community. Warren argues that our complex society has forced reformulation of the definition of community. He included two other conditions in his definition of community: orientation toward district, state, regional, or national office and less toward within and the transference of authority to state and national levels (loss of local control). In this definition, community is corporate or political community.

A third community model, the Christenson and Robinson model (CRM), has four components: 1) people, 2) place or territory, 3) social interaction, and 4) identification (Christenson & Robinson, 1989, p. 5). As is true of the Warren model, geography is a difficult concept to define. Community can specify geographic space, specific workplace, social space, psychological space, or cyberspace—thus moving beyond a physical boundary (Christenson & Robinson, 1989). CRM emphasizes the importance of people over space—where interaction takes place (Christenson & Robinson, 1989, p. 7). In this model, social interaction is a form of interdependency based on norms and customs (Christenson & Robinson, 1989, p. 7). Like the Warren model, CRM specifies identification or psychological attachment to the organization.

The Hallman model of community has the following components: 1) personal arena, 2) social community, 3) physical community, 4) political community, and 5) little economy (Hallman, 1984a, p. 12). According to this model, a sense of neighborhood identity with a specific place forms a personal community (1977a, p. 29). The model also incorporates a "collective entity" or social community which aggregates a number of people within a specified spatial arrangement or place. Social community incorporates shared values and norms, interaction, and institutions such as churches, social service agencies, and voluntary organizations (1984, p. 40). In the Hallman model, space is integral for the other communities to function. The physical or spatial community is considered a subunit, or a subarea within the urban area. The Hallman model specifies a political community as well, which incorporates governmental institutions (city hall, schools, and field offices), voting institutions (precincts, wards, councils or planning units, and community boards), and interest

group institutions (neighborhood associations and community interest groups) (1984, pp. 60-65). Finally the Hallman model incorporates an economic community that recognizes income-producing units such as stores, commercial and manufacturing facilities, and shopping centers, along with housing units, whether owned or rented.

The final model, the Koresh or (Segmented Political Economy) model, defines a community as a subarea within an urban area that is greater than a single neighborhood, organization, or group. A community addresses the needs of its residents within a spatial configuration that operates within the broader urban political economy (Koresh, 1986). In this community structure, organizations are developed or constructed to address individualized/segmented or multiple needs.

Furthermore, a hierarchical structure is developed within the community, often known as an umbrella organization (Hunter, 1979; Koresh, 1986). Such structures combines political and economic entities within a community and perhaps may serve as a local "minigov." In Indianapolis, minigov was a plan to transfer "authority and responsibility" to the community residents (Hudnut, 1995, pp. 13-14). The idea of minigov is to give community residents decision-making power in their neighborhoods (Hudnut, 1995, pp. 13-14). The umbrella organization can serve as a political structure for the community, dispensing its social welfare, political, and economic functions to other entities or organizations (Hunter, 1979; Koresh, 1986). The model suggests that the umbrella organization would be the decision-making arm of the community, developing policies and procedures for the community and the voice of the community (Koresh, 1986; Taub, 1988). Furthermore, the model suggests that the umbrella organization would devise strategies to address economic

and social welfare functions such as developing individual organization or Hunter's vertical federation of urban neighborhoods (Hunter 1979, 284).

An important feature of these micro-political structures is the reciprocal relationship of the umbrella organization with particularized organizations. Forms of this reciprocal relationship are interlocking directorates, appointment of directors, or departmentalizing these functions within the umbrella organization. Although I recognize there are other organizations that further segment the political economy, my examination concentrates on the community development corporation's role, especially its specific structure, processes, and activities used to address community needs. Simply put, these elements of the community development corporations should be in congruence with the community's goals and objectives.

Several components are common to all five models discussed above. All models include physical or spatial arrangements that provide both structure and processes within social and political economies. *Physical urban spatial arrangements* include subareas such as communities, neighborhoods, and block groups. This physical or spatial community structure has specific boundaries that denote its territory. The physical community structure within the urban area can be a means of service delivery or serve as Hunter's service district (Hunter, 1979). Also, this community structure can provide a playing ground for economic interests or a sub-community power structure (foundations, developers, and business interests) (Warren, 1970).

All models specify *population or people*. All models indicate *social interaction*. Poplin identifies social units as a key component, comparable to

Hallman's social community or Warren's shared institutions. Identification, personal arena or shared values are relevant to all models of community. Warren and Hallman specify a broader definition of community by acknowledging communities within communities; Hallman differentiates between *social, political, and economic communities*. Hallman and Koresh each define the underpinnings of the Structured Community Political Economy, specifying larger definitions and the recognition of both horizontal and vertical relationships between community and organization.

However, these models assume strong communities whose needs are addressed by appropriate social, political, and economic entities. Koresh's model does recognize the further decentralization of these activities by organizations that are designed to address specific needs within a community. If a community has needs, the expectation is that the community will develop an organization structure that would address those needs, thus:

> Hypothesis 1: The greater a community's needs, the more developed the structure of the community's CDC will be.

The Organization: Community Development Corporations

The second level of analysis is the organizational level. In our SCPE framework, the organization is a community development corporation that can be seen as the administrative arm of the community. These organizations are built to address the growing needs in distressed communities. Organizations have been described as "social units deliberately constructed and reconstructed to seek specific goals" (Etzioni, 1963, p. 3). At the organizational level, there is a governing board

that addresses specific organization's decisions (Etzioni, 1963). As stated in Chapter One, the idea of self help has led to the formation of organizations that incorporate this tradition. The evolution of community development corporations is explored below.

CDCs as a Place-Based Strategy: Legislative History

Over the last 30 years, policy makers have experimented with several decentralized instruments implementing policies in urban areas (Nathan, 1992; Yin, 1982, p. 77). Community action agencies (CAAs), multi-service centers, health clinics, and community development corporations (CDCs) are examples of these decentralizing instruments. Multi-service centers, known as settlement houses during the 19th century, have focused on providing social services to the low-income population within geographic communities in urban America (Nathan, 1992, p. 76; Yin, 1982, p. 77). However, these agencies/centers do not address issues such as housing and economic development in their geographic communities (Lemann, 1991, p. 197; Miller, 1969).

An instrument first proposed by community activist Milton Kotler is the private, nonprofit neighborhood corporation (Zimmerman, 1972, p. 18). For example, Kotler's East Central Citizens' Organization was funded by the federal Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and "received antipoverty funds in 1966" (Zimmerman, 1972, p. 18). Lindsay's mayoral administration devised a program that moved implementation of the Community Action Program to such community corporations. These corporations "would be miniature umbrella agencies acting

primarily as planning and coordinating bodies rather than as operating agencies." The corporation would be "governed by boards selected by residents through some form of democratic procedure, the precise method to be worked out in each community" (Hallman, 1984, pp. 14-16).

Congress began focusing on place-based institutions for addressing poverty with the passage of the Kennedy-Javits Special Impact Program Amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act. Later, the Nixon administration passed the Housing and Community Act of 1974, which included a provision for community development corporations after the failure of Community Corporation Action of 1970 (Harvard Law Review, 1971; Faux, 1971; Janha, Wang, & Whelan, 1994); Miller, 1969; Lemann, 1991, p. 119; Peirce & Steinbach, 1987).

The state of Indiana has increased its support to community development corporations through its Neighborhood Assistance Program (NAP), the low-income housing trust fund, and corporate designation. NAP, through the Community Development Division, gives investors in nonprofits an opportunity to earn tax credits for their donations. The Indiana Low Income Housing Trust Fund through Indiana Housing Finance Authority (IHFA) provides short-term financing assistance (usually between three to five years) to not-for-profit organizations/developers who build low-income housing. Additionally, the Indiana Department of Commerce assists community development corporations by granting the Community Housing Development Organizations (CHDOs) designation to organizations that meets HUD's requirement of 51% neighborhood representation. This designation allows CDCs access specific HUD programs.

The Organization: Community Development Corporation

In our SCPE framework, a community development corporation can be seen as an administrative arm of the community. Several models contribute to a political economy framework for studying community development corporations (Berendt, 1977; Hanssen, 1993; Koresh, 1986; Kotler, 1969; Mayer, 1984, Stoecker, 1999; Vidal, 1992). Below is a summary of these generalized models.

Two conflicting models are the Alinsky and Kotler models. The Alinsky model, an intervention model, builds on external agents with minimum citizen input; this model assumes that the ends are more important than the means (Hanssen, 1993, p. 2). Conversely, the Kotler model, a grassroots model, assumes that community initiatives and resident participation or internal agents are more important. The Kotler model assumes that means or process is more important (Hanssen, 1993, p. 20; Kotler, 1969, p. 39; Newman, 1993). The Stoecker model assumes a bottom-up process, or community control and community ownership (Stoecker, 1999, p. 3).

In the Koresh model, the community development corporation is defined as a redevelopment unit or economic unit by a community umbrella organization (Koresh, 1986). The umbrella's economic development committee creates this separate organization (Koresh, 1986). The Warren model of community development corporations assumes that within a geographic area, an economic unit, focusing on privatism and antipoverty activities, would be created by its community (Kromer, 1993; Newman, 1993; Warren, 1972, p. 144).

As with other models, the Berendt model (BM) assumes community control sets the direction of the organization (Berendt, 1977). The overlying community

control organization could create a business unit to develop profitable business. BM also suggests a seed capital unit that is used to develop community business. In BM community residents provide the manpower for the organization receiving assistance from private-sector groups. BM suggests an advisory group of business people who lend their expertise, but are not involved in the day-to-day operation or decision making of the organization. In addition, the assumption is that community residents will develop marketable skills that will benefit the community. Since the community is capital poor, a major assumption in BM is that the primary source of funding comes from the federal government or foundations. Therefore, BM assumes that the community residents have control over policy making and economic development (Berendt, 1977, p. 33).

Like the Fainstein and Fainstein model of racial-conflictual model of community control, the Faux model assumes that the community corporation falls along ethnic lines. Since some cities in United States are predominantly African-American, the Faux model (FM) proposes that the community development corporation would address the needs of the African-American population (Faux 1971). These organizations are structured with a community planning board—such as Koresh's umbrella organization—that builds a nonprofit organization with a community control unit. Board members are self selected, based on participation in the community planning boards (Koresh, 1986). Membership is based on two classes or types, voting members (stockholders) and nonvoting preferred members (Berendt's advisory members). As in other models, this organization would build a for-profit unit that would be responsible for developing economic opportunities. A trust

(endowment) would provide a steady source of income for the nonprofit organization. As in the Berendt model, the assumption is that the community residents control policy making decisions, and a certain amount of funding would be external to the community.

The Taub model (TM) of a community development corporation reverses the role of the community organization and the community development corporation (Taub, 1988). The CDC is built solely on the assumption that economic gains lead to gentrification of residential areas and stop urban decay. In this model, the board of the corporation oversees four other units: a bank, a development corporation, a neighborhood unit, and an investment corporation. TM focuses on structures within the community, not necessarily on "building people." The assumption is that improvement of properties would lead to improved conditions for people. Thus, restructuring the physical space would change the direction of the overall community.

An older, long since abandoned model advocated an explicit role for the federal government (Harvard Law Review, 1971; Miller, 1969). In that model, the federal government would serve as a certification unit and funding agent. The community development corporation would seek a charter and incorporation. The goals of the CDC were to be the incorporation of democratic principles along with economic goals, and the democratic principles would have primacy. As in BM, the organization would have a representative board based on stock ownership. In this model, the election process is envisioned as a referendum, however, the process is similar to that of a business corporation with the stockholders doing the voting. Two separate area service units were to evolve: one to address social welfare functions,

and the other for community economic development. The economic goals of this organization were to be job creation, rehabilitation and renovation of building and facilities within the community.

Drawing upon nationwide surveys, Mayer and Vidal describe key components of community organizations focused on development (Mayer, 1984; Vidal, 1992). Mayer analyzes seven general characteristics of these organizations: track record, key staff, homework or short-term planning, management, board of directors, and spin-offs or other organization structures (Mayer, 1984, p. 29). Vidal details the history of community development corporations, their size and composition, staff, funding sources, and activities (1992). These researchers provide empirical criteria for analysis of community corporations.

Some of these models suggest that a community development corporation is an organization with a community control unit that directs policy making. This unit, the board of directors, is made up of community residents and/or those having a relationship with the community such as work, play, or prayer (Mayer, 1984; Vidal, 1992). A number of theorists posit that the organization would also have specific goals of community political development and community economic development (Berendt, 1977; Hanssen, 1993; Koresh, 1986; Kotler, 1969; Vidal, 1992). Some theorists posit that the organization would address social development goals as well (Berendt, 1977; Sullivan, 1993; Taub, 1990).

Consequently, several hypotheses, based on the abovementioned models and studies, emerged. All models and studies foresaw an economic development role for these organizations, therefore:

Hypothesis 2: The greater a community's needs, the greater the number of community economic development activities in which its CDC engages.

Understood within all models are the community control unit and community political development activities will be pursued. I propose

Hypothesis 3: The greater a community's needs, the greater the number of community political development activities in which its CDC engages.

Newly envisioned roles for these organizations by some community theorists and researchers are community social development activities; therefore, I propose

Hypothesis 4: The greater a community's needs, the greater the number of community social development activities in which its CDC engages.

A Framework for Analyzing CDCs

CDCs are instruments of devolutionary politics and privatization of government functions at the local level. CDCs' organizational design reflects social, political, and economic structures and processes. Although CDC theorists and researchers indicate several factors important to the study of CDCs, these theorists and researchers do not provide an explicit framework for organizing the analysis (Berendt, 1977; Hanssen, 1993; Kotler, 1969; Koresh, 1986; Mayer, 1984; Stoecker, 1999; Vidal, 1992).

Organization theorists of design and new institutional analysis provide an organizing framework that might assist in the construction of a political economy framework (Daft, 1995; March & Olsen, 1984 & 1989; Mintzberg, 1996; Ostrom,

1999; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Building on the ideas of CDC, nonprofit, design and institutional analysis theorists, a community development corporation incorporates elements of three ideological structures of community social welfare, community politics, and community economics. The CDC political economy framework consists of the following elements: CDC constitutional structures and processes (organizational structure design and change), CDC collective participation structures and processes (community control and leadership structure), CDC operational structures and processes (community economic and administrative structures and processes) and CDC community organizations. Below I discuss the construction of these structures and processes that are central to the analysis of community development corporations in Indianapolis.

CDC Constitutional Structures and Processes

This section covers both organization design and change and constitutional design and formalization of organizations (March & Olsen, 1984 & 1989; Ostrom, 1999). When studying organization design and change, the organization's origin, originators, age, location, size, and change are significant factors for analysis (Himmmelstein, 1993; Perrow, 1972, p. 178; Zucker, 1988, p. 7). *Origin* refers to the time period in which an organization was founded. Vidal argues that there are four distinct periods in which community development corporations developed. Her typology addresses periods of activism (1960s), housing development (1970s), commercial development (1980s), and housing development (1990s) (1992, pp. 33-37).

The *originators* of an organization usually determine the direction of an organization. If the originators are residents, then the expectation is that the organization will be responsive to community residents (Vidal, 1992). The organization would focus on community residents' needs rather than on other programs and projects. For example, to help female heads of households to pursue education or higher paying jobs, community residents might focus on creating a daycare facility. However, developers as originators might focus on development of housing or commercial properties, ignoring community needs. If the originators are not similar to their communities, they might focus on issues relating to what they think is appropriate for the community—not on community needs as perceived by residents.

Age refers to how long an organization has existed. Vidal states that "older organizations are larger than young ones" (Vidal, 1992, p. 5). Daft addresses organization age in a life-cycle model. In that model, organizations go through the stages of entrepreneurial, collectivity, formalization, and elaboration—or nonbureaucratic, prebureaucratic, bureaucratic, and very bureaucratic stages (Daft, 1995, p. 178).

Location also needs to be analyzed. Theorists argue that the location of the organization may indicate its importance to the broader community (Blakely, 1994; Coles, 1975; Davis, 1972). Location encompasses spatial location and also whether the organization owns its property or leases it. Community economic development is seen in terms of the ability of the community to show ownership (Blakely, 1994; Davis, 1972). If the location is someone else's building, then the organization has

limited autonomy over its use. Also, not owning a building may force an organization to relocate frequently, making it difficult for community residents to find it.

Size refers to the number of employees in the organization. Vidal argues that the size of CDC organizations may reflect age, budget, and project mix. Daft also has a magnitude measure (Daft, 1995, p. 17; Vidal, 1992, pp. 45-46). A small number of employees restricts the ability of the organization to enter into a large array of programs and project mix. A small staff may reflect the size of the budget or the youth of the organization. Most young organizations have only a few key personnel to get the organization going. Afterward, as the organization begins to identify needs and programs to meet those needs, the organization will add staff specialists in those areas, as budget permits.

Theorists suggest the *process of change* may indicate that the organization is reacting to its context (Daft 1995). New institutional analysis theorists agree that history—that is, change over time—plays an important role in an organization (March & Olsen, 1984; Scott, 2001). In other words, according to Perrow, organizations are "organic, growing, declining, evolving whole, with a natural history" (Daft, 1995, pp. 177-182; Perrow, 1972, p. 158). Change can be seen in the alteration of the organization structure and processes or "patterns of action" (Scott, 2001, p. 94). Gortner, et al., note that change can be planned or unplanned (Gortner, et al., 1997, p. 357). The area of planned change indicates the ability of an organization to address its environment (Gortner, et al., 1997, pp. 361, 368). In an organization like a community development corporation, planned change could be a reorganization,

merger, or in extreme cases, dissolution. Reorganization means changing the structure to reflect internal changes or changed environmental factors such as governmental requests (Gordon & Milakovich, 1995, pp. 222-223). Merger is the combining of two or more organizations into one organization to reduce competition or to gain efficiency of operation (Daft, 1995, pp. 98, 278-280).

With respect to CDCs, constitutional design and formalization, the significant factors for analysis are mission statements and goals, and legal requirements. *Mission statements and goals* define the purpose of the organization or are justification for organization's existence and its intended outcomes (Daft, 1995; Gordon & Milakovich, 1995, p. 181). The mission statements are plans for action, outlining the organization's focus and how it will keep that focus. Mission statements and goals are the map of the organization, or its operational vision (Werther & Berman, 2001, p. 31). The goals of the organization "define the scope of operations and the relationships with employees, clients, and competitors," and goals lend legitimacy to an organization (Daft, 1995, p. 17; Gordon & Milakovich, 1995, p. 181; Werther & Berman, 2001, p. 31). Types of goals include survival and maintenance, substantive and symbolic, and program (Gordon & Milakovich, 1995, p. 181). Survival and maintenance goals outline how the organization will pursue funding and goodwill to continue its existence. Substantive goals are those that address why the organization exists and what the organization intends to pursue. Symbolic goals are those that draw inspiration and people to the cause. Program goals are specific organizational activities.

In her Institutional Analysis and Design framework (IAD), Ostrom posits a metaconstitutional level of analysis that specifies the "rules" that affect the organization's constitutional design and the legitimacy of the organization (Orlans, 1980, p. 89; Ostrom, 1999, p. 60). For CDCs in Indiana, this metaconstitutional level includes the Internal Revenue Service Code 501 (c)(3) (defining nonprofit status) and the Indiana Not-for-Profit Corporation Acts of 1971 and 1991. Compliance with these rules allows the CDC to seek resources, grants or credit protection (Kelly, 1977). The state of Indiana requires *articles of incorporation and organization bylaws* outlining the organizational structure, governing body, spatial arrangement, and dissolution procedures similar to these proposed in models discussed above (Daft, 1995, p. 16; Kelly, 1977; Kotler, 1969, p. 44; Salamon, 1992). The organization's bylaws formalize the organization, the community control unit (board of directors), the operational structure or administrative structure, rules for the dissolution of the organization, line succession, policies and procedures, and organizational activities (Daft, 1995, p. 16). By setting these parameters, bylaws set out the formal structures (board, committee, and duties and responsibilities of executive directors) (Daft 1995, p. 16; Kotler, 1969; Salamon, 1992).

The *process of formalization* includes three actions: having a personnel and procedure manual, strategic planning, and succession planning. A personnel and procedure manual outlines the policies of the organization as it relates to employees, setting rules for reviews, annual vacations, retirements, and resignation (Daft, 1995). Strategic planning is a process of laying out the future plans of an organization. Mayer suggests that organizations have a "long range" plan that covers three to five

years (Mayer, 1984). A succession plan outlines procedures to change the organization staff (Daft, 1995). As crisis managers, the board of directors must make decisions related to changing directors or replacing directors who have resigned or died (Kelly, 1977, p. 76).

CDC Collective Participation Structures and Processes

Collective participation decision-making structures for CDCs include a community-controlled board of directors (Bonjean, 1971; Cochrane, 1986). The board is the representative unit of the organization (Altshuler, 1970; Bonjean, et al., 1971; Cochrane, 1986; Kelly, 1977; Zimmerman, 1972), and sets the policies and procedures that the administrators will follow. The majority of the board members should be community residents (Mayer, 1984; Vidal, 1992). All board members participate in the CDCs committee structure, usually focusing on a functional area. Kelly notes that there are three specific functions of the board of directors: advice and consent, review and control, and crisis management, in addition to policy making and public leadership (Kelly, 1977, pp. 75-77). The board of directors provides leadership and direction for the operating structure. To serve as reviewers and controllers, the board monitors capital appropriations, the operating budget, and human resource decisions. As policy makers, the board either sets the direction of the organization or influences the direction of decisions relating to the organization (Kelly, 1977). In the role of public leaders, the board members are reporters to community residents (Kelly, 1977). At the chairperson level, the public leadership role extends to negotiating with other organizations for assistance, representing the

organizations at other meetings, and acting as an agent for requesting funds and other assistance (Kelly, 1977, p. 106).

In the collective participation structure, a subset known as the executive committee is generally outlined in the constitution and legal structure of the organization. The executive committee is made up of a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer, along with the executive director or operating officer. Some theorists suggest having a second group of board members who act in an advisory role (Berendt, 1977; Faux, 1971). This advisory committee is a selected group of professionals, including accountants, lawyers, bankers, and developers, who may or may not be community residents.

Membership of Board

CDC boards generally have an odd numbers of members (usually 11-17) (Kelly, 1977). For adequate social and geographic representation, community residents usually constitute at least 51 % of the board of directors (Greenstone & Peterson, 1973; Mayer, 1984, p. 38; Vidal, 1992, p. 39). "Residents" might include businesses, churches, and professionals (Vidal, 1992, p. 39). These members bring certain skills to an organization that other residents might not (Hallman, 1984; Kelly, 1976 & 1977; LaMore, 1987; Perry, 1987; Vidal, 1992). Boards having of less than 51 % residents are more likely to be professional boards. To maintain CHDO status, an organization's board must have at least 51% community residents. A high percentage of residents suggests a more community-oriented board of directors, and thus greater likelihood of specific community concerns being addressed.

The process of election/nomination to the board of directors is usually done by a nominating committee which is an ad hoc committee meeting for a limited time before the annual meeting. The nominating committee selects candidates who might serve on the board of directors (Werther & Berman, 2001). Generally, the nominating committee is charged with selecting a slate of candidates, which is put before the full board for election (Johnson, 1993). Some boards require submission of a candidate's name and qualifications, such as residency or professional affiliation. The committee selects a slate of candidates who are presented either to the board of directors or to board members and the general membership for election. In a self-selection process, board members or the executive director select the individuals they want on the board. An election process allows the general membership to vote on different candidates (Berendt, 1977; Faux, 1971; Kelly, 1977).

The *process of leadership* is the ability to persuade or induce a group to share common goals (Gardner, 1990, p. 1). The sharing of information and the ability to listen to others help members of the leadership structure to develop and pursue organizational goals. If the organization's leadership structure is doing its job of sharing and persuading, then the community will recognize its efforts (Kouzes & Posner, 1991).

Committee Structure and Processes

Also included in the collective choice structure of the CDC is its committee structure. Committees select issues and discuss the initial policy decisions. Although committee decisions are not binding, decisions generally are accepted by the CDC

board and membership. Committees generally are chaired by a member of the board who gets technical assistance from staff members assigned on the basis of their expertise. Usually, the staff has expertise in a functional area within the community development corporation. Other committees are temporary or ad hoc committees, such as strategic planning committees. These committees report to an executive committee.

The number of committees in an organization may indicate the level of sophistication of the organization (Werther & Berman, 2001). An organization with a small set of committees usually indicates that the organization is addressing basic organizational goals and has not expanded beyond a simple level of development.

There are two major processes in the organization that affect committee structure: the *process of communication* and the *process of decision making*. The process of communication entails making information known to appropriate parties (Gordon & Milakovich, 1995, p. 143; Kelly, 1977). To ensure the flow of information, a community development corporation is required to have an annual meeting, at which it sets out its accomplishments for the year and its goals for the future. The annual meeting also provides information regarding funding and allocation decisions. Other forms of communication are newsletters, brochures, surveys, and any publication that informs members of the organization and the larger community (Gortner, et al., 1997, p. 170). Communication can be vertical, horizontal, internal and external (Gortner, et al., 1997, pp.145-146). Communication may be delivered in formal patterns or may take the form of informal communications (Gordon & Milakovich, 1995, p. 144).

The second process that affects committee structure and the overall organization is decision making. Theorists have outlined three basic methods: decision-making rational model, incremental model or bargaining, and mixed scanning (Gordon & Milakovich, 1995, p. 181; Gortner, et al., 1997, p. 222). Other theorists have included aggregative or consultant-assisted decision making, and March and Olsen suggest the "garbage can" model (Gortner, et al., 1997, pp. 222-223). These methods of decision making are implicit formal arrangements. However, CDCs also use informal methods of decision making such as consensus building and voice or show-of-hand voting.

CDC Operating Structures and Processes

The level of analysis here is the internal structure of the operating, or economic, unit of the organization dealing with day-to-day activities (Koresh, 1986; Ostrom, 1999, p. 59; Taub, 1988). Key components in the operational structure and activities of the organization are: (1) degree of vertical and horizontal differentiation; (2) the executive director; (3) process of leadership; (4) staff; (5) projects and programs; (6) funding and (7) fund development. Implicit in this unit of the organization is Weber's theory of bureaucracy. However, nonprofit and CDC theorists argue that this operating unit does not display bureaucratic tendencies (Galambos, 1993; Salamon, 1992; Weisbrod, 1988). In fact, its non-bureaucratic structure is the justification for the construction of community development corporations to deliver government goods and services.

Vertical and Horizontal Differentiation

Vertical differentiation suggests layers within the organization, and horizontal differentiation suggests specialization differences across the organization. Community development corporations tend to exhibit flat hierarchical structures with very little vertical differentiation between the executive director and employees. This structure allows for collegial style of management, coequality, mutual respect, and the participation of volunteers (Gordon & Milakovich, 1995, p. 159).

Horizontal differentiation can be seen in the assignment of job responsibilities. Each position is assigned specific tasks within the structure. Vidal posits that a low level of horizontal differentiation may indicate a small or weak organization (1992). A low level of horizontal differentiation may also indicate a limited focus.

The administrative leader of a CDC is its *executive director* (Kelly, 1976 & 1977; Perry, 1987). There are several ways to characterize a CDC's executive director. For example, the executive director can have various skills, talents, and influence, such as city or nonprofit management experience, or non-bureaucratic experience. An important characteristic is the number of years of job experience (Vidal, 1992). The expectation is that an executive director with a significant number of years on the job would add a degree of stability to the organization.

The *process of leadership* is exhibited in meeting goals for the organization. To accomplish the goals, leaders use two types of leadership: formal and informal. Formal leadership means observing the command structure of an organization. For example, an executive director would send out an order that others would follow. An

informal leadership style means face-to-face communication and relies on consensus building among the staff (Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Hollander, 1978; Young, 1993).

Staff

Community development corporation researchers assume that the *staff*, like the board of directors, will be reflective of the community (Berendt, 1977; Faux, 1971; Greenstone & Peterson, 1973). As stated earlier, Kotler and others assume that the primary target of community development corporations is the African-American community. Vidal's research analyzes the percentages of the staff that are African-American, white-American, and women (1992). Since the population being addressed is usually minorities and women, her research hypothesizes that there should be sociodemographic similarity between employees and community residents.

Programs and Projects

Mayer and Vidal examine the array of programs and projects that community development corporations provide (Mayer, 1984; Vidal, 1992). The complexity of projects and programs suggests the types of services being provided (Mayer, 1984; Vidal, 1992). A complex array of projects and programs suggests that the organization has the ability to address several needs within its community (Mayer, 1984; Vidal, 1992). Mayer suggests housing rehabilitation, housing construction, commercial revitalization, economic development, energy, and community facilities such as parks and centers as projects.

A less complex array of projects and programs would suggest that the organization can produce only a limited number of goods, and it may be that the organization is dealing with survival needs. Mayer posits four levels of projects: 0, 1, 3-5, or 6-10 projects per organization (Mayer, 1984).

Funding Sources

Another focus for analysis of CDC operations is on the complexity of funding sources. Vidal suggests that CDCs have a complex array of funding sources: members, governments, foundations, corporations, banks, or intermediaries such as the Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership (Kelly, 1977; Vidal, 1992, p. 53). If an organization has a limited amount of funding, then arguably the organization can support only a limited array of projects. Also, those funding sources may dictate the type of goods that can be delivered.

The *process of fund development* is raising funds for the organization to function. The creation of a for-profit business is an example of fund raising (Berendt, 1977; Faux, 1971; Kelly, 1977). If an organization has a subsidiary, especially a for-profit subsidiary, then the organization has the ability to develop funds for its own operation. Accordingly the for-profit unit will recycle the profits into the organization for other programs or projects. To ensure stability and viability, the establishment of an endowment would ensure financial stability (Faux, 1971). Due to the lack of banking facilities in many of these communities, another financial unit that these organizations can develop is some type of banking unit (Taub, 1988).

Overall, if a community develops an organizational structure, the expectation is that the organization will have the ability to address certain community needs. More generally, the organization structure will have the ability to implement policies and procedures to engage in community development activities. Therefore, I propose

> Hypothesis 5: The more developed a CDC organizational structure is, the more the CDC engages in community economic development activities;
>
> Hypothesis 6: The more developed a CDC organizational structure is, the more the CDC engages in community political development activities; and
>
> Hypothesis 7: The more developed a CDC organizational structure is, the more the CDC engages in community social development activities.

The Process: Community Development Activities

The second dimension of the SCPE framework includes community development processes—those actions that are designed to get things done in the community and in the organization. These processes include both democratic and economic processes. Democratic processes are designed to insure participation, whereas economic processes are designed to enhance income and wealth. Development is a series of activities that is intended to produce growth, change, and improvement (Christenson & Robinson, 1989, p. 9). Although growth usually implies some type of economic or technological activity, improvement connotes a "social transformation" (Christenson & Robinson, 1989, p. 9). Change is a "deliberate process specified by public policies to cause some type of action, or planned intervention" (Christenson & Robinson, 1989, p. 10).

Community development is a process within some structure or institutional form relying on localized political, economic, and social goals that require resident participation in the decision-making process (Alley, et al., 1993; Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Rubin & Rubin, 1992; Wileden, 1970). Community development is a social action process that might lead to structural change (Christenson & Robinson, 1989, p. 4; Wileden, 1970). Social action may go beyond deliberate actions, as in deliberative democracy and development (Christenson & Robinson, 1989, pp. 11-12). The community development process suggests political action within a spatial arrangement (Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Rubin & Rubin, 1992; Wileden, 1970). The implication is that political action would resolve conflicts and answer questions of resource distribution (Bonjean, et al., 1971). The community development process includes community residents in social action, political action, and economic or community improvement, to achieve favorable outcomes for the residents within the community (Alley. et al., 1993; Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Rubin & Rubin, 1992; Wileden, 1970).

Implicitly, historical context often is incorporated in the community development process. Historical processes show the dynamic process of change over time. Some argue that historical processes are not needed, but others see the need to describe these processes to show directional trends. Additionally, historical processes provide a filter that lets us see that social structures "undergo continual change" (Blau, 1975, p. 19). Described below are the three community development activities: community social development, community political development, and community economic development.

Community Social Development (CSD)

Community social development is the process of involving residents in education, health, recreation, and improvement of their quality of life (Taub, 1990). Community social development activities include education services, youth and teen services, physical and mental health services, and social services linkage.

Education services fill the gap left by public education institutions. Community social development processes are activities needed to address education opportunities beyond what might be provided by educational institutions. To compete in the global economy, community residents need to have pre-school programs that provide cultural as well as academic education, tutoring programs for school-age students, and GED and college preparatory programs (Goldsmith & Blakely, 1992).

Youth and teen services provide young community residents creative activities and an alternative to gangs and criminal activities. Youth and teen services include sports, art programs, field trips, and outdoor activities. Art programs and sports activities give young community residents the chance to display their skills. Hitting a ball and running around the diamond is more constructive than throwing it through neighbors' windows. Most communities have continual problems with graffiti, however having an art program will give youths another outlet to draw and paint. Many of these communities do not have Boy and Girl Scout troops, which would give young residents opportunities to hike and camp or to explore their own neighborhoods.

In these communities, *residential services* address the needs for housing. Residential services provide counseling and case management. Counseling services and case management give community residents assistance in finding housing and related services. As do young community residents, adults in the community need recreational activities such as sports and art programs. Other community residents need a place to live, and at times, community residents are not able to feed themselves, therefore food pantries and soup kitchens are essential. More importantly, community residents need assistance in finding and maintaining employment. Case managers intervene when clients are having difficult challenges.

To address *physical and mental health problems* within these communities requires providing health, public safety, and mental health services (LISC, 1993; NCCED, 1989 & 1991; Sullivan, 1993). Health fairs, medical checks, substance abuse programs, and exercise programs can improve the health of the overall community. Health facilities are needed for preventive care rather than emergency services. Programs such as Crime Watch, Porch Light, and Weed Control discourage criminal activities. Programs such as fire inspection and code enforcement insure that area houses are safe and habitable. Focusing on these issues at the community level might alleviate social disorganization (Wilson, 1987). The construction of community institutional arrangements might address issues of poverty (Goldsmith & Blakely, 1992; Wilson, 1987).

A network of institutions may coalesce to alleviate urban distress (LISC, 1993; NCCED, 1989 & 1991; Sullivan, 1993). *Social services linkages* provide a holistic approach to serving community residents. Problems that community

residents face are more interconnected than separated. Generally, community residents who need housing also need employment and health referral. Having linkage to other agencies provides clients with referral services and complete understanding of the person.

Community Political Development (CPD)

Community political development is the process of including community members in accountability, leadership development, collective participation, partnership, and socialization (Cochrane, 1986). *Accountability* is the ability of community residents to have access to meetings, important documents, and public information. Providing access is important, but so is maintaining connections with community residents so that they are aware of events and activities in a timely manner.

Changing structure requires continual *leadership development*. Leadership development is the process of bringing others along. Leadership development is not identifying a single leader, but always finding new people to add to the organization. Leadership development also is training members within an organization for new roles and responsibilities.

Theories of democracy, especially community control theories, suggest that community residents would have a role in the decision-making process or *collective participation* (Barber, 1984; Dahl, 1985 & 1989; Held, 1987; Pateman, 1970; Schumpeter, 1950). Resident participation and mobilization are explicit in the community and in its institutional arrangements (Gilbert & Ward, 1984; Rubin &

Rubin, 1992; Schumpeter, 1950, p. 269; Verba & Nie, 1972). Most importantly, these institutional arrangements should reflect the community's interest and composition and they should provide the community with community control or local authority over decisions that directly affect it (Altshuler, 1970; Cochrane, 1986; Kotler, 1969; Zimmerman, 1972). Community political development processes include election and voting processes. Also included in community development processes are activities or strategies that provide residents with political accountability. The community political development process involves developing or building interest groups to push for change, and setting up planning processes to involve citizens in decision making from concept to completion.

Political partnership is providing linkage to other institutions that are essential in local control. Partnership arrangements include city officials, councilpersons, state and federal officials, and national associations. The most important partnership arrangement for community institutions is with other community organizations, such as neighborhood associations, multi-service centers, and health clinics.

Ultimately, the political process might encourage structural change or evolutionary or revolutionary processes that might lead to goal attainment (Cochrane, 1986; Hallman, 1984a; Jones, 1983). Socialization activities assist in making structural change. Activities such as political education, and creation of and support for neighborhood organizations ensure community residents have the ability to organize and petition for their rights. Political education activities provide community residents with information and strategies to collective participation. If

there is a vacuum, the creation of needed organizations or associations will provide community residents a vehicle for forming a united front. Furnishing neighborhood volunteer associations with resources would provide them with the ability to function and to address community needs.

Community Economic Development (CED)

The community economic development process implies growth and development of institutions and activities that address community needs. These activities include business retention, capital accumulation, housing development, commercial and industrial development, business development, job training and technical assistance, and organization development.

Business retention is a series of activities that assist locally-based businesses, including capital flows to these businesses, technical assistance, advertising community business and providing community business directories to community residents.

An outcome of business retention is *capital accumulation and resource management*. Swack argues that a major problem with distressed communities is the lack of capital, or capital leakage. It is commonly known that in certain communities capital turns over one time rather than several times, leaving these communities without the resources to survive. Attracting new business and increasing industrial bases provides new capital and also employment opportunities for community residents. Recognizing that community residents are not receiving benefits and

assisting them in receiving them will increase their buying power and ability to survive.

Housing development is the process of building and repair community structures that provide shelter for community residents. In distressed communities, housing development generally is single and multi-family housing. Home ownership is a tenet of the American Dream. Constructing housing allows community residents to own property. Once homes are established, repairing and renovating are essential to maintaining property values. Providing services to needy residents assists not only them but also the entire community.

Perhaps the most difficult process is that of engaging in *commercial and industrial development.* Commercial development requires the attraction of retail strips and stores. Often these communities are devoid even of grocery stores. Industrial development continues to be seen as an activity that brings well-paying jobs and upward mobility to community residents.

Community economic development theorists argue that attracting businesses may be enough. Business development is a process of supporting existing businesses and building new businesses that the community own. Business development involves providing existing businesses with technical assistance such as accounting, consulting, and loan financing. Included in business development is new business formation and particularly community-owned business formation. These community-owned businesses provide needed resources to the community and to the organization.

Interconnected with business development is *job training and technical assistance*. Providing community residents with job training opportunities and jobs in some cases facilitates their upward mobility. Job training provides community residents with marketable skills that are needed in today's economy (Goldsmith & Blakely, 1992). Often, as Marable notes, community residents lack entry into jobs and other opportunities.

Community economic development is the reliance on institutional or organization construction or *organization development* (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Blakely, 1994; Swack, 1990), local ownership and control (Blakely, 1994; Swack, 1990), geographic specific (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Blakely, 1994; Shaffer, 1989; Swack, 1990), and as requiring residents' involvement (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Blakely, 1994; Shaffer, 1989; Swack, 1990), creating linkages (Shaffer, 1989), and planning and sustaining economic and business development (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984). Community economic development will mean an institutional building process, within a spatially defined area, that includes local ownership and control for the purpose of attracting resources to enable and enhance long-term economic and business development.

CED emphasizes the importance of the economic development process and business development over social or political development within urban communities. This process will lead to organization building, business development, employment generation, and other economic improvements for residency in certain distressed communities (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Blakely, 1994; Coles, 1975, p. 68; Shaffer, 1989; Swack, 1990). The goal of the community economic development process is

change and growth in "attitudes, institutions, human skills, information availabilities, as well as economic changes" (Coles, 1975, p. 68). However, Coles recognizes that these factors are severely limited by problems of growth, structural unemployment, inflation, and U.S. trade deficits.

Based on the discussion above, I assume that an organization is committed to community development activities, and also that the organization will engage in multiple activities to address the community's needs. Usually, distressed communities have myriad issues that need addressing. Therefore, the question is: What is the relationship between each activity. Is there an interrelationship between the three community development activities? I believe that they are interrelated, and I propose the following:

> Hypothesis 8: The extent of a CDC's community economic development activity is positively related to the extent of its community political development activity;
>
> Hypothesis 9: The extent of a CDC's community economic development activity is positively related to the extent of its community social development activity; and
>
> Hypothesis 10: The extent of a CDC's community political development activity is positively related to the extent of its community social development activity.

What emerges is a multilevel analysis that addresses community and organization simultaneously. Each level in the nested structure should contribute to the overall effectiveness of providing goods and services within the community. The framework that emerges encompasses CDC community, CDC constitutional

structures and processes, CDC collective participation structures and processes, CDC operating structures and processes, and CDC community organizations.

TABLE 1. Summary of Hypotheses

Community Needs and CDC Structures

Hypothesis 1:	The greater a community's needs, the more developed the structure of the community's CDC will be.

Community Needs and CDC Activities

Hypothesis 2:	The greater a community's needs, the greater the number of community economic development activities in which its CDC engages.
Hypothesis 3:	The greater a community's needs, the greater the number of community political development activities in which its CDC engages.
Hypothesis 4:	The greater a community's needs, the greater the amount of community social development activities in which its CDC engages.

CDC Structure and CDC Activities

Hypothesis 5:	The more developed a CDC organizational structure is, the more the CDC engages in community economic development activities.
Hypothesis 6:	The more developed a CDC organizational structure is, the more the CDC engages in community political development activities
Hypothesis 7:	The more developed a CDC organizational structure is, the more the CDC engages in community social development activities.

Relationships among CDC Activities

Hypothesis 8:	The extent of a CDC's community economic development activity is positively related to the extent of its community political development activity.
Hypothesis 9:	The extent of a CDC's community economic development activity is positively related to the extent of its community social development activity.
Hypothesis 10:	The extent of a CDC's community political development activity is positively related to the extent of its community social development activity.

Journey Forward

This discussion outlines the model for studying community development corporations in their contexts. The model specifies two levels of analysis and four structures that might influence the activities of these organizations. This chapter presented a historical overview of the development of community development corporations in the United States, reviewed the self-help literature, and detailed legislative history, illustrating the government's role in integrating these organizations into urban service delivery.

In the next chapter, I will outline the methodological processes used to analyze these organizations. Studying organizations in their context requires immersion, but it also involves finding pertinent empirical information. Let us journey forward and see how that information was collected.

3. METHODOLOGIES AND MEASURES

Researchers use two designs to study community development corporations. For the most part, community development corporation studies illustrate the evolution and development of a specific organization (Berendt, 1977; Pierce and Steinbach, 1990; Taub, 1988). Case study designs present both interesting accounts of the organizations and factors that influence their outcomes. Socioeconomic and other external conditions are considered along with internal structure and processes of the case study CDCs (Berendt, 1977; Taub, 1988; Pierce & Steinbach, 1990).

Some scholars use methods and correlation designs, which illustrate certain measurable outputs, to study large numbers of CDCs (Mayer, 1984; NCCED, 1989; Vidal, 1992). Their survey designs examine key variables such as size of staff and budget, number and type of completed projects, number and type of housing projects, and the funding source (Mayer, 1984; Vidal, 1992). Also included are internal organizational structure factors and in some cases, socioeconomic and demographic factors, as well as a detailed discussion of contextual variables. Their approach is limited to macro-level analysis, to the detriment of contextual analysis.

The two types of research design stress different factors, variables, and level of analysis. I used both types to study CDCs in Indianapolis. This chapter describes the methodologies, data collection techniques, case selection, framework specification, and definitions and operationalization of terms used in my research. I conducted extensive field research and comparative case methodologies, and focused on two levels of analysis—the community and the organization, its CDC. The

community serves as the context in which the CDC operates. This design allows a comprehensive description of each CDC, its context, and its development activities. Comparative case analyses compare these CDCs across a number of factors to examine their ability to engage in political, economic, and social development activities. In the remainder of this chapter I discuss my comparative case study methodology, data collection, case selection, common attributes of the cases, and framework specification. I then present the operational indicators used to measure the components of my structural political economy framework.

Comparative Case Study Design and Methodology

The comparative case study method seeks to explain the differing levels of activity of community development corporations in Indianapolis. In general, case study is a methodology that allows for more in-depth analysis of a "contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context" (Yin, 1989, p. 23). Agranoff argues that the case study methodology, while "idiosyncratic," "can be a systematic approach to gathering data that is otherwise difficult or impossible to obtain through survey research or numerical forms" (Agranoff, 1986, p. 34; Agranoff & Radin, 1991, p. 204). A comparative case study uses a number of cases of one event to extrapolate patterns of similarities and differences (Agranoff, 1986, pp. 34-39; Agranoff & Radin, 1991, p. 204; Eckstein, 1975). A comparative case study method also will provide "replication logic" that is similar to running multiple experiments to test a set of propositions (Yin, 1989, p. 53; Agranoff & Radin, 1991, p. 205). Agranoff and Radin (1991) propose a ten-step comparative case study method:

1) Major concept and research question development;
2) Case site selection;
3) Formatting information sources;
4) Discussion guide;
5) Preliminary field orientation;
6) Final discussion guide;
7) Site visits;
8) Post–site-visit impressions;
9) Case development; and
10) Cross-case analysis. (pp. 210-216)

The comparative case study approach, however, must address issues of reliability and validity. Yin (1989) suggested several tactics to address these issues (pp. 41-45). Jick points out that triangulation allows researchers more confidence in their findings, stimulates the creation of inventive methods, and uncovers the deviant or off-quadrant dimension of a phenomenon (1979, p. 503). Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that using multiple data sources is a strategy of "pattern matching" (p. 267).

For the purposes of this study, I employ multiple sources of data collection to address construct validity. Data used come from participant observation, the U.S. Census Bureau, resident surveys, and elite interviews. To deal with internal validity, I show, over a number of cases, the development of patterns of similarities and differences. Finally, I address external validity through multiple data sources and replication logic as stated earlier. By focusing on CDCs in Indianapolis, asking similar questions of these organizations allows patterns to emerge; generalizing from democratic, local economic development, and social welfare theories provides guidance in the observation of these cases. By studying a series of cases, I address the

important questions of how these organizations operate and how they contribute to the achievement of these communities' political economies.

Reliability issues, dealing with the feasibility of repeating the study, are difficult. Yin suggests one way to increase reliability is to "conduct research as if someone was always looking over your shoulder" (Yin, 1989, p. 45). Therefore, over the time period of this study, I have kept a notebook on all CDC board meeting and another notebook of materials received at those meetings. I also have kept a calendar of events of activities that I attended related to CDCs and a newspaper clip file. I maintained a file of data collected, arranged by organization, and also included my calendars for this period. Through these techniques, reliability of this study is maximized; someone else could go through all notes and materials and attempt to replicate the analysis. However, the replication would be limited because that person would not have the experience of spending time in those communities.

Data Collection

The data for examining Indianapolis CDCs come from multiple sources: 1990 Census Data and other archival data, resident surveys—the 1993 Indianapolis Community Baseline Survey, and the 1995 Indianapolis Community Policing Survey, participant observation, elite interviews, and secondary data sources. Multiple data sources increase construct validity.

Census Data

Data from the 1990 Census provide community structure information to analyze each CDC community's context. Information such as population, demographics, education, household, housing stock, age of housing, and employment will provide an assessment of these communities. Census data also will show the level of poverty within these communities, thus revealing the amount of distress that each CDC must address. Indianapolis United Way's Social Assets Vulnerability Indicator (SAVI) data set assisted in identifying these measures.

Survey Data

Two resident surveys provided comparative information about individuals' attitudes toward and perceptions of their community. The 1993 Indianapolis Community Baseline Survey, conducted by the Center for Urban Policy and the Environment, interviewed over 1,200 people within CDC communities. Information gathered included answers to questions about public services provision and housing-related issues (See Appendix for distribution by INHP community and characteristics of those surveyed). The 1995 Community Policing Baseline Survey provided information on residents' perception of public safety issues in their neighborhoods.

Field Research

My field research included extensive *participant observation, elite interviews,* and *windshield surveys*. According to Babbie, field research provides "more valid measures," although its reliability is somewhat questionable (Babbie, 1995, pp. 300-

301). By studying community development corporations in depth, the interpretation of those events provides better measures of concepts than survey methods (Babbie, 1995, p. 301). However, the personalization of measures can endanger reliability (Babbie, 1995, p. 301). To reduce bias, I used literature to develop observational frameworks that identify the factors examined in each case.

Marshall and Rossman argue that participant observation enables researchers to immerse themselves in the setting by observing actions and experiencing the environment in a manner somewhat similar to that of the actual participants (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 79; Singleton et al., 1988, p. 297; Yin, 1989, p. 93). From fall 1992 to spring 1995, I observed CDCs as part of a larger project involving neighborhood groups and community organizations in Indianapolis, thus getting "firsthand information" (Singleton et al., 1988, p. 297). CDCs, focusing on housing production and community development, were important to their communities. The opportunity to watch CDCs and their interaction with neighborhood residents provided me with deeper insight into the relationship between CDCs and their communities. Over time, I was able to gain access to board meetings, special housing events, conferences, special training, and other activities in which these organizations were involved. I was able to take field notes of meetings, observe participants' roles, and watch policy-making and decision-making processes. To minimize biases, I maintained a passive role in the board meetings, answering only questions posed to me. While doing this was sometimes difficult, my purpose was to concentrate on the proceedings and not to participate too directly in the process. Being a participant-

observer provided practical information about the operations of community development corporations and their relationship to their communities.

Throughout my field research I interviewed leaders of these communities, members of boards, and executive directors in discussions about their organizations.[3] I interviewed CDC executive directors, staff, board members, and other leaders about the goals of the organization and how they pursue those goals. While most interviews were open-ended, some interviews maintained a semi-structured or "focused" format in order to solicit certain information important to the study (Yin, 1989, p. 89). A discussion guide "steers conversations with preselected key actors according to a common format," thereby soliciting similar information from interviews (Agranoff & Radin, 1991, p. 212). For example, to get historical information about the organization and project information, I used a set of open-end questions, including when the organization formed, how the organization developed, what group or other organization was responsible for its evolution, what were its projects/programs, and how were its projects/programs determined. These questions guided the interviews, however, they were not intended to inhibit the informant from sharing other information (for discussion on developing a discussion guide, see Agranoff, 1986, p. 35; Agranoff & Radin, 1991, p. 212). For each interview, I relied on hand-written notes.

I conducted windshield surveys—a tool employed by planners—of each CDC community to provide a physical community profile. A windshield survey is a research methodology that allows a researcher to observe community structures as if

[3] For the sake of confidentiality, names of interviewees will not accompany their statements. A list of interviewee names appears in the appendix.

through a car windshield. The researcher does not leave the car, but makes notations of observed objects and their uses (for a discussion of "preliminary field orientation" and site visits, see Agranoff & Radin, 1991, p.213). Windshield surveys allowed visual identification of key organizations in the communities and their spatial relationship to each other, and also assisted in identifying communities that lacked important types of organizations.

Secondary Data Sources

Secondary data sources used included neighborhood plans, reports from the city of Indianapolis, city maps of CDC areas, Center for Urban Policy and the Environment reports, minutes of neighborhood association and CDC meetings, newspaper clippings between 1992 and 1995, and other sources. These secondary data sources corroborate field notes and provide additional information used in analysis (Yin, 1989, p. 86).

Attributes of Cases/Case Selection

Generalization across cases suggests the ability to replicate experiments. As a scientist might replicate an experiment several times to test the accuracy of the results, doing cross-case comparisons could be seen as replications of contextualized studies. Replication requires similarities in the cases as well as consistency in measures. To identify a set of comparable cases, certain attributes were used: 1) legitimizing agencies and funding resources, 2) population characteristics, 3) operational status, and 4) nesting within a community structure of organizations.

These attributes provided guides for determining which organizations to include in my research.

First, all organizations selected for study received legitimization and funding resources from several agencies—the City of Indianapolis, Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership (INHP), Local Initiative Support Corporation (LISC), Indiana Association for Community Economic Development (IACED), and the State of Indiana. Their recognition by formal government structures lent legitimacy to their operation.

Starting with Mayor William Hudnut's Housing Taskforce in 1987, the City chose to use CDCs for community economic development. Neighborhood residents were told that to receive community development funds, their area needed to have such a corporation. The *City of Indianapolis* was therefore their first legitimizing agency to provide direct funding, technical assistance, and public-private partnership arrangements to the CDCs. The City also supplies indirect funding in the form of Community Development Block Grants (CDBG). The block grant is an annual allocation from the federal government. The city, with community participation in the Community Development Committee and financial institution participation in Community Development Finance Committee, provides the formula by which each CDC is partially funded. In the development field, the city provides technical assistance for land acquisition, title clearance, planning, and public-private partnership assistance. For example, the city plays an integral role in bringing together bankers, for-profit developers, and community development corporations.

By building these relationships, these organizations are able to construct package deals for housing and commercial developments.

The *Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership,* funded by the Lilly Endowment, provides the core operation funding of these organizations. In order to operate, these organizations need a baseline of funding to hire staff, lease office space and office equipment. Initial baseline funding for CDCs by INHP is between $25,000 and $150,000; funding generally decreases over time. INHP also provides technical assistance and credit counseling and loans for potential community development corporations' customers. INHP provides some technical assistance, especially for new community development corporations, in the form of organization formation and board construction. Because of its relationship with bankers, INHP serves as a conduit between CDCs and potential customers. INHP provides a seven-week housing counseling program that prepares potential homeowners to qualify for housing loans that they can use in the INHP service area. In 1995, toward the end of Mayor Stephen Goldsmith's first administration, INHP began to serve as the funding intermediary for HOME (Home Ownership Made Easier) funds for the city. HOME funds are used by CDCs to supplement other funding sources to bring down the cost of housing.

Local Initiative Support Corporation of Indiana (LISC), a statewide organization and subsidiary of the Ford Foundation, is the third legitimizing agency. LISC's role is to provide technical assistance, training, and pre-development funding for projects. LISC provides hands-on technical assistance in the development of housing and commercial projects. This organization has begun to provide assistance

in expanding the role of CDCs in social development. LISC's primary focus has been to provide training for community developers in the form of a project development training program, whereby developers are trained in the technique of putting project packages together with a focus on the finances. After going through this training, developers are expected to comprehend the technical aspects of developing a project. In addition to technical assistance and training, LISC provides pre-development funding for these organizations. Pre-development funding allows an organization to research the possibility and viability of a potential project. Without this crucial funding, it is difficult for community development corporations to implement projects.

The *Indiana Association for Community Economic Development*, a statewide association, is the fourth legitimizing agency. Although its focus is statewide, this organization provides Community Housing Development Organizations (CHDO) funds to housing developers in low-income areas. Along with providing CHDO funds, this organization, like INHP and LISC, also provides training for community developers in specific areas.

Finally, the *State of Indiana* serves as a legitimizing agency that provides legal recognition of CDCs as not-for-profits. The Office of the Secretary of State issues certificates of incorporation for all organizations that seek 501(c)(3) status as stated in the Indiana Not-for-Profit Corporation Act of 1971. By receiving this status, organizations are entitled to solicit funds and to give NAP tax credits to those making donations. Besides legal status, the state offers several funding streams that are

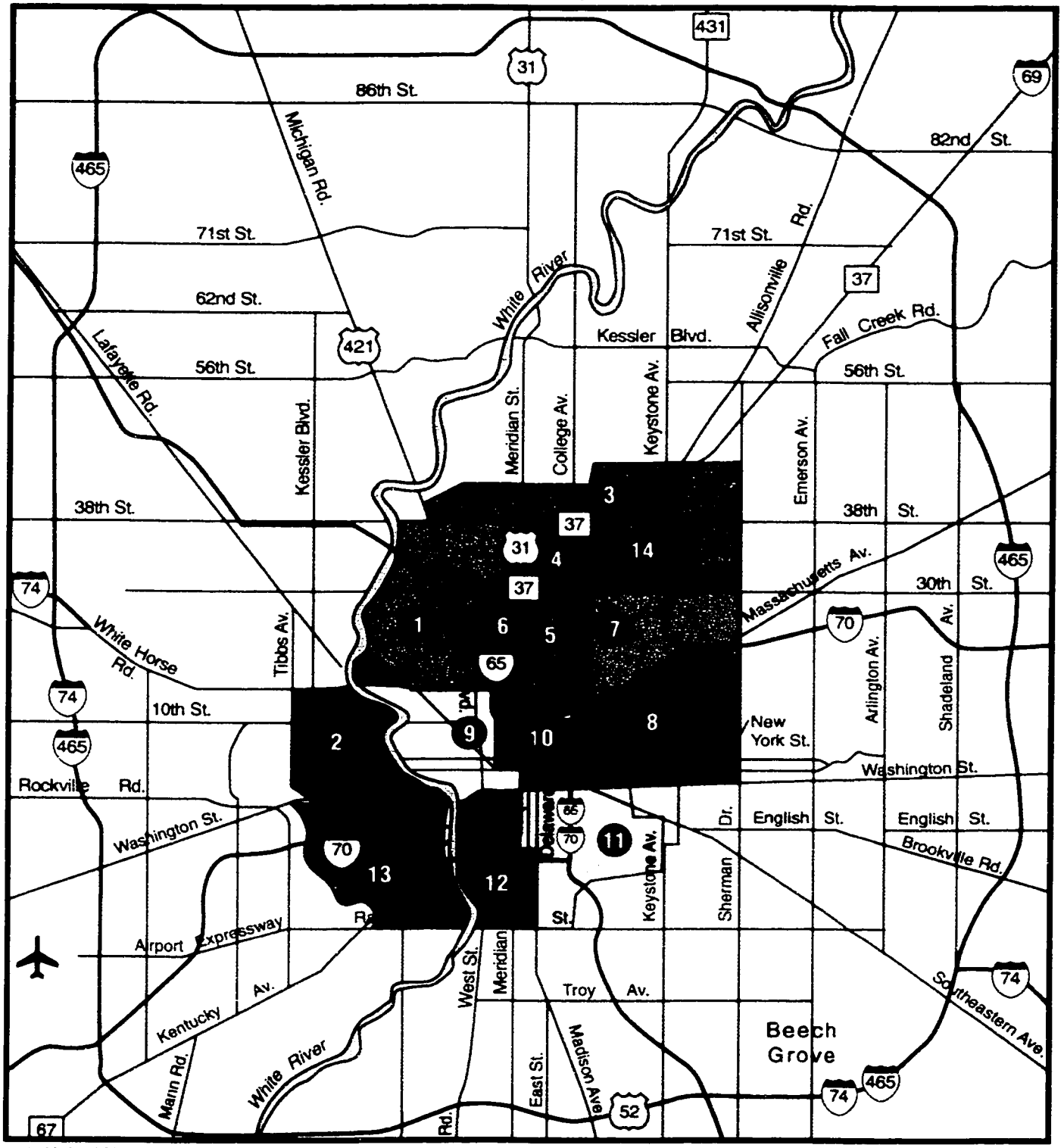
available to not-for-profit organizations. The Indiana Housing Finance Administration (IHFA) also provides a source of funding for housing construction.

Using these legitimizing and funding resource attributes as selection criteria, this research focuses on 13 community development corporations in Indianapolis's Center Township, eastern Wayne Township, and a southern Washington Township. Although there were plans for 14 community development corporations in inner-city Indianapolis, at the time of my research during Mayor Goldsmith's first administration, these legitimizing agencies recognized only 13 CDCs. Table 2 lists the INHP community development corporations; their spatial locations are shown in Figure 2.

TABLE 2. List of INFTP Community Development Corporations

Acronym	*INHP Community Development Corporation*
BOS CDC	Business Opportunity Systems Community Development Corporation
CCDC	Concord Community Development Corporation
ECI	Eastside Community Investments, Inc.
KPADC	King Park Area Development Corporation
MB CDC	Martindale Brightwood Community Development Corporation
MFHDC	Mapleton Fall Creek Housing Development Corporation
NNDC	Near North Development Corporation
MLK CDC	Martin Luther King Community Development Corporation
RARP	Riley Area Revitalization Program
SEND	Southeast Neighborhood Development
UNWADC	United Northwest Area Development Corporation
WCDC	Westside Community Development Corporation
WIDC	West Indianapolis Development Corporation
INHP	Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership

FIGURE 2. Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership Map of Community Development Corporations



1. United Northwest Area Development Corporation
2. Westside Community Development Corporation
3. Martin Luther King Community Development Corporation
4. Mapleton-Fall Creek Housing Development Corporation
5. King Park Area Development Corporation
6. Near North Development Corporation
7. Martindale-Brightwood Community Development Corporation
8. Eastside Community Investments, Inc.
9. Business Opportunity Systems Community Development Corporation
10. Riley Area Revitalization Program
11. Southeast Neighborhood Development
12. Concord Community Development Corporation
13. West Indianapolis Development Corporation
14. Forest Manor Neighborhood (Potential CDC)

A second common attribute of the 13 CDCs is the nature of the populations they serve: spatially concentrated populations with poverty rates well above the rest of Marion County. In Marion County, the average poverty rate in 1989 was 11%; poverty rates in the 13 CDC communities were significantly higher. For example, in Martindale-Brightwood, the poverty rate in 1989 was 35%. While these locations include both White-Americans and African-Americans, the African-American population is disproportionately larger than the White-American population in all but four CDC areas—Concord, ECI, SEND, and WIDC. In this respect their populations are similar to those found in other CDC studies (e.g., NCCED, 1990).

The third shared attribute is the presence of a formal governing structure: a board, staff, and projects. Having an informal structure or meetings to determine the viability of developing a CDC is not enough. Although INHP had plans for 14 CDCs, at the time of this study, only 13 were formally organized and operational by 1995. With the technical assistance of INHP, three—Martindale Brightwood, Concord, and West Indianapolis—became operational in 1992. Although these three CDCs were not fully functional (still in their infancy stage of development), the other ten CDCs that formed before 1992 were at least addressing some housing needs, either housing repair or developing subsidized 202 housing for seniors who aged 55 years and older.

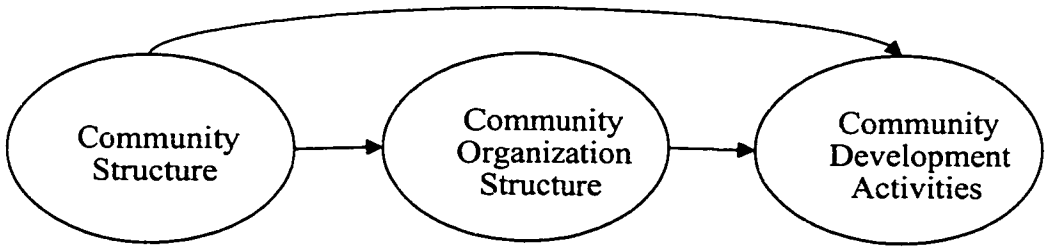
Fourth, these CDCs all are nested in a broader community structure of organizations. Within their service areas are an array of additional organizations that, in theory, should work together toward community revitalization: neighborhood associations, social service providers, churches and other religious institutions, multi-

service centers, and health clinics. While it is expected that each of these organizations provide a distinct function, at times their functions overlap. The role that community development corporations play in this matrix is that of the community's economic development arm. However, when a community lacks one or more of neighborhood organizations, CDCs may increase their role or may serve as catalysts to stimulate the establishment of needed organizations. All 13 CDCs operate in a broader community structure with diverse organizations. However, the mix of non-CDC community organizations differs from case to case.

Framework Specification

Chapter Two discussed the theory that supports the framework in Figure 3. This section defines the factors in the framework and supplies operational definitions for each. My community political economy framework has three main factors: community structure, organization structure, and community development activities. Figure 3 presents a depiction of these elements and how they are related.

Figure 3. Community Political Economy Framework



Factors such as community (Bonjean et al., 1971; Chekki, 1989; Christenson & Robinson, 1989; MacCallum, 1970; Poplin, 1972; Shaffer, 1989; Warren, 1970), organization structure (Daft, 1995; March & Olsen, 1984 & 1989; Mintzberg, 1996; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Wamsley & Zald, 1973), community development (CD) (Alley et al., 1993; Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Rubin & Rubin, 1992; Wileden, 1970), community economic development (CED) (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Blakely, 1994; Shaffer, 1989; Swack, 1990), community political development (Altshuler, 1970; Barber, 1984; Cochrane, 1986; Dahl, 1985 & 1989; Kotler, 1969; Pateman, 1970; Zimmerman, 1972), and community social development (LISC, 1993; NCCED, 1989, 1991; Sullivan, 1993) have intrinsic meaning in the function of community development corporations. Although CED denotes a process of economic development rather than social/political development, practitioners and researchers often use the terms community development and community economic development interchangeably. Before defining the specific measures, it is important first to define what this study means by community.

Community

The definition of community, for this study, is a location recognized by some form of authority, exhibiting economic activity, social interaction, interdependence, shared values or interests, and psychological attachment among its members. Various works try to address these questions: What is community? How do we define it? How do we know it when we see it? Why is this definition so important? Thus, various theorists, social scientists, and practitioners (Bonjean et al., 1971; Christenson

& Robinson, 1989; Chekki, 1989; Hallman, 1984; MacCallum, 1970; Poplin, 1972; Shaffer, 1989; Warren, 1970) have grappled with the elusive concept of community.

All studies on community contribute an array of dimensions to the questions. Some suggest political or corporate boundaries while others question the ability to specify location (Bonjean et al., 1970; Warren, 1970). Another view of community requires social interaction and mutual interdependence (Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Poplin, 1972; Warren, 1970). All of these social scientists would agree that people are an important ingredient in the discussion of community.

Moreover, in this study, the community is defined as a subarea or sub-community within the city of Indianapolis. A subarea is a portion of that city that, through some distinctive characteristics or historical fact, identifies itself in some manner from the larger city, a planning district, or an older subdivision annexed by the city. In Indianapolis, several subareas are referred to by location or by traditional names with boundaries used to develop plans and deliver services. One example is the Near Westside in the eastern portion of Wayne Township of Indianapolis, with a population of approximately 15,000 people, located across the White River from the Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) campus. Its boundaries include White River Parkway on the east, Tibbs Street to the west, 16th Street to the north, and to the south, the railroad tracks south of Washington Street (or Indiana State Highway 40). Within these communities, there may be several smaller units called neighborhoods and block clubs. In the Near Westside there are five neighborhoods with associations (Haughville, Historic Haughville, Hawthorne,

Stringtown, and Concord Village) aggregated into an umbrella organization called Westside Community Organization (WESCO) in the Near Westside.

Factors in the Framework

My framework has three principle factors: community structure, CDC organization structure, and community development activities. Below is a discussion of these factors and the measurements associated with them.

Community Structure

The *community structure factor* has five categories that assist in our analysis of each CDC community. These categories are: 1) concentrated disadvantage, 2) spatial, 3) psychological attachment, 4) economic structure, and 5) political structure.

Concentrated disadvantage captures characteristics of each CDC community's population that indicate a need for social and other services (Sampson et al., 1997). Indicators of concentrated disadvantage are the percentage of households with income below the poverty level, the percentage of the labor force that is unemployed, the percentage of households that are female headed and have children, and the percentage of the population that is African-American. Each indicator is compiled from the, 1990 Census of Population and Housing.

Poverty is defined as a relationship between classes or haves versus the have-nots (Bell, 1987; Cochrane, 1986; Marable, 1983; Goldsmith & Blakely, 1992). Communities with high levels of poverty need social service organizations that will address some of the underlining reasons for poverty. High *unemployment* suggests a

portion of the population that lacks upward mobility and may lead to a systemic phenomenon of undereducation and under-skills that might lead to crime, mental illness, suicides, health problems, and isolation (Auletta, 1982; Coles, 1975; Cross, 1974; Davis, 1972; H. Jennings, 1992; Jones, 1992; Jencks, 1991; Marable, 1983; Jencks & Peterson, 1991; Bell, 1970). The presence of *female-headed households with children* often indicates households with limited resources to provide necessary needs for survival (Garber & Turner, 1995; Randall, 1982). Weisman argues that "structural gender" affects land use and economic development policies and that ignoring issues surrounding institutional genderism ignores issues such as child-care and transportation. Malveaux posits that African-American women especially are residents of urban ghettos (Malveaux, 1992; Marable, 1983). The *percentage of the population that is African-American* may suggest spatial concentration along racial lines or deliberate re-segregation (Massey & Denton, 1993; Waste, 1996). Race, along with class, may limit social mobility (Wilson, 1987). Accordingly, "race matters" (Pinkney, 1992).

The *spatial* category has one indicator: proximity to downtown. Given strong efforts in Indianapolis, as in many similar cities, to revitalize its downtown, proximity is an indicator of the importance of the CDC community to other political and economic entities (Blakely, 1994).

Psychological attachment measures the extent to which residents identify with and have social ties to their community. Communities with greater resident attachment and social ties are better able to organize to advance community interests. This category has four indicators. Each indicator was constructed from responses to

questions included in the 1993 Indianapolis Community Baseline Survey. The questions used are:

1. Your neighborhood is one of the best in Indianapolis. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?
2. When you think about neighborhood, do you think of it as: your own block; a few blocks around your house; a section of; and/or all of Indianapolis?
3. How many of your friends live in your immediate neighborhood?
4. Besides those living in your household, how many of your relatives live in your immediate neighborhood?

The indicator *bestnbhd* is the percentage of respondents who strongly agreed or agreed with the first question. The indicator *neighborhood* is the percentage that defined their neighborhood as their own block or a few blocks around their house. The indicators *friends* and relatives are the percentage who said that more than half or almost all of their friends or relatives lived in their neighborhood.

Economic structure measures disinvestment in the community and capital leakage (Blakely, 1994; Cross, 1974; Davis, 1972). Indicators for each CDC community's economic structure include the percentage of housing units that are vacant, the percentage of occupied units that are renter occupied, the percentage of housing units built before, 1940, and the percentage of employed residents working in service or manufacturing industries. These indicators may demonstrate housing and employment needs (Nathan, 1992). These needs may lead to policy demands for improved housing and employment opportunities. High rates of vacancy, rental occupied, and aging housing may indicate a need for new housing and housing

repairs. High rates of employment in the service and manufacturing industries may indicate that a large population has low-paying service jobs or has jobs in a dying economy. This population needs job training skills to enter the new high technology and information fields.

Another category of community structure is political structure. I measure each community's political structure with indicators based on resident responses to questions in the 1993 Community Baseline Survey. The questions from which indicators are constructed are:

1 How far away from your home is the closest park or playground?

2. Please tell me how you rate the performance of your local government when it comes to providing each of the following services: police, elementary schools, parks and recreation, street lighting, street repair, storm sewers, trash & garbage collection, and access to public transportation. Would you say excellent, good, fair, or poor? (Repeated separately for each service listed.)

3. Local government is concerned about your neighborhood. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?

The indicator *park* is the percentage of respondents saying that the closest park or playground was within eight to ten blocks of their home. The indicator *services* is computed as the sum of the percentages of respondents who said excellent or good when rating each of the eight services. The indicator *concern* is the percentages of respondents who strongly agreed or agreed that local government was concerned.

Table 3 summarizes the categories of Community Structure and the indicators used for each category.

TABLE 3. Community Structure Categories and Indicators

Category	*Indicators*
Concentrated disadvantage [1990 Census]	- % of households with income below poverty level - % of labor force unemployed - % of households that are female headed with children - % of population African-American
Spatial	- proximity to downtown Indianapolis
Psychological attachment [1993 Community Baseline Survey]	- % best nbhd in Indianapolis [SA+A] - % nbhd is own or few surrounding blocks - % most or almost all friends live in nbhd - % most or almost all relatives live n nbhd
Economic structure [1990 Census]	- % housing units vacant - % renter occupied - % housing built before, 1940 - % employed in service or manufacturing
Political structure [1993 Community Baseline Survey]	- % park/playground on same block - % rating services excellent or good [summed over eight services] - % local government concerned [SA+A]

CDC Structure and Processes

The second element of my framework focuses on the structure and processes of the 13 community development corporations. This element has three categories: constitutional, collective participation, and operational. Each category is multidimensional, with several empirical indicators for each dimension.

The first category, *constitutional structures and processes*, is measured by two dimensions: organization design and change and constitutional design and formalization. Organization design and change has six indicators: (1) period of origin, (2) originators, (3) age, (4) location, (5) size of organization, and (6) process of change. *Period of origin* refers to the era in which the organization was created. As mentioned in Chapter Two, four different time periods characterize the development of community development corporations: neighborhood activism in the 1960s; housing development in the 1970s; commercial development in the 1980s; and housing development again in the 1990s (Vidal, 1992). Since the creation of community development corporations in Indianapolis began in 1976—after neighborhood activism—I collapse the last three categories into two periods: housing/commercial development (coded 1), and housing development (coded 0). The second indicator, *originators*, measures whether community residents (coded 1) or non-residents (coded 0) provided the original impetus for developing the CDC. The third indicator, *age*, measures the number of years the CDC has been operating. Based on categories developed by Vidal and Mayer, a dichotomous classification is used: 0-8 years indicates a young organization (coded 0), and 9 or older, a mature organization (coded 1). The fourth indicator, *location*, measures whether the CDC is situated in its own building (coded 1) or is leasing office space (coded 0) (Blakely, 1994; Coles, 1975; Davis, 1972). The fifth indicator, *size,* measures the number of employees in the organization. Again using Vidal and Mayer's categories and collapsing them into a dichotomous classification, CDCs with seven or fewer employees are considered small (coded 0); those with eight or more are considered

large (coded 1). The final indicator, *process of change*, is measured by whether the CDC has undergone any significant changes in its history. A CDC that has reorganized or merged is coded 1, and one that has not is coded 0.

The second dimension of constitutional structure and processes is constitutional design and formalization. *Constitutional design* has four indicators: mission statement, goals, articles of incorporation, and bylaws. The indicator scores for *mission statement, goals, articles of incorporation,* and *bylaws* are determined according to whether the CDC has (coded 1) or does not have (coded 0) each indicator. *Formalization* has three indicators: *strategic plans, policy and procedure manual, and succession plan* (Daft, 1995; Kelly, 1977; Mayer, 1984). Each of these indicators is coded 1 if present and 0 if absent.

The second category of CDC structure and processes is collective participation structures and processes. The category has two dimensions: board of directors (the community control unit) and committee structure (the planning and coordinating unit).

Board of directors has six indicators: board size, community membership, executive board, advisory board, nomination/election, and leadership. *Board size* is measured by the number of board members, with 15 or fewer considered low (coded 0), and more than 15, high (coded 1) (Kelly, 1976).

Community membership is based on the number of community residents on the board. Although some community development corporation theorists include work and pray measures in their analysis, I consider only residents. If community

residents comprise more than 51% of the CDC board of directors, this indicator is scored 1; otherwise, the score is 0.

The indicator *executive board* is based on the number of positions on the executive board: fewer than five is considered a small executive board (coded 0); five or more is considered a large board (coded 1). The indicator *advisory board* denotes whether the CDC has a formal structure including non-community experts (coded 1), or has not (coded 0).

Nomination/election measures whether membership on the CDC board results from a nomination and election process (coded 1), or from a process of self-selection by existing board members (coded 0). Although self-selection is the preferred method among many nonprofit organizations, if this is a community-based organization for the community residents, then residents should have some opportunity to participate in the selection of their representatives.

Leadership indicates the board's success at informing community residents of the CDC's actions. In the 1993 Indianapolis Community Baseline Survey, respondents were asked to identify organizations that dealt with neighborhood problems. Respondents were asked: Are there any organizations or groups that work specifically to improve housing in your area? If the percentage of community residents who answered "yes" was less than 51%, leadership was coded 0; if the percentage was 51% or more, it was coded 1.

The second dimension of collective participation structures and processes is committee structures and processes. Indicators for this dimension are committees, communications, and decision making.

Committees serve as planning and coordinating units used to segment the responsibilities of the organization. Vidal (1992) argues that CDCs with four or fewer committees have limited operation. With four or fewer committees (coded 0), the CDC is addressing only a few fundamental responsibilities, especially since the executive board is one of these committees. With five or more (coded 1), the CDC can take on multiple tasks.

Communications measures whether CDC meetings are open or closed, and the time of day of these meetings. Meetings are channels for the flow of information; therefore if the meetings are closed, then there is not a flow of information or resident participation. The time of day indicates the ability of community residents to attend. If these meetings are held in the evening, then community residents may be able to attend. However, if they are held at any other time, then this might eliminate the possibility of resident attendance. CDCs that hold open meetings during evening hours are coded 1 on this indicator; those with closed or daytime meetings are coded 0.

The third indicator, *decision making*, is measured by the formality of the process. Formal decision making (coded 1) is reflective of a rational decision-making model in which there is a specific decision making process, whereas informal decision making (coded 0) is a consensus process in which agreement is reached without a long process. In other words, an issue is brought to the committee and the decision is based on a known alternative.

The third category of the CDC structure and processes is operational structures and processes. The category has the following dimensions: differentiation

(vertical and horizontal), executive director experience, leadership style, resident staff, programs/projects, funding diversity, and fund development.

Differentiation has two indicators. Vertical differentiation indicates the levels in the CDC's staff hierarchy. CDCs with two or fewer steps from entry-level staff to the director are scored 0. CDCs with three or more steps are scored 1. Horizontal differentiation indicates size of staff. CDCs with four or fewer staffers are scored 0; those with five or more are scored 1.

Executive director experience indicates the director's tenure in his/her position. CDCs whose director has held that office for five or fewer years are scored 0; those whose directors have held office for six or more years are scored 1 (Vidal, 1992). *Leadership style* indicates whether the director leads his/her staff informally, emphasizing face-to-face meetings and consensus building (scored 0), or formally, with a chain of command to inform and direct CDC staff (scored 1).

Resident staff indicates whether staff members are principally residents of the community. If the percentage of staff members who reside in the community is 51 or greater, the CDC's score on this indicator is 1; otherwise it is 0. *Programs/projects* indicates the complexity of CDC operations. CDCs can operate a variety of programs, including various business and commercial enterprises, housing programs, and residential services (Vidal, 1992; Mayer, 1984). Those that operate five or more programs and projects are scored 1; those with fewer are scored 0. *Funding diversity* indicates the number of funding sources used by a CDC, with a larger number thought to contribute stability to the organization (Vidal, 1992). CDCs with six or more sources are scored 1, and those with five or fewer, 0. *Fund development*

indicates whether a CDC has gone beyond conventional government and foundation funding to generate its own source(s) of revenue. CDCs with at least one for-profit subsidiary are scored 1; those with no such subsidiaries are scored 0.

Table 4 summarizes the categories of CDC structure and processes, their dimensions, and the indicators used for each category and dimension.

TABLE 4. CDC Structure and Processes

Category	*Dimension*	*Indicators*
Constitutional structure and processes	Organization design and change	- date of origin - originators - age - location - size - process of change
	Constitutional design and formalization	- mission statement - goals - articles of incorporation - bylaws - strategic plans - policy/procedure manual - succession plan
Collective participation structures and processes	Board of directors	- board size - community membership - executive board - advisory board - nomination/election - leadership
	Committee structure	- committees - communications - decision making
Operating structures and policies	Differentiation	- vertical - horizontal
	Executive director experience	- executive tenure
	Leadership style	- formal/informal
	Resident staff	- staff residence
	Programs/projects	- # of programs/projects
	Funding diversity	- # of funding sources
	Fund development	- for-profit subsidiary

Community Development Activities

The third element in my framework comprises CDC activities of three types: community economic development, community political development, and community social development. As discussed in Chapter Two, a successful community development corporation will address or provide assistance in addressing all three kinds of development. A variety of indicators are used to assess the presence or absence of these activities in each community development corporation.

Community Economic Development (CED). While this term has been around since the late 1960s, it has reemerged in the discussion of community development. Researchers, social scientists, and practitioners argue that this process will lead to organization building, business development, employment generation, and other economic improvements for residency in certain distressed communities (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Blakely, 1994; Shaffer, 1989; Swack, 1990). Various social scientists and practitioners see community economic development as relying on institutional or organization construction (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Blakely, 1994; Swack, 1990), as relying on local ownership and control (Blakely, 1994; Swack, 1990), as spatially defined (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Blakely, 1994; Shaffer, 1989; Swack, 1990), as requiring resident involvement (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984; Blakely, 1994; Shaffer, 1989; Swack, 1990), as creating linkages (Shaffer, 1989), and as planning and sustaining economic and business development (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984). For this study, community economic development activities denote an institutional-building process within a spatially defined area that includes local

ownership and control for the purpose of attracting resources to enable and enhance long-term economic and business development.

Community economic development is measured by the presence of different types of CED activities found in each CDC. Seven categories of CED activities are defined. The first, *business retention*, measures the presence of activities aimed at *maintaining capital flow, improving existing businesses, advertising community businesses*, and providing a *community business guide*. Using multiple data sources, each organization is assessed according to whether engages in each of these activities. If an organization performs the activity, then it is scored 1; if it does not, then it is scored 0. The second category, *capital accumulation and resource management,* has four dimensions. Within each dimension, the presence of each specific activity is coded as 1, and absence, as 0. The first dimension, controlling speculation, is measured by two indicators, *land acquisition* and *land trust*, while the second dimension, increasing transfer payments from government to residents by providing enrollment assistance, is measured by five indicators of enrollment assistance activities: *AFDC payment, social security payment, disability, JTPA*, and *self-sufficiency programs*. The third dimension, increasing private funds, has two indicators: increasing the presence of *private banks* and increasing *foundation and private funding*. The final dimension is increasing public funds for area that has two indicators: increasing *CDBG* and *HOME* funds.

In category three, *housing development*, there are three dimensions that measure the CDCs' activities. The first dimension, residential housing production, has four indicators: *single- and multiple-family housing, population stability*, and

redevelopment zone. The second dimension, rehabilitation and renovation activities, measures the existence of *roofing, air & heating*, and *plumbing & electrical services*. The final dimension is the development of homeownership opportunities. Indicators of activities in this dimension are *sweat equity, housing fairs, training and counseling programs, credit counseling*, and *cooperative units*.

The fourth category, *commercial/industrial development,* has two dimensions, attracting new business and increasing industrialization. Attracting new business has four indicators. These indicators include *retail strip development*, bringing *grocery* and *hardware stores* to the area, and *commercial development*. It can be argued that commercial development adds employment opportunities, but it also increases the turnover of capital within these communities, thus reducing capital leakage (Swack, 1990). The second dimension, increasing industrialization, relates to *reinvestment*, thus stopping further exit of industry from these communities. Other activities to increase commercial and industrial development include setting up a *redevelopment zone* so that certain businesses within that zone would gain certain tax and other incentives to relocate in the area. By attracting industrial businesses, CDCs could bring job opportunities for local residents. This may also stop the devaluation of real estate within these communities.

The fifth category, *business development,* also includes efforts to retain capital within the CDCs' communities. CDCs assist local-business and new small-business entrepreneurs to develop strong and sustainable businesses that could lead to employment opportunities and retained capital flow. In some instances, these businesses might bring new capital into these communities. Business development

has three dimensions: improving the efficiency of existing businesses, encouraging new business formation, and creating community-controlled businesses. Indicators of activities to improve efficiency are *bookkeeping assistance, business consultants, acquisition of new location*, leveraging resources, *loans for new equipment*, and *tax incentives*. Four indicators—*feasibility analysis, market studies, technical assistance*, and *micro enterprise*—are used to measure the encouragement of new business formation. Development of *venture capital, construction companies, daycare facilities*, and *financial institutions* are indicators of the creation of community-controlled businesses.

The sixth category, *job training and technical assistance*, relates to assisting residents to get the necessary tools to reenter the job market or to retool for a new market (Blakely, 1994; Cross, 1974; Davis, 1972). For example, with the deindustrialization of these communities, residents with minimal job skills are not prepared to work in fields that require a high level of training (Garber & Turner, 1995; Malveaux, 1992; Marable, 1983). The contention is that by providing these services, residents may be prepared to get an entry-level position in some of these fields. There are two dimensions that describe this category: providing training for residents, and providing jobs for residents. *Property management, property maintenance*, and *new skill training* (e.g., computer skills) are indicators of the first dimension. Indicators of the second dimension, providing jobs for local residents, are activities that provide *construction jobs, staff positions, consultants*, and *job referral* banks or programs.

The seventh category, *organization development*, measures the presence of internal development activities that lead to a stronger organization that can address community economic distress (Blakely, 1994; Coles, 1975; Cross, 1974; Davis, 1972; Bell, 1970; Swack, 1990). Indicators of whether a CDC has increased capacity include: organization policies and procedure, staff skill development, building a reserve fund, and developing linkages to other community-oriented services.

Table 5 summarizes the categories, dimensions and indicators for Community Economic Development.

TABLE 5. Community Economic Development

Category	*Dimensions*	*Indicators*
Business retention (BR)		- maintaining capital flow - improving existing businesses - advertising community businesses - community business guide
Capital accumulation and resource management (CA/RM)	Controlling speculation	- land acquisition - land trust
	Increasing transfer payments	- AFDC - Social Security - Disability - JTPA - Self-sufficiency programs
	Increasing private funds	- private banks - foundation/private funding
	Increasing public funds	- CDBG - HOME
Housing development (HD)	Providing residential housing	- single-family - multi-family - population stability - redevelopment zone
	Rehabilitation and renovation	- roofing - air and heating - plumbing and electrical services
	Homeownership opportunities	- sweat equity - housing fairs - training/counseling - credit counseling - co-op units
Commercial/industrial development (CID)	Attracting new business	- retail strip - grocery stores - hardware stores - redevelopment zone

TABLE 5. (continued)

	Increasing industrialization	- redevelopment zone
Business development (BD)	Improving efficiency	- bookkeeping assistance - business consultants - location acquisition - loans for new equipment - leveraging resources - tax incentives
	Encouraging new business formation	- feasibility analysis - market studies - training leadership and development - micro enterprise
	Community-controlled business	- venture capital - construction companies - daycare facilities - financial institutions
Job training and technical assistance (JTTA)	Training	- property management - property maintenance - new skills training
	Employment	- construction jobs - CDC staff positions - Consultants - Job referral
Organization development (OD)	Building institutional capacity	- hiring staff - staff development - reserve funds - setting organization chart - line succession - personnel policy and procedure manual
	Building linkages	
	Public decisions	
	Democratic management and control of enterprise	

Community Political Development (CPD). I define community political development as the process of including people within a specific geographic area in collective decision making, collective participation/community participation, and leadership growth (Cochrane, 1986). I base my definition on the theories of democracy (Barber, 1984; Dahl, 1985, 1989; Held, 1987; Pateman, 1970; Schumpeter, 1950), and literature on citizen participation/mobilization (Gilbert & Ward, 1984; Rubin & Rubin, 1992; Verba & Nie, 1972) and on community control/politics (Altshuler, 1970; Cochrane, 1986; Kotler, 1969; Zimmerman, 1972).

Five categories of activities, accountability, leadership development, participation, partnership, and socialization are used to measure community political development activities. The first category, *accountability,* has four dimensions: providing accessibility, providing accountability, maintaining connection with residents, and responding to changing conditions and residents. Indicators of providing accessibility include giving residents the *time and place of meeting, location of the organization*, and *access to copies of documents and strategic plans.* The second dimension, providing accountability, is indicated by *published minutes, public meetings, public discussion of proposed plans* (e.g., for redevelopment zones), *hours of operation*, and presence of a *24-hour on-call number*. These suggest that these organizations are able to keep community residents well informed and to open discussion and debate (Kelly, 1976). However, if an organization does not inform residents, it might suggest that the organization is working not in the interest of the community but in some other interest. The third dimension, maintaining connection with residents, shows that an organization is working to keep residents up-to-date on

its plans. Indicators for this dimension are: *newsletters*, *annual meetings*, *flyers*, *community outreach*, *announcements*, *open door policy*, and *residents' agenda*.

The second category, *leadership development*, includes efforts to broaden CDC leadership and improve leaders' skills. There are four indicators of leadership development: *board training, membership training, active recruitment of new members*, and including non–board-member *residents on organization committees*. Training board members and general members can increase knowledge of organization's mission and goal. This allows greater input into the decision-making process by allowing well-informed voices to express policy demands. Likewise, active recruitment of new members and allowing non-board members on organization committees ensures multiple inputs and rejuvenation of the organization. It can be argued that having different voices in the policy and decision-making processes helps ensure that a small elite group does not make all the organization's decisions, thus limiting outcomes.

The third category, *political participation*, refers to the ability of community residents to become active in the CDC. Dimensions include promoting self-governance, collective decision making, assisting and monitoring property management, and mobilization. Having the ability to participate might suggest that the community residents are indeed engaged in the organization's provision and production process.

Indicators of self-governance include: *level of board representation, agenda setting, constitution and bylaws writing, represented staff*, and *power-sharing arrangements*. The second dimension, collective decision making, is a process of

moving beyond a select elite to a broader community perspective. Indicators are the *election of board members, open planning and policy-making processes*, and *community decision making*, especially on those issues that are important to the overall community. Assisting and monitoring property management enhances community residents' ability to determine who lives in the property and the condition of that property. Having a *review committee, monthly reports*, and *site inspections* are indicators of this dimension. The fourth dimension, mobilization, addresses the CDCs' efforts to engage community residents in political processes that require active expression of policy concerns and demands. Using this methodology might suggest that CDCs recognize that there are times to go beyond safe activity to demand policy action from Indianapolis city and its elected officials. While some see this as the role of neighborhood associations, in the case of no active neighborhood association, this CPD activity might require another group to step to the plate. This activity can be costly, and requires a degree of autonomy as well as the willingness to lose. Indicators for mobilization are the following: organizing *local residents*, *legal action*, *petition drives*, *referenda and recalls*, *town hall meetings*, and *demonstrations, rallies, protests, and marches*.

The fourth category of community political development, *political partnership*, is integral to the ability of CDCs to receive certain benefits from governmental officials, elected officials, and neighborhood associations. To measure this category, there is one dimension, building alliances or partnerships. Indicators that a CDC has built alliances are *relationships with councilpersons*, and *governmental officials* at all levels, but most important this organization needs to

have an *alliance with the neighborhood association*, especially if it defaults to this organization for mobilization efforts. I would argue that an organization needs these alliances to produce housing, to address community social development, and for commercial and industrial and business development. Funds and policy changes (zoning variance, tax incentives and abatements, land banking, and eminent domain) from governmental agencies are necessary for some CED activities.

The final category in community political development is *socialization*. CDC literature argues that one purpose of these organizations is to assist in the integration of community residents into the larger society. In particular, the literature argues that these intermediating institutions bridge the gap between community residents and the larger society. Two dimensions, providing political understanding and providing support for neighborhood organizations, are applicable to this category. Providing political understanding has six indicators: *candidate forums, issue forums, "you're your representative" nights, field trips, city official receptions,* and the calling of *special meetings*. By providing these opportunities, community residents are better informed of the political process and the operatives in that process. Whenever possible, CDCs can provide support for other organizations and groups within their communities. Indicators of this support include *development, membership, participation, space, equipment*, and *staff support*. By providing these elements to other neighborhood organizations, CDCs can enable these organizations to perform functions that are generally associated with political development. Developing new organizations is an indicator that illustrates how these organizations bridge that gap.

In some communities, there are not neighborhood associations that give community residents a chance to ally with each other and discuss community needs.

Table 6 summarizes the categories, dimensions, and indicators of Community Political Development.

TABLE 6. Community Political Development

Category	*Dimension*	*Indicators*
Accountability	Accessibility	- published time and place of meetings - accessible location - access to documents - copies of strategic plans
	Accountability	- published minutes - public meetings - public review of plans - published hours of operation - 24-hour telephone number
	Maintaining connection with residents	- newsletters - annual meetings - flyers - community outreach - announcements - open door policy - residents' agenda
	Responding to changing conditions and residents	- change in representative structure - nontraditional recruitment - work with special populations
Leadership development (LD)		- board training - membership training - active recruitment - residents committee membership
Political participation (POLPART)	Self-governance	- board representation - agenda setting - constitution/bylaws writing - staff representation - power-sharing
	Collective decision making	- elected board - open planning and policy making - community decision making

TABLE 6. (continued)

	Assisting and monitoring property management	- tenant review committee - monthly reports - site inspections
	Mobilization	- organizing local residents - legal action - petition drives - referenda and recalls - town hall meetings - demonstrations, rallies, protests, and marches
Political partnership (POLPSHP)	Building alliances and partnerships	- city councilpersons - federal and state officials - city bureaucracy - local associations - national associations
Socialization (POLSOC)	Political understanding	- candidate forums - issue forums - "you're your representative" nights - field trips - city official receptions - special meetings
	Support for neighborhood organizations	- development of new organizations - membership in organizations - participation in annual meetings - space in building - use of equipment - staff support

Community Social Development (CSD). Community social development is the process of involving residents within a defined area with the ability to address issues of education, health, and recreation or improve the quality of life within that area (Taub, 1990). Community development literature mentions the need to provide

some type of educational opportunity beyond what might be provided by educational institutions, while other literature mentions the need to address issues such as physical and mental health problems within these communities (LISC, 1993; NCCED, 1989, 1991; Sullivan, 1993). Social scientists often argue that certain institutions are not located within these communities, and without these institutions, disorganization prevails (Wilson, 1987). Others argue that the restructuring of these institutions within the community can address issues of poverty (Goldsmith & Blakely, 1992; Wilson, 1987). Building institutions or providing a network of institutions to alleviate urban distress is a goal of community development (LISC, 1993; NCCED, 1989, 1991; Sullivan, 1993).

To measure CSD, five categories, education services, youth and teen services, residential services, physical and mental health services, and social services linkages, are analyzed. These categories measure activities designed to improve the living conditions of community residents. This is a new CD activity for some CDCs: there is a recognition that without improving the overall living condition of the individual, changes that CED and CPD bring about may be temporary. The first category, *educational services*, measures efforts to improve the educational level of area residents. It has one dimension—providing learning opportunities—with four indicators: one each for the presence or absence of *pre-school programs, tutoring programs, GED programs, and college preparatory programs*.

The second category of community social development is *youth and teen services*. It has one dimension, providing recreation activities, and four indicators: *sport activities, art programs, field trips*, and *outdoor activities*. The objective of

these activities is to provide youth and teen services as an alternative to street gangs and other harmful activities. Field trips give youths a chance to go to places that they might not otherwise have an opportunity to enjoy, especially museums, plays, and the zoo. Outdoor activities, similar to those provided by Boy and Girl Scouts, give youths a chance to participate in camping and related outdoor activities.

The third category, *residential services*, includes activities that assist community residents in residential life. Five dimensions are analyzed in this category. The first dimension, providing transitional services, examines the availability of services to assist community members with housing issues. For example, when residents need to move to a new location, CDCs might provide transitional services to make the change smoother. These transitional services include *location services, counseling, case management, homeless shelters, battered women shelters*, and *AIDS hospice*. By providing these services, CDCs ensure community residents a resource at times of emergency.

The second dimension of providing residential activities is entertainment. Often in these communities, community theater and movie theaters have moved to the suburbs; therefore, to enjoy these activities community residents have to leave their community, which presents a transportation problem. *Sporting activities* (baseball, basketball, tennis, etc.) and *art programs* (arts and crafts, theater, dance, or quilting) are indicators of entertainment.

The third dimension—providing emergency services—is an attempt to provide services at critical times in a resident's life. The indicators of these services are *food pantries, homeless shelters*, and *soup kitchens*. While not all community

residents need these services, in these communities residents often experience times when these services are needed for survival.

The fourth dimension, providing assisted care, is essential to an elderly population, but also to a very young population with constant needs. Several indicators are used to measure assisted care: *daycare, elderly care, mental health assistance*, and *home care*. With an effort to move welfare mothers to employment roles, daycare facilities in these areas are essential. Having a safe and affordable facility to leave children while mothers work is very important. Likewise, providing care for elderly residents that live at home would enable some of these residents to stay in their homes longer. Also, if elderly daycare is available, it provides relief to family members responsible for their care.

The fifth dimension, providing social events, is important to the development of psychological attachment to the community. People tend to remember fun events, and people are drawn into discussion of their community through social events. Indicators include *Christmas dinners, Valentine's Day/Halloween events, summer picnics*, and *Easter egg hunts*.

The fourth category of CSD is *physical and mental health services*. Both elderly and youth populations require these services. Three dimensions—sponsoring health programs, providing public safety programs, and providing mental health services—are measures of this category. Sponsoring health programs has five indicators: *health fairs, diabetes and blood pressure checks, health facilities, substance abuse programs*, and *physical health programs* (exercise programs). These services lead to improved health for community residents, especially for communities

that traditionally utilize emergency care, thereby limiting the need for community residents to use the emergency room for primary care. Providing health services assists people to obtain and maintain employment.

The second dimension, providing public safety programs, is vital to these communities, because they generally exhibit high crime statistics, properties in disrepair and violation of fire and code violations. Since housing development is a CED activity performed by CDCs, I would argue that maintaining safe living quarters is crucial to attracting new residents and maintaining stable populations. Otherwise, the population could be highly mobile, as it is in some communities. Indicators for public safety programs are crime prevention, Porch Light, weed and grass mowing, fire inspections, and code enforcement.

The third dimension is providing mental health services. With the de-institutionalization of mental health patients in recent years, a number of CDC communities have been left with the responsibility of caring for these patients. I would argue that CDCs must address this growing problem by continuing efforts to de-institutionalize mental health patients. Again, CDCs should either provide these services themselves or work with other social service agencies that provide these services. Three indicators—*counseling, housing*, and *case management*—are used to measure this dimension. While de-institutionalization is the primary force, recent studies of distressed communities reveal high depression rates, suicide rates, and homicide rates, which might reflect mental health problems.

The final category is *social services linkages.* Having linkages with social services agencies both within the community and outside it is essential to the

provision of these services. While funders now call for more service provision by CDCs, the implementation of community social development might not be possible without linkages to other agencies. Weak or small CDCs might be unable to provide these services, but they could be able to route their community residents to the proper agency. Two dimensions are used to measure this category. The first dimension, referring residents to services, supposes that CDCs can inform community residents of where to go for assistance. Knowledge of the services provided by Goodwill, Salvation Army, welfare agencies, health agencies/clinics, and United Way agencies could assist residents in accessing needed services. The second dimension, working with social services, is a measure of steps taken beyond simple referral. By working closely with these agencies, CDCs can speed the process of social services for community residents. Two indicators are examples of working with social service agencies. The first indicator, *coalition committee*, is an opportunity for service providers to communicate with each other about services that they have or new services that might be needed in the area. The second indicator, *self-sufficiency programs*, brings these agencies together in a program that facilitates the transition from welfare to work. A growing number of scholars have recognized that building new houses does not necessarily change the community; some CDCs might well refocus their efforts from other sorts of community development to self-sufficiency programs.

Table 7 summarizes the categories, dimensions, and indicators for Community Social Development.

TABLE 7. Community Social Development Activities

Category	*Dimension*	*Indicators*
Education services (ESVCS)	Providing learning opportunities	- pre-school - tutoring - GED - College prep
Youth and teen services (YTSVCS)	Recreation activities	- sports - arts - field trips - outdoor/camping
Residential services (RSSVCS)	Transitional services	- location services - counseling - case management - homeless shelter - battered women's shelter - AIDS hospice
	Providing residential activities	- sports - arts (arts and crafts, theater, dance, or quilting)
	Providing emergency services	- food pantry - shelters - soup kitchens
	Assisted care	- daycare - elderly care - mental health assistance - home care
	Social events	- Christmas dinner - Valentine's Day/Halloween activities - Picnics - Easter egg hunts
Physical and mental health services (HMHSVCS)	Sponsoring health programs	- health fairs - diabetes/blood pressure checks - health facilities - substance abuse programs - exercise programs

TABLE 7. (continued)

	Public safety programs	- crime prevention - porch light - weed and grass mowing - fire inspections - code enforcement
	Providing mental health services	- counseling - housing - case management
Social service linkages (SSL)	Referring residents to services	- social services (e.g., Goodwill)
	Working with social service agencies	- coalition committee - self-sufficiency program

Journey Forward

This chapter discussed methods and measures used to analyze Indianapolis CDCs. The SCPE framework will be used to describe community and organization structures, as well as community development activities of the CDCs. Chapter Five takes the data that emerge from these case studies and conducts cross-case analysis, searching for patterns of relationships, and tests hypotheses linking community and organization structures to CDC activities. First, let's journey to Chapter Four to see how descriptive case study yields interesting data for analysis.

4. COMMUNITY POLITICAL ECONOMY: STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES

"Here in subcity, life is hard" (Tracy Chapman, 1989).

CDCs in Indianapolis: 1970s-1990s

In 1987 the community development corporation movement in Indiana went through three stages: housing development, commercial development, and housing development (Vidal, 1992). The first three community development corporations in the city recognized the need to focus on housing development, thereby improving the housing stock within the geographic community. The second stage moved the focus from community/housing development to commercial development. Following the "trickle down" economic philosophy, the emphasis was on developing commercial projects that ultimately would leave the community. The third stage of community development in Indianapolis marks a return to housing development efforts. However, emerging in Indianapolis is synergy between housing development and community economic development, harkening back to Booker T. Washington's call for economic self help.

Prior to ECI's incorporation, Lugar's mayoral administration and the city/county councilors passed the Paterson Amendment, which forestalled funding of CDCs if federal funds were not forthcoming. In the 1970s, Lugar, using the Chief Executive Review and Comment, disapproved funneling a portion of federal funds to ECI. However, in reaction to residential protest, Lugar ultimately released the funds.

Former mayor Hudnut's Housing Taskforce (1987) also suggested that community development corporations would address the problem of 30,000 substandard housing units in the inner city.

Although community development corporations have existed in Indianapolis since 1976, beginning with the incorporation of Eastside Community Investment, Inc. (ECI); the Housing Taskforce marked one of the first instances of mayoral recognition of CDCs' potential to address the housing needs of Indianapolis's inner-city residents. The Taskforce also initiated the development of Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership (INHP), a local nonprofit financial intermediary focusing on affordable housing financing (targeting low- to moderate-income residents). According to Paul Grogan, president of the New York-based Local Initiative Support Corporation (LISC), Stephen Goldsmith and the mayors of Philadelphia, Cleveland, Seattle, and Milwaukee perceived the "CDCs as a way to keep a check on their own bureaucracies, even as a way of governing differently, and bypassing the bureaucracy" (Holmstrom, 1994, p. 14).

Paul Grogan states that "in Indianapolis the housing and community development programs are run by a committee consisting of a LISC director, the city's development director, and the head of the INHP. The Mayor is saying this is how I want to govern" (Holmstrom, 1994, 14). We see this manifested in the city's increasing reliance on community development corporations to implement housing programs, but these corporations also are used to develop large redevelopment zones throughout several CDC communities.

Recently, the city of Indianapolis and INHP have encouraged the formation of a committee that would lead to the incorporation of a CDC in the Forest Manor community, the location of a new Cub Foods store. Thus, by following a popular trend, the city of Indianapolis has jumped on the bandwagon of community development corporations, viewing them as a place-based strategy to address housing and redevelopment of subareas in the city.

Mini-Case Studies of CDC Communities and Organizations

This chapter analyzes CDC communities and organizational structures and processes in Indianapolis, using mini-case studies to describe each of 13 communities and organizations, using the organizing framework of political economy presented in Chapter Two. Within this framework, each case study provides an in-depth descriptive analysis of the community structure and the organization structure. *Community structures* and processes refer to the context in which community development corporations operate, thereby illustrating the need for these organizations. *Organizational structures* and processes describe the internal structure and operations of these organizations.

The chapter is divided into 13 mini-case studies. Each mini-case study of community is divided into two sections. The first section, the community, is divided into four subsections: (1) *community socio-psycho demographics,* (2) *community economic structures and processes,* (3) *community political structures and processes, and* (4) *community organizations*. The second section, the community development corporation, is divided into four subsections: (1) *community organizational design*

and change, (2) *community organizational socio-demographic characteristics of board of directors and administrative staff,* (3) *community organizational political control structures and process, and* (4) *community organizational economic structures and processes*. Using these mini-cases, I am able to infer why certain organizations focus on democratic processes, others focus on economic processes, and others attempt to balance the two in a manner that involves people in the process while maintaining privatism in development.

Business Opportunity Systems Community Development Corporation (BOS CDC) (Site 9)

The Midtown (Black Broadway) Community

Home of Madame Walker Theater and Crispus Attucks High School, both historical black institutions, BOS is located south of UNAD and NNDC communities, east of WCDC community, and west of RARP communities and bounded on the west by Central Canal, east of White River, south of 16th Street, and north of Indiana Avenue. This area is "located on the western and northwestern edges of the city, home to the segregated African-American community, ended in the malaria lowlands around Fall Creek and White River" (Bodenhamer, 1992, p. 5).

The BOS CDC community once was known as Black Broadway, a thriving middle class African-American community noted for jazz clubs and its social and economic centers along Indiana Avenue (Downtown Development and *NUVO*). In addition, one of the oldest neighborhoods in the City, Ransom Place, named for a popular African-American physician, is located here. Across Indiana Avenue is the

campus of Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI), a park and monument for veterans of foreign wars, and the Indiana University Medical School. Located nearby are the Indiana Government Center, Indianapolis Central Business District, 64-year old Bush Stadium and Central Canal Project. Some of the oldest historic houses in Indianapolis are situated here (Stokes, March 11, 1993, p. C3). Also located in this area are the Indiana Housing Authority and the Indianapolis Police Horse Barn.

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

From 1875 to 1890, the population shifted from white Americans to African-Americans. By the 1960s, it was almost exclusively African-Americans. Between 1960 and 1970, with the construction of interstate highway system and IUPUI, the area lost most of its population. In 1990, the population living within the BOS boundaries was 346—and over 90% African-American. Age distribution for BOS suggests an aging population, with 36% of the population 65 years old or older. These populations, made up of the very old and very young (27% are under 18), suggest a need for social programs to address their needs, along with those of the 61% living below the poverty level in 1989.

Community Economic Structures and Processes

Housing development in this area is competitive. In addition to BOS, area businesses include the Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana Housing, Inc., and FLIP (Fund for Landmark Indianapolis Properties)—created to buy and renovate

properties with interest-free loans from the NBD [National Bank of Detroit] Neighborhood Revitalization Corporation. All renovations are done by the Foundation development corporation, Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana Housing, Inc.'s Fund for Landmark Indianapolis Properties (Key, 1994, pp. H1, H9).

On the northwest corner of the BOS area is a light industrial/commercial district which includes Lincoln Institute, a Community Action Agency facility, the Indianapolis Water Company, and small businesses. Lockfield Gardens, an apartment complex, also is located here. At the intersection of Indiana Avenue and 10th Streets is another retail commercial district, and includes a grocery store that has been converted to a conference center (leaving the nearest store one mile away), and a mortuary.

BOS CDC has interests in several buildings, including Walker Theater, a medical complex, 500 Place, Stewart Center, and other commercial properties. One outcome of redevelopment efforts on the eastside of West Street is the Mansur Development apartment complex, a market-rate rental property.

In the mid-1970s, redevelopment began with the takeover of Lockfield Gardens by IUPUI. Recently, the BOS CDC, with the assistance of a local developer, began redevelopment of deteriorating commercial buildings, including the 500 Place, Medical Complex, the Canal Apartments, Historic Landmark's Headquarters and the philanthropy building.

Community Political Structures and Processes

The official political representative of BOS is the city county councilor of District #16, a Democrat. BOS is located in Center Township; at the city level, BOS is served by the Center Township administrator in the Department of Metropolitan Development. BOS, along with other CDC communities, is in the IPD West District service area.

The umbrella neighborhood organization in the BOS community, Midtown Economic Development Industrial Corporation (MEDIC), was organized in the late 1960s to address the community's deteriorating condition. MEDIC serves as a conduit of information for BOS CDC, Madame Walker Theater, and the city. City officials, usually from the Center Township Administrator's office, and police provide information and facilitate discussion of upcoming projects that affect the neighborhood.

MEDIC's structure consists of an executive committee, and resident membership from communities of Ransom Place, Flanner House, and an elderly complex. The executive committee is comprised of a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. The office of the president represents the community on the BOS board and the Madame Walker board. Membership is open to all residents within the area; however, voting privileges are given only to dues paying residents. Representatives from Walker Theater and BOS CDC liaise between their respective organizations.

A second neighborhood group in the BOS area, Upper Canal Neighborhood Association (UCNA) was formed in reaction to the reconstruction of the Central

Canal area. UCNA members are residents who live east of West Street. After redevelopment, a portion of this area was renamed Fayette Street Historic Neighborhood.

The election of the executive committee is essentially a self-selection process. Although there is a formal process to solicit officers by a nomination committee, that selection is based on volunteering or nomination. After nomination, the committee makes its recommendation and all members vote to accept or reject nomination. Formal campaigning outside of the organization is not done; as stated above, membership in the organization is required to vote. Like the voting process, the decision-making process is informal discussion with a majority rule by voice vote.

Community Organizations

Social Services are provided by Flanner House located in United Northwest Area, but churches—including Bethel AME and Mount Olive Missionary Baptist—also provide some social programs. Although the BOS neighborhood was once a middle-class African-American community, presently the population is aging and poorer.

The Community Development Corporation

Constitution Structures and Processes

Organized in 1982, BOS CDC is located in Walker Plaza, a commercial development on Indiana Avenue. BOS CDC, originally named Business Opportunity

Systems, Incorporated, was designed to address economic development (McClain, 1993, p. D1; BOSCDC, 1991). It was "an outgrowth of the creative efforts of Madame Walker Urban Life Center, Inc. (MWULC); Midtown Economic Development and Industrial Corporation (MEDIC); and Flanner House of Indianapolis" (BOS, 1988; Interview, October 25, 1995; McClain, 1993, p. D1; BOSCDC, 1991, p. 1). Initial board members included such business and community leaders as Thomas W. Binford (ex-president of Indiana National Bank), Amos Brown, (local radio personality), and Bettye Jones-Olds of American United Life Insurance. Other board members have included State Representative William Crawford, Dr. Joseph T. Taylor, and Payton Wells (a local automobile dealer).

From its inception, this organization emphasized "addressing the urgent needs of the African-American Midtown community. The responsibility to ensuring the continuation and positive progression of the Midtown community from an African-American perspective serves as a mandate for the mission and goals of BOS" (BOS, 1988; BOS CDC, 1991). Recent board members corroborate this mission, stating that the organization was designed to address employment and skill development issues in the minority population (Interview, October 25, 1995; Meeting, November 18, 1994).

Like other organizations, BOS CDC has both Articles of Incorporation and bylaws. Articles of Incorporation fulfill the requirements of the Indiana Not-for-Profit Corporation Act of 1971. According to the Articles of Incorporation, the purpose of BOS was to "further the charitable and educational goals of Flanner House of Indianapolis and Midtown Economic Development and Industrial Corporation"

(BOS CDC, 1982). Section 2 of the Articles of Incorporation lays out the specific goals of the organization:

1) to develop, promote and engage in economic development and job development activities benefitting minorities and low-income persons;

2) to develop employment and apprentice programs for minorities and low-income persons and;

3) to engage in economic, housing, and commercial development activities in appropriate geographical areas.

Although BOS changed its name in 1991 and amended its bylaws, the overall goals remain the same—"to turn it [BOS CDC area] around and make it a better place for people to live and work" (McClain, 1993, p. D1).

Community political structures of BOS CDC are its constitution configuration, decision-making structure or community control board, and electoral structure. The first structure, the Articles of Incorporation, describe the organization's structure, its officers, and its management. For formal recognition, Articles of Incorporation must be filed with the state. BOS CDC's Articles of Incorporation are similar to those of other CDCs. Article XII, Section 4 sets out the rules, procedures, and reorganization policies. The BOS CDC's authority is described in Article III, Sections 1-10, which define the corporation's latitude to purchase, own, lease, and sell land and mortgages; Section 12 limits its power to create propaganda, campaign or influence legislation (BOS CDC, 1982).

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

The community representation structure consists of the Board of Directors. Originally, the board of directors consisted of seven members divided into three classes: neighborhood organization, civic/social organization, and social services organizations. Later, the board had eleven members, distributed as follows: MEDIC (4 members), Madame Walker (4 members), and Flanner House (3 members). This change meant civic/social and social services organizations had a greater voice. In 1991, board membership expanded from eleven to thirteen, with the addition of a new class of directors, members of the community at large and the new, Board of Trustees, which advises the organization. The board of directors now has five members known as Lifetime Directors (BOS CDC, 1991; interview October 25, 1995a).

Most of the members of the board are white-American. The board chairperson, formerly a white suburban woman, is (as of this writing) a white male. The chair is responsible for presiding over the meeting and (along with the other board members) the voting on issues and appointing of positions. Each board member is given one vote per issue; votes can be cast either in person or by written proxy. When needed, an executive committee "of the chairman and one or more other directors" assists the president with the day-to-day decisions of the organization. Board members must be nominated by one of three organizations: MEDIC, Madame Walker Urban Life Center, and BOS CDC. The term of office is three years. Each year, one third of the positions come up for election. Once elected, a board member can serve an unlimited number of terms (BOS CDC, 1982).

The only committee specified in the constitution is the executive committee; however, BOS CDC has added other committees in response to changing needs. The functional (structured) committees are personnel, finance and audit, and neighborhood relations (Interview, October 25, 1995). The neighborhood relations committee reflects BOS CDC's attempt to improve community outreach and communication. To improve communication, BOS CDC distributes a newsletter, and has a liaison who presents BOS CDC information at neighborhood meetings (Interview, October 25, 1995; meeting, November 18, 1994). However, regular and annual meetings are closed to the public.

BOS CDC has a number of public partnerships with neighborhood organizations, the city government, and other nonprofit organizations. These alliances, such as the Canal Coalition, are developed around issues such as the Canal Project. BOS CDC, along with the Historic Landmark, worked with the city to relocate and create Fayette Street Historic District. However, BOS CDC does have conflict with this organization over community homes purchased and not renovated within a reasonable amount of time (Meeting, November 18, 1995).

Development projects by BOS CDC require neighborhood involvement and support letters, in contrast to projects by to private developers, who do not need only concern themselves with zoning (Interview, October 25, 1995). The Department of Metropolitan Development (DMD) can be troublesome for two reasons: the process of application and the constant turnover of staff (Interview, October 25, 1995; meeting, November 18, 1995).

Operating Structures and Processes

BOS CDC has a flat administrative structure with the following positions: president, vice president, program manager/accountant, construction manager, and executive assistant (or secretary/office manager). The leadership structure consists of the president and vice president, who are responsible for various aspects of the organization: the president is the administrative executive, and the vice president is the fund development/marketing and public relations person. The majority of the staff is African-American: both the president and the vice president are African-American women, however, they are non-residents.

BOS CDC has been instrumental in the development of certain commercial and residential properties, beginning with the 1982 Revitalization Plan. The BOS was "entrusted to initiate, facilitate and assist the development and implementation of an ongoing Comprehensive Neighborhood Revitalization Plan which emphasis the provision affordable housing" (McClain, 1993, p. D1).

In 1991, the residential development process was in the predevelopment stage: building a cooperative, implementing a plan of total rehabilitation, and selecting prospective buyers (BOS CDC, 1991, p. 3). The plan proposed approximately 30 new housing units, including a triplex on Camp Street (BOS CDC, 1991, p. 3).

The newest redevelopment program is the Paca Street program, an infill housing project of approximately 24 houses in 6 square blocks; the area is listed in National Registry of Historic Places (Smith, August 20, 1995, p. H2). This project, a joint partnership between BOS CDC, Timber Park Development Corporation, and Borel Construction, is expected to yield approximately 30 units of market-rate

housing for young professional couples and continue the Canal development program (Smith, August 20, 1995, p. H2).

Perhaps the most important reconstruction has been Walker Plaza, a three-story office building, which houses the organization itself (Interview, October 25, 1995a). This construction, by a for-profit developer in conjunction with Browning Investments, Inc., assisted in the revitalization of Indiana Avenue. Located on the Canal, 500 Place was completed in 1992; it was seen as another step toward revitalization of the Midtown area and recognition of the "black-owned and operated businesses in the 500 Block of 'The Avenue'" (McClain, 1993, p. D1; BOS CDC, 1991, pp. 1-2). This project set up an agreement between three entities who shared the profits from its operation, giving the umbrella organization an income stream. Along with these two projects, BOS has been associated with the development of Walker Theatre, Goodwin Plaza (elderly complex), public housing projects for the elderly, and Lockfield Gardens (BOS CDC, 1988).

The Stewart Center revitalization project is the cornerstone of the Canal revitalization. The project was to begin with facade restoration of two historic buildings on Indiana Avenue, west of the canal.

As is true of other CDCs, the bulk of BOS CDC comes from project-based funding. Other funding sources include annual campaigns and for-profit development. There have been discussions on reducing dependence on federal funds and developing a membership class to raise funds (Interview, October 25, 1995).

Concord Community Development Corporation (CCDC) (Site 12)

The Concord Community

Started around 1830, and situated south of Central Business District, this is one of the oldest subcommunities in the city (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 286). Its boundaries are Washington Street from Pennsylvania Avenue to the White River in the north; White River from Washington to Hanna Avenue in the west; Hanna Avenue from the White River to Interstate 65 in the south; and Interstate 65 from Hanna Avenue to Raymond Street and Madison/Pennsylvania from Raymond Street to Washington Street in the east (Bylaws of Concord Community Development Corporation). Located in the CCDC community are the RCA Dome and convention center, Union Railroad Station, Indianapolis Power and Light plant, and the main office of the US Postal Service. Adjacent to this area is the Lilly Corporate Center, the largest employer in the city. CCDC community is located part of the Regional Center Plan for 1990-2010.

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

Basically, Morris Street splits this community along racial lines. The majority of the population north of Morris Street is African-American; south of Morris Street, it is Caucasian. 41% of the community either is under 18 years of age or is 65 years or older—people who might need some type of assistance from relatives, social services, or the government. However, 60% of the population has at least a high

school or some college education. Another indicator of the need in this population is the number of female-headed households living below the poverty level.

Community Economic Structures and Processes

Economic structures and processes in the CCDC community have been of death and revival. In the past, the CCDC area was known for its mixed land use and the intermingling of residential, commercial and industrial sites. On the northern boundaries (south of the RCA Dome) are the remains of a vibrant economic base of mills, warehouses, and meat packing plants; however, most of these economic entities are no longer viable. In the back of the stadium are vacant parking lots, representing the demise of an industrial past. Still operating on South Street is the Union Station, which provides train transportation to Chicago. Recently, a Comfort Inn on Capitol and Merrill was built; this is probably a continuation of the encroachment of hotel and convention complex. The area is open for future development: Rehab Resource—a recycle warehouse for building materials—is located there. Interestingly, Rehab Resource is owned and operated by an African-American community activist. In the Meridian Corridor, the community commercial district, are two restaurants: Shapiro's (a successful Jewish delicatessen), and a Greek restaurant. Otherwise, the Meridian Street Corridor has been destroyed illustrated by the empty Bank One building at the corner of Meridian and Morris Streets. At the west end of Morris Street Corridor there are very few retail or commercial entities other than Emerich Furniture Store, at the corner of Morris Street and Missouri.

Although the community has experienced a decline in industry, the unemployment rate is below that of Marion County or Center Township.

Another economic indicator of this community is the relationship between owner-occupied and renter-occupied housing. While the percentage of owner-occupied housing units is relatively high, that percentage is low for maintaining a strong community base. In recent years, the community development corporation and Habitat for Humanity have teamed together to build housing in the Babe Denny area, which had not seen new housing in 46 years (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 286). Accordingly, Habitat and the CDC have been on an aggressive new home building campaign. Since the development of a CDC, several houses have been renovated south of Morris Street.

Community Political Structures and Processes

This community, located in Center Township with a tiny portion in Perry Township, is served by a Democrat city county councilor whose district is number 21. The Center Township administrator is the liaison between the neighborhood and the city. The IPD district that encompasses this area is the South District.

Before Goldsmith was elected, the Concord area did not have a strong neighborhood governance structure. Outside of the Babe Denny area, which continues to confront the city over industrial encroachment, this area did not have a recognizable umbrella organization or neighborhood association. In fact, the only umbrella organization is the community board of Concord Community Center. Presently, there are approximately five neighborhood associations: *Babe Denny,*

Garfield Neighbors, Near Southside Neighborhood Association (organized July 21, 1991), *Perry Township Resident Association, and South Village* (organized January, 1993) (Stokes, April 1, 1993, p. B3; Stokes, July 31, 1993, p. D2). After Goldsmith was elected, two neighborhood associations were established: Near Southside and South Village. South Village was represented by a city official's spouse (Stokes, July 31, 1993, p. D2).

Community Organizations

To address community needs and concerns, the Concord Community Center (developed during the Jewish migration to this area) links social services to the population. As an anchor to this community, the Concord Community Center is governed by community residents. The array of services provided by this agency, associated with Community Centers of Indianapolis, includes emergency services (food pantry), counseling, guidance in job seeking, sports, HIV/AIDS outreach, youth services (before- and after-school programs, recreation activities, and summer day camp), senior services, hot lunch programs, energy assistance, literacy tutoring, and community policing facilities. The Southside Youth Council also provides youth services.

The Community Development Corporation

Constitution Structures and Processes

Concord Community Development Corporation was incorporated February 11, 1993, after a year-long planning process. With the help of the Concord Center, Eli

Lilly, and Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership, CCDC started addressing the issues of a blighted community (Francis, October 27, 1994; interview, November 1, 1995a). As a young community development corporation, CCDC has worked in conjunction with Habitat for Humanity and the Eli Lilly Corporation to develop new housing in the Babe Denny neighborhood.

Like other community development corporations, CCDC is incorporated in the state of Indiana and has a set of bylaws that establish guidelines to govern the corporation. The mission of CCDC is to "build homes, community and hope" and "to improve housing and economic conditions" (CCDC, 1993). To accomplish its mission, CCDC set forth the following goals: to develop affordable, quality housing through new construction and rehabilitation of existing housing (for further discussion, see CCDC, 1993). Like other organizations, CCDC has developed personnel policies, a procedures manual and a strategic plan.

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

The structure of this community development corporation is flat, composed of a Board of Directors, an executive director, and a small staff. The board of directors is responsible for setting organizational policy and procedures. The executive committee's authority extends to the "ordinary business affairs of the Corporation" (CCDC Bylaws). These duties include appointment of directors, calling of meetings, giving guarantees, and approval of certain business transactions (CCDC Bylaws). The other decision-making substructure is the nominating committee, which submits a list of candidates for board positions.

The CCDC Board of directors is authorized to form an executive committee, which has direct oversight of the organization. The executive committee consists of a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and other members as necessary. Adding additional members to the executive committee allows more breadth and depth in the leadership structure. Members of the executive committee are elected annually.

The original board of directors came from the original group members who worked to establish the corporation. The original size of the board was 17 members, of which most were either community residents or community businesses. The structure of the board membership can be divided into three classes: community residents, business and nonprofit entities, and associates. Members of the Board are given voting rights in regular meetings, and are required to pay dues for participating. A board member is expected to be present at all meetings. Missing three consecutive meetings can result in dismissal from the board.

CCDC Bylaws specifically outline the distribution of community representation in a three-class system. According to the bylaws, the three classes are community residents (10 members), nonprofits (4 members), nonprofit businesses (4 members), and associates (or professionals; 4 members). Both the community resident and the business and nonprofit classes are directly tied to the community. The community resident either owns property in or lives in the community. Business and nonprofit classes must work or earn income in the CCDC community. In contrast, those in the associate (professional) class are required to bring some skills to the organization or express the desire to assist the organization. An example of an

associate class would be an accountant or someone from the Lilly Corporation. All board members are elected to two-year terms; the number of terms is unlimited. The overwhelming majority of the board is White-American; women are well represented.

CCDC has instituted a committee structure that addresses functional responsibility. These include nominating, finance, personnel, communication, and project committees. Recently, the organization formed a zoning committee made up of community residents. The nominating committee is a committee of five members who are not eligible for reelection during their tenure on this committee. The communication committee is responsible for the publication of the organization's newsletter. In order to meet and vote, these committees require a quorum or majority.

Three types of meetings are specified by the bylaws of this organization. Each type of meeting has set a guideline for taking place. Annual meeting requires a quorum of only 25% of the board members. Special meetings also require 25% of the board members to participate. On the other hand, regular board meetings require 50% board members to attend. Regular board meetings are open to the public; nevertheless, these meetings are held in the early afternoon, when most workers are still working. Annual meetings are held in the evening.

Since this is a new organization, it requires partnership relationships to get things done. With Lilly Industries in its community, CCDC has high visibility among city officials. The other organization that lends visibility to CCDC is Habitat for Humanity. This international organization commands a degree of authority and recognition that enabled the organization to have several early successes. CCDC often collaborates with government agencies. For example, the city of Indianapolis

was instrumental in getting the necessary building permits to build two homes in the Babe Denny neighborhood. CCDC is a member of the Indianapolis Coalition of Neighborhood Developers (ICND) which operates as an interest group for the CDCs.

Operating Structures and Processes

The administrative structure of this organization consists primarily of an executive director and one staff person. Otherwise, the organization is operated by volunteers. Since this is a new organization, there has been only one CDC director.

The executive director is responsible for day-to-day operations, as well as for reporting and advising the board on projects, personnel, changing requirements of the city, foundations, and any partner groups of the organization. With the assistance of the Board of Directors and the various committees, the organization has begun to add staff. Previous experience at both the city and ECI has helped the director to more forward on development projects.

The initial focus of the organization is housing—both new and refurbished. On the Babe Denny side of Morris Street, the focus has been new construction. Two Habitat for Humanity homes were finished in 1993. In the following year, CCDC and its partners completed two more houses for low-income families. This represented a successful beginning for a young organization. Along with these accomplishments, the CDC has been doing renovation and rehabilitation looking to sell properties to new homeowners.

One of two new CCDC initiatives was a training program, in conjunction with the Carpenter's Union and another CDC. This program would provide skill training

that could be parlayed into well-paying jobs for the participants. CCDC's initiative represents both community economic development and community social development. The second initiative was to build a coalition with two other southern CDCs—SEND and WIDC—to do equity projects within these communities, like the Equity VI projects, in which ECI and six other CDCs were participants.

Like other community development corporations, CCDC receives funds from a number of sources. This organization receives much of its operating budget from INHP. Eli Lilly has donated both money and volunteer labor for certain projects. Other funds have come from public contributions and federal and state grants.

Eastside Community Investment (ECI) (Site 8)

The Highland Brookside Community

The ECI was once the home of one of the largest employers in Indianapolis, the Thomson Electronic RCA manufacturing factory. The community is bounded on the east by I-65, on the west by Sherman Drive, on the north by Massachusetts Avenue (or I-70), and on the South by Washington Avenue and the Penn Central railroad tracks. There is a boundary dispute with Martindale-Brightwood: both areas claim an area between Massachusetts Avenue (or the Conrail tracks) and I-70. A similar dispute exists between ECI and SEND, concerning the area south of Washington Avenue, extending to the Penn Central railroad tracks. The area includes Pogue's Run (a stream named for George Pogue, the area's first resident), Arsenal Technical High School (the third-largest high school in Indianapolis), and the Indiana

Women's Prison (Bodenhamer, 1994, pp. 680, 730). This stream also is connected to the Monon Trail—a major parkway that extends north to the Geist Reservoir.

In 1830, land was purchased for residential and business development, thus making it one of the earliest suburban developments in Indianapolis (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 680). The community encompasses three historic neighborhoods: Cottage Home, Holy Cross-Westminster, and Woodruff Place. Named for the modest frame homes during the 1980s and 1990s, Cottage Home saw its average property values soar from $5,000 to $75,000. However, a pending flood plain classification could prevent continued restoration to this neighborhood without significant changes. While workers' homes have become popular in Cottage Home, Holy Cross-Westminster has seen its properties converted from owner-occupied to rental properties—a matter of growing concern to the current residents (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 703). Woodruff Place, platted in 1872 and annexed in 1876, began experiencing renovation during the 1970s, leading to its placement on the National Register of Historic Places (Bodenhamer 1994, pp. 1452-1453; Teaford, 1979).

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

The area's population of 23,952 is made up of 17% African-Americans; 30% of the population is living below the poverty level (the city average is 11%). 41% could be classified as dependent population (under age 18, or 65 and older), 43% do not have a high school education, and the number of female-headed households living below the poverty level is 10%. Over 81% of the population is on some type of transfer payment, either Social Security or public assistance.

Community Economic Structures and Processes

Once a working-class, industrial community, this area has seen the movement of businesses to the suburbs over the last 20 years. Thomson Electronics moved its (formerly east side) headquarters north of I-465. Thomson Electronic has slowly withdrawn divisions other than plastics from the Sherman Street plant; as of 1994, a large portion of the plant was up for sale. The west side of the ECI community has seen the destruction by fire of Home Lumber and Supply, a major presence in the area for more than 50 years (O'Neal, September 15, 1994, p. E1).

Along Michigan Avenue is a commercial hub, with a grocery store and other small shops. Along Washington Avenue are several small shops and gas stations. There is a well-known Mexican restaurant in the area. A new industrial park which houses the cable company, a rental properties office building, and a McDonald's, all of which ECI was instrumental in developing. In ECI, the unemployment rate is 11%—4% above the city average.

Over 80% of ECI community housing stock is over 50 years old, suggesting that a large number of older housing units are in need of repair, restoration, and renovation (or demolition). Throughout the community, apartment complexes have been renovated or constructed. The home ownership rate in Marion County is 57%—considerably higher than the 38% in ECI. The surprising vacancy rate of 16% indicates that the ECI community is heavily occupied.

Community Political Structures and Processes

The community lies in city county councilor district number 15, and is located in Center Township and the Indianapolis Police District (IPD) East District.

Since the 1970s, ECI has relied on the Near Eastside Community Organization (NESCO), which has been instrumental in the construction of three organizations addressing continuing deterioration in the community. As the umbrella political arm of the community, NESCO encompasses 13 neighborhood organizations and approximately 14 block clubs. Although NESCO has been instrumental in the community, it has experienced some leadership problems, and has been overshadowed by other organizations.

Community Organizations

The Near Eastside Multiservice Center, renamed Bonar Center, has been responsible for elderly services, youth programs, and substance abuse in ECI. The area is served by People's Health Center, the second arm of a three-prong strategy for social, health, and economic development (Koresh, 1986). Youth services are provided by Area Youth Ministry and Westminster Presbyterian Church. Some job training is provided by 70001 of Indianapolis. The Salvation Army's Harbor Light and Shepard Community, Inc. also provide community services. Other activities are undertaken by several neighborhood groups and umbrella organizations. For example, Woodruff Place has an annual yard sale "to restore and maintain the neighborhood's statuary and fountains" (Bodenhamer 1994, pp. 1452-1453). Other activities include

block parties and community unity festivals. These activities help to unite the community and build strong ties among the residents.

Eastside Community Investments, Inc. (ECI)

Constitution Structures and Processes

In1976, ECI began a campaign to persuade the city of Indianapolis to use a new instrument of policy: the city previously had not used community development corporations for housing or economic development. Housing development was accomplished primarily through the public housing authorities in city government. ECI' began as the result of a planning process by Near Eastside Community Organization (NESCO). Between 1978 and 1983, ECI was one of approximately 60 Title VII community development corporations provided federal support under the Community Services Administration. The Community Services Administration underwrote nearly 95% of ECI's costs.

ECI's mission is to "invest in improving the quality of life for our community" (ECI, n.d.). In 1993, the organization expanded its mission statement to include the following: "ECI works to build assets and strong community for its families, individuals, and institutions" (ECI, n.d.). To accomplish these tasks, the organization outlined a four-part strategy: investing "in people, buildings, land, and industry" (ECI, n.d.)—a holistic approach to redeveloping its community. Historically, ECI has used explicit strategies to include people in its programming.

While it received Title VII funds from the CSA, ECI supported a staff of 26 with money from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Administration (CETA).

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

The Board of Directors has 24 members in two classes: resident and appointed directors. There are 16 resident directors, including 11 low-income persons, which means that 67% of its members are from the Special Impact Area (ECI, 1993a, Article IV, Section 3). Appointed board members have significant interests in the area, especially those employed there (ECI, 1993a, Article IV, Section 3). Each board member serves for a term of three years (ECI, 1993a, Article IV).

The Board of Directors elects the executive committee, whose officers include a chair, vice chair, secretary/treasurer, and four other board members. The president of the organization is a member of the executive committee, but has no voting power. Specific requirements for the executive committee are spelled out in Article V, Section 1 of the bylaws. Unlike other CDCs, this organization combined the responsibilities of the secretary and treasurer into one position, responsible for financial reporting and taking meeting minutes.

ECI's dues-paying membership is divided into four classes: Class A (Member Group), who live, work, worship or have an interest in the community; Class B (Individual Members), who are selected by the board; Class C (Individual Members), people with special interests in a particular community project; and Class D (Individual Members), persons who have made some contribution to the organization. Class C and D members lack voting privileges. Class A members are able to select

two members as representatives for the class, but all members in this class have voting rights (ECI, 1993a, Article II, Section 2).

The nominating committee is responsible for selecting a slate of officers (1993 Revised ECI Bylaws). On this committee, the five members serve for one-year periods. This committee is required to submit at least one candidate for each vacant position. All other committees are appointed by the board of directors as needed. Other committees include fund development, governance, business development, housing, financial management, finance, program review task force, and programs investing in people (Meeting, February 20, 1995).

The organization holds three types of meetings: annual, regular, and special. The board of directors is elected at the annual meeting (*Near Eastside Neighbor*, May 1, 1993, p. 6). Monthly meetings are conducted to discuss the continuing operation of the organization. Special meetings are held when requested by 20% of Class A members, and require 30 days' notice (ECI, 1993a, Article III, Section 2). Quorum constitutes 25% of Class A members (ECI, 1993a, Article III, Section 5).

Operating Structures and Processes

Administratively, the organization is one of the most sophisticated community development corporations in the city. The staff of 46 is categorized as follows: administration, lending operations, construction, shelter systems, real estate development, investing in people, Guerin Place Edu-Care, Caregivers, and AmeriCorps volunteers. The chief operating officer of the organization is also the president of the corporation. The president is responsible for advising and reporting

to the board matters that concern the organization (ECI, 1993a, Article 6, Section 7). The president performs the management function of the organization: appointment of committee persons, communication, personnel procedure, and budgeting (ECI, 1993a).

ECI probably has the broadest array of programs and projects. ECI has developed over 430 units of housing, including the Garan Place and New York apartments. ECI has been the primary developer of Equity projects, along with MB CDC, MLK CDC, SEND, UNAWDC, and WCDC. Not only does ECI develop housing, it also has managed properties through the HCJ Corporation. Seeing a need for community social development, ECI has begun to develop a program that helps potential homeowner to save for a down payment. From the beginning, ECI has been involved in commercial development projects. The Keystone/Rural Industrial Park has attracted a McDonald's franchise as well as small businesses. ECI also works with community residents to build micro-enterprises, urban transportation systems, and small business training.

Funding for this organization is complex, including federal, state, city, and grant sources. ECI received $250,000 from Health and Human Services Office of Community Services, and approximately $800,000 from CDBG. For project development the organization receive funding from such sources as LISC, INHP's INDI program, Federal Home Loan Bank, and the Joyce Foundation.

King Park Area Development Corporation (KPADC) (Site 5)

The King Park Community

Named to honor Martin Luther King, the KPADC community is located north of the Central Business District of Indianapolis, east of Near North, south of Mapleton-Fall Creek, west of Martindale-Brightwood, and north of the Riley area (Crawford, et al., 1994, p.46). Once known as Old Broadway, this community is comprised of five distinct neighborhoods: Herron-Morton Place, New Northside, Old Northside, Friends and Neighbors, and Reagan Park (Crawford et al., 1994, p. 46). Two of these communities are historic districts: Herron-Morton Place and Old Northside. Herron-Morton Place is known as the home of the Indiana University Herron School of Art and the Booth Tarkington Civic Theater; Old Northside was the residence of Benjamin Harrison and Governor O'Bannon, and is home to Butler University, once known as Northwestern Christian University (Bodenhamer, 1994, pp. 669, 1064). Also in this geographic area is Hometown I & II apartments, or "Dodge City"—which is now known as Unity Park.

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

The majority of the population is African-American; 38% are living below the poverty level and 41% are considered dependent (under 18 or over 65 years of age). Also, 11% of female-headed households live below the poverty level. The population is educationally diverse, with 43% "under-educated," and 38% "highly educated." Prominent community issues concern youth, crime, and the liquor stores along

College Avenue. To increase the sense of safety in the community, a police mini-station was placed in the Citizens Multi-service Center (Stokes, September 3, 1992, p. C3).

Community Economic Structures and Processes

Three-quarters of the housing units are occupied, and 22% are owner-occupied, indicating a neighborhood in transition and possibly unstable. Three-quarters of the housing was built before 1950; 13% was built between 1970 and 1990.

Commercial development in the KPADC community has been minimal, limited to Kroger and O'Malia grocery stores. There is a commercial district along 22nd Street and Central Avenue; however, businesses such as hardware stores are located elsewhere.

Unemployment is at 12%: slightly higher than the overall city unemployment rate. The Northside Business Coalition has proposed a one-way busing plan to encourage employable individuals to work at Keystone at the Crossing and other high employment areas (Interview, October 31, 1995).

Community Political Structure and Processes

The KPADC community is located in Center Township and Democratic City Council district 22. KPADC lies in the Eastside Police District.

In the mid-1970s, community residents formed Citizens Neighborhood Coalition (CNC), the umbrella organization of the KPADC community. Under it are five neighborhoods, which send representatives to the monthly meeting. The

executive board has the usual composition of president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. CNC is primarily the advocacy and mobilization arm of the community (Interview conducted by Helling & Sinclair, November, 1991). Also part of the executive structure are the representatives of various neighborhood organizations. Two other entities address community issues: Choice Learning Center, a community housing development organization (CHDO); and King Park Community Development Corporation, addressing commercial and residential construction. The CNC election process is one of self selection, in which a nomination committee selects a slate of candidates to be confirmed by the organizational memberships.

Community Organizations

The KPADC community receives social services primarily from Citizens Multiservice Center and the Citizens Health Clinic. Some services are provided by Community Outreach and Choice Learning Center, which houses Community Action Program housing and the weatherization division. Citizens Multiservice Center provides emergency relief, senior activities and meals, counseling and referral. Like other multiservice centers, it rents spaces out to other agencies, such as state welfare department, maternal health counseling, housing renovation and construction of senior citizen apartments, youth services, and GED programs (Interview conducted by Helling and Sinclair, November 1991). Although CMSC provides these social services, its catchment area extends to Martindale-Brightwood.

The Area Development Corporation

Constitution Structures and Processes

The first attempt at developing a community development corporation was in 1980 and 1981, however that effort failed (Interviews, October 20, 1995 & November 3, 1995). Formed in 1987 by the Citizens Multiservice Center and Citizens Neighborhood Coalition (CNC), King Park Area Development Corporation lay dormant until it was able to obtain INHP funding for staff, equipment, and office space. It was reorganized in 1992.

The mission of KPADC is to meet the housing and economic development needs of the neighborhood it serves, and to work on behalf of, and in cooperation with, the various neighborhoods within the KPADC boundaries to improve housing and economic opportunities. The organization has five stated objectives:

1. To promote, foster and maintain civil, social educational, and charitable, activities, endeavors, and objectives for the use and benefit of human needs.

2. To inform the public and to take advantage of the Community Development Block Grant process that it authorized by the city of Indianapolis.

3. To acquire and receive by purpose, donation, or otherwise, any property, real, personal, or mixed and to hold in trust or otherwise use, occupy, improve, construct any building thereon.

4. To undertake economic development activities or projects.

5. To own, acquire, operate, develop, repair, improve, conduct and promote real property improvement (Bylaws).

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

The board of directors has 15 members; maintaining adequate membership has been problematic. The executive board is similar to other CDCs in the INHP communities, and consists of a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. An executive director is required to produce a monthly report, outlining the accomplishments and challenges of the past month (for a description of the duties of each position, see KPADC, 1987, Article VI, Section 6-10). All positions are held for a period of two years.

KPADC bylaws do not explicitly requirement 51% resident participation. The bylaws state that the organization has one class of membership, broken down into "four (4) distinct and separate divisions which shall consist principally of residents, owners of local businesses, or representatives of organizations of the "Special Impact Area," or involved in the community's overall enhancement" (KPADC, 1987, Article I, Section 2). The four separate characteristics are: general, corporate and business, sustaining, and any and all persons and /or organizations as designated by the board of directors (KPADC, 1987). Each group is assessed annual membership dues.

Although there are committees, the committee structure at KPADC is weak (Interview, October 31, 1995). Originally, the organization's Bylaws required two committees: an executive and a nominating committee; however, the bylaws allow for the creation of other committees as required (KPADC, 1987, Article VII, Section 3). The committee includes executive, finance/insurance, strategic planning/business, and Bylaws/nominating structures (KPADC, 1987; meeting agenda, December 21, 1994). Each committee is responsible for presenting a monthly committee report at board

meetings (KPADC, 1987; meeting agenda, December 21, 1994). Perhaps the only committee operating is the Executive Committee, which is responsible for the policymaking of the organization and oversight of day-to-day operations. The executive committee is responsible for the annual review of the executive director. The bylaws/nominating committee is responsible for constitutional changes and selection of directors (Meeting agenda, December 21, 1994).

The board of directors and executive committee are reflective of the KPADC community: 69% of the community, and the majority of the board, is African-American. The board of directors is 51% community residents, and has CHDO status.

The board of directors must hold an annual meeting every June. During the annual meeting, the board must supply an annual fiscal report, which lays out the financial operation of the organization over the past year. Also the board must conduct regular monthly meetings. All meetings have a quorum of one third of its membership.

Operating Structures and Processes

Administrative functions are the responsibility of the executive director, office manager, program manager, and, if applicable, the project/construction manager. Also on the staff are two part-time contractors. The executive director's responsibility is to "exercise general and active management of the business," which includes advising the board of directors, carrying out the orders of the organization, attending meetings, and dispatching all responsibilities that do not require the signatures of other board members (KPADC, 1987, Article VI, Section 7).

KPADC's program and project mixture is limited. Other than scattered site housing and rehabilitation and renovation projects, the organization has not endeavored to identify projects. Recently, KPADC has participated in the Unity Park Initiative, assisting other developers with city paperwork. Its funding sources are similar to those of other CDCs.

Martindale-Brightwood Community Development Corporation (MB CDC) (Site 7)

The Martindale-Brightwood Community

Platted in 1870 and annexed in 1897, the Martindale-Brightwood community is bounded by I- 70 to the south, 30th Street to the north, Sherman Drive to the west and the Conrail tracks to the west. This area is "approximately 2.5 miles northeast of Monument Circle" (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 352).

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

In 1970, MB CDC community had a population of 18,066, of which 80% was African-American. By 1980 the population had diminished to 11,413, of which 92% was African-American. BOS CDC, UNWADC, and MB CDC populations have the highest percentages of African-Americans. Over 35% of the population are living below the poverty level and 43% are dependent populations. 46% lack a high school education.

In the MB CDC community, 25% of the population are female heads of households, of which 13% are living below the poverty level. The population on fixed income represents 60% of the households, with the majority on Social Security.

Community Economic Structures and Processes

Between 1975 and 1984, with the construction of I-70, MB CDC saw a reduction of housing stock. In the MB CDC community, 80% of the housing is occupied, and more than 57% is owner-occupied. Many homes in the Brightwood, Oxford Terrace, and Oak Hill areas were built between 1940 and 1970.

Although the Indianapolis Enterprise Zone office is located in MB CDC, the unemployment rate is one of the highest—15% less than that of NNDC or UNWADC. Those employed are in technical, service, and manufacturing jobs.

Community Political Structures and Processes

MB CDC is council districts 10 and 22, both having Democratic representatives. Its two police districts are the North and East Districts. MB CDC is part of Center Township.

The political structure of Martindale-Brightwood has its roots in the late 1960s, when it was an advocacy group addressing deteriorating conditions in the community. The Martindale-Brightwood Coalition consists of three neighborhoods: Oak Hill, Hillside, and Brightwood. The coalition functions in conjunction with the Brightwood Neighborhood Association. Recently, the Oxford Terrace community (Oxford Terrace Neighborhood Association) has begun working with the coalition.

Community Organizations

Unlike other INHP CDC communities, MB CDC community does not have a multi-service center to provide social services, relying instead on several multi-service centers in northern INHP CDC communities for these services. Basically, the MB CDC community relies on the Citizens Multi Service Center; however, some community residents rely on either Forest Manor or MLK Multi-Service Centers (Interview, November 1995). In the Hillside neighborhood, Edna Martin Christian Center, a nonprofit organization, provides social services. St. Paul United Methodist Church on State Street serves the Brightwood community. Programs include after-school and senior programs. In recent years, different churches within the community have begun to offer social services or community assistance.

The Community Development Corporation

Constitution Structures and Processes

Formed in 1992 as one of the INHP (Concord and West Indianapolis) CDCs, MBCDC struggled to survive (Interview, August 26, 1995). The organization operated first out of a 25th Street house, then moved to its present location in the shopping center. A local CED consultant worked with INHP to establish the organization. The neighborhood associations and EMCC provided some housing, but not enough to effect significant changes (Interview, October 26, 1995).

Like other CDCs, this organization has been incorporated with the state of Indiana and has bylaws to legitimize its existence (Interview, October 26, 1995).

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

The Board of Directors consists of 17 members, representing the community and corporate world. In racial terms, the board is reflective of the community. The leadership structure has a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. Legal counsel also is part of the board structure. Monthly board meetings take place in the Edna Martin Christian Center (Interview, November 1995).

There is significant emphasis on resident control (Interview, November 1995). The voting membership is divided into in three classes: community residents, business and religious groups, and associate members (MB CDC, 1992, Article II, Section 1). Nonvoting members must have been residents for six months, attend the annual meeting, or apply to the Secretary (MB CDC, 1992, Article II, Section 1). The committee structure includes executive directors and fund raising, development, coin laundry, personnel, and social committees.

Operating Structures and Processes

The organization has five full-time employees: construction manager, fund developer/program manager, office manager, and executive director, construction clerk and bookkeeper.

The organization began with two employees: an executive director and an office manager. Most of the staff's training was "on the job" until LISC provided training associated with housing projects and DTI (Interview, October 26, 1995; meeting, January 26, 1995).

MB CDC's array of programs and projects has been limited. The organization has done some scattered site projects, and it participated in Equity VII, which renovated 10 duplexes. MB CDC has been a developer, assisting contractors with city paperwork related to the Ralston Housing Development. A future project—Genesis Plaza—will provide a community health center. Like other CDCs, the funding mixture for MB CDC comes primarily from housing programs and INDI grants. Recently the organization has developed a for-profit coin-operated laundry.

Mapleton-Fall Creek Housing Development Corporation (MFCHDC) (Site 4)

The Mapleton-Fall Creek Community

Home of Senator Richard Lugar and retired U. S. Representative Andrew Jacobs, Mapleton-Fall Creek was named after Maple Street (now 38th Street), and is located in the mid-north section of Indianapolis. Annexed in 1902, MFCHDC community is bounded by 38th Street to the north, Meridian Street to the west, and Fall Creek Parkway and Fall Creek to the south and east (Articles of Incorporation, 1992; Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 960). The MFCHDC community is located south of the Indiana State Fairgrounds. MFCHDC community is south of MLK CDC, north of KPADC and NNDC, and east of UNWADC communities. Located in the INHP and CDBG catchment areas, this community is the home of the Indianapolis Housing Partnership offices, the Lilly Endowment, Day Nursery Lilly Center, Mid-North Shepherd's Center, Shortridge Junior High School, Meridian Insurance Group, Inc., and Indiana Bell Telephone Company. It is home to large churches in Indianapolis,

including Trinity Episcopal Church, Tabernacle Presbyterian Church, Broadway United Methodist Church, Our Redeemer Lutheran Church, Phillips Temple Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, and North United Methodist Church.

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

The community needs structures and processes reflect the changing MFCHDC community. In 1960, African-Americans made up only 2% of the population, but by the 1980s, that figure had grown to 87%. Due to massive urban clearance in KPADC community, the MFCHDC community also began to experience growth in poverty (Interview, November 6, 1995). Over one third of the population has a high-school education or better, and this community has the lowest illiteracy rate of the INHP CDC communities. 16% of households are female-headed, and almost 50% live below the poverty level. The majority of the MFCHDC community households are on some type of fixed income—most of them on Social Security.

Community Economic Structures and Processes

The primary commercial strip is along the southern portion of 38th Street, and has a number of small shops, several bank branches, and insurance company. In addition, a Walgreens drugstore, which has worked with neighborhood groups to set up hiring policy, has located here. Other than a 7-Eleven convenience store, the community does not have any large stores or restaurants. Housing is 28% owner-occupied; as people move out of large housing units, property owners convert them into cost-effective rental properties. Another problem is the age of housing: 80% of

was built before 1950, and only nine units have been built since 1980. MFCHDC's National Equity Fund projects, such as Reclamation I & II, are in the process of securing vacant properties and renovating them either for rental properties or for home-ownership opportunities. A component of Reclamation II, the home ownership development account (HODA) program, gives renters an opportunity to save and to receive matched funds toward the down payment of a home. Other housing development stimulated such projects as the redevelopment of Dorchester Apartment Complex (Wetzel, August 27, 1994, p. A1).

The unemployment rate is about average among INHP CDC communities. The employed middle-class African-American population is evenly split between managerial, technical, and service sectors. Some of the largest employers in the community are Indiana Bell Company and Meridian Mutual Insurance.

Community Political Structures and Processes

MFCHCD's city-county councilor district is 22; the current councilor is a Democrat. Its Department of Metropolitan Development representative is the Center Township administrator, and the community is in the IPD North District.

In 1962, MFCHDC community developed Mapleton-Fall Creek Neighborhood Association (MFCNA) to address incipient neighborhood problems. This organization became the only neighborhood association in the MFCHDC community. The umbrella organization, Mapleton-Fall Creek Neighborhood Association, is the only recognized community political structure in the community. Other than the Adopt-a-Block program, MFCNA does not have member

neighborhood associations that represent geographic zones in MFCHDC community. The resident driven community council and serves as the advocate for the community.

As an organization, MFCNA has a strong committee structure. The executive committee acts as a quasi-policymaking and administrative arm of the organization. Along with the executive committee, there are several other committees: ways and means, communication, neighborhood affairs, and neighborhood environment committees. At monthly meetings, each committee presents a report and the treasurer provides an organizational budget report.

MFCNA considers all residents to be members of the organization, but six months' residency is required to vote. Members are not assessed membership dues. Along with its resident membership, MFCNA has a corporate class of membership that pays tax-deductible dues.

Communication is in the form of a monthly publication, the *Gazette*, which allows both the MFCNA and MFCHDC to provide information to residents. The publication reproduces MFCNA minutes. This organization has been instrumental in updated neighborhood plans and neighborhood surveys. In its advocacy role, MFCNA writes letters of support for zoning issues (e.g., the Blue Horse Production, Inc.'s special use zoning variance) and challenges liquor licenses for clubs and liquor stores.

In the 1990s, the organization began to experience some internal strife between the old guard and the new. In the 1960s, the organization was run predominantly by whites; however, in the 1980s, as the neighborhood became largely African-American, that population has demanded an active participant role. The

leadership has changed: today, leadership positions on the executive board and committee are held by African-Americans.

Community Organizations

MFCHDC is in the MLKMSC service area, which is located in the (somewhat distant) MLK CDC community. Otherwise, residents rely on Citizens for social and health services. In 1993, the Allison Center began to offer "free medical services"—provided by Genessaret Free Clinic (GFC)—on Saturday mornings (*Mapleton-Fall Creek Gazette, 14 (8)*, p. 1). Some emergency services are provided by churches, such as Broadway United Methodist Church and Our Redeemer Lutheran Church. Day Nursery Lilly Center provides daycare and referral services for the area. In addition, Day Nursery provides a male mentoring program and a training program for small daycare entrepreneurs (*Indianapolis News*, June 9, 1994, p. E 2).

The Housing Development Corporation

Constitution Structures and Processes

Located in the basement of one if its founders, Our Redeemer Lutheran Church, MFCHDC was formed in 1985 by the Mid-North Church Council and Mapleton Fall Creek Neighborhood Association. Thanks to a Lilly Religious Institution Grant, The Mid North Church Council pledged between $55,000 and $60,000 to the organization (Meeting, March 21, 1995).

As a 501 (c)(3) organization, in 1992, MFCHDC amended its articles of incorporation to reflect the changes in the state nonprofit legislation. The bylaws of the organization lay out the structures and processes of the organization. MFCHDC's mission is "to promote and undertake activities that will identify, develop, and sustain physical, financial, and human assets in the Mapleton-Fall Creek neighborhood through attracting internal and external investments in the neighborhood to create positive impacts on the quality of life for our residents and the greater community in which we live" (Annual Dinner program, March 21, 1995).

Explicitly, the mission statement demonstrates a holistic approach to development, incorporating physical and social aspects which might reflect the Mid North Church Council's input in the development of the mission statement. MFCHDC's goals are:

> (1) to combat residential housing deterioration and promote neighborhood stabilization;
>
> (2) to provide assistance to individuals residing in the Mapleton-Fall Creak Area;
>
> (3) to combat the physical, economic and social causes of such deterioration;
>
> (4) to cooperate with existing neighborhood associations . . . and with governments, civic, service and other agencies and bodies; and
>
> (5) to engage in such other activities in furtherance of the common good and social welfare of Mapleton-Fall Creek Area residents (MFCHDC, 1992).

These indicate that MFCHDC is concerned about both economic and social development activities.

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

The board of directors is responsible for the policymaking, planning, and decision making processes of the organization. The board structure is based on institutional representation, as well as some geographic and social representation.

The board structure was designed with two types of directors, an appointive director, and a co-optive director. Appointive directors are those from the church community. Co-optive directors are subdivided into four subclasses: Adopt-a-Block (5 members), Martin Luther King Multi-Service Center (1 member), Community Action Against Poverty Agency (1 member), and Appointive directors Co-optive directors (5 members). Of the Co-optive Class, Adopt-a-Block, Martin Luther King Multi-Service Center and Community Action Against Poverty Agency directors must be residents of MFCHDC community. The Appointive directors and Co-ptive directors do not have to come from the community. Appointive directors have unlimited term limits, while the Co-optive directors are limited to one term. Each has two representatives.

MFCHDC has added the Adopt-a-Block class to increase community representation. Each institution is considered a resident; thus, each is given two representatives on the board. The appointive board of directors has majority control of the organization. Appointive board members may live in the community, but they do not have to: a more specific requirement is church attendance. Community residents are represented by both the appointive and co-optive classes of board members. In the appointive class, MFCNA is given two board positions, because the association is a co-founder. In the co-optive class, three groups (Adopt-a-Block,

MLKMSC, and CAP) are required to be community residents, meaning six additional community resident positions. All told, eight board positions are assured community resident status. In 1995, approximately 36% of board positions went automatically to community residents. Sometimes churches appoint community residents as appointive representatives, potentially increasing the number of community residents. Using best estimates, the 1995 Board of Directors had 15 community residents—or 68% of the board's representation. This is an increase from 1994, when 13 of the 22 board positions (59%) were held by residents.

The size of the board is not prescribed, although a minimum of three board members is required to conduct business (MFCHDC, 1992). In 1994, the organization also included an Adopt-a-Block board member. Board membership is designed to increase representation of low-income residents. The current board consists of 22 directors, with 12 members belonging to the church community, and two to the Mapleton-Fall Creek Neighborhood Association. Some of the co-optive members include a neighborhood advocate and a resident in the ECI community, accountants, and lawyers at major law firms.

There is even leadership distribution between community residents and non-residents. In fact, the president of the organization is from the co-optive class.

MFCHDC is not reflective of its community; the distribution of board members is somewhat skewed. Only one African-American serves on the executive board. More men than women serve on this board, although the executive director and staff are predominantly African-American women. Other than the Adopt-a-

Block members, most board members are middle-class African-Americans and White-Americans.

The committee structure consists of executive board of directors and a number of functional committees: finance, Adopt-a-Block, marketing, loan, construction skills training, construction, and nominating committees. Each committee is appointed by the Appointive Board of Directors, and on each committee are two appointive board members. As specified in the Bylaws, each committee functions in an administrative oversight capacity, which is approved or modified by the Board of Directors. The policy-making body includes the executive directors, and has five common positions: president, vice president, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, and treasurer (MFCHDC, 1992). Except for the president and recording secretary, a person can hold two positions (MFCHDC, 1992). These positions have one-year terms.

The organization holds meetings on a rotating basis. The Executive Board of Directors hold a meeting a month before the Board of Directors meeting. The Executive Board of Directors determines the issues and agenda items for the organization. The following month, the Board of Directors, discusses agenda items and votes on impending projects. A quorum of one fourth of the Appointive Board members is needed to conduct a meeting or vote (MFCHDC, 1992).

Most of MFCHDC's projects use CDBG and HOME funding, and its primary public partner is the city of Indianapolis. MFCHDC is a member of the Indianapolis Coalition of Neighborhood Development; otherwise the organization is not an active participant in similar coalitions.

Operating Structures and Processes

The organization did not have staff until 1989, when MFCHDC hired its first executive director. As the organization increased its operations, it added a number of positions: program manager, project planner, handyman instructor, construction manager, and ultimately a housing counselor.

The Administrative structure has grown and become somewhat hierarchical. Like other CDCs, this organization began with a flat structure and one executive director. At one time, the organization considered itself understaffed; now there are approximately nine employees. Some employees are not paid by the organization, but are funded by the Lutheran Social Services and the Department on Aging. The Department on Aging standards require an elderly person and Lutheran Social Services standards require someone who does case management. The construction division of the organization has three positions: skill training, contracts, and projects.

Unlike other CDCs, MFCHDC has a component that addresses social concerns: a part-time social worker (Meeting, September 27, 1994). The position addresses things such as food, utilities, shelters, and personal problems.

Unlike other CDCs, MFCHDC has instituted a training program for community residents. The Construction Skills Training Program (CST) is designed to give basic home repair training to students for 16 months; the students then are able seek employment in the field. Assisting this group of students is the part-time counselor paid by Lutheran Social Service. This is an innovative program that can provide substantive training to community residents interested in particular skills.

Like other CDCs, MFCHDC has a home repair subsidy program, designed to bring existing structures up to code compliance.

Two major MFCHDC projects are ongoing: Reclamation I and II. Each is a part of a larger Equity project, handled by ECI. Before a project is begun, the MFCHDC must develop a limited partnership, in which National Equity Fund holds 99% ownership and MFCHDC, 1% ownership. This limited partnership is a for-profit subsidiary of MFCHDC, the general partner and developer. The partnership is required to use HCJ Corporation as property manager. In other words, MFCHDC does not manage these properties once they are in operation. Before Reclamation II began production, a consultant was brought in to explain the process and to advise the board on these projects. Reclamation I consists of 32 units that were renovated with tax credits and HOME/CDBG funding (*Mapleton-Fall Creek Gazette*, July/August 1993; Stokes, May 8, 1993, p. D2). Reclamation II, a $2.9 million project, consists of 33 units of housing on 16 sites scattered throughout the MFCHDC community (*Mapleton-Fall Creek Gazette*, July/August 1993, pp. 1, 5). The cost of acquiring these properties approached $15,000; however, their renovated value is approximately $80,000 (*Mapleton-Fall Creek Gazette*, July/August 1993, pp. 1, 5). The Homeownership Development Account (HODA) account matches individuals' savings for use for a down payment or for further schooling (Meeting, August 23, 1994).

MFCHDC's funding stream is very complex. Like other CDCs, the bulk of its operational budget comes from the INDI fund, Lilly's operational funding for all CDCs. However, MFCHDC also gets funds from iNet, LISC pre-development funds,

LIHTC-NEF, AHP First Indiana, and Lilly Endowment. At its beginning, the organization received a commitment from each of the five original church founders via the Lilly Endowment. The Construction Skills Training program (Handyman Program) receives funding from iNet and the city of Indianapolis. The Blankenbaker Fund is a revolving loan program that provides home repairs and five-year loans of up to $5,000, at 4% interest, to individual community residents. As a developer of Reclamation I & II, MFCHDC has the potential to receive 1% developer fees when the tax-credit properties become profitable. In addition, the organization receives contributions and donations from various sources, such as Century Club Members.

Martin Luther King Community Development Corporation (MLK CDC) (Site 3)

The Community

Developed around 1889, this community is located in the southern tip of Washington Township in a transition zone (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 559; Nathan, 1992). It is bounded on the west by Keystone and the Monon Rail line, on the east by Crown Hill Cemetery, on the north by 42nd Street and 46th Streets, and on the south by 38th Street. In the northwest corner of MLKCDC community, or Butler-Tarkington neighborhood, is Butler University. Also within this community's boundaries are Christian Theological Seminary, Orchard Country Day School, Indianapolis Museum of Arts (IMA), North United Methodist Church, the UMC Central Indiana headquarters, Indiana Deaf School, United Way of Central Indiana, Life Center of Indianapolis which provides facilitation training, and the Indiana State Fairgrounds

(Bodenhamer, 1994; *Indianapolis Business Journal*, April 29-May 5, 1996). Parts of two distinct neighborhoods are within the MLKCDC boundaries: Butler-Tarkington (BT) named after Indianapolis playwright Booth Tarkington, and Meridian-Kessler (MK), a major intersection (Bodenhamer, 1994).

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

Approximately 40% of the population is either under 18 or is 65 and older. The average level of education in this community is quite high: over 40% of the population has more than a high-school education. Of the households on fixed income, 35% is on some type of public transfer payment. 18% of the households are female-headed; however, only 4% of those households are living below the poverty level.

Community Economic Structure and Processes

A number of businesses operate along the 38th Street corridor and throughout the BT and Meridian-Kessler Neighborhood Association (MKNA). Both of these neighborhoods are noted for their owner-operated businesses and retail and commercial nodes. At the corner of Meridian and 38th Streets sits a large apartment complex, and 38th Street has a number of banks, drugstores, and other retail establishments. Along Illinois Avenue, between 38th and 42nd Streets, is an old downtown shopping area with small shops and restaurants. Broad Ripple Pie Company, a neighborhood-based business, is located in Meridian-Kessler, and Charles Mayer & Co., a fine china and crystal company, moved to the Butler-

Tarkington neighborhood from its downtown location (Cox, 1993, p. 19). The other two neighborhoods do not have strong economic bases, however, the Keystone commercial and retail corridor borders these neighborhoods.

Housing is predominantly rental rather than owner-occupied, although the difference is only 3%. However, if current trends continue, the number of rental properties may increase. 51% of the housing in the area was built before 1950. Although this community has 8% unemployment, this is only 1% higher than the Marion County unemployment rate. The majority of the community residents work in managerial, technical, or service and operations categories, suggesting a well-educated and well-trained population.

Other than the Coburn Place Development, MLK CDC community has seen limited redevelopment. In the Meridian-Kessler neighborhood, the newest redevelopment is the 42nd Street and Broadway Redevelopment Plan, which replaced the old station on 42nd Street and Central Avenue (Cox, 1993, pp. 17-19). The redevelopment plan also included police station and library renovation. Two other projects in the design and planning stages are Butler-Tarkington Park Redevelopment (BTPR) and Monon Rail Corridor Development (MRCD). Each of these projects has received a $500,000; the BTPR project will cost $2.5 million. The second project, MRCD, is a citywide project that includes the KPADC, MBCDC, and MFCHDC communities.

Community Political Structure and Processes

MLK CDC community is in Washington Township Administrator's district, and is in city county councilor district 6, which is represented by a Democrat. It is also in the North Police District.

Unlike other CDC communities, the MLK CDC community does not have an umbrella organization. While in theory the CDC can operate as an umbrella organization, MLK CDC does not operate as such. MLK CDC community has four separate neighborhood associations: Butler-Tarkington, Meridian-Kessler Neighborhood Association, Keystone-Monon Neighborhood Partnership (KMNP), and Fall Creek Civic League (FCCL). The neighborhood associations operate as separate entities. Occasionally, BT and MKNA have worked cooperatively: Meridian Street Foundation, Butler-Tarkington and Meridian-Kessler neighborhood organizations worked together on a traffic light issue (Bird, December 4, 1992, p. C3). Keystone-Monon Neighborhood Partnership and Fall Creek Civic League are either new or reactivated organizations (Fall Creek Civic League, 1995, p. 3). Officially organized February 13, 1995, the Keystone-Monon Neighborhood Partnership, assisted by MLK CDC, reorganized as a neighborhood association. Fall Creek Civic League is in existence but not active (Fall Creek Civic League, 1995, p. 3).

Perhaps the two most important neighborhood associations are the Butler-Tarkington and Meridian-Kessler Neighborhood Associations. The first, BT, is one of the nation's oldest "continuously operating neighborhood[s] in the nation" (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 372). Its development centered around the shifting African-American population across 38th Street (Saltman, 1990, p. 38). Like other

neighborhood associations, BT has a board of directors and an executive committee with a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. This neighborhood association has a 27-member board, with four alternates, ensuring good neighborhood representation. Furthermore, the organization has five committees: administration, finance, communication, community affairs, and environmental affairs committees. To handle certain projects, BT has a foundation that operates as a community development corporation.

Similarly, MKNA is a structured operation, suggesting a professional residential base. MKNA is subdivided into "six geographic zones"—somewhat similar to planning zones (Cox, 1993, p.1). Each zone sends a delegate who serves as the liaison between the zone and the neighborhood association. Like BT, MKNA has a separate entity responsible for receiving funds. The Meridian-Kessler Development Corporation partners with the city on projects such as the construction of the police station, creating a computer recording system, enlargement of Broadway Library, and renovation of the fire station (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 990; Cox, 1993). The MKNA News is the neighborhood information center, with information on listings of businesses and social services. The MKNA News also surveys community residents on issues such as the library extension and police survey.

MLK CDC community has very limited coordination and communication. Each organization essentially operates in a vacuum, and there seems to be no effort to bring these organizations together. The highly organized community has been able to establish and operate a community development corporation without the assistance of any other organizations.

Community Organizations

MLK CDC, in conjunction with a for-profit developer, redeveloped Coburn Place as a residential facility—"an alternative to nursing institutions" (Coburn Place, n.d.). An agency that addresses youth services citywide is Kaleidoscope Youth Center, started by two churches to do health services referral. Kaleidoscope also works with the juvenile courts system to assign community service duties, such as cleaning up neighborhoods and graffiti.

35% of the population is in the dependent category; social services are provided by Martin Luther King Multi-Service Center (MLKMSC). The Center provides services such as King's Kids, Teen Board, sports, and tutoring to both the elderly and the youth. Like other multi-service centers, MLKMSC also provides emergency services. Although MLKMSC is part of the MLKCDC community, the community does not have an adult health clinic; thus, this population is referred to Blackburn Terrace and Citizens. The ACTION, a health department program, provides services for teens. A collaborative effort by Indianapolis Public Schools (IPS), MLKMSC, and BT established a center in School #43 that provides community outreach in policing, after-school programs, and social and health services to the Butler-Tarkington neighborhood (Schuckel, March 17, 1993, p. C3). Although the MLKCDC community is the home of the Indianapolis Museum of Arts, museum programming has been focused primarily on the patrons of the arts, not on the community in which it lies. However, in 1993, the Indianapolis Museum of Arts received a five-year grant to "make museums 'less elitist institutions' and attract more diverse audiences,"

thereby making it more accessible to all of Indianapolis (Finnel, January 28, 1993, pp. E1-E2).

The Community Development Corporation

Constitution Structures and Processes

The MLK CDC, created by the MLKMSC board in 1987, focuses on housing development. Initially, it operated out of the multi service center, but in 1991, the MLK CDC initiated a move to a new location. The move was intended to foster an identity separate from that of the multi-service center.

Like all other community development corporations, MLK CDC is governed by its bylaws and articles of incorporation. Since 1987, its articles of incorporation have been changed twice, in order to make necessary structural changes. The mission statement of MLK CDC emphasizes revitalization, empowerment of families, building of assets, "partnerships and strong local economy," and "investment in people, real estate and business" (MLK CDC, 1995, p. 2). Although the most recent mission statement may reflect the goals of a strategic planning effort in early 1995, the original mission statement focused on the development of real estate, housing, and employment—an economic focus with less emphasis on people.

The board of directors has 16 members. This is unusual because most boards have an odd number of members to prevent ties. The membership of the board is not prescribed other than the required 51% community resident membership (Interview, November 7, 1995). Members must be at least 21 years old, and may serve only two

terms. Membership on the board is a requirement for membership on a committee; these committees do not allow non-board residents. Unlike other CDC communities, board members do not pay dues.

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

The board of directors, including a chairperson, secretary, and treasurer, is responsible for conducting regular meetings. Initially, the position of chairperson elect was instituted, but it has been replaced by a vice chairperson. The president of the organization is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the organization. The bylaws authorize the members of the board to designate committees other than the executive committee as necessary. As of 1995, the organization had the following committees: budget and finance, resource development, personnel, programs, and nominating committees.

The MLK CDC board of directors makes organization decisions. MLK CDC requires 51% community representation, unlike other organizations that designate a membership class of community residents or community organizations. Until 1994, the organization did not collaborate with other organizations, except occasionally to get the neighborhood's approval of projects. Joint MLK CDC-INHP initiatives have focused on the activation and reactivation of neighborhood organizations in the Indiana State Fairgrounds location. This outreach may be the result of the Monon Rail Corridor Plan. Although community residency is a criterion for participation at some levels, this is not stated in the bylaws.

Although the community's population is mostly African-American, the majority of the board members are white. Women seem to hold key board and staff positions in the organization, but leadership positions are held by men. Most of the members on this board are upper–middle-class and mid–middle-income, like the population of the MLK CDC community (Interview, November 4, 1995).

Although meetings are open to the public, the date and time is not advertised. The board of directors is responsible for calling a meeting, although no notice is required or published. Most other CDCs require a 50% quorum; MLKCDC requires only one third of its board members to be present.

Operating Structures and Processes

The administrative structure of MLK CDC consists of three positions—two of these positions are new. Working with for-profit developers and limited partnerships, the president had been able to construct the Coburn Place project with the help of a complex set of city, state, and private funding sources. The new positions enhance the organization's exposure to the broader community.

Until 1995, there was only one paid staff person. As the organization's responsibilities grew, two other positions were incorporated (Meeting, October 4, 1994). These positions are Director of Development and Communication, whose primary responsibility is to fundraise and public relations, and the office manager—a part-time position responsible for internal operations. This small staff reflects a flat-hierarchical style of organization and an informal office environment.

Since its creation, MLK CDC has been credited with the building of "14 single-family homes and three doubles on 17 lots near the State Fairgrounds and in the 3400 blocks of North Illinois Street and North Capitol Avenue (Sharp, August 11, 1996, pp. H1-2). Most of these projects were built in conjunction with other community development corporations and the LISC equity program. Although the biggest accomplishment is the Coburn Place project—residential housing for seniors—in 1995 this project faced foreclosure due to health reimbursement issues. If foreclosed, this project may be sold by HUD to anyone; thus, the MLK CDC could lose its share in the limited partnership between MLK CDC private developers.

Even though MLK CDC has a new social focus, the organization has not worked to develop social programs: the organization has seen its primary role as that of referral service. Since moving away from its original home, MLK CDC has not partnered with other social service agencies in the community.

Like all community development corporations in Indianapolis, the operating budget comes from INHP, but the organization also gets development fees for liaising between developers and the city. Even though the organization serves as the developer and receives developer fees, it has limited ability to return a profit to the organization. Most of the funds are used for legal fees and project fees, eliminating any organization profit (Interview, November 4, 1995).

Near North Development Corporation (NNDC) (Site 6)

The Near North Community

Platted around 1873, Near North Community Development Corporation (NNDC) community is bounded on the east by Pennsylvania Street, on the South by New York Avenue and on the west by the Indianapolis Water Company Canal, and on the north by 40th Street (NNDC, 1994). However, according to some publications, Near North CDC boundaries do not extend past 30th Street (Crawford et al., 1994, p. 54; see also INHP map). This boundary dispute may reflect the request of some city officials to do specific projects in other CDC communities. Until the construction of I-65, NNDC was connected to the UNWADC neighborhood (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 1368; interview, November 5, 1995). This community is the home of Methodist Hospital, Historic Landmarks, the Indianapolis *Leader*, (an African-American newspaper), Indiana Human Rights Coalition, Indianapolis Urban League, Metropolitan Indianapolis Board of Realtors, Citizens Gas and Coke Utility, Indianapolis Power and Light Co., Indiana Vocational and Technical College, and Volunteer of America of Indiana. The Indianapolis Neighborhood Resource Center is a resource for neighborhoods citywide.

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

In the 1970s, the construction of I-65 and I-70 pushed the poor, especially African-Americans, toward the NNDC community. At the same time, the white population moved further north and out to the suburbs, leaving this community to the

middle-class African-American population (Bodenhamer, 1994, pp. 5-7, 10, 58). Although the population "declined by almost 2,000 since 1970," the remaining population in the NNDC community is overwhelmingly African-American. 45% of the NNDC community is living below the poverty level, demonstrating a definite need for support services (Ehret, January 27, 1994, p. D3). NNDC has a considerable elderly population, and the majority of the population has less than a high-school education. Although only 10% of the households live below the poverty level, an alarming 63% of female-headed households are below the poverty level, and 54% of the households are on fixed incomes—and 35% of those on Social Security.

Community Economic Structures and Processes

The NNDC community is lined with light industrial and commercial districts. Even so, the area has approximately 65 vacant lots, and over 25 acres of vacant properties (Meeting, November 16, 1995; Ehret, January 27, 1994, p. D3). Consequently, the city proposed the Near North Redevelopment Program (NNRP), which would invest approximately $11.5 million for improved housing, land acquisition and neighborhood enhancement, and infrastructure improvements over a three-year period (Ehret, January 27, 1994, p. D3). NNRP, a cluster development, focuses its efforts on a specific geographic zone: "30th Street on the North, I- 65 on the West and South and Meridian on the East" (Ehret, January 27, 1994, p. D3). The redevelopment program is a public-private partnership between the city of Indianapolis, NNDC, Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership, Methodist Hospital, and Melody Homes (Ehret, January 27, 1994, p. D3). The program

provides more than 100 homes, both renovations and new constructions, and it would provide a facelift along westbound I-65.

Between 16th and 20th Streets is the hospital district, surrounded by other medical complexes such as the Ruth Lilly Center. South of 16th Street, NNDC is mostly commercial and light industrial. North of 16th Street is a combination of commercial, retail, and residential. Also along Illinois Avenue are various corporate offices such Indianapolis Light, Citizen Gas, and Metropolitan Indianapolis Board of Realtors (MIBOR). On 16th Street, between Capitol and Meridian Streets are small shops, restaurants, and apartment complexes. The Meridian Corridor has a number of retail and commercial buildings.

Although the NNDC community has a rich assortment of retail, commercial, and industrial complexes, the closest grocery store in the area is the 7-Eleven (Interview, November 5, 1995). Residents often shop at the Safeway at 22nd and Central, and O'Malia's downtown. The NNDC community has a drugstore at 18th Street and Illinois Avenue, and is preparing for the development of a retail complex that will include a grocery store, laundromat, dry cleaners, beauty shop, and bank. The complex might provide employment and business opportunities for neighborhood residents as well.

The bulk of the housing was built before 1950, and 60% was built before 1939. According to the 1990 US Census, the NNDC community has a very high percentage of rental properties and a small percentage of owner-occupied housing. NNDC, along with HUD and the city, has produced Kenwood Place I and II, subsidized 202

housing projects for the elderly and disabled. However, NNDC seeks to move away from rental properties and to build homeownership opportunities.

The community has a high unemployment rate—4% higher than that of Center Township, and double that of Marion County. The majority of the population works in managerial and technical occupations. The highest single occupational category is operators, which reflects the light industrial nature of the area. Service occupations rank second, reflecting employment in the hospital, the light company, and the gas company.

Community Political Structures and Processes

NNDC community is in city county councilor district 22, and is included in the Center Township Administrator area and the IPD North District. Fire Station # 14 is located here.

NNDC serves as the umbrella organization into which three groups have coalesced: two neighborhood associations—Highland Vicinity Neighborhood Association, Meridian-Highland Neighborhood Association (formerly Highland Kessler Civic League)—and a merchant association—Central North Civic Association. The neighborhood associations are responsible for organizing efforts and for providing a forum in which to relate information to community residents. NNDC's role is participating in meetings and providing office resources for the neighborhood association. A staff person is assigned to assist the neighborhood associations, while another staff person works closely with the merchant association.

Community Organizations

Other than limited program offerings, NNDC community is without any social services or social programming for community residents. For those elderly who have proper insurance, services are provided by Flanner House or Citizens. Youth services are not available; however, Fire Station #14 on Kenwood Avenue and 30th Street has offered some youth activities.

The Development Corporation

Constitution Structures and Processes

Unlike other CDCs, Near North Development Corporation's (NNDC) began as part of an effort by the Methodist Hospital to address the deteriorating condition surrounding its campus (Hanson, 1981, p. 90). Accordingly, the "highest priority in the hospital's redevelopment plan was the establishment of a local non-for-profit redevelopment corporation that would be responsible for the development and redevelopment of the Methodist Hospital vicinity" (Hanson, 1981). From the beginning, the Hospital reached out to neighborhood groups and the merchant association.

Located in the Winter House, NNDC started out with one staff member and a board of directors, and the organization set forth priorities that were both ambitious and all-inclusive. Specifically, the organization addressed housing rehabilitation and revitalization, industrial park, appearance of major north-south streets, security, develop neighborhood training center (CETA), new housing (hospital employees),

and new members (Hanson, 1981, p. 95). Fourteen other goals dealt with Meridian Corridor, an area in the community north of CBD (see Hanson, June 14, 1981 for an account of the goals to improve the Methodist Hospital area).

The articles of incorporation state the following goals:

1) to combat decay and deterioration of , to preserve and beautify, to stimulate improvement and revitalization of, and to stimulate and effect development and redevelopment in that portion of Indianapolis, Indiana;

2) to serve as a positive community focus for all residents, businesses, and community organizations in the Near North Area for the promotion and implementation of the Methodist Hospital Vicinity Plan of the Department of Metropolitan Development, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana;

3) to cooperate with government, civic, and other agencies and bodies in promoting and implementing programs designed to further any of the foregoing purposes; and

4) solely in furtherance of the aforesaid purposes, to transact any and all lawful business for which corporations may be incorporated under the Act (NNDC, 1994).

None of the goals specifically address community residents other the clause, "to serve as a positive community focus for all residents" (NNDC, 1994).

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

The board of directors has 16 members in three classes: residents, sponsoring members and a representative of Methodist Hospital (NNDC, 1994). The first Methodist Hospital representative was the hospital's director of planning. Originally, the board consisted of two resident board members, five sponsoring (business) board members, three hospital members of (selected by Methodist Hospital), and six at-large board members. All board members must be age 18 or older. The resident

members also must reside or own property in the area. Sponsoring members are individuals or organizations on the membership rolls that meet one of three requirements: residency, ownership, or interest (NNDC, 1994). The director class, which is intended to be at-large membership, is open to anyone. Director class may include those in other membership classes. Associate members are non-voting. All members pay annual dues, ranging from $100 to $1,000. Methodist Hospital's Foundation provides matching donations up to $30,000 (Hanson, 1981, pp. 90-92).

The board structure of NNDC consists primarily of an Executive Committee which has the following leadership positions: chairman of directors, president, secretary, and treasurer, and assistant officers (this position is unique among CDC boards). As the organization has grown, the board has added four committees: resource development, North Meridian Corridor, economic development, and special committees.

NNDC is both a development corporation and an umbrella organization. As an umbrella organization, NNDC provides an arena in which to discuss policies that affect the community. To ensure adequate representation of all groups, NNDC has constructed a representation structure that includes neighborhood associations, business groups, and the general population.

The community is represented by the Board of Directors, responsible for the policy-making process of the organization. This body votes on issues and provides oversight of the organization. Organization representation is the primary form of geographic representation, especially in Classes I and III. Between the two classes, the community representation is 35%. If Class II also were considered community

residents, then the resident representation would be 58% of the board. According to the bylaws, Classes I and II are required to reside, own property, or "demonstrate interest" in the NNDC community. As Class I resident members, the two major neighborhood associations receive three seats each. The voting classes are Class I, II, III, and V. Class V members can be either voting or non-voting, depending on the individual member. Class IV is a non-voting class, and the number of its members is unlimited. The voting process is both by ballot and by consent. Although voting is done in person, a member can vote by proxy.

The members are elected for terms of three years. A board member can be reelected for a second term, but s/he has to sit out one year before being able to return to the board. Hospital members are not elected but are selected by the hospital board. The NNDC board is not socio-demographically representative of the community. The majority of the population is African-American; however, African-Americans are severely underrepresented on the board of directors. One possible explanation is that Methodist Hospital has three members and the sponsoring class has five members who represent community businesses. The organizational leadership structure is especially skewed toward white males; however, the president of the board is a resident African-American male. The secretary of the organization is the executive director of Community Service Council/United Way, and a non-resident. Women make up the majority of staff members; however, past presidents have been men.

Operating Structures and Processes

The administrative structure is flat hierarchy. At one time the executive director was the only staff person, but in 1981, NNDC had four professional staff members and one full-time secretary (Hanson, 1981). The position of president of NNDC is the only position described in the bylaws. According to the bylaws, the president has the authorization to carry out the day-to-day operation of the organization, and is authorized to "manage and supervise all the affairs and salaried personnel of the Corporation" (NNDC, 1994).

The administrative structure of this organization is highly organized and slightly hierarchical. Under the president are two others: a manager, who is responsible for zoning, fundraising, and economic development in the North Meridian Street Corridor, and a project manager, who develops projects and ensures that they are completed on schedule. Like BOS CDC, NNDC has a secretary/office manager.

One staff member is an African-American female. NNDC has provided opportunities for women to work in leadership positions, however, the women who are given these opportunities are not low income earners or community residents.

This organization does not address social issues, questioning the need for only "bricks and mortar" emphases (Interview, November 6, 1995). For some, the need to address physical, mental, and social needs is overlooked (Interview, November 6, 1995). To assist them, the organization has sought the membership of the executive director of Community Service Council/United Way. Fundamentally, NNDC acts as a conduit of social services, not a provider (Interview, October 23, 1995). Like a numbers of CDC communities, the organization has attempted to address the disabled

and elderly population by constructing Kenwood Place I & II, and subsidized HUD 202 projects (Interview, November 6, 1995).

With projects such as North Meridian Street Corridor, Science and Technology Park, and Near North Industrial Park completed, NNDC has begun the Near North Redevelopment Program (NNRP): a clustered development bounded by 30th Street to the north, Illinois and Meridian Avenues to the east, 20th and 21st Streets to the south, and I-65 to the west. The Department of Metropolitan Development approved $700,000 for new construction. NNDC, along with Melody Homes, developed housing plans with the help of local residents' input. This three-year redevelopment is an $11.5 million commitment; of that, $3.6 million is for land acquisition (Ehret, January 27, 1994). The plan also includes rebuilding streets, curbs, sidewalks, and sewers. For its part, Methodist Hospital is expected to undertake landscape improvements on its campus.

As is true of other CDCs, political partnership is limited to funding agencies. Indiana nonprofit regulations may have limited the ability of these organizations to perform certain socialization processes; these are left to the neighborhood associations.

Riley Area Revitalization Program (RARP) (Site 10)

The Riley Area Community

Platted between the 1830s and 1860s, this community has seen radical changes in last twenty years. This area contains three residential/commercial historic

districts: Chatham-Arch, Lockerbie, and St. Joseph, and has a higher than average concentration of homosexual and homeless populations. The pride of the RARP community is the Massachusetts Avenue Arts District. The Riley community is bounded by Washington Street to the south, Meridian Street to the west, and the I-65/I-70 inner loop to the north and east. The RARP community, perhaps the most gentrified areas of the city, is an almost ideal location, situated within a "block of urban services and amenities and comparatively low rents (Smith, December 4, 1994, pp. H1-2). The RARP community contains two public housing complexes: Lugar Tower and Barton Place and Riley Towers, a high-rise apartment building providing housing for upper-income individuals (*Rent Indy*, November 3, 1995, pp. 1-2).

In addition, the RARP community has Market Place, Market Square Arena, a number of large regional bank offices , the Murat building, Marion County Library, American Legion Mall, Indiana War Memorial, Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument (the Circle), the Catholic Diocese, and numerous churches, such as St. Mary Catholic Church, Lockerbie Square United Methodist Church, Roberts Park United Methodist Church. Also situated in the RARP community are Indianapolis City-County Building, United States Federal Courthouse, and United States Federal Building.

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

Unlike other CDC communities, a larger proportion of the area's population is in the 25-44–year-old age range. However, 21% of the population is elderly. A large percentage of the population is well educated; however, one third of the population does not have a high school education.

Community Economic Structures and Processes

The RARP community has a large array of economic entities such as banks, financial institutions, law firms, and other commercial entities. Along Massachusetts Avenue there are shops, restaurants, and commercial properties, as well as a residential stock that has been increasing in economic value. Neighborhoods such Chatham-Arch, Lockerbie Square, and St. Joseph have homes in the $100,000-to-$300,000 range. The movement of upwardly mobile professional to these neighborhoods demonstrates the economic success of RARP. The majority of the residents are employed in two categories: managerial and technical jobs.

A challenge for the RARP community is to build not only for-profit housing but also housing for the poor, sick, and homeless populations. Riley Square is a joint effort between RARP and Monument Investments to build 45 housing units for households with a maximum income of $25,000 (Ehret, March 29, 1994, p. C3). In the St. Joseph neighborhood, there are plans to undertake St. Jo Flats, a partnership between Van Rooy Properties, Indiana Cares (a non-profit group), and RARP (Stokes, May 24, 1994, p. C3). This $600,000 project for will renovate two buildings, converting them into four two-bedroom apartments (Stokes, May 24, 1994, p. C3). Christian Place is another group of buildings being renovated for the homeless. Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indianapolis, Partners in Housing Development, and three banks (National City Bank), Bank One, and Fifth Third Bank), are spearheading this $2.5 million development, which will provide five two-bedroom apartments and 24 one-bedroom apartments (Smith, December 4, 1994, pp. H1-H2).

Vacant properties are slowly disappearing from the RARP community; most residential properties are owner-occupied. As in other communities, a good deal (43%) of the housing was built before 1939; between 1980 and 1990 the area has seen only 11% new construction.

Community Political Structures and Processes

The RARP community is in City-County Councilor district #22, which is represented by a Democrat who lives Chatham-Arch neighborhood. The Center Township Administrator is responsible for development concerns in the area.

RARP has been considered an umbrella organization, although it does not communicate with other organizations about some of its development projects. The RARP community has approximately five neighborhood organizations. Each of the three historic districts has its own neighborhood organizations, and each senior complex has a tenant association: Executive Council of Senior High-Rise Communities. The three neighborhood associations are Chatham-Arch Neighborhood Association, Lockerbie Square, and St. Joseph Historic Neighborhood Association, all of which are members of the Historic Urban Neighborhoods of Indianapolis (HUNI) coalition.

Community Organizations

The closest centers are Citizens, Near East (or Bonar Center), and Southeast. Riley Lockerbie Ministries Association (RLMA), a coalition of churches, homeless shelters, and social service agencies, has been on the forefront in addressing senior

needs. Other agencies that serve the elderly and homeless are Wheeler Mission, Metro Advocate Ministry, and Lighthouse Mission. While there is not a large youth population, Wheeler Mission does have a youth and family division, which provides a youth basketball clinic.

Other area social service agencies or citywide programs include Overcoming Obstacles, a jobs-entrepreneurship program; The Damien Center, an HIV/AIDS advocacy agency; YMCA of Greater Indianapolis, which provides personal growth and health improvement programs; Children's Bureau of Indianapolis Inc., which assists at risk children; Shepherd's Center of Indianapolis; and Training Inc., a self-sufficiency program. Also within the RARP community are the American Cabaret Theatre, Phoenix Theatre, and Theatre on the Square.

The Area Revitalization Program

Constitution Structures and Process

Created by the Riley-Lockerbie Ministerial Association in 1979, RARP was established to address deterioration and senior housing concerns in the Riley area (Interview, October 19, 1995). The organization operates in an office owned by one of its board members, and has both articles of incorporation and bylaws, which are requirements for operation and funding.

While RARP's new mission is to engage in housing and community development activities, in the beginning RARP set up tenant organizations, health clinics, and contracted with Sisters of Providence for visitation and minor health care

for the elderly. Thus RARP began with a social mission, which it changed to reflect the changing political climate.

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

Generally, the board of directors makes policy decisions; however, the executive committee has been known to make such decisions at its bimonthly meetings (Interview, October 31, 1995). In the past, the organization met infrequently because of limited operations, thus shifting power to the executive committee. Recently, the board has met regularly.

For the most part, the board members are either community residents or community businesses' representatives. However, membership is restricted to those willing to pay dues. Yielding to neighborhood pressure, RARP decided to add to its board three historic neighborhood associations (Meeting, July 24, 1995). These associations did not have representation (such as they might in other CDCs), and they felt ignored by the CDC (Meeting, July 24, 1995).

While most board members are professionals (reflective of RARP community demographics), recently RARP has tried to add board members with development experience. The board of directors is made up of artists, an attorney, a design specialist, a manager of an O'Malia store, clergy, and other professional persons. The Senior Citizen Center also has a board representative, which increases the visibility of senior citizen issues.

Most of the board members are white and female. The board president and the executive director are white males. Although the new administrative staff positions are female, the RARP Board of Directors may reflect a certain male bias.

Upon joining the board, a member is given a book about community development corporations, but was given no formal training. Recently, four board members were sent to the Trustee Leadership program (Meeting, July 24, 1995). Members feel that board training would increase their credibility with the city of Indianapolis. In addition, a former board member had conducted housing project training for RARP, giving board members an understanding of the process (Interview, October 31, 1995; meeting, September 26, 1994).

The new executive director has added six committees beyond the executive committee: housing, promotions, business, design and development, finance, and social concerns committees. The executive committee consists of the chair, vice chair, executive director, chairs of committees, a past president, and an administrative assistant (Interview, October 31, 1995). Board members are required to pay dues, but there is no other restriction on membership (Interview, October 31, 1995; Thumbnail, November 30, 1991). Most board members are neighborhood residents, landowners, or business owners and recently original founders' representatives (Interview, October 31, 1995).

The development of the Social Concerns Committee indicates that RARP has moved away from its original mission. Some believed the organizations did not do enough community outreach, but relied on funding streams to dictate the organization's direction (Interviews, October 19 & 31, 1995). Others considered the

neighborhood associations to be the arm that dealt with area social problems, but believed that RARP ignored the homeless problem (Interview, October 31, 1995). The Social Concerns Committee was designated to address these issues.

Operating Structures and Processes

The organization has been weak administratively. RARP's several executive directors have run the organization with varying degrees of success (Interview, October 19, 1995). With a 23-member board of directors, RARP has one hired administrative staff. The administrative structure is flat hierarchy or nonexistent. From the beginning, RARP has operated with only one staff person, who focused on the day-to-day operations of the organization. At times the president of the board operated as the administrator of the organization. There has been frequent change in the executive director position; incumbents have typically served short tenures. Presently, there are two staff positions: office manager and executive director.

When the city of Indianapolis began housing development plans, the CDC made administrative changes and added staff. Not only did leadership change, but so did other functions of the organization: including reconstruction, setting up filing and accounting systems, making committee assignments, and adding staff (Interview, October 19, 1995; meeting, September 26, 1994). Owing to the fragmentation of staff, CDC bookkeeping had become incomplete. Because of this, the organization was put on probation which puts its financial situation in jeopardy.

Lugar Towers and Barton Place (senior citizen complexes) presented an opportunity to do advocacy. RARP assists residents and works to establish tenant

association, and has led an organized attempt to get services and maintenance in those buildings. As a result, RARP lost favor with the city administration, which slowed its growth as a community development corporation.

During its early years, RARP focused on minor housing rehabilitation. Because of scarcity of land and property, RARP has focused on scattered site housing projects and concentration on business retention (Interviews, October 19 & 31, 1995; meeting, September 26, 1994). Renovation of Massachusetts Avenue, a public-private partnership with the city of Indianapolis, Indiana Department of Commerce, has been RARP's primary business retention effort (Interview, October 31, 1995). Other projects on which RARP has worked as primary developer are the Murat historic preservation efforts and the Barton Place renovation (Meeting, September 26, 1994).

In the community, for-profit developers and RARP have brought about gentrification and have minimized the needs of the poor, homeless, and elderly populations (Interview, October 31, 1995). The Massachusetts Avenue revitalization has drawn attention away from other areas (Interview, October 31, 1995). The church-based Shalom Zone Initiative, an economic project that provides employment and life skills for unemployables, is an example of RARP's return to its original mission (Interview, October 31, 1995).

RARP funding sources primarily have been members, community businesses, and churches. Recently, that funding base has leveled off (Interview, October 19, 1995). Indianapolis Neighborhood Partnership has begun to provide some operating funding, as it has for other CDCs. Another funding stream comes through developer

fees from joint partnership with various for-profit entities. For example, the School #9 project is a collaborative arrangement between RARP, the Mansur Group, and Ratio Architects/Bradbury Associates. As developer, CDCs works as an intermediary between city bureaucracy and for-profit entities by filing necessary paperwork for land acquisition, zoning changes, and building permits. In other instances, the CDC provides for-profit entities the opportunity to receive state NAP credits—tax deductions to for-profit organizations that donate to non-profit organizations. The CDC also receives a state matching grant.

Southeast Neighborhood Development (SEND) (Site 11)

The Fletcher Place/Fountain Square Community

Bounded by Washington Street in the north, Raymond Street in the south, Pleasant Run Parkway Drive North in the east, and Meridian Street in the west, the SEND community is adjacent to Mile Square (see INHP map). In the area are the State Farm Bureau, Eli Lilly Corporation, and Citizens Gas & Coke utility. Historic Virginia Avenue, Fletcher Place Methodist Church, and St. Patrick Hispanic Resource Center also are located here. At the corner of Virginia and Prospect Avenues is the Historic Fountain Square branch of the Marion County Library. A number of railroad yards surround the SEND community. Fountain Square antique shops are located along Virginia Avenue. The area incorporates three historic districts: Fletcher Place, Historic Fountain Square, and Fountain Square (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 580).

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

The percentage of Caucasian-Americans in the area differs from that of the overall INHP population. As in other INHP communities, 25% of the population lives below the poverty level. Moreover, 40% of the population could be considered dependent populations, requiring social services.

52% of the SEND community has less than a high-school education. Fewer than 20% have greater than a high-school education. The SEND community has 14% female-headed households, and 50% of the population is on some type of fixed income.

Major problems include proximity to bars or nightclubs: 33% of the population lives close to bar or nightclub. The Fountain Square Neighborhood Association worked with the city attorney's office to have the saloon closed; however, while the ownership has changed hands, the bar has remained open (Crawford et al., 1994, p. 77).

Community Economic Structures and Processes

Along Virginia Avenue in Fountain Square, the atmosphere is small town: there are antique stores, an old-fashioned "five and dime" store, an Amvet thrift store (formerly a drug store), the Fountain Square Theater Building (featuring duckpin bowling), and a hamburger shop. The SEND community has several commercial nodes—Virginia Avenue being the most famous. Most of the stores are small businesses; the State Farm Bureau is located in the Fletcher Place neighborhood.

The percentage of vacancy is similar to that of WCDC, ECI, UNWADC, NNDC, and MFCHDC. Since the 1960s, the community has not seen any new housing constructed.

Unemployment in the SEND community is comparable to that of other CDC communities. However, SEND has a large percentage of residents who are working in manufacturing industries and technical occupation.

Community Political Structures and Processes

The SEND community is in city-county council districts 16 and 21. Both of these are represented by Democrats. Like other CDCs, the area is in the Center Township; the Center Township administrator coordinates with SEND and others to accomplish tasks within the community. Also in the community is the Fire Station #15, on Prospect Avenue.

When I began this research, there was not an umbrella organization: Fountain Square and Fletcher Place had separate neighborhood associations. The Fletcher Place neighborhood association was founded in 1977 to "work for preservation and protect the integrity of area" (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 581). As the planning process continued, the Fountain Square Neighborhood Association aligned with the Reid Place/Dawson neighborhood association to cover the entire area. However as differences occurred, the Reid Place/Dawson neighborhood association broke away and established itself as the Southeast Neighborhood Organization. With the urging of city government and assistance of Indianapolis Neighborhood Resource Center, the Southeast Umbrella Organization (SUMO) was constructed to represent as SEND

community umbrella organization, giving each neighborhood a representative (Crawford et al., 1994, p. 76).

SUMO encompassed the following neighborhood associations: Historic Fountain Square, Fletcher Place, Olde Coburn Block, Southeast Community Organization (SECO), and Fountain Square Merchants Association (Crawford et al., 1994, p. 76). Fountain Square Neighborhood, leery of any attempt to defuse its power base by merging all organizations, refused to enter SUMO (Crawford et al., 1994, p. 76). SUMO received funding for a neighborhood coordinator; however, as of this writing the organization had not became totally functional.

This community is one of seven targeted neighborhoods. The city planning department worked with residents to determine the strength and weaknesses in their neighborhoods. Based on a sector map, the residents assisted the planners with identifying vacant houses. The members of the Fountain Square Neighborhood Association were instrumental in this process.

Community Organizations

SEND community does have the Southeast Multi-service Center that does home energy, 7001 Net Youth Center, Salvation Army, and Fletcher Place Community Center. These agencies address some of the recurring concerns of the citizens of SEND community. Other social service agencies located here include Boys and Girls Club, Inc. and Girls, Inc. These services provide limited youth programs. Along with these programs, Fountain Square for one season developed a youth corps, which led the successful Fountain Square Pioneers basketball team

(Crawford et al., 1994, p. 77). A firefighters' organization worked with this group for a short time, but did not continue due to lack of funding and city support. With the encouragement of city officials, Basic Life, Inc. (a religious group) worked with SEND to provide volunteers and certain youth programs (Meeting, July 6, 1994). The Fountain Square Merchant Association provides a brochure that lists community merchants. Eight area schools—as well as churches such as Edwin Ray United Methodist Church, St. Mark Lutheran Church, and Saint Patrick Catholic—provided social services to residents.

Southeast Neighborhood Development, Inc.

Constitutional Structures and Processes

Southeast Neighborhood Development, Incorporated, was once two fledgling development organizations (Meeting, June 14, 1994). Both FSPIC [Fountain Square and Fletcher Place Investment, Inc.] and FSCCP [Fountain Square Church and Community Project] operated in Fountain Square and Fletcher Place, each having different foci. FSPIC focused on economic development and business development, whereas FSCCP focused on housing and community social development. Formally a part of the Lilly Endowment of Church and Community Project, FSCCP operated under the church minister, who had established a youth training program in carpentry. FSPIC, with the encouragement of Lilly Industries, focused on commercial development of State Farm Building and Virginia Avenue. In 1993, these two organizations merged to form the present organization; the merge eliminated

duplication and restructured the organizations for optimal operation. The new organization has maintained its working relationship with Lilly Industries and State Farm Insurance to develop new projects and programs. It has become one of the top community development corporations in Indianapolis.

Like other community development corporations, the organization has articles of incorporation as required by the 1991 Indiana Nonprofit Corporation Act. SEND has set forth six goals for its organizations: capacity building, advocacy, housing, historic preservation, business development, and infrastructure development (Bylaws and Newsletter). Unlike other corporations, this corporation has tried to bridge the gap between economic and social development activities; its mission is holistic in perspective, reflecting the merger of two distinct corporations' perspectives.

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

The SEND Board of Directors originally consisted of 17 members; the board was increased to 20 members during the 1994-1995 year. Five members are elected to the executive committee, which has the responsibility to oversee the day-to-day operations of the organizations and to evaluate the management level of the organization. These officers are elected yearly; a president is elected at each annual meeting.

The process of leadership in SEND is minimal. In fact, SEND has had a difficult time selling itself to its community. Often the community complains that the organization does not share information or keep the community informed. At neighborhood meetings, SEND has a small role: the executive director provides

information about upcoming events. To increase information flow, SEND has started a newsletter, the *Southeast Neighborhood Dispatch.*

The board members are of two basic classes: resident directors and at-large directors. Resident directors are defined as anyone that has resided or owned property in the community for six months or more (SEND, n.d.). Board members must be at least 18 years old. Most members are professionals who bring valuable skills to the organization (Interview, October 25, 1995). SEND has a dues-paying membership structure that is a source of funds.

Board membership is 51% community residents. A narrower definition would mean a board of less than 51% community residents. Consequently, the board is not socially or geographically representative of the population, except for that of the two historic districts. Some efforts have been made to extend representation to neighborhood associations, but the board of directors selects those representatives.

SEND's nominating and election process is internally driven. The members of the nominating committee select a list of names based on qualifications and prior service. New members could be selected from other committees (Meeting, November 17, 1994). Some select new members from groups such as merchants and other businesses, churches, Crime Watch groups, and other social services (Interview, January 2, 1995). After acceptance, new members are assigned to a committee, and introduced at the annual meeting.

SEND has three main committees, with several standing committees, to address the operations of the organization. The three committees are executive board, nomination, and finance—the key operations of the organization. The executive

board is the policy-making arm of the organization. The nomination committee is responsible for selecting new board members and presenting those nominees to the overall membership. Keeping the organization financially viable is the responsibility of the finance committee. Although these are the primary committees, the organization has several other standing committees: personnel, housing, church relations, and promotion; the committee members' work is distributed across substantive/functional areas. Each of these committees is designed to assist the personnel working in these specializations to conduct the business of the corporations.

Like all other CDCs, SEND has an executive committee consisting of five officers and the executive director. Addressing pressing concerns, this committee subdivides into ad hoc committees. During this research, the executive committee subdivided into two strategic planning committees that address long-term plans.

Meetings are conducted on a monthly basis; a nine-person quorum is required. Monthly meetings are conducted with the full board, with each committee presenting its report and suggesting changes to the organization. The annual meeting presents the accomplishments of the organization. At the annual meeting the new board members and officers are elected. Special meetings are conducted only when called by the board president and five other board members to discuss a pressing concern. Like the process of communication, the process of decision making is informal. The committees make recommendations that are considered by the larger board. If a vote is required, the full board affirms these decisions.

Operating Structures and Processes

Like ECI and NNDC, this organization is more bureaucratic in operation than other organizations (Daft, 1995). One explanation may be the organization's age: SEND has been operating for approximately 13 years, and is one of the oldest organizations in Indianapolis.

The economic structures are both horizontal and vertical to some degree. The organization has an executive director, assistant director, financial resources coordinator, youth coordinator, construction managers, and sales manager. Some of this structure resulted from the merger of the two different organizations. To recognize the importance of the church and community project, the assistant director position was created and given a functional area to oversee. This position does not exist in most community development corporations.

SEND has developed a number of programs and projects over time. Most are centered on housing; however, some programs are designed to assist individuals. Like all CDCs, SEND has worked on home repair and renovation. SEND's homeownership program includes a mentor program for new homeowners. A mentor is matched with the homeowner to insure homeownership success. SEND has developed projects relating to Equity VI, VII, and VIII. SEND also has a volunteer program which assists with home repair. Its volunteers come from churches across Indiana. In 1995, SEND instituted the Helen Fehr Award for Outstanding Neighborhood Service.

A continuing project has been the Virginia Avenue Church, located in Fletcher Place. This church served as the headquarters of FSPIC and presently is

vacant. Efforts have been made to improve the building and to make it saleable by roofing it and adding a parking lot (Meetings, November 17, 1994 & January 26, 1995).

SEND's Youth Corps program is a pre-apprenticeship program designed to prepare youth for the construction trade. In 1995, SEND renovated the Fountain Block building converting it to affordable housing for the elderly. Also integrated in this program was moving Fountain Square Public Library Branch from am interior location.

Like other CDCs, SEND's primary funding source is HUD's housing programs. The organization also receives development funds by assisting for-profit developers with city paperwork. Overall the funding mix includes developer fees, foundation grants, INHP, CDBG, private donations, volunteer labor, and sweat equity (Meeting, November 4, 1993). Eli Lilly Industries and State Farm Insurance Company also have assisted SEND (Meeting, September 22, 1994). Outside of developer's fees, SEND solicits donations, but other funding mechanisms are not used.

United Northwest Area Development Corporation (UNWADC) (Site 1)

The United Northwest Area Community

Platted in 1873, United Northwest Area Development Corporation (UNWADC) community began as an "unincorporated area known as North Indianapolis" (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 1368). The community is bounded by Meridian

Street and I-65 on the east, the White River on the west, 38th Street on the north, and 16th Street on the south. Built along the Central Canal and Belt Line Railroad lines and the Clifton Street electric railway line, this community is located in the northwest corner of downtown Indianapolis, west of the NNDC community, south of the MLK community, and north of the BOS CDC community. The area features Crown Hill Cemetery, the Children's Museum and the IMAX Theater, St. Vincent Hospital, Riverside Park and Golf Course, and Woodstock and Coffin golf courses. Also part of the UNWADC community is Watkins Park, noted as the home of the city's wealthy and influential families, and Golden Hills, a gated community and listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 628).

Highway system construction and white flight led to deterioration in the UNWADC community. The middle-class, African-American population that had lived south of 16th Street was pushed into this suburb; some later moved across the racial divide (38th Street) into the Butler-Tarkington neighborhood, leaving the poorer population and the elderly trapped in the UNWADC community. By 1975, the city began to use CDBG funds to improve streets, sidewalks, curbs, and approximately 150 houses. Despite these efforts, in the 1980s the area continued to see deterioration and disorganization. The Indianapolis Public Schools system shut down several schools, and the area library (the first in Indianapolis) was closed.

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

Around a third of the UNWADC community is living below the poverty level, and 43% of the population is considered dependent. In addition, 44% of the

population does not have a high-school education, and 38% of female-headed households are living below the poverty level.

Community Economic Structures and Processes

The UNWADC community, along with other CDC communities in Indianapolis, has seen its economy deteriorate. Over the last 20 years, UNWADC community has seen very little new housing construction: most housing was constructed before 1950, and the Riverside area was the last major postwar construction. Like other CDC communities, UNWADC has more renters than homeowners. Light industrial facilities that house IUPUI and UPS are located in the area; industrial plants such as Central Soya have been encroaching on the residential community to the north.

Revitalization efforts include the Riverside Park Renovation and Riverside Amusement Park Project, Methodist Hospital and Citizens Gas & Coke Gas Initiative, and the Pilgrim Baptist Church and School #41 renovations are under consideration (UNWA, 1995). Further revitalization efforts include those on Clifton Street and 28th Street, near the UNWA offices, and the Martin Luther King commercial/retail node around 30th Street.

The unemployment rate is 16%, high when compared to that of Marion County. In addition, a large segment of the population works in the service sector. St. Vincent Hospital is the largest employer of community residents (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 1268). Although a light industrial complex is close by, only 20% of those employed work in manufacturing.

Community Political Structures and Processes

UNWADC is represented by two Democratic city-county councilors, one of whom is a high-ranking fire department personnel; the city's liaison is the Center Township Administrator. Its districts are 9 and 16. UNWADC is in two police districts: North and West. Fire station #23 is located in the area.

In recent years, the UNWADC community has been included in local and national community development programs as well as the Community Block Grant Program, HOME, and other HUD programs community. Programs like Targeted Neighborhood Program, Youth Fair Chance, and Enterprise Community have focused attention on the UNWADC community.

United Northwest Area, Inc. (UNWA) is an umbrella organization formed by concerned residents to address the deteriorating conditions in UNWADC community. The structure of the umbrella organization is a legacy of the Community Action program. Over time, the organization has been instrumental in the development of an economic development arm and in the delivery of goods and services to its residents. The umbrella organization encompasses five neighborhoods: Northwest Way, Riverside, Northwest Planners, Crown Hill Neighbors, and Neighbors Helping Neighbors. Concerned Neighborhood Association, headed by an area advocate, works independently of other neighborhood associations and UNWA.

As one of the few CDC communities to exhibit a strong umbrella organization, UNWA has had an independent and permanent base of operation. Located in an old bank building, the organization carries out its mission and conducts its affairs in a public arena. The Northwest Planners has a permanent place of operation in the old

library. UNWA's board consists of community residents and local politicians, who have close ties to the community. Unlike other CDCs, UNWA has strong ties to party politicians, but maintains a degree of neutrality on citywide and statewide election.

Community Organizations

Flanner House, the multi-service center located in UNWADC community, provides basic youth and elderly services; however, a considerable number of emergency services are provided by UNWA (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 1368). Also located in UNWADC community is Blackburn Health Center, which provides medical services to the indigent population (*Indianapolis Recorder*, March 27, 1993, p. B6). The youth have access to the Kuntz Soccer Field and Riverside Community Center. Other programs include the police department's youth program, and the after-school program at the Northwest Planners Historic Library, conducted in conjunction with a private school in Indianapolis.

The Area Development Corporation

Constitution Structures and Processes

UNWADC formed in 1979 to address the deteriorating condition in the community. The mission of this organization was to focus on economic development and change in the UNWADC community (Interview, November 9, 1995).

The organization has articles of incorporation and bylaws, although they are not available to the public. The organization has begun rewriting these to conform to the requirements of the state, the city of Indianapolis, and the Local Initiative Support Corporation.

Some believe that the organization had been operating outside of its original bylaws for some time (Interviews, November 2 & 9, 1995). Because UNWADC has CHDO status, the organization was restructuring itself to meet HUD's required 51% resident participation.

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

UNWADC's board is tied to the community both socially and geographically. The board primarily is made up of community residents, although there is a bank representative. Since the responsibility of the board of directors is to take direction from the community and design projects the community needs, the board should reflect that mandate. Over 51% of the board must be community residents to meet requirements for CHDO status. Like other boards, the organization has a professional member on the board.

The board of directors is a community-based board whose members represent the five neighborhood associations. Each of the five organizations has two representatives; UNWA, Inc., also has a representative. The board structure allows for the geographic representation and social representation that is considered important by some CDC theorists. I have observed that the selection of the board is left primarily to the individual neighborhood association. Like all CDCs, the

organization has an executive board with officers who are responsible for the day-to-day operation of the organization. The president, with the assistance of the executive director, conducts organization meetings. The other officers have assigned responsibilities.

The makeup of the UNWADC board of directors and staff reflects the predominantly African-American community. The president of the executive committee is an African-American woman who also is president of a neighborhood association and a member of the parks and recreation board. One of the board members is State Senator Glen Howard, who is not instrumental in city affairs, but who gives the organization a voice in the state.

The present board members have served for an extended period of time, and there has been a call for term limits of some sort to foster new membership. Even though the selection process is in question, the organization does have a method to elect members to the board. The chairperson presents candidates to the nominating committee. The committee then screens their resumes and makes their recommendations to the board, who then votes on the selection.

The committee structure includes not only the executive committee but also nominating, personnel, and design committees. Each committee has a distinct focus. The nominating committee is responsible for the final selection and presentation to the board of the individuals who would serve as directors.

The voting process of the organization has been mainly one of consensus. The members are aware of how one another vote, which has caused some pressure to

go along with the group. It seems that some feel that a ballot vote would give them the opportunity to express themselves.

Although this organization is a community board, many believe that the community is not aware of its functions and responsibilities. This can be explained in part by its limited funding and quiet status until 1995 (Meeting, February 21, 1995). While the meetings are open to the public, for the most part, UNWADC has not held regular meetings, and it has not held an annual meeting for some time (Interview, November 2, 1995). Although UNWA has a newsletter, the UNWADC does not; thus it does not have a method to tell its story.

Operating Structures and Processes

The administrative structure is a flat hierarchy, consisting of one staff person and the structure continues the addition of new staff members. As a struggling organization, the organization could not afford a large staff and most of the projects are done by contractors who can fulfill the certification requirements of the city. By bidding out the contracts, the organization serves as a general contractor with oversight. Now, the organization has four full-time staff: the executive director, an office manager, construction manager, and special project coordinator. The receptionist position is half-time. The special project coordinator is a position arranged by city of Indianapolis and LISC. Because of the fragile status of UNWADC and the major projects that are being developed for UNWADC community, the funding community wanted to add someone with the ability to work with a number of organizations.

While administratively the executive director is responsible for staff reporting, external influences helped to establish a new position in the organization: the special project coordinator, who has extensive housing experience with the city and the bank. UNWADC has thus been able to move forward with some large development projects that have the potential to change the population and spatial arrangement of the UNWADC community. Another change is the movement of UNWADC offices. Although it has shared office space with UNWA, Inc., UNWADC has been actively seeking a larger space in which to do business. By moving physically away from UNWA Inc., UNWADC might be moving operationally from the community and its requirements, thus further fragmenting the relationship between the community and the organization.

The present executive director and staff members are African-Americans. The organization has provided a training ground for executive directors, allowing them to move into city administration and consultancy in the community development arena. Even though the CDC director is African-American, he does not live in the community, nor does the construction manager. These individuals have been selected based on their ability to do the jobs and on certain sensitivities of the board of directors.

Although the organization uses contractors, to a great extent, these are not minority contractors. Most minority contractors are small operations and cannot meet the CDBG requirements or do not have the money to do the job and wait for reimbursement. To bring some social representation to the process, the board of directors adopted a minority participation rule (30% of contracts must go to minority

contractors), which was proposed by a board member who is a state legislator (Meeting, February 21, 1995). Although the board and administrative staff are reflective of the community, a great deal of work and consulting is done by others outside the community.

Presently, the organization is engaged in several projects. The biggest project, the three-phase Riverside Amusement Project, proposes condominium construction, single-family housing, and multi-family housing (Meeting, February 21, 1995). The project is intended to build market-rate housing in the central and northwest corner of the community along the White River, thus moving the low-income population either north or into a small section east of the White River. Riverside Project is a total renovation and revitalization project, conceived with an eye to gentrifying the community. In addition, the community would build a police station on Clifton, in an effort to move the drug business elsewhere.

Other projects before UNWADC are Pilgrim Baptist Church renovation and the UNWADC renovation of School #41 into a social service complex. Another major project which had made some progress was the Methodist Hospital, Citizen Gas, and a UNWADC limited partnership which would lead to land acquisition, assemblage, and reconstruction of housing. The intended result is the construction of approximately 300 new homes for possible hospital workers (Interview, November 2, 1995). The Martin Luther King commercial/retail strip renovation is in the planning stages (Interviews, November 2 & 9, 1995).

Westside Community Development Corporation (WCDC) (Site 2)

The Near Westside Community

Annexed in 1897, close to downtown Indianapolis but outside of the "mile square" and designated as an Annie E. Casey and Weed and Seed planning area during the early 1990s, the WCDC community is located west of the BOS community and Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) and north of the WIDC community (Bodenhamer 1994, pp. 663, 1306). More specifically, it is bounded by White River Parkway on the east, Tibbs Avenue on the west, the Conrail tracks on the south, and 16th Street on the north. Also contiguous to this community is the White River State Park, which includes the Indianapolis Zoo. The area features Goodwill Industries of Central Indiana, Riverpointe Apartments complex (a former public housing complex that is now university housing), old Central State Hospital, Green Manufacturing, and numerous brownfield sites (City of Indianapolis, 1994). Two public housing complexes, created after the closure of Lockfield Gardens, are located in and around the community.

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

The majority of the African-American population lives in Haughville, while both Hawthorne and Stringtown are predominantly Caucasian-American. Over one quarter of the population lives below the poverty level. Approximately 44% of the population is either below 18 years of age or 65 years of age or over. Only 18% of the population has more than a high-school education, which indicates a large

population that does not have adequate education for today's job market. Beginning in 1980, a number of the African-American children participated in a one-way busing plan with Wayne Township School District. A small group of kindergarteners attend school at Westside Charities, and students south of Michigan Street go to the IPS schools.

25% of the households are female-headed. Of that population, 45% of the population is living below the poverty level, which could reflect the large elderly population. The proportion of households on fixed income is 51%. The majority of the households on fixed income are on Social Security. Along with WIDC and MLK CDC, WCDC has one of the lowest numbers of households on public assistance.

Community Economic Structures and Processes

What is telling about the WCDC community is that its neighborhoods, especially Stringtown, were not considered "savable," and thus it was seen as an area for "future redevelopment" (Downtown Research Committee, 1980, p. 20). Situated west of the White River and Central Business District, the WCDC community is ideally suited for certain economic activities that were linked to railroads yards and the foundry industry. Industries such as Link Belt, Green Manufacturing (now run by Richard Lugar's nephew), and other manufacturing have moved from the area, leaving brownfields.

Presently the community has three transportation thoroughfares and commercial nodes: Washington Avenue, Michigan Avenue, and 10th Street. All of these zones have small shops, restaurants, and other commercial entities. On 10th

Street, there are barber shops, a daycare center, and a family-owned grocery (which burned down in the mid-1990s). On Michigan Avenue there is a Kroger center, which offers a drug store, bargain store, and a bank. Washington Street has a number of used furniture stores, a taco restaurant, and a professional medical center. A fourth commercial node is 16th Street, which has assortment of fast-food restaurants, gas stations, and other commercial entities. White River Parkway has a grain elevator, a 500 Liquor Store, and a pizza place.

The housing in the community is basically frame houses or cottages surrounded by some larger homes, and 66% of the housing was developed before 1950. Only 8% of the housing stock was constructed between 1970 and 1979. There is slightly more owner-occupied housing than renter-occupied housing. Recently, WCDC built two $60,000 homes with a $250,000 federal grant and assistance from National City Bank (Francis, October 27, 1994, pp. B1-B2).

WCDC has 11% unemployment, which is similar to the Marion County unemployment rate. A large percentage of the employed population is working in the manufacturing industry, but a sizable population works both in technical and service occupations, which might be connected with the medical complex, university, or state agencies.

Community Political Structures and Processes

The WCDC community is represented in the city council by two single-member districts. A WCDC city county councilperson represents portions of UNWADC and SEND communities, which are in city county council district 16. The

district 17 councilor represents this community, WIDC, and the southwestern corner of Indianapolis that is not located in a CDC community. IPD's West District headquarters is located in the Haughville neighborhood. Two fire stations are located in the WCDC community. Both Hawthorne and Haughville have a station. Hawthorne's 55-year-old Fire Station #18 moved to a new location and a $1.1 million construction (*Indianapolis News*, December 6, 1993, p. B3). This community has ten parks, including Belmont Park, Hawthorne Park, Bahr Park, Haughville Park (where the Indianapolis Public Library is located), Sanders Park named after Rev. Mozell Sanders, an Indianapolis's social activist, and Stringtown Park.

WCDC has been represented by an umbrella organization and three distinct neighborhood associations, a historic association, and two public housing resident councils, although Eagle Creek Public Housing often is ignored. Westside Cooperative Organization (WESCO), founded in 1974, is the umbrella organization. Like other communities, WESCO was constructed through the efforts of Westside neighborhoods and the assistance of multi-service centers.

The substructure under WESCO is Haughville Community Council, Hawthorn Neighborhood Association, Stringtown Neighborhood Organization, Neighbors of Historic Haughville, Concord Village and Eagle Creek Resident Councils. All areas are given an equal number of representatives. One problem with this organization was that one neighborhood group was not recognized: whether historically or accidentally, Stringtown was ignored in these planning processes. Through the efforts of the city-county councilor, the Stringtown Neighborhood

Association came on board, restructured itself, and became a very vocal member and provider of meeting space for WESCO.

Basically, each geographic neighborhood in the WCDC community has a neighborhood association that serves as community advocate. The most notable is Haughville Community Council (HCC), which serves the Haughville area. Like WESCO, this organization meets in the Christamore House. This organization remained a dominant group, with elderly citizens in the community meeting and discussing the community needs. After a period of dominance, a neighborhood son was engaged to lead the group and to take a more active role in neighborhood decision-making. In Stringtown, the neighborhood association was nonexistent until asked to become an active member of the planning processes.

In this neighborhood, the primary leaders of this organization have become executive members of the organization, and at one time were instrumental in establishing a meeting place for the organization. The third neighborhood association is the Hawthorne Neighborhood Association (HNA), which was constructed in response to planning processes. Originally known as the West Washington Street Neighborhood, it eventually disbanded or naturally died, and the new organization centered on the Hawthorne Community Center. Of all the organizations observed in this community, this organization was possibly the strongest and most active. HNA builds on the strength of its middle-class neighborhood status, and the community was instrumental in the construction of Hawthorne Community Center. Neighbors for Historic Haughville Neighborhood Association has been developed to address the community located in Concord Village. This organization works to increase the

value of housing within the area. Although located in the heart of Haughville, the representation has been weak, with limited linkage between itself and Haughville Community Council.

A fifth neighborhood association, the Concord Village Resident Council, represents public housing. This organization operates like a neighborhood association, but is closely linked to the public housing authority. The Eagle Creek public housing has a struggling resident council that does not participate in WESCO. Each of these organizations sends representatives to WESCO. The voting process is limited to representatives.

Planning processes. During this research period, three major planning processes were in process at one time: Annie E. Casey, Weed and Seed, and Housing Strategy. These planning processes each address similar problems and distinctively different issues. Annie E. Casey brings to distressed community a holistic approach and allows community residents to the direction of services needed within their community. A planning council is the decision-making body.

The $1.8 million Weed and Seed planning process is a four-year Department of Justice program designed to lower the crime rate within the WCDC community (Ehret & Haase, September 22, 1994, p. C3). The Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee (GIPC) administered the grant. The program is designed to seed a revitalized community after lowering crime rates. It was decided to combine the two planning processes into one process.

The city of Indianapolis Planning Department designed a housing strategy plan and small area plans for the Near Westside Subareas. This plan was designed to identify housing and other social needs and to determine which programs would address them. In addition, the Michigan Street Revitalization led to the relocation of Tibbs Health Clinic from Tibbs Street to Michigan Street. The Housing Strategy planning process was headed by the community development corporation, whereas the other planning processes were spearheaded by the city of Indianapolis Office of the Mayor and the multiservice centers. Subsequently, a fourth planning process, Youth Fair Chance, was instituted.

Community Organizations

Social services and youth programs are provided by Christamore House and Hawthorne Community Center. Along with these agencies, the Boys and Girls Club has a unit in Concord Village and a center on 16th Street. Other programs for the elderly are provided by organizations such as Interfaith, Central Indiana Council on Aging, and Washington Street Presbyterian Church (Moran, July 19, 1992, p. C2). To address the need of the homeless, Westside Community Development Corporation and Goodwill Industries worked on McKinney Program to provide transitional houses, and the Ruth Lilly Career Development Center of Goodwill provided training for clients (Krull, October 25, 1993, p. C1; Stokes, January 16, 1993, p. B2; Francis, October 27, 1994, pp. B1-B2; Stokes, January 16, 1993, pp. B1-B2). The CAAP Headstart program at Westside Charities, originally known as Westside Economic Social Service Center, provides educational services. Medical services are provided

by Tibbs Health Center, which also serves West Indianapolis and plans to relocate on Michigan Street alongside the Kroger retail center.

The Community Development Corporation

Constitution Structures and Processes

Restructured in 1993, WCDC is located in the Goodwill Building at the corner of Michigan Street and White River Parkway. The organization was the result of a merger between Partners for Housing Renewal and WCDC. Originally, Partners for Housing Renewal was a church and community project and the WCDC was a grassroots effort (Interview, January 20, 1993). To reduce the number of housing non-profits there was a pressure to force the merger of the two entities (Interview, January 20, 1993).

Like all CDCs, the organization has both articles of incorporation and bylaws. The articles of incorporation were updated in 1993. The mission of the organization is to stimulate the housing and commercial redevelopment of the near Westside. Moreover, the philosophy of the organization is to develop homeownership (Interview, January 20, 1993).

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

WCDC's board of directors is not representative of the community: it is overwhelmingly white and male. The board reflects a corporate bias, having members from a construction company, trucking company, a major insurance

corporation, and a flour company. Also on the board is a banking representative. After getting CHDO status, the board attempted to bring itself in line with the required 51% community representation.

In WCDC, community representation on the board has a broad definition. While not stated, community representation means not only individuals within the area, but also community organizations' representatives. For example, a minister, who might not live in the community, is considered a community representative; therefore, geographic representation is not a criterion for this organization. None of the neighborhood associations has direct representation on the board, although as a result of community pressure, the WESCO president and the Hawthorne Neighborhood Association president were added to the board. The Haughville Neighborhood Council did not have a presence on the board.

The current board of directors has 21 members (WCDC, 1993b). Membership is elected annually, based on selections made by the nomination committee. The membership must have one third of its membership come from the low-income neighborhood. Membership is stratified into three basic groups: corporate, neighborhood, and service groups. When there is a vacancy, the board of director fills these positions with board approval. Members may resign, or the board of director can remove a member "with or without cause by a majority vote" (WCDC, 1993a).

Although the community is equally divided between the African-Americans and whites, the board of directors has four African-American members (19%). 29% of the board of directors is women—a low percentage for this community. The

majority of the board is white males (81% male and 71% white). The Executive Committee is 100% male; 83% of the executive committee is male. It is telling that one African-American male was added to the board after continuing complaints by another African-American male in the community. Previously, an elderly African-American gentleman had been the only representation. The LISC director, an African-American female, left the board; the new director is a white male.

The committee structure consists of executive, nominating, housing, funding, and finance committees. Like other CDCs, the executive committee consists of president, president elect, vice president, immediate past president secretary, and treasurer. The group "supervises the affairs of the corporation" (WCDC, 1993a, p. 5). The Housing Committee is responsible for the development of a housing strategy and creates a plan for the community and the oversight of the Tax Credit Project (Meeting, February 18, 1993). In 1993, the finance committee, in conjunction Joel Gauthier, set up WCDC fund accounting system and auditing system (Meeting, August 11, 1993). Originally, the administrative staff consisted of the executive director, who "operates the corporation and directs its personnel" (WCDC, 1993a, p. 8). Recently the staff has included an office manager, program manager, and construction manager.

Annual meetings, once held in June, have been changed to April. Regular meetings are not announced, but generally are held every two months at noon, making it impossible for working people other than exempt employees to attend the meetings. A quorum of one third is needed to carry out a meeting.

WCDC has made some attempt to change the representation of the organization, however, these changes are made without community input. Generally

the executive director has suggested to the board that these changes are necessary. Recently the city county councilor has requested and received non-voting status on WCDC's board of directors. Previously, there was no effort to solicit this representation. Since this is a professional board, minimum training is required. Most members have had some association with the development community or have experience of some sort that obviates the necessity of training.

Operating Structures and Processes

Originally, WCDC was made up of two nonprofit entities; however, since the merger, WCDC has built a small staff by merging the PWHR component with the housing focus. The executive director deals with housing projects, while the program manager focuses on emergency services and housing. The office manager is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the organization. A problem discussed by the board is the compensation package that is given to the staff, especially disability and pension. During this research the board of directors considered these issues and decided on a simplified employee plan that would allow the staff to receive some benefits and build a retirement program (Meetings, December 1 & 7, 1994).

The staff is 100% white, and 25% female. The overall picture is that organization is overwhelmingly white and male.

The primary decision makers are not representative of the community; this is even less true of the staff. Although two of the staff members own properties in near Westside, these members are not community residents. A staff member who was the president of PWHR does have ties, but over time, these ties have weakened. After

some controversy, there was an effort to hire a construction person from the community.

Before the merger, only four houses had been restored in the previous seven years (Interview, January 20, 1993). After 1993, WCDC requested and received $300,000 for 60 units of Homeowners Assistance and Hope 3, yielding eight units of renovation (Meeting, February 18, 1993). Coincidentally the WCDC community is going through the planning processes, with WCDC leading the housing strategy planning process. Also during this time, WCDC participated in Equity VI and VII with several other CDCs. Equity VII program led to the renovation of duplexes in the Stringtown area (Meeting, October 12, 1994).

WCDC, in partnership with Timber Park Development, made plans to construct approximately 92 houses in what would be called Hawthorne Station. Unfortunately, the WCDC partnership with Timber Park Development plan did not come to fruition. The land had been offered by the city to a French company for a sand recycling project (Meeting, October 13, 1993).

One goal of the fund committee is to increase and diversify the funding stream to the organization. Like other organizations, WCDC gets an array of funding based on grants and other programs in which the organization participates. At one time the organization received over $300,000 from the city for homeowners' assistance and Hope 3 programs associated with HUD. The organization has received approximately $11,000 in grants from the Indy Foundation for new office equipment. The city, along with HUD, also allocated $94,000 for housing development (Meeting, October 13, 1993). Two equity programs would yield some future revenue based on

participation in those programs. WCDC participated with Goodwill in a $1.6 million HUD program to do transition housing. In addition to these types of programs, WCDC has developed a fundraising strategy by requesting funds or donations through their newsletter, which at one time yielded approximately $3,000 (Meetings, October 6 & 13, 1993).

West Indianapolis Development Corporation (WIDC) (Site 13)

The West Indianapolis Community

West Indianapolis, a blue-collar residential community and home of stockyards and the Southern loop of the railway, is located south of the Monon Tracks, west of Harding Road, north of Raymond Street, and east of Tibbs, on the southwestern corner of ICBD along the White River (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 1419). Annexed in 1897, it is part of the largest and oldest industrial district in downtown Indianapolis (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 1419). Located south of the WCDC community and west of the CCDC community, WIDC community has within its boundaries Eli Lilly Industries, Crescent Paper, National Starch Company, Rexnord Corporation, General Motors Truck and Bus Corporation and a glass recycling center (Bodenhamer, 1994, p. 1419).

Community Needs and Psychological Structures and Processes

41% of the population may be considered dependent (18 years of age or younger or 65 years or older). Over 55% of this population does not have a high-

school education. WIDC community has two neighborhood elementary schools (City of Indianapolis, 1992, p. 9). IPS is planning to build another elementary school south of Morris Street. Unfortunately, Washington High School, the IPS high school for area students, has been slated for closure, which might force this group of students to be bused further out of their community (Meeting, January 23, 1995).

Only 6% of the households in the WIDC community are female-headed and living below the poverty level. However, 36% of the female-headed households are living below the poverty level. Another indication of the poverty in the WIDC community is percentage of households that are on fixed income (58%), with the majority of those on Social Security.

Surrounded by potential brownfields, old industrial remnants, and chemical companies, the WIDC community has environmental problems, including that of disposal of untreated industrial waste (City of Indianapolis, 1992, p. 12).

Community Economic Structures and Processes

Known as a "rustbelt" community, WIDC community has mixed land use: residential, commercial/retail, and industry (City of Indianapolis, 1992). Morris Street has a few shops, Safeway Grocery Store, a drug store, and a few "mom and pop" ice cream shops. Throughout the community are a number of locally-owned businesses.

The largest percentage of the employed work in the manufacturing category—that might be expected based on the community's location.

In the last ten years, only 220 new units of housing have been built. In the 1990s, nine houses were built by WIDC and Habitat for Humanity, but overall very little new construction has taken place (Meeting, May 24, 1993). Perhaps the most controversial economic change has been the reconstruction of Harding Street, or the special commercial district plan for Harding Street and Kentucky Avenue (City of Indianapolis, 1992, p. 37). As Lilly Industries and IDOT needed more space along Kentucky and Harding streets, the city of Indianapolis proceeded with a land clearance program that moved both businesses and houses out of the WIDC community. To make this change the city used its power of eminent domain. WIDC community residents protested, but residents who were poor were moved. Businesses like the Shell gas station, liquor store, and Village Pantry either were cleared or relocated after the widening of Harding Street (City of Indianapolis, 1992).

Community Political Structures and Processes

The majority of the WIDC community is in City County Council District 17, which is represented by a Democrat; the southeast corner is represented by a Republican. The Democratic councilperson is a high ranking official in IDOT. Part of both Center Wayne Townships, this community is represented by both township administrators. The Center Township administrator is more likely to address issues. The Marion County Library has a branch on Morris Street, which provides a meeting place for the umbrella organization.

Community Organizations

Various organizations operate within the community. The Mary Riggs Multi-Service Center houses a number of social programs which focuses on elderly, youth, and emergency services. Collaborative efforts by Mary Riggs and Ivy Tech have yielded some on-site job training (Interview, November 2, 1995). The Southwest Health Center provides medical services to the poor. The Community Action of Greater Indianapolis's Head Start program is headquartered in the WIDC community.

WIDC community's umbrella organization is the West Indianapolis Neighborhood Congress (WINC), which represents the whole community. Although there have been some efforts to organize the Little Valley, it is unclear if there are other neighborhood associations (*Westside Enterprise*, October 5, 1994, p. 4). Through funding and office facilities, WINC was once linked to Mary Riggs. However, when funding was cut, so was the linkage, and the organization's ability to organize and actively participate was slowed tremendously. Membership is open to all residents who pay dues. During this research period, the membership base of this organization was small, and efforts to increase its membership were not productive. The organization, like others, has an executive board with a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer who represent and carry out the functions of the organization. The WINC is represented on the board of directors of Mary Riggs Center, the Southwest Health Center, and WIDC. Although the above organizations are integral to the community, the community development corporation addresses economic issues.

The Development Corporation

Constitution Structures and Processes

As of 1991, WIDC community participated in a planning process which led to the West Indianapolis/Harding Street Neighborhood Plan. The West Indianapolis Development Corporation (WIDC) evolved from this plan. Established in 1992, this community development corporation has its home in a building on Belmont Street south of Morris Street, a highly visible location. The organization rents the building from a local businessman. WIDC was organized with the assistance of an INHP representative, who also was instrumental in the creation of CCDC and MB CDC, other new organizations. The organization was developed by a group of local residents seeking access to certain funds.

The organization has the following mission: "[raising] the economic, educational and social levels of residents; expanding economic opportunities available to area residents; and increasing the availability of low cost housing to residents" (WIDC, 1993b).

The WIDC board of directors consists of approximately 18 members. Membership is open to anyone who pays $1.00 dues. Board membership has the addition requirement of residency. Membership dues are a fund-raising activity of the organization.

Collective Participation Structures and Processes

The board of directors is responsible for the policy making and decision making of the organization. One of the board members is the director of the Mary Riggs Center, who gives input regarding the social needs of the WIDC community. What is unique about this board of directors is that over half of the members grew up in the WIDC community (Interview, November 2, 1995). Although membership is open, the voting privilege is extended only to community residents. Presently, the board does not include anyone from Eli Lilly Industries or the banking community. The board of directors resisted the inclusion of nonresidents and businesses. One proposed solution was an advisory board which would not have policy-making authority but would guide the board of directors and provide WIDC with expertise (Meeting, August 17, 1994).

Like other CDCs, the 18-member board has two classes of directors: community resident class, and nonprofit organization class such as the multi-service center. The board structure is subdivided into the executive directors: president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. This group has oversight of the daily operation of the organization. For example, the treasurer is responsible for the organization's budget. Another responsibility of this position is signing checks. The board of directors has developed a committee structure which operates along functional lines such as personnel, community relations, and projects.

The WIDC is led by women. All of the members of the executive committee are women. In the case of employees, the residency requirement has not been enforced: all paid employees are nonresidents, although the HOME programmer later

moved to the community. When the question of residency was brought up by an applicant for the executive directorship, the applicant was told that the organization should hire the "best qualified person" (Meeting, May 25, 1995).

The board meetings are open to the public, especially the annual meeting. At times the CDC has offered its space to host community meetings on other issues, such as garage burning and Crime Watch. Although the monthly board meetings are open, the executive board meetings are closed to residents. Other meetings, such as that of the finance committee or the selection of the executive director, are closed to the public

Operating Structures and Processes

From 1992 to 1994, the administrative structure grew from no staff members to three. The organization did not have a full-time executive director until 1993. Before hiring an executive director, the organization relied on board members to handle certain programs. During this period, board members working for the City and Gleaners Food Bank provided valuable resources and expertise. Also, the Mary Riggs administrator contributed knowledge about grant applications. After the executive director was hired, other staff members were hired to focus on community development programs and the HOME program. Volunteers provide backup assistance. Basically, this organization has a flat hierarchy structure which provides ease of coordination and communication.

The makeup of the board and staff reflect the socio-demographics of the WIDC community. The majority of the community is white. The executive director

and the staff also are representative of the community. At the staff level, two women run the organization's programs. Although women hold a number of leadership positions, the executive director is male. The policy-making board is controlled by women residents, while the administrative structure is controlled by a man. Thus, the possibility of gender conflict is tremendous.

The first goal of the mission statement is economic in nature. WIDC seeks economic opportunities and low-cost housing. To accomplish these goals, the organization has developed a staff of specialists. The programmer of community development focuses on CDBG programs, and the project coordinator, on housing programs. To ensure success the organization has hired a specialist who had worked with the city. The person who works primarily with the HOME program is expected to develop the skills to move a client from application to bank approval.

The major commercial node, Morris Street, has seen some renovation; however, in is expected to be in the form of a revitalized commercial strip. The organization planning three major projects: the Gateway project, Morris Street redevelopment, and Belmont and Morris commercial/retail redevelopment. To study the commercial node, WIDC commissioned an architectural firm. After the study is presented, the board of directors will provide their input. The second stage of development is to put together the funding packages and let out bids to contractors. The planning of the three projects reflects future goals; however, the organization has focused on four major programs: home repair, housing development, home ownership, and neighborhood development.

The mission statement indicates that a goal for the organization is social development. WIDC has collaborated with Mary Riggs Center on social activities. The future plan is for the two organizations to coexist in one structure. Even though the organization has not focused on social activities, WIDC has a priority list that details which groups will be served. Priorities are seniors, single heads of households, followed by everyone else (Interview, October 24, 1995). Most home repair programs are directed toward this goal.

Journey Forward

This descriptive case-study analysis presents an insight into the 13 communities and their community development corporations. All communities have experienced tremendous changes over the years, requiring some intervention or organizationai structure to address these changes. The community development corporation focuses primarily on economic development or housing development. ECI and MFCHDC have implemented some social development activities. Overall, all of these corporations except ECI and MFCHDC have flat structures with limited staff and funding. Chapter Five will analyze the various types of structures and activities, as well as the association between structures and activities and the activities themselves.

5. IDEOLOGIES: THE NEXUS BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND DEMOCRACY WITHIN SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

This chapter provides a comparative analysis of the community development corporations and their activities (community political development [CPD], community economic development [CED], and community social development [CSD]) as discussed in chapter 4. The analysis presented tries to determine whether CDCs in Indianapolis can do both CED and CPD activities, or whether there is a correlation between them. However, these organizations find themselves in areas of social disorganization and need to address CSD (Massey & Denton, 1993, pp. 137-138; Wilson, 1987). Moreover, the types of activities will show whether these organizations are designed to implement the activities that theorists have suggested (Berendt, 1977; Blakely, 1994; Faux, 1971; Hanssen, 1993; Koresh, 1986; Kotler, 1969; Mayer, 1984; Pierce & Steinbach, 1987, 1990; Taub, 1988; Vidal, 1992). Also, community structures and processes are included to determine whether these structures and processes have any influence on the organizations and their activities. The question is: Which activities are they doing, and how well are they doing these activities? More specifically, is it possible to design or construct an economic order or organization that practices democratic process at the community level? The overall hypothesis is this: Community development corporations are economic entities that incorporate economic, political, and social development activities.

Cross-Case Analysis: Types of Structures and Activities

Answering the questions above requires cross case analysis. Cross case analysis will not only compare cases across an array of indices but it will show what type of activities are done more than others and what are the deviations from the others. By doing this analysis the research may show that some organizations are working within their contexts to address the balance between CED, CPD, and CSD. The analysis begins by showing the types of structures that exist. What are types of community structures in which each CDC resides? Are there specific processes such as election and decision making that are similar or different in each community? Next the analysis will show what are the particular structures and processes of each CDC, and whether these structures and processes across organizations are similar or different. If there are differences, do these differences influence the organization's ability to do certain activities? After analyzing structures and processes this analysis will examine each community development activity to show the similarities and differences in how these organizations deal with the activities. The analysis will also show which types of activities that these organizations are doing and which types of activities they are not doing? By knowing types of structures, processes, and activities, the analysis will try to determine relationships between structures and activities. Do certain types of structures influence certain types of activities? More specifically, do certain community structures influence certain organizational structures? Do certain organization structures influence certain activities? In other words, how does one explain the types of activities that these organizations perform?

Comparative Community Structures and Processes

Before addressing the overall hypothesis, this analysis begins by addressing the community structures and processes of the Indianapolis community development corporations' communities. To show similarities and differences indicators such as location, social structure, economic structures, and political structures are measured to determine the rank order of these organizations.

Indianapolis CDCs are located in neighborhoods that vary considerably from one another. One way to index this variation is by their relative level of concentrated disadvantage. Concentrated disadvantage (Sampson et al., 1997) is a summative indicator of community needs, and is computed by adding together each neighborhood's percentage of households with income below the poverty line, percentage of the population that is unemployed, percentage of households that are female headed, and percentage of population that is African American. Data to construct the index are from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing. Table 8 displays concentrated disadvantage for each CDC neighborhood and rank orders the 13 neighborhoods from most to least disadvantaged.

TABLE 8. Concentrated Distress within CDC Communities

INHPCDC	*CNCTD DIS*	*RANK*	*% AA*	*CNCTD DIS W/O AA*	*RANK W/O*
BOS	215	13	98	117	13
NNDC	178	12	81	97	12
MFCHDC	172	11	97	75	10
UNWADC	165	10	96	69	8
MBCDC	159	9	85	74	9
KPADC	157	8	72	85	11
WCDC	113	7	47	66	7
MLKCDC	108	6	69	39	2
RARP	89	5	35	54	5
ECI	80	4	16	64	6
SEND	57	3	6	51	4
WIDC	46	2	1	45	3
CCDC	42	1	6	36	1

Source: 1990 US Census

There are two ways to examine concentrated distress: including or excluding the racial variable of percent African American. For this analysis, both methods are used. Massey and Denton argue that "segregation [racially] increases the susceptibility of neighborhoods to these spirals of decline. During periods of economic dislocation, a rising concentration of black poverty is associated with simultaneous concentration of other negative social and economic conditions (Massey & Denton, 1993, p. 13).

Table 8 shows differentiation between these 13 communities. Also shown is the wide dispersion between the communities as it relates to the concentration of

distress across the CDC communities. Whether including or excluding the racial variable, a higher concentration of distress is found in communities which are predominantly African American. This concentration of distress measure confirms theorists' claims for an interrelationship between poverty and race (Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987).

Although concentrated distress is an important category of community structure, it is not the only category. As discussed in Chapter Two and operationalized in Chapter Three, other categories of community structure are location, psychological attachment, economic, and political structures (Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Hallman, 1984; Warren, 1970). Scores for each of these categories are computed by summing across indicators for each dimension of the category (indicator scores for each category and dimension may be found in the appendix). Category scores for each CDC are shown in Table 9 below.[4] To further summarize these scores into a single measure of community structure, I used principal components analysis and extracted the first factor score as this single measure. As indicated in Table 9, the eigenvalue for this factor was 2.74, and it accounted for more than 50 percent of the shared variance.

[4] The categories psychological attachment and political structure are indicated with data from the 1993 Community Baseline Survey. There were insufficient respondents to that survey from the BOS community to compute category scores for BOS. To avoid dropping BOS from subsequent analyses, mean values for these two categories were used for BOS scores.

TABLE 9. Comparative Community Need Structure - Indicator Scores

INHPCDC	*CNCTD DIS*	*LCTN*	*PSY*	*ECO*	*POL*	*SCORE**	*NEED*
CCDC	42	0	171	130	671	-1.98	LOWEST
RARP	89	1	166	164	691	-1.06	
WIDC	46	0	175	176	599	-1.05	
MLK	108	1	158	144	629	-0.51	
SEND	57	0	137	192	626	-0.41	
ECI	80	0	142	201	612	-0.18	
UNWA	165	0	150	176	612	-0.09	
KPA	157	1	159	213	601	0.58	
WCDC	113	1	138	176	562	0.67	
MB	159	1	126	157	595	0.69	
BOS	215	1	148a	185	612a	0.73	
MFC	172	1	124	175	585	1.04	
NN	178	1	128	213	555	1.58	HIGHEST

SCORE = Factor score from principal component analysis of five indicators - eigenvalue = 2.74.

Higher scores indicate greater need:

CNCTD DIS — CONCENTRATED DISTRESS
LCTN — LOCATION
ECO — ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

Lower scores indicate greater need:

PSY — PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTACHMENT (a - sample mean score for BOS)
POL — POLITICAL STRUCTURES (a - sample mean score for BOS)

Table 9 ranks the 13 CDCs from lowest to highest in terms of their community need. The least needy community by this score is CCDC, while the most needy community is NNDC. This is unpredictable, because CCDC did not participate in community development activities until 1992, while NNDC community built its community development corporation in the 1980s. Similarly, CCDC, RARP, SEND, and WIDC communities are located in the Indianapolis Central Business District

(ICBD) or close to it, and all of these communities are predominantly Caucasian-American population. The majority of CDC communities do not have strong community political structures. All have some community political organizations such as umbrella organizations and/or neighborhood associations, however, these community political structures are not well connected. What is interesting is the relationship between psychological attachment and political structures. People who have some feeling about their community may be willing to participate in the governing structures. Also this relationship might relate to the arguments of political efficacy, suggesting that a strong efficacious feeling leads to political participation (Cohen & Dawson, 1993).

As with community political structures, these communities had weak community economic structures, such as high renter occupied rate, aging housing, and few employment opportunities. Similarly, three CDCs—CCDC, MB CDC, and WIDC—are new and are beginning to address housing issues. Only recently have BOS CDC and RARP begun to address housing development. BOS CDC has primarily focus on commercial development such as Walker Theater and its office building. On the other hand, RARP has not had steady funding and support; historic preservation has been done by other interest such as developers, historic preservationists, and urban pioneers. In addition, BOS CDC and NNDC communities have high renter-occupied rates. Also, in ECI, MB CDC, SEND, and WIDC communities, large percentages of the population works at service and manufacturing jobs which are low paying and limit upward mobility (Blakely, 1994; Coles, 1975;

Malveaux, 1992; Marable, 1983). All four of these communities have aging industrial base forcing the population to seek employment in service industry.

Comparative Community Organization Structures and Processes

Researchers argue that certain community structures may require the social construction of an organization to address social disorganization (Blakely, 1994; Dahl, 1985; Denning, 1984; Pateman, 1970; Peirce & Steinbach, 1990; Robson, 1985; Walsh, 1978). This analysis will suggest that community structure may influence the construction of a certain types of community development corporation structures and processes that address the challenges within its community.

Table 10 compares three categories of structures within CDC organizations. Constitutional structures and processes include organization design and constitutional design along with change and formalization processes. As indicated in Chapter Two, organization design and change examines the construction of the organization such as origin, originators, age, location, size, and change process. However, constitutional design and formalization examines the legal requirements and mission and goals of the organization and formalization process, which theorists indicated were essential for the organization to operate (Daft, 1995; Hall, 1999; Himmelstein, 1993; Perrow, 1972; Mayer, 1984; Vidal, 1992). The summary scores for each category is the sum across its dimensions and indicators for those dimensions (raw scores for the categories, dimensions, and indicators are available from the author).

Table 10 shows that ECI and MFHDC rank strong, especially as related to organizational constitutional structures and processes. As indicated earlier, two

distinct eras of CDCs evolved in Indianapolis. During the first era, housing/commercial development, BOS CDC, ECI, KPADC, MFHDC, NNDC, SEND, UNWADC, and WCDC were all built. These CDCs were influenced by such entities as Flanner House, Methodist Hospital, Mid North Church Council, Lockerbie Ministerial Association, and Christamore House, which were looking for a policy instrument that did community economic development activities. The other CDCs were built to address the pressing affordable housing need. Very few of these organizations owned their buildings, requiring them to lease space from other social service agencies or for-profit entities. Two organizations, SEND and WCDC, merged with other community development corporations in their communities, while KPADC—after being dormant for years—reorganized in 1992.

TABLE 10. Comparative Organization Structures and Processes - Indicator Scores

INHPCDC	*CONST*	*PARTIC*	*OPERATE*	*TOTAL*	*STRUCTURE*
ECI	12	4	5	21	STRONG
MFCHDC	10	4	1	15	
SEND	9	2	1	12	
BOS	8	1	1	10	
MBCDC	6	3	0	9	
NNDC	6	1	1	8	
RARP	5	2	1	8	
UNWADC	6	2	0	8	
WCDC	6	2	0	8	
CCDC	4	3	0	7	
KPADC	5	2	0	7	
WIDC	5	2	0	7	
MLKCDC	5	0	1	6	WEAK

Higher scores indicate greater strength for each indicator.

CONST — CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES
PARTIC — COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES
OPERATE — OPERATING STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES

All CDCs had five or more constitutional design structures and processes, however, all nonprofit organizations are required to have articles of incorporation, bylaws, missions and goals for funding purpose and legitimacy. At the time of this research, UNAWDC was working on meeting requirements by updating their articles of incorporation and bylaws to adjust to the new Indiana nonprofit code. Therefore all organizations except UNANDC met the minimum requirements for operation in Indiana and funding for 501(c)(3) tax status.

The weaknesses of these organizations are beyond constitutional structures and processes. Rather, they lack structures and processes such as strategic planning, policy procedure manuals, and formalization. Very few organizations have developed strategic plans and policy and procedures manuals. More interesting, only two organizations, ECI and MB CDC, had a process for replacing executive directors or employees. As indicated, ECI is a developed organization; however, MB CDC had a union representative on its board. During the challenging replacement of the executive director in MFCHDC, the lack of a formalization process was very revealing. At first, the board president selected a replacement. Afterward, other board members protested, leading to a co-directorate until a replacement was chosen by the board.

As explained in Chapter Two, CDC collective participation structures are boards of directors and committees. The three processes are nomination/election, communication, and leadership. Board of director structure and processes include board of directors, membership, executive board, advisory board, nomination/election, and leadership. Most boards have less than 17 members—with

ECI, RARP, SEND, and WCDC having more than 20 members. The analysis shows that the younger organizations are more likely to have resident-based boards. Although MB CDC and UNAWDC have over 75% resident representation on their boards, other older organizations tend to have the minimum requirement of 51% residents (or slightly more) for CHDO status. Only BOS CDC has an advisory committee which allows ex-officio board members and influential people of Indianapolis an opportunity to advise the organization. These members also play a valuable role in fund raising. All organizations use a variation of self-selection for nomination and election to the board of directors, and the process of leadership development is minimal as shown by the lack of recognition by community residents of these organizations.

Committee structures and processes illustrate that the majority of the organizations have a minimum number of committees, while ECI, KPADC, MB CDC, MFCHDC, MLK CDC, and SEND have more than four committees. The communication process is mainly closed, and is inconvenient for most community residents. Organizations such as BOS CDC, NNDC, RARP, SEND, and WCDC have public meetings that are in the morning, late afternoon, or lunch, times inconvenient for working community residents who do not have exempt-level jobs. In particular, BOS CDC requires a person to request in writing permission to attend a board meeting. NNDC, as mentioned in Chapter Four, has its meeting in a meeting room at the electric company on Illinois Street. Most decision making is done by consensus building. Very seldom is a rational decision-making model used to systematize alternatives and chose the best alternative based on some criteria. If a rational model

of decision making is used, it is in conjunction with the city planning department or some other entity.

As derived in Chapter Two, the operational level of analysis has seven dimensions: (1) differentiation, (2) executive director, (3) executive leadership, (4) staff, (5) programs and projects, (6) resources and (7) the process of fund development (Daft, 1995; Mayer, 1984; Vidal, 1992). ECI ranks high on the operational level of the organization structure and processes. Most CDCs have flat and narrow differentiation with one person responsible for the operations of the organization. In the case of MLKCDC, the executive director performed all the tasks associated with the organization. The executive director was once the director of the multi-service center and decided to form the CDC. Similarly, most organizations have three job categories: administrative service, program manager, and project manager. The administrative services position is a collection of support staff positions which include office management, administrative assistant, or other positions assisting the executive and the other staff members. The program manager is another collection of positions to handle different programs that the organization is pursuing (CDBG, HOME, HOPE, and other programs). This position may also manage volunteers, assist clients with loan qualification, and write grants for new programs. This position gets closest to providing community social development. The final position, project manager or construction manager, works with contractors to produce housing and other development projects of bricks and mortar. Those positions that are not within the organization are contractual relationships between individuals and firms such as the accounting position, consultants, builders, and special contract

managers. However, ECI, MFCHDC, and SEND had more differentiated structures. As noted in Chapter Four, ECI has not only a president but also a chief operating officer. SEND has a president and vice president, a structure which evolved from the merger of two previous organizations. As discussed earlier, MFCHDC has two people with equal responsibility in project management and program management. Two possible explanations are that these organizations are mature enough to differentiate hierarchically or that their directors have city administration experience.

Only three executive directors had more than eight years of experience. Although MLKCDC's executive director had more than eight years, he and his board had not developed the organization's operating structure at all. Conversely, ECI's executive director had moved the organization to the delivery of a variety of activities, developed a multiple funding stream and gained national prominence. Other organizations, BOS CDC, KPADC, MFCHDC, NNDC, SEND, UNAWDC, and WCDC had recently hired new executive directors either because other directors had moved to city positions or other development related organizations. RARP had continual problems keeping an executive director, and at one time the president of the board served as the executive director. With the exception of ECI, most CDCs have weak operational structures.

At the operational level, the leadership process is informal: face-to-face communication and consensus building. In the case of MLKCDC, there is not a leadership process because there is no staff with whom to communicate. Due to its structure building process, the communication process of ECI is somewhat formal. The operation of the organization is handled by the operating officer, giving the

executive director more opportunity to focus externally. All other organizations maintain an informal leadership process.

Consistently, ECI performs in the other categories contrary to the other community development corporations. As is evident in community development activities described below, these organizations are not very diversified in terms of program and project mix, and they lack diversified funding sources. Most CDCs' mixtures of programs and projects and funding sources are tied together. With the exception of ECI and MFHDC, these organizations have not developed their operating structures and processes beyond a minimum level of operation.

Types of Community Economic Development Activities

This section analyzes community development corporations, in order to determine which community economic development activities these organizations are doing and at what levels. This section addresses a series of questions showing patterns of accomplishment among community development corporations. These patterns will show the similarities and dissimilarities between these organizations, and try to assess why certain differences exist. By examining these patterns between CDCs, evidence will show what CED activities these organizations do. The question that will be addressed is: Do these organizations engage in community capitalism beyond housing, as the literature has indicated, or are they agents of government and others in addressing the low to moderate income housing shortage?

All of the Indianapolis CDCs focus principally on two CED activities: capital accumulation/resource management [CA/RM] and housing development [HD] (see

Table 11). There is an interconnection between these two dimensions. CA/RM is linked to HD in that most housing development requires community development corporations to seek land acquisition and funds from the city, banks, and/or foundations. These funds are used to buy down the cost of the housing, making it affordable for potential buyers. Interestingly, a small number of CDCs do business retention activities; specifically, ECI, RARP and NNDC's focus on providing an outlet for advertising local businesses to community residents and acknowledging for their location within community. Several organizations, ECI, MFCHDC, NNDC, and RARP, focus on business development (BD) by improving existing businesses' capacity to operate or by developing community-controlled businesses. Recently, MB CDC has begun ownership of a coin-operated laundromat.

TABLE 11. Comparative Community Economic Development Activities - Indicator Scores

INHP CDC	*CA/ RM*	*HD*	*BR*	*CID*	*BD*	*JTTA*	*OD*	*TOTAL*	*CCED*
ECI	7	9	2	0	5	7	7	37	Most
NNDC	5	8	0	3	4	6	6	30	Activity
BOS CDC	5	8	0	2	0	3	7	25	
MFCHDC	6	8	0	0	2	3	6	25	
WCDC	5	8	0	2	0	2	7	24	
MB CDC	6	6	0	3	1	1	6	23	
RARP	5	8	4	1	3	1	1	23	
SEND	6	8	0	0	1	2	6	23	
WIDC	5	7	1	4	0	2	4	23	
KPADC	6	6	0	1	0	1	5	19	
UNAWDC	5	8	0	1	0	2	3	19	
CCDC	5	4	0	0	2	2	5	18	Least
MLK CDC	4	8	0	1	0	1	3	17	Activity

Higher scores indicate greater activity for each indicator.

BR	—	BUSINESS RETENTION
CA/RM	—	CAPITAL ACCUMULATION/RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
HD	—	HOUSING DEVELOPMENT
CID	—	COMMERCIAL/INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT
BD	—	BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT
JTTA	—	JOB TRAINING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE
OD	—	ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT

Types of Community Political Development Activities

The above analysis of types of CED activities demonstrates that CDCs in Indianapolis focus on two interrelated activities: CARM and HD. The analysis below shows what CPD activities these organizations focus on. The overall question to be addressed here is: Do these organizations provide community democracy or democratic activities for community residents? The analysis seeks to find out whether these organizations, along with doing community capitalism, are "laboratories of democracy" as some have argued (Osborne, 1990). What democratic

opportunities do these organizations provide? Who participates in those opportunities? Or does capitalism overshadow the democratic process?

Table 12 shows that most organizations focus on accountability activities (ACC) to some extent, however, other CPD activities are addressed in a very limited way. All have minimum levels in all other categories except political partnership, which indicates that the organization must have some partnership relations to do business. Community residents are given minimal opportunities to participate, but what most evident are the low levels of leadership development and political socialization. Accountability activities include indicators such as time and place of meetings, place organization, and availability of important documents. The time and place of meetings indicate whether residents can attend an organization's regular meetings. Prior to this research, most CDC meetings were closed to the public. As stated in Chapter Four, BOS CDC requires official notification before attending its meetings. NNDC has its meeting in the afternoon and in the electric company basement conference room. Most CDCs provide access to important documents such as meeting minutes and articles of incorporation and bylaws upon request. In the case of accountability, most CDCs conduct open meetings relating to planning process only after important decisions are made. More generally, the general public or community residents do not participate in the planning process, unless conducted by city officials, as was the neighborhood planning process in ECI, SEND, WCDC and WIDC.

TABLE 12. Comparative Community Political Development Activities - Indicator Scores

INHP CDC	*ACC*	*LD*	*POL-PART*	*POL-PSHP*	*POL-SOC*	*TOTAL*	*CPD*
ECI	14	3	9	4	5	35	Most
MFCHDC	12	1	4	2	2	21	Activity
WIDC	9	0	5	4	4	21	
MBCDC	11	1	4	2	2	20	
BOS CDC	9	2	2	4	1	18	
CCDC	11	1	2	3	1	18	
SEND	6	2	5	2	2	17	
NNDC	6	2	4	2	2	16	
MLK CDC	5	1	3	2	2	13	
RARP	4	2	4	1	2	13	
UNAWDC	4	1	2	5	1	13	Least
KPADC	4	1	3	3	1	12	Activity
WCDC	5	1	2	3	1	12	

Higher scores indicate greater activity for each indicator.

ACC	—	ACCOUNTABILITY
LD	—	LEADERSHIP
POLPART	—	POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
POLPSHP	—	POLITICAL PARTNERSHIP
POLSOC	—	POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

For these organizations, maintaining connections with their community residents is the most difficult process. Some, such as ECI, SEND and WCDC, have newsletters that they send out to a mailing list and upon request. Some newsletters serve as a fundraising tool as well as a communication tool. The problem that several CDCs have is that these organizations, as mentioned earlier, do not include community residents in the actual planning or decision-making processes.

ECI faced unhappy community residents over a housing project that required a certain percentage of low-income residents. Community residents in WCDC were amazed by WCDC's redevelopment project along the Michigan Street corridor.

WCDC, itself, was amazed by a similar redevelopment plan by another group in the City. Similarly, UNWADC community residents were in shock when an architecture firm, along with the CDC, without their knowledge or participation, presented a plan for community redevelopment.

Unfortunately, board training is not a continual process, unless requested by the board of directors or a funding source. INHP was instrumental in renewed board training for MB CDC and refocusing the members on their goals and accomplishments. CDC executive directors and project managers receive specialized training by LISC, IACED, and the Indiana Department of Commerce, but rarely does that training extend to community residents or board members. In fact, community residents, if on the board of directors, are given very little access to key information beyond what they "need to know."

As noted, political partnerships are mainly with city officials. It is not unusual for city-county councilors to express a lack of knowledge of CDCs and their missions and goals. City-county councilors attend only annual meetings. WCDC's city-county councilors requested ex-officio positions that they did not get. In contrast, at its meetings, UNAWDC has its city-county councilor and state representative present. Similarly, ECI has maintained connection to its representatives, especially its state representative. Executive directors focused their connection to city administrators who interact with them on a daily basis, ignoring the role that the city-county councilors play in funding decisions. Volunteer boards of directors have left most partnership relationships to executive directors.

Most CDC executive directors see that political socialization activities are the responsibility of neighborhood associations and umbrella organizations. For example, SEND—along with INHP representatives—tried to establish an umbrella organization, which was met with strong resistance and suspicion by neighborhood associations. Apparently, there is continual conflict surrounding who has what responsibility. Mostly, executive directors see their roles as developers—housing developers.

Since some neighborhood associations have limited funds, providing services such as newsletter printing and access to copy machines is valuable. For its part, NNDC provides support to its neighborhood association. ECI provides office space and equipment to NESCO, the umbrella organization; however, the ECI and NESCO partnership fractured as ECI became the stronger organization. On occasion, WIDC provides meeting room space and access to office equipment to WINC, the umbrella organization.

Types of Community Social Development Activities

As shown above, these organizations engage in few types of community political development activities. Community social development theorists argue that these organizations need to address social disorganization within their communities (Sullivan, 1993; Taub, 1990). Therefore, these organizations must not only address economic and political activities, but also, within the same context, these organizations must address social activities. Does community social development take a back seat to both community capitalism and community democracy? Is it that

community capitalism addresses these concerns with another approach? Does the democratic process prevent community social welfare from being addressed?

Table 13 shows that these community development corporations do very little social development activity. All community development corporations have some social service linkages either with Goodwill, Salvation Army, United Way agencies, or welfare agencies. A few have attempted some residential services and health services, but this is limited at best. Community social development, as mentioned in Chapter Two, is a new responsibility or service provided by CDCs. In needy communities, the provision of housing is not sufficient: job training, daycare, and elderly care also are needed. Historically, CDCs in Indianapolis evolve out of multi-service centers needing another policy instrument to address declining community economics, especially housing and employment (Koresh, 1986). Most executive directors see that their role as CED rather than CSD. It is not uncommon to hear directors and board members express the need for multi-service directors to be involved.

TABLE 13. Comparative Community Social Development Activities - Indicator Scores

INHPCDC	*ESVCS*	*YT SVCS*	*RS SVCS*	*PHMH SVCS*	*SSL*	*TOTAL*	*CSD*
RARP	0	0	6	1	3	10	Most
ECI	1	0	2	2	4	9	Activity
WCDC	0	0	0	1	4	5	
UNAWDC	0	0	0	1	3	4	
WIDC	0	0	0	2	2	4	
NNDC	0	0	1	1	1	3	
SEND	0	0	1	0	2	3	
CCDC	0	0	0	2	2	2	
MFCHDC	0	0	0	1	1	2	
MLK CDC	0	0	0	0	2	2	
BOS CDC	0	0	0	0	2	2	
MB CDC	0	0	0	1	0	1	Least
KPADC	0	0	0	0	0	0	Activity

Higher scores indicate greater activity.

ESVCS — EDUCATION SERVICES
YTSVCS — YOUTH/TEEN SERVICES
RSVCS — RESIDENTIAL SERVICES
PHMHSVCS — PHYSICAL HEALTH/MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES
SSL — SOCIAL SERVICES LINKAGE

In conjunction with ECI and Goodwill Industries, WCDC provides transitional housing for people who were participants in Goodwill Industries' programs. Although most CDCs rely on housing counseling training by INHP, SEND has developed its own program, integrating a mentorship program for new homeowners. Most executive directors, as directed by their boards, leave such programs such as education, health, and social activities to other nonprofit organizations. Occasionally, CDCs will co-sponsor health fairs; in the case of MB CDCs Genesis project, the organization was instrumental in getting a commitment for a health clinic. RARP and SEND have sponsored street festivals, neighborhood

awards ceremony, and other events; however, these organizations are not eager to add CSD to their program list.

Primarily CSD has been done through linkages to other agencies. Multi-service centers' executive directors are on boards of CDCs such as Goodwill Industries and the Bonar Center. ECI and the Bonar Center have worked together on programs to assist the needy, such as a social service linkage program, giving welfare recipients access to several agencies simultaneously. WCDC community has a Social Service Coalition that works collaboratively on community social issues. Goodwill Industries and WCDC has worked together; the Goodwill executive director is on the board of WCDC. WIDC, like others, has a working relationship with its multi-service center and has collaborated on plans to physically house both services in the same space. CCDC and CCC work together spatially and collaboratively. As before, CCDC began with social services agencies. Recognizing the need to connect with United Way agencies, NNDC selected the executive director of Indianapolis United Way agencies to sit on its board, leading to a small social service program that eventually died from lack of interest. As indicated, CDCs and multi-service centers are often link, however, as CDCs gain popularity with city officials and community residents that linkage becomes fragile. At times, in these communities, multi-service centers, see CDCs as a threat to their funding and status.

Summary of Cross-Case Analysis Scores

Table 14 presents summary scores for each Indianapolis CDC on the elements of my structural political economy framework. These scores and the relationships

among them will be used in the next section to test a series of hypotheses derived from that framework.

TABLE 14. Summary Scores of Indianapolis CDCs on Indicators of Need, Organization, and Activities

INHPCDC	*Need [low to high]*	*Organization*	*CED Activity*	*CPD Activity*	*CSD Activity*
CCDC	-1.98	7	18	18	2
RARP	-1.06	8	23	13	10
WIDC	-1.05	8	23	21	4
MLKCDC	-0.51	6	17	13	2
SEND	-0.41	12	23	17	3
ECI	-0.18	21	37	35	9
UNWADC	-0.09	8	19	13	4
KPADC	0.58	7	19	12	0
WCDC	0.67	8	24	12	5
MBCDC	0.69	9	23	20	1
BOS	0.73	10	25	18	2
MFCHDC	1.04	15	25	21	2
NNDC	1.58	8	30	16	3

Patterns of Relationships

Having described the patterns of community and community needs in Indianapolis, the organizational patterns of Indianapolis CDCs, and the activities in which they engage, the remaining task is to explore the linkages of community to organization and activity, seeking to answer the following questions:

1. Are variations in community need related to variations in the structure of organizations designed to address these needs?

2. Are variations in community needs related to variation in CDC activities designed to address these needs?

3. Are variations in organizational structure related to variations in the activities in which organizations engage?

4. How are the activities in which community organizations engage related to each other?

This exploration is guided by ten hypotheses, each derived from the Structural Political Economy framework developed in Chapter Two. These hypotheses are tested by computing correlation and regression coefficients among the variables contained in each. Spearman's rho is the non-parametric correlation employed to reflect the ordinal nature of the data. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients are presented also, as these may be more readily interpretable. The correlation and regression coefficients are summarized in Table 15.

TABLE 15. Summary of Hypotheses and Results

Summary of Hypotheses	*Rho*	*B*
Community Needs and CDC Structure		
H1: The greater a community's needs, the more developed the structure of the community's CDC will be.	0.40	0.66
Community Needs and CDC Activities		
H2: The greater a community's needs, the greater the amount of community economic development activities in which it CDC engages.	0.60*	1.98
H3: The greater a community's needs, the greater the amount of community political development activities in which its CDC engages.	0.03	-0.30
H4: The greater a community's needs, the greater the amount of community social development activities in which its CDC engages.	-0.31	-0.89
CDC Structure and CDC Activities		
H5: The more developed a CDCs organizational structure, the more it engages in community economic development activities.	0.76**	1.02**
H6: The more developed a CDCs organizational structure, the more it engages in community political development activities.	0.65*	1.30**
H7: The more developed a CDCs organizational structure, the more it engages in community social development activities.	0.23	0.29
Relationships among CDC Activities		
H8: The extent of a CDCs community economic development activities is positively related to the extent of its community political development activities.	0.45	0.88**
H9: The extent of a CDCs community economic development activities is positively related to the extent of its community social development activities.	0.34	0.28
H10: The extent of a CDCs community political development activities is positively related to the extent of its community social development activities.	0.00	0.16

Rho -- Spearman's rank-order correlation coefficient
B -- OLS regression coefficient
Signif -- * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Community Needs and CDC Structure

The first question is whether the needs of the community relate to the organization that is constructed. The implication of this question is that different community structures would lead to different organization structures. Organization structure should reflect the overwhelming need of the community. For example, MB CDC community does not have a multi-service center or proximal social services agencies. The community residents, depending upon location, have to travel to the Forest Manor or Citizen area. Similarly, the community residents in MFCHDC are located in the MLKCDC multi-service area, however, the proximity is not close and therefore the assumption would be that MFCHDC might address some social service needs. In the WCDC community there are two multi-service centers: Christamore House and Hawthorne Community Center, along with Goodwill's central Indiana headquarters. In that case the expectation would be that the need for social service facilities would be minimal.

Hypothesis 1 states that the greater a community's needs, the more developed the structure of the community's CDC will be. Table 15 shows that a community's needs and the structure of the community's CDC is positively associated. To address the community's needs, these organizations add staff, develop programs and projects, and engage in fundraising activities. For example, ECI has begun to add staff to work on skills training and other CSD activities. SEND has staff to assist residents with housing counseling and youth programs. Several CDCs—CCDC, ECI, UNWADC, and WCDC—have construction managers to deal with day-to-day activities pertaining to construction of affordable housing. MFCHDC has a social service

position that assists those residents in the construction trade program. Other CDCs use program coordinators to address a limited number of CSD activities in conjunction with the housing program. All CDCs have an administrative assistant, or office manager. NNDC has two positions that assist different clienteles: one addresses the needs of community businesses, while the other assists community residents with affordable housing.

Community Needs and CDC Activities

While community needs structure is associated with organization structure development, the second question seeks to ascertain whether community needs are associated with CDCs' activities. Three hypotheses below try to ascertain whether needs and activities are related:

> H2: The greater a community's needs, the greater the number of community economic development activities in which its CDC engages.
>
> H3: The greater a community's needs, the greater the number of community political development activities in which its CDC engages.
>
> H4: The greater a community's needs, the greater the number of community social development activities in which its CDC engages.

The association between community needs and CPD and CSD activities are negative, which corroborates resident perceptions of a lack of activities that engage them in the process. In particular, the CPD activity of leadership development indicates that these organizations are doing a limited job. The findings also corroborate the perception of a lack of activities to address needs other than that of housing.

Also, according to anecdotal accounts, community residents do not trust that the organization is there to work for them. As related in Chapter Four, several community residents confronted ECI and WCDC at board meetings with complains that they did not think that these organizations were addressing their needs. A possible explanation of the negative association between needs and CPD is the composition of the membership of the board of directors. 51% resident presence is the minimum requirement on these boards, and that membership is defined in the broad sense of live, work, play, and pray; actual community residents' voices are diluted and possibly unheard. Only if community residents make up a large percentage and are represented geographically and socially, as outlined in Greenstone and Peterson's model, does the possibility exist of steering the organization toward community needs.

Another explanation is that organizational members may come to these organizations with personal agendas. In Ostrom's IAD framework, personal motives are examined to determine if self-interested behavior might drive an organization's output. For example, MLK CDCs director, who was with MLKMSC, decided that he wanted an instrument to carry out decisions that he and some others thought were advantage to the community, so they constructed an organization to fulfill those personal needs. Unlike the new institutional analysis framework, which assumes organization design will constraint individual behavior, this example would suggest on occasion that individual behavior may displace an organization's goals.

The finding of 1.98 in Table 15 indicates that there is a substantial positive association between community needs and an organization's CED activities. CDCs

in Indianapolis focus primarily on housing needs; the association corroborates this fact. In other words, by focusing on housing, CDCs are addressing a significant problem.

CDC Structure and CDC Activities

If community needs and community development activities, except CED, are negatively associated, then the question is whether organization structure and activities are associated. This question is addressed by the following hypotheses:

H5: The more developed a CDC organizational structure is, the more the CDC engages in community economic development activities.

H6: The more developed a CDC organizational structure is, the more the CDC engages in community political development activities.

H7: The more developed a CDC organizational structure is, the more the CDC engages in community social development activities.

The expectation is that a developed organization would do more activities. So far, there is a positive association between CDCs organizational structure and community economic development activities. Most CDCs in Indianapolis evolved having two different foci. CDCs such as BOSCDC, CCDC, KPADC, MILKCDC, NNDC, SEND, WCDC, and WIDC have focused primarily on housing development. Even though ECI, MB CDC, MFCHDC, RARP, and UNAWDC may recognize that social issues need addressing, these organizations have to acknowledge their funding sources, which have limited their focus to housing development. Funding sources such as the city, banks, and some foundations are more focused on brick and mortar,

and quick production. For these sources, the building of a house is easier to see than the building of a person.

Table 15 also shows positive association between organization structure and CPD activity. The association can be explained in part by the HUD requirement of 51% resident participation on boards of directors. Partnership relationships develop between city officials and CDC employees. The city residential services division works with construction and project managers to ensure structures are built according to code; some CDCs provide community organizations with meeting and/or office space, and staff support. Another factor explaining this association is Indiana's requirement of articles of incorporation and bylaws to be on file before these organizations may operate. As CDCs develop, they include more varied populations on their boards, have open and annual meetings, and bring residents into the process.

In recent years, ECI and MFCHDC, more developed organizations, have begun to address social needs, recognizing that community development is more than renovating a structure. ECI, MFCHDC, and SEND have developed job training programs, and MFCHDC, with the assistance of Lutheran Social Services, has hired a social worker to assist trainees with their personal needs. For its part, ECI has begun constructing innovative programs to implement Sherradan's assets for the poor program (Sherradan, 1992). Young CDCs—CCDC, MBCDC, and WIDC—may not have had time to institutionalize certain organizational operating processes. These organizations may not have the opportunity to address a broad array of activities, although the MB CDC community, the most needy community, had begun to use the CDC to bring social services to the area with the development of Genesis Project.

Overall, one can infer a lack of equality between the economic order and community political development activity; however, inference is not a causal relationship.

Relationships among CDC Activities

Although organization structure and community economic development activities show positive association, the question is, is there any other possible association that is positive? In other word, is it possible that the relationships are among the activities themselves. To answer the fourth question, the following hypotheses were tested:

> H8: The extent of a CDC's community economic development activity is positively related to the extent of its community political development activity.
>
> H9: The extent of a CDC's community economic development activity is positively related to the extent of its community social development activity.
>
> H10: The extent of a CDC's community political development activity is positively related to the extent of its community social development activity.

Hypothesis 8 suggests positive association between CED and CPD activities and between CED and CSD activities. These findings might indicate that some CDCs are realizing that there is an interrelationship between these activities and that they have to be addressed in concert.

An explanation for this association is that in order to do some CED activities an organization has to engage in CPD activities. Executive directors seek "advise and consent" from their boards of directors. Programs and projects require also some partnership relationship with city officials who supply resources and technical

support. For example, when these organizations do housing development, CDBG, HOME, and HOPE (Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere) funding comes through the city requiring recommendations by both city's Development and Finance committees and subsequent approved by city-county council.

Housing development activities are associated with community social development activities assisting community residents with affordable housing or transitional housing. In both ECI and WCDC, transitional housing gives homeless and low-income population opportunities to move from survival to security. ECI has pioneered funding programs that assist low-income residents in obtaining a down payment for a home. Occasionally, CSD activities such as festivals, dinners, and support of health services have twofold purposes. The first, of course, is to assist community residents in maintaining healthy bodies, and the second is to promote programs supported by CDCs. All CDCs provide some type of homeowners' assistance through federal government housing programs such as senior housing, homer repair and renovation.

Job training programs, which are both CED and CSD activities, lead to improving skills of recipients. In addition to improving skills, job training provides economic mobility. SEND's carpenter programs and MFCHDC's skills training programs are examples of programs improving skills while improving community housing.

Unfortunately, there is little association between CPD and CSD activities. This may be due to the unwillingness or unknowingness that CDCs can do CSD. As

Koresh's model indicated, in Indianapolis, communities see separate activities, not necessarily inter-correlation. With small percentages of community residents on boards of directors, another reason may be that the emphasis is not placed on addressing social needs relative to certain economic needs. It might be that these organizations are designed for community economic activities, and community political development activities are of no consequence to the designers or membership. Anecdotal evidence suggests that board members and executive directors do not see their roles as activists, but see that activism role left to umbrella organizations or neighborhood associations.

Conclusion

The above findings show only one strong relationship with significance. The tie between community organization structure and community economic development activities may suggest that these are organizations that are designed for one thing, and they have not adjusted to other realities. These organizations were not the product of the neighborhood activism era, and therefore the originators did not focus on—or did not necessarily see these organizations as instruments of—community political development, although there is some association between structure and CPD activity. Other findings may suggest that other factors may be unaccountable at the community level of analysis.

The above analysis suggests that the framework might not provide all possible explanations for the action of Indianapolis's community development corporations. This analysis may suggest that the community level is an inappropriate level at which

to study these organizations. I will offer other possible explanations, discuss implications of using new institutional analysis framework for organizations such as these, suggest directions for future research and policy recommendations related to community development corporations in Indianapolis. Let's journey to the end.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Community development corporations have been touted as the policy instrument to address both community politics and economic factors in socially disorganized communities. This study analyzes the possibility of constructing a community organization that has conflicting values underpinning it. Particularly, this study examines 13 community development corporations in Indianapolis. Using comparative case analysis and correlation analysis, the dissertation analyzes the relationship between community structures and community development activities.

The Development of a Conceptual Framework

The Structural Political Economy Framework

To accomplish this analysis, I began by constructing a framework that incorporated two structures and three community development activities. This framework included that analysis of community structure, community development corporation, and community development activities. First, as a broader political economy approach, the study recognizes social constraints such as race, class, and gender that affect the ability of community organizations to address social issues. Second, this framework assumes that a political economy framework is a public policy framework, because it permits a multi-disciplinary approach, giving researchers the ability to use different theories to explain a social phenomenon. Studying organizations such as community development corporations requires the use

of political science theories of community control, economic development theories of development, and sociological theories of social structures. Third, the political economy approach has been accepted in urban research. Urban researchers have used political economy to study local politics and its relationship to economic interests. Often, urban political economists argue that economic interests tend to affect the spatial arrangement of race and class. Therefore, urban political economists accept that social structures have an effect on policymaking in the urban context. For the most part, however, urban political economists focus on local economy at the macro-level of analysis, ignoring micro-level constructs. While community residents are affected by macro-level decisions, the analysis of decisions made at the micro-level is often focused on community residents taking control of their community. Taking control is important, but do residents have the ability to affect changing conditions within their community? In other words, does taking control and building institutions translate into more houses, better jobs, and more efficacious community residents?

This dissertation began with a discussion of community models to construct the structural community political economy framework. First, community theories suggest that community has social, political, and economic structures and processes. These structures and processes include spatial arrangements, population, psychological attachment, and political and economic structures. Spatial arrangement, as discussed in Chapter Two, deals with the location of a sub-area, i.e., whether it is close the central business district, whereas population is the description of the people living in that space. Psychological attachment demonstrates that people have some sense of place: they are attached to their community either by friends or

relatives. Political structures are institutions and institutional arrangements that address politics or community control, but also government institutions and local based interest groups, such as neighborhood associations and umbrella organizations. Economic structures relates to commercial and industrial complexes, retail stores that provide economic goods and services, and also employment opportunities. More importantly, economic structures include housing for community residents.

Second, community theorists suggest that community institutions are constructed to address specific needs. Koresh suggests that the urban political economy is a segmented economy, addressing different needs with different institutions. Community development corporations are institutions that generally address economic needs such as housing and employment. Regrettably, theorists in community development corporation research do not provide a sufficient framework to study these organizations. Using different approaches, these theorists indicate important factors for analysis, but a clearly defined framework does not emerge from the literature.

This study suggests that the new institutional analysis framework is a framework that provides a clearly defined multi-level approach, recognizing the role of external constraints on organizations used in public policy. In particular, Ostrom and Mintzberg provide models that include important levels of analysis for organization research. By using community development corporations within a new institutional framework, the study opens the discussion of the design of these organizations and the intent of a particular design. Individual components are studied in order to determine whether the organization has been built sufficiently to address

the social phenomena for which it was constructed. New institutional analysis provides a framework that unlocks the embedding of organizations. For CDC researchers, the unlocking of the component parts provides a chance to focus inside and outside the organization and ask some probing questions about purpose and method.

Third, this research studies the community development activities that CDCs engage in to assist community residents. Activities such as business retention, capital accumulation and resource management, commercial and industrial development, business development, job training, and technical assistance provide the community with resources and business—allowing them to remain viable spaces—while housing development gives community members places to live. Also included in community economic development activities is organization development. The building of a strong institution is necessary to accomplish the above activities. Community political development activities are activities that encourage community residents to participate in the governing of their community. However, once established, community development corporations need to address accountability issues such as open meetings, open public records, and listening to their constituents. Additionally, community development corporations need to continue to build leaders, make connections that are beneficial to the community, and educate community residents about political processes. CDCs have to develop holistic approaches to community development. Developing housing is not sufficient to improve the community. CDCs have to step into the void left by others and assist residents in their homes, with continuing education, with medical problems, and with entertainment needs.

Community social development activities such as youth and teen services, residential services, and health services are essential for the continued survival of these communities. At the very least, community social development activity should provide social service linkages or connections. Linkages to other services connect citizens who have needs beyond housing to necessary social service providers. Therefore, a unified structural community political economy framework incorporates various levels of analysis, various social structures, and various theories.

Research Findings and Recommendations

This study, using comparative case study and correlation analysis, finds that most CDCs in Indianapolis address a limited array of activities. These activities include housing development and capital accumulation, which are interrelated. Some organizations are addressing community political development activities; however, these are correlated with community economic activities. This study demonstrates that there is positive correlation between organization structure and community economic development activities. As Koresh suggested, in a segmented political economy, the organization reflects the intent of its originators.

Unfortunately this study shows that community political development is kept to a minimum, leaving community residents with a limited voice in the design and development of the organization, and more importantly, a limited voice in the design and development of the community. This study shows that most of the designers of these organizations were not community residents, and only as a result of external requirements do these organizations include 51% community residents.

This study also shows that the operating structures have limited these organizations' ability to operate. Constructing flat and narrow structures, an approach advocated by some nonprofit theorists, limits the ability of these organizations to build capacity and forces these organizations to rely on external sources, such as specialists in program areas, contractors, and consultants. For example, BOS CDC, MB CDC, and other CDCs rely on accountants to assist in bookkeeping and financial affairs. All CDC organizations rely on consultants to advise them in developing strategic plans or other formal processes. Even the in the case of CED activity, housing development—which is the primary focus of these organizations—the construction is done by outside developers.

The low differentiation and low program and project mixtures is a reflection of the low mixture of funding sources. As mentioned by Vidal, CDCs need a mixture of six or more funding sources. Indianapolis's CDCs tend to limit their funding mixture to federal government housing programs, Lilly Foundation grants such as LISC, and banks, which generally extend only a line of credit. Without a strong funding base, these organizations find themselves in a resource-dependent role. In other words, this study confirms that CDCs have limited ability to address community social disorganization.

As a set of organizations, I believe that although they are doing some housing development, these organizations may need to adjust their operations to continue to survive and grow. The following recommendations are intended as suggestions:

1) increase community representation on boards of directors;
2) develop strategies to increase openness of the organization;
3) develop strategies to address both social and geographic representation;

4) develop an advisory board of directors to address substantive representation;
5) develop formal structures such as policies and procedures manual, succession plan, and strategic plans;
6) make long-term or strategic plans to insure survival and growth;
7) provide technical training dealing with programs and projects to community residents; and
8) develop a strategy to increase independence from funding community.

Overall, these recommendations are designed to increase the role of community residents in all processes, to assist in the building of capacity, and to formalize the organization structures to address change.

Using a structural community political economy framework assists in unlocking the nested relationships within organizations and communities. The structural political economy framework needs to be further fleshed out to examine individual actions and network situations. Discussions on the rules and the types of rules need further examination to understand how they define their relationships. Not simply describing the flat and narrow structure, but also suggesting alternative structures that might enhance the quality of the presence structure is important. More examination of processes is necessary to understand not only these processes, but also changes in these processes. A structural community political economy framework must include discussion of the local political economy and global political economy. Processes outside the community level of analysis may affect the processes within the community level of analysis. Structural community political economy addresses a level of analysis that is often ignored, but the framework needs to incorporate other levels of analysis.

Public Policy Recommendations

The policy recommendations that follow are designed to assist policy-makers in designing public policy that affects community residents. These suggestions are:

1. To insure community residents' participation, the level of community representation must be above 51%;
2. Monitoring mechanisms are needed to insure accountability;
3. If these organizations are instruments of public policy, policy makers need to develop a continual funding stream to the community-based organization's operation; and
4. If these are substitutes for public housing agencies, then public policy makers should acknowledge this purpose and rename them housing development agencies, to reflect that public policy direction.

Conclusion

The study of community development corporations presents an opportunity to study the affects of community-based organizations. First, by using comparative methods, and by studying CDCS at the community level, research will be able to determine if different local political economies make a difference. Second, analysis at the community level will provide additional understanding of spatial segregation and spatial decision making. Third, continuing to use a SCPE framework will provide a chance to develop and refine a set of factors used to test hypotheses across several cases. Finally, studying community-based organizations such as community development corporations may assist policymakers in developing public policies that address community residents.

TABLE 16. Names of Interviewees

BOS CDC
Dorothy Jones
Josephine Rogers
Shelia Rivers

Concord Community Development Corporation
Doris Sparks
Holly Crane

Eastside Community Investments
Dennis West
Ambrose Smith

King Park Area Development Corporation
Nick Strum
Dorothy Burse
Rutha Powell

Mapleton Fall Creek Housing Development Corporation
Catherine Fox-Cunningham
Al Polin
Janice Purchase

Martindale-Brightwood Community Development Corporation
Robert Hawthorne
Larry Lindley
Nicole Kearney
Juanita Smith

Martin Luther King Community Development Corporation
Rev. Charles Montgomery
Nicole Kearney

Near North Development Corporation
Eileen. Laughlin
Marcia Mackey
Hilda LaLand

Riley Area Revitalization Program
Bob Glenn
Jay Alig
Rev. Grady

Southeast Neighborhood Development
Carolyn Hooks
Mary Kunz
Bill Taft

United Northwest Area Neighborhood Development Corporation
Carl Lile
Sue Shivey
Claude Street
Steve Torain

Westside Community Development Corporation
Mark Stokes
Olgen Williams
Jeff Golc
Maggie Brent

West Indianapolis Development Corporation
Jeff Gearhart
D. Gaither
Jeff Golc

Rehab Resources, Inc.
Kamau Jyuwanza

Local Initiative Support Corporation
Lisa Archey

Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership
Jon Edmonds

City of Indianapolis
Sherry Kohlmeyer
David DeMarzio

Others
Phil Tom
Tom Binford

TABLE 17. Households Surveyed

INHP Neighborhood	*Number of Households*
BOS	1
Concord	55
ECO	147
Forest Manor	54
King Park	72
Martindale-Brightwood	143
Mapleton-Fall Creek	72
MLK	75
Near North	26
RARP	50
SEND	152
UNWA	131
WCDC	172
West Indianapolis	68
All INHP Neighborhoods	1218
Remainder of Marion County	2619

Source: Parks, R. B. (1994). *Perceived quality of life in the neighborhoods of the Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership* (p. 2). Indianapolis: Center for Urban Policy and the Environment.

TABLE 18. CDC Communities' Sociodemographic Characteristics

	Population	Race		Poverty	Age		
	Tpop	AAPop	Wpop	Pop BPvty	Pop <=18	Pop 44	Pop >=65
Marion County	797159	168899 (21)	61582 5(77)	94131(11)	263400 (26)	280753 (35)	92807 (12)
Washington	133969	33560 (25)	98342 (73)	9707(7)	30535 (23)	48153 (36)	18954 (14)
Wayne	125709	16749 (12)	10702 9(85)	13822(11)	32897 (26)	44460 (35)	14317 (11)
Center	182140	74369 (41)	10544 2(58)	46888(26)	52873 (29)	56907 (31)	23482 (13)
BOS CDC	346	340(98)	6(2)	211(61)	92(27)	65(19)	125(36)
CCDC	17902	1086(6)	16523 (92)	2695(15)	472226)	5406 (30)	2606 (16)
ECI	23952	4030 (17)	19348 (80)	7199(30),	7942 (33)	7839 (33)	2004(8)
KPADC	7331	5042 (69)	2012 (28)	2793 (38)	1980 (27)	2591 (35)	1000 (14)
MB CDC	8999	8713 (97)	240 (3)	3123(35)	2680 (30)	2336 (26)	1125 (13)
MFCHDC	8778	7063 (81)	1186 (14)	2716 (31)	2967 (34)	2686 (31)	852(10)
MLK CDC	14280	9790 (69)	4087 (29)	2002 (14)	3821 (27)	4998 (35)	1910 (13)
NNDC	4627	3785 (82)	817 (18)	2077 (45)	793(17)	1371 (30)	1246 (27)
RARP	4499	1567 (35)	2875 (64)	1397 (31)	218(5)	1424 (32)	955(21)
SEND	23129	1535(7)	21325 (92)	5708 (25)	6773 (29)	7727 (33)	2431 (11)
UNWADC	17987	17076 (95)	755 (4)	5177 (29)	5114 (28)	4814 (27)	2933 (16)
WCDC	14905	7115 (48)	7511 (50)	4216(28)	4847 (33)	4687 (32)	1623 (11)
WIDC	10415	144(1)	9336 (90)	2126(20)	3128 (30)	2953 (28)	1155 (11)
INHP	157150	67286 (43)	86021 (55)	41440(26)	45077 (28)	48897 (31)	19965 (13)

Source: 1990 US Census.

TABLE 19. CDC Communities' Educational Characteristics

	EdPop	*<HS*	*HS*	*>HS*
Marion County	511309	118600 (23)	158958 (31)	233751 (46)
Washington	91513	9639 (11)	18932 (21)	62942 (69)
Wayne	79908	20747(26)	29098(36)	30063(38)
Center	112466	48030 (43)	35036 (32)	29400 (26)
BOS CDC	228	140(61)	57(25)	31(14)
CCDC	10685	4166 (39)	4047 (38)	2472 (23)
ECI	13608	5944 (44)	4278 (31)	3386 (25)
KPADC	4609	1995 (43)	907(20)	1707 (37)
MB CDC	5131	2380 (46)	1467 (29)	1284 (25)
MFCHDC	4936	1595 (32)	1427 (29)	1914 (39)
MLK CDC	9096	2251 (25)	2385 (26)	4460 (49)
NNDC	3133	1607 (51)	624(20)	902(29)
RARP	3796	1290 (34)	696(18)	1810 (48)
SEND	13803	7178 (52)	4480 (32)	2145 (16)
UNWADC	11368	4979 (44)	3344 (29)	3045 (27)
WCDC	8871	4332 (49)	2918 (33)	1621 (18)
WIDC	6171	3389 (55)	1997 (32)	785(13)
INHP CDC	95435	41246 (43)	28627 (30)	25562 (27)

Source: 1990 US Census

TABLE 20. CDC Communities' Household Characteristics

Households	*Ttl Hsehlds*	*FH FH Hsehlds*	*FH BPvt*	*Fixed Inc Soc Sec*	*Pblc Asst*	*Retrmnt*
Marion County	319821	42874 (13)	12239(4)	77619 (24)	18625(6)	49542 (16)
Washington	58045	5919 (10)	1157(2)			
Wane	51147	6490 (13)	1618(3)	12078 (24)	2480(5)	8219 (16)
Center	70341	14571 (21)	(9)	21502 (31)	9194 (13)	11281 (16)
BOS CDC	228	53(23)	34(15)	131(58)	48(21)	38(17)
CCDC	7455	911(12)	320(4)	2094 (28)	519(7)	1219 (16)
ECI	10200	1870 (18)	906(9)	2225 (22)	1451 (14)	863(9)
KPADC	4330	752(17)	521(12)	1014 (23)	618(14)	441(10)
MB CDC	3868	961(25)	486(13)	1113 (29)	607(16)	577(15)
MFCHDC	3795	1067 (28)	247(7)	728(19)	489(13)	443(12)
MLK CDC	6566	1033 (16)	501(8)	1640 (25)	404(6)	1145 (17)
NNDC	2666	374(14)	231(9)	817(31)	439(16)	292(11)
RARP	4013	144(4)	71(2)	1029 (25)	454(11)	336(13)
SEND	9513	1303 (14)	563(6)	2504 (26)	927(10)	1264 (13)
UNWADC	8543	2114 (25)	794(9)	2659 (31)	1098 (13)	1359 (16)
WCDC	6027	1318 (22)	592(10)	1480 (25)	735(12)	836(14)
WIDC	4298	616(14)	222(5)	1182 (28)	374(9)	579(14)
INHP CDC	71502	12516 (18)	5488(8)	18616 (26)	8163 (11)	9392 (13)

Source: 1990 US Census

TABLE 21. CDC Communities' Housing Characteristics

Community	Rank Order	Housing Thse Units	Toccpd	Vacancy	Ooccpd	Roccpd
Marion County						
Washington						
Wane						
Center						
BOS CDC		228	179(79)	49(22)	22(12)	157(88)
CCDC		7455	6842 (92)	613(8)	3603 (53)	2948 (43)
ECI		10200	8601 (84)	1599 (16)	3267 (38)	4928 (57)
KPADC		4330	3235 (74)	1095 (25)	699(22)	2413 (75)
MB CDC		3868	3100 (80)	718(19)	1780 (57)	1292 (42)
MFCHDC		3795	3118 (82)	677(17)	1059 (34)	1625 (52)
MLK CDC		6566	5926 (90)	640(10)	2727 (46)	2882 (47)
NNDC		2666	2217 (83)	449(17)	288(13)	1912 (86)
RARP		4013	3125 (77)	889(22)	605(15)	2720 (68)
SEND		9513	8073 (85)	1440 (15)	4255 (52)	3553 (44)
UNWADC		8543	7151 (84)	1392 (16)	2862 (40)	3887 (54)
WCDC		6027	5140 (85)	887(15)	2549 (50)	2453 (48)
WIDC		4298	3816 (89)	482(11)	2015 (53)	1581 (41)
INHP CDC		71502	60523	10930	25731	32351

Source: 1990 US Census

TABLE 22. CDC Communities' Age of Housing

Age of Housing	Thse Units	before 1939	1940-1949	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1984	1985-1988	1989-3/1990
BOS CDC	228	56(25)	21(9)	10(4)	0(0)	4(2)	109 (49)	28 (12)	0
CCDC	7455	2985 (40)	1161 (16)	1075 (14)	1214 (16)	508 (7)	177 (2)	317(4)	18(0)
ECI	10200	6812 (67)	1382 (14)	960 (10)	4261 (4)	250 (3)	65(1)	84(1)	221 (2)
KPADC	4330	3029 (70)	386 (9)	255 (6)	247 (6)	258 (6)	66(2)	89(2)	0(0)
MB CDC	3868	1288 (33)	571 (15)	717 (19)	808 (21)	148 (4)	113 (3)	110 (3)	113 (3)
MFCHDC	3795	2217 (58)	831 (22)	355 (9)	260 (7)	123 (3)	0	9(0)	0
MLK CDC	6566	2225 (34)	1126 (17)	1263 (19)	1194 (18)	557 (19)	134 (2)	72(1)	0
NNDC	2666	1581 (60)	568 (21)	142 (5)	144 (5)	67(3)	61(2)	103 (4)	0
RARP	4013	1705 (43)	232 (6)	442 (11)	872 (22)	276 (7)	297 (7)	131 (3)	57(1)
SEND	9513	6335 (67)	1638 (17)	940 (10)	424 (5)	109 (1)	0	46(0)	21(0)
UNWADC	8543	4302 (50)	1502 (18)	1298 (15)	966 (11)	169 (2)	53(1)	183 (12)	70(1)
WCDC	6027	3014 (50)	959 (16)	860 (14)	729 (12)	401 17)	34(1)	0	30(0)
WIDC	4298	2430 (57)	868 (20)	501 (12)	269 (6)	158 (4)	28(1)	34(1)	0
INHP	71502	37979 (53)	11245 (16)	8818 (12)	7553 (11)	3028 (4)	1137 (2)	1206 (2)	530 (1)

Source: 1990 US Census

TABLE 23. CDC Communities' Employment Characteristics

Community	*Employ-ment TPop*	*Clb Frce*	*Emplyd*	*Un-empld*	*Mana-gerial*	*Tech*	*Service*	*Manufac-turing*
BOS CDC	346	70	63(90)	7(10)	13(21)	19(30)	18(29)	13(21)
CCDC	17902	8668	8027 (93)	641(7)	1378 (17)	2416 (30)	1441 (18)	2792 (35)
ECI	23952	10732	9557 (89)	1175 (11)	1234 (13)	2489 (26)	2141 (22)	3693 (39)
KPADC	7331	3467	3053 (88)	414(12)	878(29)	847(28)	769 (25)	559(18)
MB CDC	8999	3845	3265 (85)	580(15)	333(10)	873(27)	1009 (31)	1050 (32)
MFCHDC	8778	4155	3686 (89)	469(11)	866(23)	1055 (29)	1013 (28)	752(20)
MLK CDC	14280	7568	6983 (92)	585(8)	1862 (27)	2369 (34)	1285 (18)	1467 (21)
NNDC	4627	1788	1473 (82)	315(18)	290(18)	393(25)	453 (29)	337(21)
RARP	4499	2655	2392 (90)	263(10)	953(40)	706(30)	351 (15)	382(16)
SEND	23129	9694	8587 (89)	1107 (11)	845(10)	2086 (24)	1632 (19)	4024 (47)
UNWADC	17987	7952	6697 (84)	1255 (16)	894(13)	2103 (31)	2256 (34)	1444 (22)
WCDC	14905	6245	5479 (88)	766(12)	574(11)	1435 (26)	1374 (25)	2096 (38)
WIDC	10415	4610	4117 (89)	493(11)	381(9)	1003 (24)	766 (19)	1967 (48)
INHP CDC	157150	71449 (46)	63379 (89)	8070 (11)	10501 (15)	17794 (25)	14498 (20)	20576 (29)

Source: 1990 US Census

TABLE 24. Indianapolis Community Baseline Survey: Socio-Psycho/Demographics

Your neighborhood is one of the best:

	Rank Order	*Total*	*strongly agree*	*somewhat a ree*	*somewhat disagree*	*strongly disagree*	*unsure, don't know*
BOS CDC		1	1(100)				
CCDC		72	13(18)	37(51)	14(19)	7(10)	1 (1)
ECI		126	5(4)	35(28)	42(33)	39(31)	5(4)
KPADC		36	3(8)	15(42)	10(28)	7(19)	1(3)
MB CDC		50	2(2)	13(26)	16(32)	15(30)	4(8)
MFCHDC		43	2(5)	9(21)	17(40)	13(30)	2(5)
MLK CDC		56	7(13)	24(43)	11(20)	14(25)	
NNDC		16	1(6)	4(25)	4(25)	5(31)	2(13)
RARP		27	6(22)	12(44)	4(15)	4(15)	1(4)
SEND		102	5(5)	29(28)	35(34)	28(28)	5(5)
UNWADC		91	9(10)	29(32)	29(32)	17(19)	7(8)
WCDC		64	3(5)	20(31)	20(31)	20(31)	1(2)
WIDC		50	6(12)	20(40)	13(26)	9(18)	2(4)
INBP CDC		734	63(9)	247(34)	215 (29)	178(24)	31(4)

TABLE 25. Indianapolis Community Baseline Survey: Concept of Neighborhood

	Rank Order	*Total*	*Your Own Block*	*A Few Blocks Around Your House*	*A Section Of Nbhd*	*All Of Indy*	*Other*
BOS CDC		1	0	0	1(100)	0	0
CCDC		73	26(36)	31(43)	7(10)	6(8)	3(4)
ECI		125	32(26)	55(44)	31(25)	5(4)	2(2)
KPADC		35	5(14)	19(54)	7(20)	2(6)	2(6)
MB CDC		49	9(18)	13(27)	16(33)	8(16)	3(6)
MFCHDC		43	12(28)	18(42)	8(19)	4(9)	1(2)
MLK CDC		56	9(16)	32(57)	10(18)	4(7)	1(2)
NNDC		16	3(19)	4(25)	5(31)	2(13)	2(12)
RARP		27	1(4)	13(48)	8(30)	4(15)	1(4)
SEND		100	35(35)	36(36)	15(15)	9(9)	5(5)
UNWADC		90	22(24)	26(29)	31(34)	11(12)	0(0)
WCDC		62	15(24)	18(29)	18(29)	9(15)	2(3)
WIDC		49	13(27)	18(37)	12(25)	3(6)	3 (6)
INHP CDC		726	182(25)	283(39)	169(23)	67 (9)	25 (3)

TABLE 26. Indianapolis Community Baseline Survey: Number of Friends in Neighborhood

	Rank Order	*Total*	*None*	*1 or 2*	*few*	*more than half, or*	*almost all of your friends*
BOS CDC		1			1(100)		
CCDC		70	16(23)	18(26)	27(39)	5(7)	4(6)
ECI		127	19(15)	40(32)	51(40)	8(6)	9(7)
KPADC		34	6(18)	7(21)	14(41)	5(15)	2(6)
MB CDC		50	10(20)	10(20)	23(46)	4(8)	3(6)
MFCHDC		44	11(25)	11(25)	19(43)	2(5)	1(2)
MLK CDC		57	15(26)	15(26)	21(37)	4(7)	2(4)
NNDC		17	5(29)	6(35)	3(18)	2(12)	1(6)
RARP		27	4(15)	5(19)	13(48)	3(11)	2(7)
SEND		102	22(22)	24(24)	42(41)	7(7)	7(7)
UNWADC		91	18(20)	24(26)	32(35)	8(9)	9(10)
WCDC		62	15(24)	14(23)	23(37)	5(8)	5(8)
WIDC		50	5(10)	17(34)	16(32)	5(10)	7(14)
INHP CDC		732	146(20)	191(26)	285(39)	58(8)	52(7)

TABLE 27. Indianapolis Community Baseline Survey: Number of Relatives in Neighborhood

	Rank Order	*Total*	*none*	*1 or 2*	*few*	*more than half, or*	*almost all of your relatives*
BOS CDC		1	1(100)				
CCDC		72	56(78)	11(15)	5(7)		
ECI		125	88(70)	21(17)	13(10)	3(2)	
KPADC		35	30(86)	4(11)	1(3)		
MB CDC		50	27(54)	14(28)	6(12)	2(4)	1(2)
MFCHDC		44	29(66)	9(21)	5(11)		1(2)
MLK CDC		56	45(80)	9(16)	2(4)		
NNDC		16	12(75)	2(13)	1(4)		1(4)
RARP		27	25(93)	1(4)	1(4)		
SEND		102	72(71)	20(20)	6(6)	3(3)	1 (1)
UNWADC		92	65(71)	17(19)	8(g)	1 (1)	1 (1)
WCDC		63	40(64)	13(21)	8(13)	1(2)	1(2)
WIDC		50	26(52)	11(22)	8(16)	4(8)	1(2)
INHP	(	733	516(70)	132(18)	64(9)	14(2)	7(1)

TABLE 28. Closest Park or Playground in Neighborhood

INHP CDC	*on own block*	*2-3 blocks*	*4-7 blocks*	*8-10 blocks*	*more than 10 blocks*	*Total*
BOS CDC				1 (100)		
CCDC	10 (13.7)	13 (17.8)	11 (15.1)	12 (16.4)	26 (35.5)	1 (1.4)
ECI	22 (17.5)	31 (24.6)	31 (24.6)	20 (15.9)	20 (15.9)	2 (1.6)
KPADC	11 (31.4)	7 (20.0)	7 (20.0)	6 (17.1)	2 (5.7)	2 (5.7)
MB CDC	10 (20.4)	13 (26.5)	16 (32.7)	6 (12.2)	3 (6.1)	1 (2.0)
MFCHDC	7 (15.6)	8 (17.8)	13 (28.9)	7 (15.6)	6 (13.3)	4 (8.9)
MLK CDC	8 (14.5)	18 (32.7)	17 (30.9)	7 (12.7)	5 (9.1)	
NNDC		2 (12.5)	4 (25.0)	4 (25.0)	4 (25.0)	2 (12.5)
RARP	4 (14.8)	7 (25.9)	6 (22.2)	6 (22.2)	3 (11.1)	1 (3.7)
SEND	12 (11.8)	19 (18.6)	25 (24.5)	26 (25.5)	17 (16.7)	3 (2.9)
UNWADC	17 (18.9)	22 (24.4)	27 (30.0)	14 (15.6)	9 (10.0)	1 (1.1)
WCDC	13 (21.0)	19 (30.6)	15 (24.2)	8 (12.9)	5 (8.1)	2 (3.2)`
WIDC	6 (11.8)	18 (35.3)	15 (29.4)	6 (11.8)	6 (11.8)	

TABLE 29. Neighborhoods, Crime, Safety, and Disamenities in CDC Communities

	Rank Order	*As a Place to Live*	*Think crime is a major neighborhood problem*	*Feel very unsafe walking at night*	*Liquor Store*	*Bar or Nightclub*
BOS CDC		n/a	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
CCDC		67	11	13	8	17
ECI		31	37	35	22	30
KPADC		49	37	35	24	22
MB CDC		34	54	27	18	1
MFCHDC		46	41	35	11	12
MLK CDC		64	20	23	8	6
NNDC		46	24	32	20	32
RARP		74	8	8	21	39
SEND		41	23	25	10	33
UNW ADC		45	27	30	13	11
WCDC		38	30	32	24	15
WIDC		44	13	28	10	26

TABLE 30. Evaluation of Public Services in CDC Communities

"Please tell me how you rate the performance of your local government when it comes to providing each of the following services."
(Percentage of households rating a service "excellent" or "good")

Community	*Police*	*Elementary School*	*Parks and Recreation*	*Street Lighting*	*Street Repair*	*Storm Sewers*	*Trash & Garbage Collection*	*Access to Public Transportation*
BOS CDC	NA	NA	NA	NA	AN	NA	NA	NA
CCDC	69	60	71	71	40	86	86	71
ECI	56	53	55	63	24	75	75	78
KPADC	55	34	36	74	35	74	74	79
MB CDC	49	53	52	56	22	76	76	81
MFCHDC	53	46	25	64	26	74	74	91
MLK CDC	64	54	42	57	28	84	84	77
NNDC	42	35	48	58	54	72	72	65
RARP	69	47	52	66	60	90	90	69
SEND	64	66	54	68	27	80	80	73
UNWADC	45	47	49	66	31	83	83	78
WCDC	60	34	34	53	23	77	77	75
WIDC	44	76	63	54	18	82	82	50

TABLE 31. Local Government Concerned about Neighborhood

	Rank Order	*Total*	*Strongly agree*	*Somewhat agree*	*Somewhat disagree*	*Strongly disagree*	*Unsure, don't know*
BOS CDC		1				1	
CCDC		73	5(7)	34(47)	15(21)	16(22)	3(4)
ECI		126	10(8)	51(41)	34(27)	23(18)	8(6)
KPADC		37	5(14)	14(38)	10(27)	5(14)	3(8)
MB CDC		50	4(8)	15(30)	16(32)	12(24)	3(6)
MFCHDC		44	2(5)	21(48)	12(27)	7(16)	2(5)
MLK CDC		56	5(9)	21(38)	15(27)	10(18)	5(9)
NNDC		15	2(13)	5(33)	2(13)	4(27)	2(13)
RARP		27	4(15)	13(48)	5(19)	2(7)	3(11)
SEND		103	11 (11)	22(21)	35(34)	24(23)	11 (11)
UNWADC		91	7(8)	30(33)	21(23)	23(25)	10(11)
WCDC		63	5(8)	20(32)	19(30)	16(25)	3(5)
WIDC		50	3(6)	18(36)	20(40)	6(12)	3(6)
INHP CDC		736	63(9)	264(36)	204(28)	149(20)	56(8)

TABLE 32. Specified Neighborhood Housing Groups

INHP CDC	*YES*	*NO*
CCDC	7 (33.3)	14 (66.7)
ECI	18 (45)	22 (55)
KPADC	7 (38.9)	11 (61.1)
MB CDC	3 (15)	17 (85)
MFCHDC	12 (46.2)	14 (53.8)
MLK CDC	3 (12)	22 (88)
NNDC	2 (40)	3 (60)
RARP	6 (42.9)	8 (57.1)
SEND	9 (34.6)	17 (65.4)
UNWADC	8 (29.6)	19 (70.4)
WCDC	6 (35.3)	11 (64.7)
WIDC	4 (21.1)	15 (78.9)

TABLE 33. Comparative Organization Structures and Processes

INHPCDC	*CONST*	*PARTIC*	*OPERATE*	*TOTAL*		*RANK ORDER*	*STRUCTURE*
ECI	12	4	5	21		8	STRONG
MFCHDC	10	4	1	15		7	
SEND	9	2	1	12		6	
BOS CDC	8	1	1	10	-	5	
MB CDC	6	3	0	9		4	
NNDC	6	1	1	8		3	
RARP	5	2	1	8		3	
UNAWDC	6	2	0	8		3	
WCDC	6	2	0	8		3	
CCDC	4	3	0	7		2	
KPADC	5	2	0	7		2	
WIDC	5	2	0	7		2	
MILK CDC	5	0	1	6		1	WEAK

CONST - CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES
PARTIC - COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES
OPERATE - OPERATING STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES

TABLE 34. Comparative Community Economic Development Activities

INHPCDC	*CA/RM*	*HD*	*BR*	*CID*	*BD*	*JTTA*	*OD*	*TOTAL*	*RANK ORDER*	*CCED*
ECI	7	9	2	0	5	7	7	37	8	MOST
NNDC	5	8	0	3	4	6	6	30	7	ACTIVITY
BOS CDC	5	8	0	2	0	3	7	25	6	
MFCHDC	6	8	0	0	2	3	6	25	6	
WCDC	5	8	0	2	0	2	7	24	5	
MB CDC	6	6	0	3	1	1	6	23	4	
RARP	5	8	4	1	3	1	1	23	4	
SEND	6	8	0	0	1	2	6	23	4	
WIDC	5	7	1	4	0	2	4	23	4	
KPADC	6	6	0	1	0	1	5	19	3	
UNAWDC	5	8	0	1	0	2	3	19	3	
CCDC	5	4	0	0	2	2	5	18	2	
MLK CDC	4	8	0	1	0	1	3	17	1	
										LEAST ACTIVITY

BR	-	BUSINESS RETENTION
CA/RM	-	CAPITAL ACCUMULATION/RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
HD	-	HOUSING DEVELOPMENT
CID	-	COMMERCIAL/INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT
BD	-	BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT
JTTA	-	JOB TRAINING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE
OD	-	ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT

TABLE 35. Comparative Community Political Development Activities

INHPCDC	*ACC*	*LD*	*POLPART*	*POLPSHP*	*POLSOC*	*TOTAL*	*RANK ORDER*	*CPD*
ECI	14	3	9	4	5	35	8	MOST
MFCHDC	12	1	4	2	2	21	7	ACTIVITY
WIDC	9	0	5	4	4	21	7	
MBCDC	11	1	4	2	2	20	6	
BOS CDC	9	2	2	4	1	18	5	
CCDC	11	1	2	3	1	18	5	
SEND	6	2	5	2	2	17	4	
NNDC	6	2	4	2	2	16	3	
MLK CDC	5	1	3	2	2	13	2	
RARP	4	2	4	1	2	13	2	
UNAWDC	4	1	2	5	1	13	2	
KPADC	4	1	3	3	1	12	1	LEAST
WCDC	5	1	2	3	1	12	1	ACTIVITY

ACC - ACCOUNTABILITY
LD - LEADERSHIP
POLPART - POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
POLPSHP - POLITICAL PARTNERSHIP
POLSOC - POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

TABLE 36. Comparative Community Social Development Activities

INHPCDC	*ESVCS*	*YTSVCS*	*RSSVCS*	*PHMHSVCS*	*SSL*	*TOTAL*	*RANK ORDER*	*CSD*
RARP	0	0	6	1	3	10	8	MOST ACTIVITY
ECI	1	0	2	2	4	9	7	
WCDC	0	0	0	1	4	5	6	
UNAWDC	0	0	0	1	3	4	5	
WIDC	0	0	0	2	2	4	5	
NNDC	0	0	1	1	1	3	4	
SEND	0	0	1	0	2	3	4	
CCDC	0	0	0	2	2	2	3	
MFCHDC	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	
MLK CDC	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	
BOS CDC	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	
MB CDC	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	
KPADC	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	LEAST ACTIVITY

ESVCS - EDUCATION SERVICES

YTSVCS - YOUTH/TEEN SERVICES

RSVCS - RESIDENTIAL SERVICES

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FIELDS OF SPECIALIZATION:

Primary Field:	Public Policy
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Research:	Community and Neighborhood Development, especially focusing on Community Development Corporations.

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1996-2001	Lecturer, Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas
1996	Adjunct Professor, Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas
1992-1995	Research Assistant, Center for Urban Policy and the Environment, IUPUI, Indianapolis, Indiana
1992	Program Facilitator, Institute for the Study of Development Disabilities, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana
1991-1992	Associate Instructor, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana
1989-1990	Graduate Teaching Assistant, Texas Women's University, Denton, Texas
1989	Student-Teacher, Carrollton-Farmers Branch ISD, Carrollton, Texas

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

U S National Government
Texas Government
Urban Government
Public Administration
Political Participation
Seminar in Public Policy
Urban Politics/Policy
Neighborhood/Community Development
State Politics/Policy
Program Evaluation

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS:

Outstanding Undergraduate Teacher for the College of Arts and Sciences, 2000-2001
McNair Faculty Mentor
Pioneer for Diversity Faculty Award Fall 1998 & Spring 1999
Who's Who Among America's Teachers, 1998-2000 (multiple recipient)
Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities, 1990
American Political Science Association Minority Scholarship, 1990
Phi Alpha Theta, 1989
Pi Sigma Alpha, 1988

COMMITTEES:

Library & Media Services Committee, Chair (2000-2001)
Neighborhood Advisory Commission, Carrollton, Texas
State Employee's Charitable Contribution Steering Committee
Theses and Professional Paper Committees of Graduate Students (1998-2001)
Retired and Senior Volunteer Program
Department Special Event Committee Chair
Library and Media Services, Texas Woman's University
Black History Planning Committee, Texas Woman's University
State Employee's Charitable Contribution Committee, Texas Woman's University
Sociology Faculty Search Committee
Training Committee, Indianapolis Neighborhood Resource Center, Indianapolis, Indiana
Minority Vendor Fair, United Way of Central Indiana, Indianapolis, Indiana
Working Group on Citizen Participation, City of Indianapolis, Indianapolis, Indiana

CONSULTING EXPERIENCE:

City of Indianapolis Department of Planning
Near Westside Neighborhood Plan
Southeast Neighborhood Plan (Fountain Square-Fletcher Place)
Near Westside Neighborhood Planning Strategy (Annie Casey) Indianapolis, Indiana
Indianapolis CDCs Taskforce on Affordable Housing
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TECHNICAL TRAINING:

SPSS Windows Statistical Training Workshop, September 1998 and February 1999
Community Economic Development Training, Indiana Legal Services Support Center (ILSSC) and the National Economic Development and Law Center (NEDLC), Indianapolis, Indiana, September 18, 1993.
Consolidated Plan Training, HUD, Indianapolis, Indiana, October 31-November 2, 1994
Board Member Training, Martindale-Brightwood CDC, Indianapolis, Indiana, Fall 1994

PUBLICATIONS:

Journals:

Swindell, David, Sue Crawford, and Avra Johnson, "Citizen Participation in an Era of Reinventing Government," Research in Public Administration, (Fall 1998).

Technical Reports:

Johnson, Avra J., "An Evaluation of Early Childhood Program," Institute for the Study of Developmental Disabilities, 1992.

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Presentations:

Johnson, Avra J., "Race, Class, and Presidential Voting in Congressional Districts," presented at the 1992 Indiana Political Science Association in Bloomington, Indiana, April 24, 1992.

Crawford, Sue E. S., Gina L. Davis, Richard C.K. Hung, Avra J. Johnson, Roger B. Parks, Thomas A.P. Sinclair, and David Swindell, "Neighborhoods and Local Organizations in Indianapolis: Speculation and Hypotheses," presented at the 1992 Annual Meeting of Political Science Association in Chicago, Illinois, September 4, 1992.

Johnson, Avra J., "Community Development Corporations in Indianapolis: A Comparative Analysis," presented at the 23rd Urban Affairs Association in Indianapolis, Indiana, April 22, 1993.

Johnson, Avra J. and Roger B. Parks, "Executive Leadership and the Provision of Housing: Who is Providing Affordable Housing in Indianapolis?," presented at the 1994 Annual Meeting of Urban Affairs Association in New Orleans, Louisiana, March 3-5, 1994.

Johnson, Avra J., "Views from the Neighborhoods: Church Involvement in Community Development," presented at the Butler University Symposium on Black Churches: Community Development and Public Policy, Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana, October 18, 1994.

Johnson, Avra J., "Moving Beyond Housing: The Inclusion of Social and Economic Development," presented at the Near North Development Corporation' Board Meeting, Indianapolis, Indiana, March 28, 1995.

Johnson, Avra J., David Swindell, and Sue E. S. Crawford, "Grantsmanship and Citizenship: Lessons from the Near Westside," presented at the 25th Urban Affairs Association in Portland, Oregon, May 3-6, 1995.

Parks, Roger B., Lydia Amerson, Avra J. Johnson, David Robb, Sue E. S. Crawford, and David Swindell, "Neighborhood Empowerment: Can It Happen? Does It Matter?," presented at 1995 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago Hilton and Towers, August 31-September 3, 1995.

Parks, Roger B., Avra J. Johnson, and David Robb, Lydia Amerson, Sue E. S. Crawford, and David Swindell, "Neighborhood Empowerment: Can It Happen? Does It Matter," presented at 2996 Annual Meetings of the Urban Affairs Association, New York, March 13-16, 1996.

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