HOW ORGANIZATIONS PROMOTE A SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND EMPOWERMENT LEADING TOWARDS COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION:
A VIEW OF THE MIDDLE

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the English social reformer, William Wilberforce, who was very influential in the abolition of the British slave trade. His life and vocation inspired me during the highs and lows of this dissertation. May my life and work mirror his commitment to faith, social justice and shalom.
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Community Development Corporations (CDC) are organizations which develop affordable housing, jobs and small businesses in communities. The purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which staff and board of CDCs in Indianapolis, Indiana participated in the community because of a sense of community and empowerment within and outside a CDC. Much of the literature examined participation from the community member perspective. As such, the importance of this study was to understand the gap in the research literature surrounding community development professionals and their community participation.

Little research has been conducted on the participation by organizational members in CDCs. Understanding the empowering processes within and outside a community organization might help to predict the participation of these organizational members. In addition to empowerment, the organizational sense of community that CDCs facilitated for their members can help predict participation of members. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between intra and extraorganizational empowering processes, sense of community and the citizen participation from the perspective of organizational members of CDCs.
A survey of 78 CDC staff and board of the Indianapolis Coalition for Neighborhood Development was conducted. Scales measured the relationship between a member’s participation in the community and the perceptions of intraorganizational and extraorganizational empowering processes. A correlational analysis was conducted to assess the community organization sense of community, the processes of empowering organization and citizen participation. Analysis was conducted to understand the extent to which community organization sense of community and/or processes of empowering organization helped to predict the participation in the sample.

Results suggested an association between the CDC’s sense of community and citizen participation. In addition, the results suggested an association between the extraorganizational empowering process, as measured by a number of social capital and community investment activities, and participation. Moreover, extraorganizational empowerment processes were able to predict the levels of board and staff participation.

Findings suggested that processes outside the CDC contribute significantly to the participation of CDC board and staff members. Further exploration of policy, practice, education and research concerning the implications of the study is suggested.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In communities all over the country, people face a variety of social problems which create the need for organized community action. Conducting social change can facilitate the amelioration of these problems and the creation of a healthier social environment. People from all walks of life yearn to live in a community which provides a safe, healthy and happy environment (Harrison-Proctor, 2006). Community organizations are one of the major instruments by which social problems are addressed and overcome. While there are many types of community organizations, community development corporations (CDCs) – 501 (c) (3) nonprofit, community organizations – seek to increase capital investment, provide affordable housing, create small businesses, facilitate community organizing and administer social services within a specific geographic location or neighborhood (Stoecker, 2003). CDCs originate from the Community Economic Development (CED) model; they are community-based organizations which leverage resources for a community from outside stakeholders such as the government, a foundation or the private sector (Kirkpatrick, 2007). Through this market-based infusion of dollars, marginalized communities benefit from strategies which create wealth for low-income neighborhoods. This approach tends to appeal to both liberals and conservatives as it not only seeks to develop community well-being but also utilizes market-based approaches for community revitalization. Research has been conducted on the CDCs themselves (Vidal, 1996; Glickman & Servon 1999, 2003), community residents’ perceptions of and satisfaction with CDCs (Harrison-Proctor, 2006; Majee & Hoyt, 2011; Steinbeck, 2003; Stoutland, 1999) and CDCs’ relationships with
national intermediaries and funders (Glickman & Servon, 1999; 2003). While these studies are important, there is a significant gap in the literature concerning the staff and board of CDCs. This study sought to determine the impact that CDCs as organizations have on their staff and board whether or not a CDC’s internal structure, organizational milieu and empowering characteristics can predict the level to which their staff and board participate in the community in which they live. While one reads of research done on how CDC’s internal structure, organizational milieu and empowering characteristics impact and influence community citizens, there are no studies that explore the question of organizational member participation. A small part of this study addressed this gap in the literature. To answer the question of organizational member participation, staff and board members of CDCs in Indianapolis were surveyed in order to understand how their involvement in the CDC sample affects their levels of community participation in the community.

Empowerment is a construct which connects a person’s individual strengths and behaviors to social change and action (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). According to Perkins & Zimmerman (1995) empowerment theory links an “individual’s well-being to the larger social and political environment (p. 569).” In the past and in recent years, research presents empowerment as a means by which residents in poor communities change social problems through instruments called community-based organizations (Chaskin, 2001; Johnson, 1998; Murphy & Cunningham, 2003; Ohmer, 2006; Schorr, 1997; Weil, 1996).

According to this literature, empowerment enhances a person’s ability to exercise influence over his or her interpersonal relationships and his or her belief that he or she
possesses the power to change social conditions in his or her own environment. This outcome and process is known as self-efficacy. In addition to self-efficacy, empowerment creates collaboration among community members through interpersonal relationships in small groups which, when focused on a particular social problem, change the social environment (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). In addition to its impact at the intrapersonal and interpersonal levels, empowerment facilitates macro change in a community, promoting a collective sense of efficacy for its community members and strengthening a community’s belief that it has the power to change larger social structures on a communal or societal level. Empowerment is now the backbone of many disciplines such as social work, sociology, community psychology and political science (Callahan, 2007; Gutierrez, 1995; Peterson & Speer, 2000). While research has discussed the value of empowerment for community members on an individual, group and community level, little is written about empowerment’s impact on members of community-based organizations that are focused on place-based development, many of whom are not members of the identified community but work in community-based organizations to see social change. Therefore, this study focused on the importance and nature of empowerment as reported by staff and board members of community-based organizations.

Citizen participation according to Keller (1984) is defined as the following: “a process in which individuals take part in decision making in the institutions, programs, and environments that affect them” (as cited in Dalton, Elias & Wandersman, 2001, p.339). In this case, institutions, programs and environments are defined as places of work such as businesses, convenience stores, community-based organizations, government agencies and society at large. In addition to places of work, citizen
SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND EMPOWERMENT IN CDCs

citizen participation involves decision making impacting local, state and federal policy. In other words, citizen participation involves citizens seeking to change the policies and programs which impact their quality of life (Ohmer, 2010). While this does not mean that the citizenry has control over every decision, it does allow that citizens can make their voices heard and influence decisions (Dalton, Elias & Wandersman, 2001). As the term would imply, citizen participation research has focused on the citizen involvement in setting the agenda, creating, developing, implementing and evaluating programs. However, citizen participation is not the same thing as volunteering in a soup kitchen or assisting at a local preschool class. Citizen participation goes beyond volunteering to involve citizens’ input in bringing about group and community change. In this study, citizen participation is determined by location and place. Therefore, the study attempted to explain the activity of CDC organizational members at the local level in those members’ own geographic communities, cities and/or towns. This study did not analyze citizen participation at the international or transnational level, including that which is performed by members through the use of social media platforms such as Facebook©, Twitter© and blogs. Many studies have shown citizen participation is a predictor of a person’s empowerment and sense of community (Christens, Speer & Peterson, 2011; Irzhaky & York, 2000a; 2003; Veyser & Messner, 1999; Gies & Ross, 1998; Eliot et al, 1996; Perkins, Brown & Taylor, 1996; Pinderhughes, 1983). However, this study does not view citizen participation as a predictor but rather an outcome of a community organization’s intraorganizational and extraorganizational empowerment or sense of community.

Few studies have been conducted to indicate how the internal structures of an organization build citizen participation among their staff and board. Studies have been
done on efficiency, management and internal structures which increase the participation of employees in order to improve the organization’s bottom-line or “balance scorecard” (Herman & Renz, 1998). In addition, studies in social science have shown how staff developed relationships in organizations, which increased the social capital of these organizational members, and the respective communities in which they live (Schneider, 2006). Social capital is “the social relationships and patterns of reciprocal, enforceable trust that enables people and institutions to gain access to resources like social services, jobs, or government” (Schneider, 2006, p. 6). In addition, Schneider (2009) viewed social capital from an organizational perspective, and called this organizational social capital, describing it as “established trust based on networks among organizations or communities supporting a particular a nonprofit, that an organization can use to further its goals” (Schneider, 2009, p. 644). Schneider finds that staff and board increase the organization’s social capital. However, Schneider (2009) claims that, while organizational members might increase organizational social capital, this form of social capital can exist independently from these actors within the organization.

From another perspective, research has been done to show that participation in voluntary organizations does not necessarily increase the civic engagement and social capital in communities (Brehm and Rahn, 1997; Guillen, Coromina & Saris, 2011; Hooghe, 2003; Hooghe & Stolle, 2003). According to Hooghe (2003) most of the literature finds that there is a significant relationship between membership of a voluntary organization and democratic attitudes, but when compared to other variables such as education, age, gender, the relationship is very weak. These studies, which can be found in nonprofit management literature, cite the benefits, costs and outcomes of the
importance of staff and board participation in organizations themselves, but there is no link made between members’ participation and the larger community or the society at large (Cameron, 1986; Herman, 1999; Netting, 2005). As mentioned previously, this study examined responses from staff and board members of eight (8) CDCs in Indianapolis, Indiana. Therefore, for purposes of this study “citizen” meant CDC staff and board not the residents of these Indianapolis neighborhoods. However, it should be noted that there may be overlap as sampled staff and board might also be residents of these Indianapolis neighborhoods. Therefore, the significance of this study is to determine the relationships between citizen participation and other variables such as empowerment and sense of community in an organization.

**Definition of concepts**

**Empowerment.**

*Empowerment* is both a value for working in the field and a theoretical model which researchers use to understand how community or organizational members take control over decisions which influence their lives (Zimmerman, 2000). According to the Cornell Empowerment Group (1989): “Empowerment is an intentional, ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring and group participation through which people (who)lack an equal share of values and resources gain greater access to and control over those resources (as cited in Zimmerman, 2000, p. 43)”.

Empowerment theories contain both processes and outcomes. Therefore, this suggests that actions, structures, and initiatives might be empowering and the outcome of such processes might influence the level of being empowered (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). While empowerment processes and outcomes are determined by the
context in which they take place, a distinction between the outcomes and processes is critical for the correct operationalization of empowerment in research. For example, Perkins and Zimmerman (1995) state that empowering processes at the individual level might reflect participation in CDCs. At the organizational level, these processes might reflect group decision and shared leadership. At the community level, they might involve group action to influence public policy and social institutions. In the same vein, Perkins and Zimmerman (1995) describe empowerment outcomes, or the outcomes of empowering process mentioned previously at the individual level, to be a perceived control of a specific domain of one’s social environment. At the organizational level, empowerment outcomes would reflect the development of networks, associations and links between organizations that would influence government policy. At the community level, empowerment outcomes would suggest the level to which community resources are accessible to all members and groups in a community no matter their social or economic status.

Rapp, Shera, and Kisthardt (1993) define empowerment as “confidence, control, decisive authority, autonomy and self-trust” (p. 733). Empowerment is achieved by citizens in a community acquiring leadership, decision-making skills, and power (Hardina, 2002). Both public and private organizations empower individuals in the community by giving them formal roles in those organizations so that they can determine the outcome of their lives (Forester, 1999 as cited in Hardina, 2002). According to Peterson and Speer (2000) and Peterson and Zimmerman (2004), empowerment is promoted as a fundamental principle in social work, sociology and community psychology. In these disciplines, the goal of empowerment is to ensure that paid
professionals facilitate empowerment for community members and citizens. Hardina (2002) writes: “social workers must take a lead role in social service organizations to establish institutional structures that place constituents (i.e., community member residents, low-income, consumers, etc.) in decision-making roles” p. 22.

Therefore, the focus of the literature in these disciplines has been on studying and evaluating the empowerment of citizens or community members. While much has been written concerning the empowerment of community members, the research which views empowerment from the organizational member perspective, at the staff, board, or volunteer level, relates back to the benefits and outcomes for the organizations and not how empowerment influences those members sense of their own empowerment and their roles in the community (Den Hartog & De Hoogh, 2008; Linhorst, Hamilton, Young & Eckert, 2002.) This is because the majority of literature concerning community-based organizations assumes that staff members are professionals and are not concerned with their levels of participation in the community. In addition, board members are discussed in the literature but on the power, participation, role and influence they demonstrate within nonprofit organization (Stephens, Dawley & Stephens (n.d); Saidel & Harlan, (n.d.)). Therefore, according to the literature, the orientation of the empowerment perspective has focused on community members as opposed to the staff and board members of organization. One variance in these findings is for organizational members of neighborhood groups, block associations and faith-based groups. Here, the research shows that these types of organizations are predominantly members of the neighborhood or congregation and the organization’s purpose is tied into that that community’s well-being (Alaimo, Reischl & Allen, 2010; Lenk, Barney, Wagenaar, Bosma, & Vessey,
Another issue which is raised here is the type of organizations being studied. CDCs are technical organizations run by technical staff members. These staff members obtain funding for community development projects. In addition, the nature of CDC funding does not support wide-range organizational member community engagement (Hunt, 2007). Moreover, the results of citizen participatory activities from CDCs have been uneven (Schneider, 2011). A CDC’s purpose is not to increase citizen participation within its organization’s members but to build housing, create social services, jobs and increase participation among community members (Schneider, 2006).

There are many frameworks to understand and measure empowerment. This study used a framework of empowerment which originates from the field of community psychology (Rappaport 1981, 1987; Zimmerman 1995, 2000). For purposes of this study, empowerment was divided into three levels of analysis: psychological, organizational, and community empowerment (Zimmerman, 1995, 2000). In addition, within these levels of analysis of empowerment, the process of empowering and the outcome of being empowered was explained.

**Psychological Empowerment.**

*Psychological Empowerment (PE)* refers to the empowerment that takes place on an individual level (Zimmerman, 2000). PE “includes beliefs about one’s competence, efforts to exert control and an understanding of the socio-political environment” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 46). However, three assumptions should be explained to set the groundwork to understand PE. Therefore, according to Zimmerman (1995), groups or populations may be different in their characteristics, which influence the use of PE in research. In other words, youth may manifest PE differently than an executive of a
corporation. Demographics such as religion, ethnicity, socio-economic status, education and gender impact the meaning of PE in research. Second, PE may appear different according to the context. Therefore, members of a college student group might manifest PE because of the structure, mission and shared leadership responsibilities in their organization as opposed to a more hierarchical organization such as the union of federal government employees at the Patent Office where the decision-making process and leadership responsibilities might be more prone to bureaucracy. In addition, Zimmerman (1995) argues that PE in a person’s life might vary according to domain. A person might possess high levels of empowerment in his or her workplace, whereas in his or her family or neighborhood association, s/he may display low levels of PE. Zimmerman (1995) states that PE changes over time and fluctuates from person to person. A person can experience both empowerment and disempowerment to varying levels over the course of his or her life. PE levels in a person do not necessarily increase even if a person might possess the skills, abilities, or the social and political knowledge to effect change in his or her own environment. This might be due in part to the changing contexts (family, work, education, etc.) within which a person may engage.

Here, understanding one’s socio-political environment suggests the ability to grasp one’s social and political standing. Zimmerman (1995) developed two major outcomes of PE: participatory competence and critical awareness. Serrano-Garcia (1984) describes the process by which critical awareness is the outcome of empowerment of a group. *Critical awareness* can be broken down into three different components: “critical judgments about situations, the search for underlying causes of problems and their consequences, and an active role in the transformation of society” (p. 178). Therefore,
critical awareness occurs when an organizational member asks questions concerning the structure of power and how it is expressed in relationships. For example, a staff and board member of a CDC possesses critical awareness when she is aware of the power that exists in the relationships between stakeholders and the community and how these relationships impact the overall operations of the CDC.

Critical awareness is achieved by an organizational member when she understands how decisions are made or what groups or individuals have the power to make those decisions. A person who acquires decision-making skills which can change current power dynamics has achieved critical awareness. For example, in the context of this study, staff members might critique and provide alternatives to the board’s current compensation policy, or a volunteer might question the CDC’s property management policy. However, critical awareness is more than just questioning or realizing the structure of power relationships in an organization or community. Unless organizational members feel that they can change their social environment in productive ways, critical awareness is of little use (Dalton, Elias & Wandersman, 2000). According to some (Zimmerman, Israel, Schultz & Checkoway, 1992, Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988) empowered organizational members need to have the “perception of influence.” In other words, they need to believe that they can make change in their context through community action with others. Therefore, another element in the process of critical awareness on an individual level involves organizational members working with others.

The second outcome of PE which occurs at the individual level is participatory competence. This is the ability of CDC organizational members to not only exercise decision-making skills, but to use these behaviors competently in their environment
(Kieffer, 1984). For example, an empowered CDC member (staff or board) demonstrates skills in developing relationships in the community, envisions community change, paces one’s efforts so as to avoid burnout, and facilitates the involvement of others.

Finally, the context in which these outcomes are achieved is important to recognize. Participatory competence will look different among organizational members of a CDC as compared to members of neighborhood organizations or community organizing campaigns as the structure and purposes of these organizations differ. In addition, Zimmerman (1995) concludes that a person might obtain PE in a work setting but not a community setting. This is an important implication for this study as CDC organizational members may obtain PE in their work setting but may not express participatory competence in their own neighborhood setting and vice versa.

**Organizational Empowerment.**

While psychological empowerment (PE) conceptualizes empowerment at an individual level, organizational empowerment refers to the processes or efforts by an organization which generate PE among its organizational members. The main difference between PE and OE is that, while PE helps to develop empowerment on an individual level, OE generated among its members is in support of an organization’s mission, goals and objectives. According to Peterson & Zimmerman (2004), analysis of empowerment on the organizational level is lacking. Much of what has been studied is on the individual level, known as PE through the work of Zimmerman (1995; 2000) and others. However, researchers have attempted to address this lack research on empowerment at the organizational level. According to Peterson and Speer (2004) research has been conducted making a distinction between empowering organizations and empowered...
Empowering organizations are those which “facilitate psychological empowerment for their individual members as part of their organizational process” (Peterson & Speer, 2004, p. 130). Organizations which demonstrate the outcomes of empowerment are called *empowered organizations* (Zimmerman, 2000). Empowered organizations are ones that “influence the larger system of which they are a part” (Peterson and Speer, 2004, p. 130).

Empowering organizations may not impact the social structures in a community but create an environment which allows their members to develop skills and obtain a sense of control (Zimmerman, 2000). For example, when members come together to share a hobby such as quilt-making, they may not impact community structure and politics, but their activity can facilitate professional development, resources and leadership opportunities for their members.

According to Maton and Salem (1995), four important characteristics are present in organizations that are empowering: 1) a culture of growth and community building; 2) opportunities for members to take on meaningful and multiple roles; 3) a peer-based support system that helps create a sense of social identity among members; and 4) shared leadership with commitment to both members and the organization. Empowering organizations also facilitate an arena where members can execute decisions which show their power and control within the organization (as cited in Peterson and Zimmerman, 2004). Gutierrez (1995) found that empowering organizational characteristics such as leadership, operations and management were important to empowering organizations. Other scholars such as Foster-Fishman & Keys, (1997); and Foster-Fishman, Salem, Chibnall, Legler & Yapchai (1998) show other characteristics for organizational members.
such as organizational culture, and multiple roles for employees, and peer-based support. However, these studies, according to Peterson and Zimmerman (2004), do not demonstrate how organizations empower the larger system in which they are situated.

Empowered organizations work to change the social structures in a community by partnering with other organizations, effecting change on systems which impact communities and its members, and improving service delivery, management and provision (Zimmerman, 2000). Peterson and Speer (2004) developed three components of empowered organizations: *intraorganizational*, *interorganizational* and *extraorganizational*. The *intraorganizational component* refers to the internal management systems of an organization which drive members’ executive organizational goals, for example, when information is exchanged within an organization, or the level of input that staff and board possess within the organization’s structure. The *interorganizational component* describes the collaborations that exist between organizations. This would describe external partnerships that a CDC has with other CDCs, foundations, neighborhood and block associations. The *extraorganizational component* refers to organizational and external organizational efforts which lead to policy change. This could be expressed in CDCs working together to pursue alternative funding for programs such as the Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP) or the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program. It could also mean developing advocacy campaigns and alternative programs (Peterson & Zimmerman, 2004). Zimmerman (2000) also writes that empowered organizations engaged in the following practices: 1) they are the key players in the policy decision making process; 2) their influence stretches to broader or
regional audiences; and 3) they effectively leverage resources that create a new base of support.

Other scholars have written on empowered organizations. For example, Pyles (2009) proposes that empowering organizations possess leadership development, equality, transparency and consensus building. Pyles (2009) states that organizations that promote and encourage leadership development are those that involve the participation of members of oppressed populations in decision-making processes and the leadership of the organization. In addition, Pyles (2009) asserts that community organizers should teach leadership skills to all members, especially those who are marginalized, in order to counteract oppressive, hierarchical and often traditional models of leadership. This promotes equity among members of the organization, and more people have influence within the organization.

In addition, empowering organizations are transparent. This means that decisions are not made by a few elite members but by the vast majority of members. Evidence of transparent decision making is the use of decision making by consensus. Pyles (2009) highlights the importance of decisions being made after the majority of members provide feedback regarding the organization’s mission, priorities and future. Consensus building in an organization requires that its members’ possess a willingness to participate in such a decision making process, a commitment to group unity, and a resolve to avoid being seduced by external partners such as funders, government policy makers, or other nonprofit organizations (Pyles, 2009).
Community Empowerment.

While psychological empowerment operates on an individual level, and organizational empowerment on an organizational level, community empowerment occurs at the community level. According to Zimmerman (2000):

The structure and relationships among community organizations and agencies also helps to define the extent to which a community is empowered. An empowered community is expected to comprise of well-connected organizations (i.e., coalitions) that are both empowered and empowering. It also has settings for citizen participation in activities such as neighborhood crime prevention, planning commissions and health care (p. 54).

In addition, citizens of empowered communities have the participatory skills and behaviors discussed in the summary of PE. In contrast, citizens of empowering communities may not be actively involved in public life, may not have developed inter-organizational and extraorganizational characteristics, and therefore do not influence societal structures. However, empowering communities do possess resources which are available to all citizens, such as the media, which open up the democratic process to the citizenry. Finally, empowering communities possess an open government structure so that citizens are able to see the inner workings of the government and have access to public policy agenda formulation (Zimmerman, 2000).

Community Organization Sense of Community Scale.

The sense of community is the expression of shared human collective experience or as McMillan (1976) writes: “the feeling that members have of belonging and being
important to each other, and a shared belief that members’ needs will be met by their commitment to be together” (p.11). The sense of community is also referred to as the psychological sense of community (Obst & White, 2003, for example) and is associated with the model that was developed by Chavis and McMillan (1986). Lack of sense of community, on the other hand, has been shown impact community capacity and development (Aref, Redzman & Embrey, 2009; Kegler & Singer, 2004).

The Community Organizations Sense of Community (COSOC) was developed by Hughey, Speer & Peterson (1999) and then was further refined by Peterson et al, (2008). This measurement for community organizations was developed to understand the psychological sense of community within the context of community organizations (Hughey, Speer & Peterson, 1999). These scholars decided to use community organizations as the organizational context to understand psychological empowerment (PE). Organizations are the venues through which an individual’s concerns and needs become a part of the collective social agenda. In addition, the purpose of their study of community organizations was to understand the attributes that emerge between an individual’s sense of community and the community at large. Therefore, when individuals face concerns or barriers in their community they may bring these concerns to community-based organizations. These concerns might be shared by others, and, in the venue of community organizations, they can be brought to the attention of the public-at-large. The process of collectivizing issues within an organization creates a sense of community among these organizational members (Hughey, Speer & Peterson, 1999). Therefore, the Sense of Community (SOC) index from which the Community
Organizations Sense of Community Scale is derived has four components: membership, fulfillment, integration and fulfillment, and a shared emotional connection.

**Membership.** According to McMillan and Chavis (1986), this component has four attributes: boundaries, emotional safety, sense of belonging, and personal investment. McMillan and Chavis (1986) write that these four attributes together comprise a sense of community.

**Boundary.** The boundary attribute relates to the need for organizational members to demarcate boundaries which include members and exclude non-members. For example, such a boundary might be an annual meeting which is only open to CDC staff and board members – not for the community members-at-large. A boundary could be defined by the mission, purpose and stated goals of the organization. In this case, the mission, purpose and goals would be defined by the organizational members of the CDC. While this is often done by the board and staff should be included in this conversation as well.

**Emotional Safety.** The emotional safety attribute refers to the safety of organizational or community members in their context. In the case of this study, emotional safety would apply to CDC organizational members feeling the sense of emotional safety in the light of the organization’s power. Ideally, these members should sense emotional safety as the organization’s power structure reinforces their beliefs and shared values (Dalton, Elias, Wandersman, 2006).

**Sense of Belonging.** The sense of belonging attribute refers to the identity and connection that an organizational member feels to the organization. A volunteer, for example, is willing to spend a number of hours a week doing bookkeeping at their local CDC because she feels a common identity and connection to the organization, staff and
board. Alternatively, in a community context, a person connects and identifies with the neighborhood.

**Personal investment.** Personal investment suggests a long-term commitment to the organization either because of a historical tie between the person and the organization, or an ongoing willingness to take risks for the organizations. A staff member willing to champion certain initiatives or a board member taking a risk by addressing unhealthy organizational practices are examples of personal investment.

These four attributes are the components that constitute “member needs” as mentioned in the McMillan quotation earlier in this paragraph. SOC has been studied in community organizations (Hughey, Speer & Peterson, 1999) and in other contexts such as places of work and faith institutions (Lizak, 2003; Miers & Fishers, 2002; Pretty & McCarthy, 1991). However, the construct has come under scrutiny from a variety of scholars because the construct is specific to the setting in which it is tested (Hill, 1996), much of its analysis is on the individual level (Buckner, 1988), and that it defines community as a collective unit rather than an individual unit (van Uchelen, 2000).

The Community Organization Sense of Community (COSOC) scale (Hughey, Speer & Peterson, 1999; Peterson et al, 2008) is an organizational measure that was developed from the SOC construct. Much of the sense of community research was conducted within the field of community psychology and corresponding research has been done on an individual level. It has focused on the relationships between individuals in the context of communities and workplaces (Boyd & Angelique, 2002). However, others’ observations of these interactions between individuals, while helpful, should be balanced and augmented with perspectives from studies that analyze the sense of

..SOC might be considered a feature of organizational culture, an indicator of interdependent relationships among persons within organizations and relationships within organizations or institutions within communities. Community organizations are crucial for SOC researchers to study because they represent important settings through which individual and community transformation can occur (p. 799).

However, in 1999, Hughey, Speer and Peterson introduced the *Community Organization Sense of Community Scale* (COSOC). The COSOC scale has been used in fields of community psychology and social work (Peterson et al, 2008). As in the SOC index, this scale looks at the aspects of community life through an individual lens (McMillan and Chavis, 1986) but is done within the context of the community organization (Hughey, Speer & Peterson, 1999). The COSOC scale, first developed by Hughey, Speer and Peterson (1999), and refined with only positively worded items by Peterson, Speer, Hughey, Armstead, Schneider & Sheffer (2008), included the following components: 1) relationship to organization; 2) organization as mediator; 3) bond to organization; 4) influence of the organization. The main change in the COSOC scale was that the questions in the 2008 version of the survey were all positively worded; thus removing the negatively worded questions in the 1999 scale. In previous studies of the COSOC “both negatively and positively worded items were included and this affected the psychometric properties associated with other measures of sense of community”
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(Peterson et al, 2008, p.801). The 2008 version is therefore called the Revised Community Organization Sense of Community Scale (COSOC-R).

**Relationship to the organization.**

According to Hughey, Speer and Peterson (1999), community organizations can be conduits through which individuals form relationships with others. Through the work of the organization, people exchange ups and downs, share in the pain of community change, and also deal with divergent agendas, purposes and missions. This component identifies types of relationships and attachments between organizational members which impact their connections with other members of the organization.

**Organization as mediator.**

In addition to the relationships that exist within the organization, community organizations allow personal needs to be expressed on a larger scale and shared in the public space where other community needs are being debated. According to Sarason (1993), individuals in the organization sense that they are a part of something larger. Organizations which disperse individual ideas into the community space also create a sense of community for individuals in an organization. Therefore, in order for sense of community to be created in a community organization, there needs to be a space where these ideas can be transmitted to a larger community/public space (Hughey, Speer & Peterson, 1999). According to Hughey, Speer and Peterson (1999), not all organizations can do this. Therefore, this study will determine if CDCs provide effective spaces for organizational member’s ideas to be shared in the public arena. This process increases an organizational member’s ability to feel a sense of belonging, a personal investment in the organization and, ultimately, the rest of the community.
**Bond to the community.**

According to Hill (1996) and Puddifoot (1996), the importance of place and its attachment to an organization and its members is a useful indicator of the sense of community within an organization. Therefore, the use of neighborhoods where CDCs work drives the revitalization process that will be a factor in creating a sense of community for their organizational members.

**Influence of the Community Organization.**

Individuals rarely make a difference in the community on their own. Collective change and social movements usually emerge through collective groups, formed within the context of community organizations. CDCs are one such instrument through which community change and social movement can emerge. Group efforts in the form of community organizations can influence organizational members to engage in social change for their community. Moreover, as stated previously, when community organizations have influence over their members, this leads to the development of relationships between organizational members and the community at large (Sarason, 1993).

**Citizen participation**

The literature on citizen participation is rich and varied. Many scholars and practitioners have considered the issues of citizen participation. While this study will define *citizen* as the organizational members (staff and board) of CDCs, much of the literature on citizen participation refers to the actual consumers or residents of the neighborhoods where CDCs provide their services. Therefore, this section of the review of the literature will focus on research examining citizen participation from the perspective of an organizational member.
Self-efficacy theory helps to explain the reasons why citizens participate in their communities and how self-efficacy affects a person’s ability to take participatory action. Bandura (1982) states that self-efficacy as an “individual self-judgment about his or her capabilities to organize and execute the actions necessary to achieved desired goals” (as cited in Ohmer, 2010, p. 6). In addition, Bandura (1986) states that participatory experience influences a person’s ability to feel effective in her own environment. This leads to that person having higher expectations of what she can achieve.

Citizen participation has been the focus of much literature in psychology, social work, public administration, or political science. In community psychology, a definition for citizen participation is as follows: “a process in which individuals take part in decision making in the institutions, programs and environments that affect them” (Heller, 1984, p. 339). According to Wandersman and Florin (2000), citizen participation plays an important role in various settings in society. Work, health care, neighborhood organizations, social service agencies, and politics constitute the settings in which citizens participate. In the fields of public administration and political science, citizen participation is a form of representative democracy (Kluver, 2004). According to Kluver (2004), representative democracy is the “implementation of literal democracy, in which citizens choose representatives to make policy decisions” (p.310). In addition, Milbrath (1965) created a Gutman scale of political participation. The scale ranged from exposing oneself to political stimuli to holding party or public office. In the field of social work, citizen participation is often associated with empowerment and community organizing (Hardina, 2003). Social work borrows from a variety of disciplines and does not have its own definition of citizen participation. However, participation of citizens does improve
services and provides an opportunity for citizens to be politically involved (Gulati, 1982). This involvement facilitates their increased involvement in their community and in society (Gittell, 1983; Hardina, 2003). In addition, Burke (1983) states that there are three roles for citizens in organizational decisions: 1) competency in service implementation and design; 2) critical awareness concerning their rights; and 3) base of support for the community organization. Hardina (2003) revealed the four following themes in her review of the connection between empowerment and citizen participation:

1) The purpose of citizen participation in government or municipal planning

2) Whether the acceptance of government funding actually increases the ability of local residents to address their needs through the delivery of services by community-based organizations and to advocate for legislation.

3) The degree of actual participatory democracy in community-based organizations

4) The benefits associated with citizen participation in service delivery

(Hardina, 2003, p. 14)

Based on these brief overviews of citizen participation in these disciplines, it would appear the vast majority of the research in “citizen participation” is defined and measured concerning the nature, scope and level of constituents’ participation in community organizations or surrounding community.

The term “citizen” in the literature predominantly means those who are low-income, oppressed, marginalized, or are the target population in need of change (Hardina, 2003; Gutierrez, 1995; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993 Rothman, 1995; Ohmer, 2006; 2007 to name a few). Citizens do not mean professional workers who are employed in nonprofit community-based organizations. These “citizens” are the instruments who use
their professional expertise to facilitate the participation and empowerment of under-represented, marginalized and low-income populations in communities. In contrast, this study seeks to determine the nature and level of citizen participation from the organizational members, i.e., the staff and board of a CDC. As has been noted, the staff and board of CDCs are often college-educated professionals who are the non-poor and do not live in the community in which the CDC is located (Filner, 2001; Frisch & Servon, 2006; Hunt, 2007; Johnson, 2001; Schneider, 2006; Silverman, 2005; Stoecker, 1997, 2003). CDC staff members do not reflect the structure and personnel composition of neighborhood or block associations. Studies have been done of these groups whose members are citizens of the local community (Foster –Fishman, Pierce & Van Egeren, 2009; Jones, 2003; Hardina, 2003, Holder et al, 2004; Ohmer & Beck, 2006; Ohmer, 2006a; Ohmer, 2008a; 2008b). In addition, CDC board members can be representatives from the corporate and government sectors, essential partners for CDCs for capital investment in their projects and other initiatives (Walker, 2005). Without these professionals, citizens can be unaware of the technical nature of community development policy, funding, and programming, and would not see the benefits of affordable housing, employment, social services and small business and retail development. Perhaps the only organizational member group that extensively mirrors the citizens of the community would be the volunteers in a CDC (Wollabeck & Selle, 2002).

While studies have shown the potential for citizen participation, there are also barriers which impede citizen participation. Florin and Wandersman (2001) argue that citizens participate in the context of community organizations. These organizations may require the energy of members to complete tasks and achieve performance outcomes.
These members need to perceive their actions as making a significant difference. In addition to the importance of self-efficacy among citizens, there must also be a sense of collective efficacy. Collective efficacy is the perception of a group or organization about their ability to change and improve neighborhood problems or exert sociopolitical control. One determinant of the potential for citizen participants is the presence of collective efficacy. According to research done by Odgers et al, (2009) collective efficacy was positively associated with participation, along with relational ties and the availability of formal neighborhood services such as social services. In addition, Chavis, Florin and Wandersman (1987) found that block association members, because of their shared belief in the ability to make a difference in their neighborhood, were significantly more likely to believe that they could make changes to social problems in their own community.

**Community Development Corporations**

*Community Development Corporations (CDCs) are 501 (c)(3) nonprofit organizations, community-controlled real estate organizations which possess a volunteer board and focus predominantly on the physical redevelopment of local communities (Stoecker, 1997; Walker, 2002). While the majority of CDCs focus on small business development and affordable housing, they also engage in social services, advocacy and organizing (Walker, 2002).*

While CDCs were not created to facilitate community organizing, these organizations are focused primarily on place-based development, what Rothman calls “locality development (as cited in Pyles, 2009, p. 59). Rothman (2001) states that there are three types of community intervention: 1) locality development; 2) social policy and
planning; and 3) social action. Locality development is often associated with community development, or developing a local community’s overall social environment through affordable housing, job training and economic development (Pyles, 2009). Therefore, as the research literature cites, CDCs can be found using this form for social change and intervention. Social policy and planning is the process by which technocrats use a systematic process to solve social problems through scientific means or through public policies and government intervention. Social action, often associated with community organizing is the process by which power in a community is redistributed (Pyles, 2009).

The community development movement in the United States is deemed to have received its first national recognition when Senator Robert Kennedy provided the funding for a group of neighborhood organizations, one being the Bedford-Stuyvesant Reinvestment Corporation. However the community development movement started well before this historic watershed moment. Many researchers state that the CDC movement emerged out of the self-help movement in America (Berendt 1977; Janha, Wang & Whelan, 1994; Lemann, 1991; Shavelson, 1989). America has a long tradition of self-help movements and groups. According to Berendt (1977), the self-help movement began with the first pilgrims who crossed the Atlantic in the 17th century. The first recorded self-help and community development organization can be traced back to 1825 in New Harmony, Indiana where Robert Owen is known for his failed attempt to develop common purposes through organization among the first settlers. In addition, also in 1825, Frances Wright Nashoba attempted to integrate free African slaves in Tennessee, which also failed (Dolbeare, 1984). Berendt (1977) states that “while the concept of CDC
often is viewed as an innovation of the 1960s, it is an outgrowth of ideas that shaped poverty programs at least since the eighteenth century (p. 4)”.

According to Johnson (2001) others, such as Herbert Hoover, expressed the benefits of a self-help movement. Hoover discussed the importance of cooperatives, business groups, trade associations, local communities and community organizations. Furthermore, the New Deal legislation passed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt possessed characteristics of the self-help movement. According to Berendt (1977), programs such as the Works Project Administration, Home Owners Act, and Agricultural Adjustment Act were based on individualism and an “I can do it” attitude. This was also true of federal programs during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, the latter best known for the War on Poverty programs. Berendt states that federal policy shifted from the 1930s to 1960s. Federal policy maintained the importance of community members controlling their destiny and future.

To explore this policy shift, one can review the historical benchmarks in federal housing policy legislation which is closely linked with the development of CDCs (Filner, 2001). Until the 1930s, there was limited federal interest in housing or community development. The first federal involvement in housing took shape in the form of the 1937 United States Housing Act (Filner, 2001). This act was part of the New Deal legislation, putting into place a housing safety net for Americans. Unlike in the past, the 1937 act announced that the federal government was responsible to “remedy the unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions and acute shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of lower income” (Filner, 2001 p. 1). It was the first time the federal government considered itself responsible for the welfare and health of
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communities, specifically lower income communities. In 1949, Congress decided to use the post-war boom to develop housing in urban areas. The 1949 Housing Act assumed that growth would occur in urban areas by redeveloping the physical aspects of the communities. This began the community development movement (Filner, 2001).

During the 1950s and 1960s there was a move towards radical community organizing in communities all across America. Due to the influence of people like Saul Alinsky, confrontational approaches to social change were increasingly used by marginalized groups to demand a change in social policies (Johnson, 2001). Policy makers had been experimenting with all sorts of decentralized instruments to reduce poverty. In 1964, under the leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson, the country developed its most aggressive decentralized action against poverty through the War on Poverty legislation (Hallman, 1970). The purpose and intent of the War on Poverty was to empower the poor and to give them increased ownership of their own environment. At this time, through Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Community Action Agencies were created (Sviridoff & Thomas, 2004).

Community Action Agencies (CAAs), created through the Office Economic Opportunity, were primarily designed to generate jobs in low-income communities. The War on Poverty legislation cited that these CAAs needed to possess “maximum feasible participation” of the local residents in the community (Ford Foundation, 1973; Nemon, 2007). Although poor people were not the only community members who became leaders in these CAAs, these organizations began to establish their voice, and they challenged the local government officials who had given poor people the resources to create change in their communities. It became clear that the federal policy mandate
which encouraged and expected the participation of the poor in their own community
governance could not be encouraged on an ongoing basis (Marris & Rein, 1982; Sviridoff
& Thomas, 2004). Therefore, the “maximum feasible participation” component of all
future poverty legislation by the government lessened significantly during the Nixon
Administration (Gilbert, 1969; Pierce & Steinbach, 1987; Zurcher, 1970).

Politicians understood that local residents of poor communities could and would
be mobilized through participatory measures and organizations. They were a prominent,
yet untapped, political constituency. However, politicians were also aware that giving the
poor too much power eroded their own political power. They recognized that community
change could not just occur through a radical community organizing style, which might
oppose the current power structures, but that community citizen power should be
harnessed through developing a community’s economic and social base. This resulted in
a change in (political/funding/policy?) emphasis from maximum feasible community
participation to community economic development (Kotler, 1969). According to Kotler,
mayors all over the country wanted to see the funding move away from CAAs.
Therefore, in 1968 the Green Amendment of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act was
passed which effectively shifted federal funding from CAAs to local government
bureaucracies, inhibiting the financial viability of CAAs, which had openly exposed and
threatened the existing power structure (Kotler, 1969). Kotler (1969) writes:

Now the idea was to encourage the enterprising people in the communities, and
assist them in small businesses and little industries which could employ poor
people. And it was to be this group of people – those ambitious for gain – on who
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 (p. 4).

According to Kotler, the government wanted enterprise rather than political and organizational action as it would “put them out of the meeting halls and put them behind cash registers” (1969, p. 7). Then, in 1968, the federal government passed the Kennedy-Javits Special Impact Program Amendment of Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This amendment provided funding for neighborhood and place-based institutions to fight the social and economic poverty in communities. Later, the Nixon Administration passed the Housing and Community Act of 1974, which funded new place-based organizations now formally called CDCs (Pierce & Steinbach, 1987).

As the federal policy shaped the development and emergence of CDCs and the decline of CAAs, it was the Ford Foundation’s significant role in this process that helped Washington understand empirically that community-based organizations develop the social and economic base of a community (Pierce & Steinbach, 1987; Sviridoff & Thomas, 2004). One notable theme during the 1950s was the shift of the Ford Foundation to study the role of the “opportunity theory of delinquency” (Sviridoff & Thomas, 2004). In the prior decade, social science focused on the delinquent by “blaming the victim” for all of their ills and deviant acts. In order to remedy and restore the delinquent, they needed to undergo individual treatment. However, the “opportunity theorists” believed that one needed to take a look at the societal causes of such delinquent behavior and deal with this behavior on a larger scale (Sviridoff & Thomas, 2004). Therefore, instead of focusing on teenagers and children in poorer neighborhoods, the
opportunists shifted their focus to the communities where teenagers and children lived. The focus shifted from individual to community. In light of this, the Ford Foundation and its visionary, Paul Ylvisaker, created a number of experimental programs in low-income communities across the country (Ford Foundation, 1973). These experiments in communities were done on a number of fronts and were meant to be comprehensive in nature. In addition, the experiments were to be conducted within the confines of nonprofit agencies based in these communities (Ford Foundation, 1973). These experimental programs were called the Gray Areas program. During this time, the experimentation was on service, education and employment as means to change behavior and restore communities (Ford Foundation, 1973). It is ironic that at that time there was no mention of the importance of housing and economic development, now the backbone of the community development movement. In addition, some of the original CDCs which were funded through Title VII of the Economic Opportunity Act, such as the Kentucky Highlands Investment Corporation, originally focused on developing medium businesses to generate economic development through jobs in the Kentucky. This focus on leverage medium business development is in sharp contrast to the CDCs’ current focus on developing micro-businesses across the country today (Housing and Urban Development, 2003).

One notable success was the New Haven Connecticut Gray Areas program (Sviridoff & Thomas, 2004). The New Haven program is recognized as the model from which President Lyndon B. Johnson developed his anti-poverty program initiatives in the 1960s. After observing the results of the Gray Areas programs, the Johnson administration, in developing the federal program model, recognized the importance of
mandating “maximum feasible participation” in these anti-poverty programs (Ford Foundation, 1973). Thus the Gray Area programs were the precursor of the aforementioned CAAs created by the Johnson Administration. Because these action agencies were given community participation mandate, they clashed with the government’s initiatives to establish urban renewal in these ghettos and urban areas which ultimately led to their demise.

After the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, the Ford Foundation provided significant long-term funding to eight CDCs across the country. The commitment to these organizations was significant. The foundation committed to provide $75 million to these CDCs over a five year period; $50 million of which was in the form of outright grants. The following organizations were chosen for the foundation-supported CDC program:

- Zion Nonprofit Charitable Trust (Philadelphia, PA)
- Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation (Brooklyn, NY)
- The Woodlawn Organization (Chicago, IL)
- East Central Committee for Opportunity (Mayfield, GA)
- Watts Labor Community Action Committee (Los Angeles, CA)
- Mississippi Action for Community Education (Greenville, MS)
- South East Alabama Self-Help Association, Inc. (Tuskegee Institute, AL)
- Upper Park Avenue Community Association (New York, NY)

It was the 1968 amendment of the Economic Opportunity Act that the more famous of the first cohort of CDCs were established on firm footing. The Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation (BSRC), was the result of Robert Kennedy’s tour
around the Bedford Stuyvesant neighborhood (Johnson, 2004). In response to deteriorating communities due to racial violence, high teenage pregnancy rates, high violent and drug-related crimes, CDCs were seen as a business-oriented response to renewing these broken community systems.

According to Simon (2001) there are three basic characteristics of a CDC. First, the CDC should have a purpose and commitment to benefit some geographical jurisdiction that possesses a high number of low-income individuals. Second, the organization must be a 501 (c) (3), nonprofit organization. Therefore, its charitable purpose should be clear and it must be also be registered and recognized as a nonprofit organization by state and local offices. Third, the CDC board must be open to the community that it serves. Steinbach (2003) adds that CDCs should be a portal of economic development, complementing these activities with adequate social service provision so that this balanced work would enhance private investment and promote community health.

During the 1970s, up to 100 CDCs were formed in what is now known as the second wave of CDCs (Stoecker, 1996; Gittel & Wilder, 2000). This second wave of CDCs moved from workforce development to affordable housing development as the primary focus of their work. One reason for this shift from jobs to houses was the passage of the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act (Gittel & Wilder, 2000). Through Title VII of this act, the second wave of CDCs was the first to experience the benefits of funding from intermediaries and foundations. An additional result of the 1974 Act was the creation of the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program. The main thrust of the CDBG program was that the oversight of community development initiatives
was moved from the federal to the local level. In return, local communities sought nonprofit community development organizations to carry out the community development initiatives as devised by local leaders. The Community Development Block Grant was distributed to the CDC's. In addition to this federal stream of money, scholars estimated that between 1966 and 1980 CDCs received over $500 million dollars in funding (Vidal, 1992; Pierce & Steinback, 1987).

In the 1980s, the number of CDCs rose to 2,000 as governments at all levels moved away from tackling poverty in low-income communities (NCCED, 2006). Ronald Reagan’s social policies dismantled many CDCs during this time, and others sought after more foundation funding due to the reduction of federal government support (Stoutland, 1999).

The third generation of CDCs expanded rapidly in the 1990s alone. CDCs evolved into an industry where over 3,600 CDCs existed across the country (NCEED, 1995, 2006). From 1985 to 1995 the number of community development corporations dramatically increased (Cowan, Rohe & Baku, 2000). According to the now defunct National Congress of Community Economic Development (NCCED), during the ten year span the number of CDCs in the United States doubled (2006). According to recent data from the National Alliance of Community Economic Development Associations (NACEDA) there are 4,600 CDCs nationwide located in inner cities, small cities and in rural areas, 25% of which are faith-based. Nearly 90% of CDC residents are low-income and 25% are poor. CDCs vary in size with the number of employees ranging from 10-1,100. According to NACEDA, the steady growth of CDCs demonstrates their importance at the national level.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Community Development Corporations (CDCs) are increasingly being recognized as a key component of the revitalization of low-income communities. Anecdotal evidence suggests that CDCs are crucial in developing collaboration among stakeholders in working toward the goals of comprehensive community development. However, despite the support of CDCs by the government, business and nonprofit sectors, there are surprisingly few empirical studies critically analyzing the CDC form of development.

A Community Development Corporation has been defined by Sviridoff (1994) as the following: A nonprofit, community-based organization governed by a board consisting primarily of neighborhood residents and business leadership, generally founded in distressed neighborhoods, and dedicated to the revitalization of a discrete geographic area usually defined by traditional neighborhood boundaries (p. 92).

In the literature, each discipline views CDCs through its own paradigmatic lens. The literature lacks a viewpoint that is based on multi-paradigm framework. In terms of the political economic framework, there are seven models from which CDCs are viewed (Berendt 1977; Hanssen, 1993; Kotler, 1969; Koresh, 1986; Mayer, 1984; Stoecker, 1999; Vidal, 1992). Below is brief summary of these models.
CDC Models

The Kotler model is a grassroots model, which asserts that internal agents and the participation of local residents are the most important aspects of CDC work. Kotler (1969) assumes that means are more important than the outcomes or ends of the community development process. The Stoecker model assumes a grassroots approach as well and views this approach from a “bottom-up” paradigm, emphasizing community control and neighborhood decision.

In the Koresh model, the CDC is defined as a redevelopment unit or an economic unit within an umbrella of community organizations (Koresh, 1986). According to Koresh, the umbrella of community organizations creates this organizational unit to develop economic feasibilities as part of the overall community development outreach within this place-based organization. The Warren model (1972) assumes that these organizations are within a specific geographical area which focuses on entrepreneurship and/or anti-poverty activities and are created by the community itself (Warren, 1972).

Similar to the other models, the Berendt model (1977) assumes that the community corporation is community controlled. This model suggests that the community unit would develop a business unit to bring enterprise into the community. In this model, the citizens provide the manpower for the organization which receives investment from for-profit groups. This model also suggests that an advisory group lends their expertise as the community develops relationships and partnerships with outside capital investment interests. While this advisory group is not involved in day-to-day activities of the organization, the community members (which Berendt assumes are poor) will develop marketable skills to promote the community interests. Finally, in addition to
the outside investment from business interests, Berendt assumes that the majority of outside funding comes from the government or foundation. However, despite the fact that the source of capital comes from outside the community, community members still formulate the vision and policy of the economic development (Kelly, 1997).

The *Faux model* (1971) is similar to the radicalized community oriented model of Fainstein and Fainstein (1976). Because some cities are predominantly populated by African Americans or Latinos, Faux (1971) recommends that the CDC should fall along ethnic lines. Therefore, the CDC’s interests are also based on ethnic and racial lines. Such organizations are developed using a planning board – or an umbrella organization similar to that in Koresh’s model, which builds the CDC as a unit within a larger community organization. Members of these boards controlling the corporation are based on two types: voting members and non-voting members. Voting members are similar to stockholders in a for-profit corporation. Non-voting members are similar to the advisory board that is found in the Koresh model. The unit that raises the economic activities of the community is funded by an endowment providing a steady source of revenue. As with Berendt (1977), the unit is controlled and directed from the community but a significant portion of the funding still originates from outside sources.

**Overview of CDC research**

Studies by Vidal (1992; 1996) and Mayer (1984) and others classify CDCs’ activities into four areas: housing development, community organizing, commercial real estate and business development. Many of the studies conducted have focused on housing development and capacity building of CDCs (Bratt and Biswas, 2003; Filner, 2001; Mallach, 2005; Smith, 2003 for example). Some studies have focused on the role
of social capital and community building (Gittell and Vidal, 1998; Knotts, 2001; Walker and Weinheimer, 1998). For example, Gittell and Vidal (1998) looked at CDCs in several Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) sites. These CDCs, while doing community organizing, used Eichler’s model (1995) of consensus organizing in their approach to community building. The core strategies of this form of organizing are: broad-based involvement, the delivery of concrete objectives, the simplification of activities, the development of leadership and the connection of residents to outside sources (Gittell and Vidal, 1998). According to Gittell and Vidal, (1998) CDCs played an important role in consensus organizing and developed strong horizontal ties and relationships between residents in these LISC cities.

In reviewing the literature, CDC studies have fallen into two categories: case studies and national samples. Scholarly study has focused on CDC work that is contextual to a specific neighborhood or community (Berndt, 1977; Bratt and Rohe, 2004; Hunt, 2007; Silverman, 2003; Smith, 2003). The second category of research conducted has been based on national samples (Cohen, Rowe & Baku, 2004; Peirce and Steinbach, Servon and Glickman, 2003; Vidal, 1992). According to Knotts (2001), these studies allow us to compare and contrast the work done by CDCs across the country. However the major problem with these studies is that they use CDCs as the unit of analysis. The studies do not compare and contrast the CDC form of development with other forms of community development. Community development is also done by other community-based organizations such as social service agencies, neighborhood associations, community organizing groups, places of worship or community development finance institutions. Moreover, national studies done on CDCs do not tell
us the impact that CDCs are making in communities. For example, Vidal’s work (1992) was helpful by providing researchers with the number of housing units produced by CDCs. While this is important, this data output does not inform us of who will live in these housing units and the impact that these homes had on the housing market and neighborhood revitalization process. An additional problem with the national surveys is that none of the studies use a random sampling in their methodology. For example, Vidal (1992) used a purposive sample of 130 CDCs in 29 cities across the country. Mayer used a sampling of CDCs that had received Federal Housing and Urban Development grants which might constitute a unique group of CDCs in comparison to others (Knotts, 2001).

Factors affecting CDCs

There are a number of factors which affect CDC performances. According to Lowe (2001), the primary external factor affecting CDCs is a failure of financial resources. CDCs traditionally rely on external funding from government, foundations and national intermediaries for support. Similar to any nonprofit, CDCs are dependent on external resources for revenue for programmatic initiatives. National intermediaries have been a major infuser of funding for CDCs all over the country. National community development intermediaries such as the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), the Enterprise Foundation and Neighborworks America provide financial support through grants they receive from private and government investment (Gitell & Wilder, 1999). These intermediaries provide technical assistance in helping CDCs deal with the corporate world. For example, between 1991 and 1997, the Enterprise Foundation funneled over $150 million dollars to CDCs (Liou & Stroh 1998). Among the national
foundations, the Ford Foundation has been the oldest and most consistent funder of community development initiatives.

Another factor that affects CDCs is the level of community participation in the CDC and the quality of that participation (Cowen, Rohe & Baku, 2000). While CDCs encourage local people to participate, there are issues which limit the quality of resident participation. Community organizing and mobilization are major components of community building, bringing different groups and interests to work on challenges for community benefit (Rohe, 1995). However, foundations do not encourage certain confrontational forms practiced by several community organizing institutes (Gamaliel Foundation, Pacific Institute for Community Organization and the now closed Association of Community Organization Reform Now (ACORN)). A second limitation to CDCs is their accountability to stakeholders. Because the majority of CDCs are primarily focused on real estate, they need to leverage funding and support from a variety of stakeholders (e.g., government entities and corporations) in order for these projects to be financially viable. This means that CDCs cannot challenge, confront, or organize against the stakeholders who can “make or break” their projects. CDCs must have the ability to build alliances with the local government, state and foundations, however, social system reform is difficult if the groups that need to be changed also control the resources driving housing and business development in a community.

CDCs can also become the focus of confrontational community organizing. Because of their alliance with banks, local government or corporate interests, CDCs may be seen as part of the oppressive structure inhibiting economic and social redistribution in a community. An inadequate financing structure, a poor standard in property maintenance
by the CDC, or a staff reluctant to increase community participation in their organization could help to create this perception (Clamp, 2010). To address this, CDCs will need to rethink their purpose and role in society and whether they should pursue a strategy that encourages higher levels of community participation (Cowen et al, 2000; Rohe, Bratt & Biswas, 2003).

**Measures of CDCs’ Performance**

**Budgets.**

The size and operating budget of CDCs across the nation varies widely. According to a study done by Rohe, Leaman, Stewart & Brady (1991), 240 Neighborworks America organizations possessed budgets ranging from $0 to $2,000,000 at that time. In this particular study, the median number of staff was 4 and median operating budget was $705,000. A previously mentioned study by Vidal (1992) conducted a survey of over 130 more-established and large CDCs and found these organizations had up to 95 staff members and possessed budgets over $10 million. Previous studies in CDCs’ performance in changing the economic landscape of their communities have used a variety of indicators to determine performance. Some have used, for example, the number of housing units produced. For example, in the Vidal (1992) study, the average number of units produced in the sample was only 21 units per organization per year. In addition, in 1995, the National Congress for Community Economic Development reported that, as of 1993, over 400,000 units of affordable housing were produced by CDC with an average of 30,000 to 40,000 units per year on an ongoing basis. Unfortunately, the NCCED’s last survey of the industry was in 2006 and there has been no comprehensive study on CDCs since (Cowen, Rohe & Baku, 2000).
Affordable Housing.

Galster, Levy, Sawyer, Temkin & Walker (2005) showed that CDC programmatic and engagement strategies are both necessary for community revitalization. This section will discuss the importance of CDC housing program initiatives. Over 90 percent of CDCs pursue some sort of affordable housing strategy in their work (Galster et al., 2005). While these programs need a lot of capital, most of which comes from foundation and federal dollars, affordable housing programs create a number of positive ripple effects not seen in traditional social service delivery. For example, the creation of affordable housing has the potential to attract capital to the community through the infusion of small and large business investment and commitment (Galster et al., 2005). In addition, safe, decent, affordable housing can link communities to the possibilities of better schools, jobs, and more open space through the creation of parks or other zoned and planned green space (Galster et al., 2005). Additionally, affordable housing creates an environment which is more physically attractive in a neighborhood. New housing changes the landscape of the neighborhood and gives a psychological sense of community which residents might not otherwise experience in communities where housing stock is substandard (Ohmer, 2007). According to Galster et al., 2005, the improvement a group of units within a community will create has two outcomes: first, the improved housing decreases the number of homes that are substandard; second, the housing stock that remains gains in appreciation because of the presence of these new units.

In addition to increasing the physical beauty and value of properties in the community as a whole, CDCs are able to communicate market realities to outside investors which other parties would not otherwise do (Bratt & Rohe, 2007; Galster et al.,
CDCs help investors to understand the potential of inner city neighborhoods using their staff expertise and business acumen while also communicating an activist passion for community rebuilding and revitalization. This gives CDCs the potential to link external investment to internal community resources.

Finally, CDCs have access to resources through the CDBG block grant programs, state affordable housing trust funds and other neighborhood tax credit programs. Through these funding sources, members of the community can receive support to improve the quality and value of their homes (Knotts, 2000 as referenced in Galster et al., 2005). Without CDCs, these resources, only available to qualified and certified organizations, would be difficult for community members to access on their own. By using their expertise and skills, CDC staff can remodel an entire neighborhood, if needed, over time.

**Economic development programs.**

Many CDC economic development programs have taken on the task of improving the retail infrastructure in a community by store front or façade investment (Galster et al., 2005). These retail areas are normally the gateways through which people enter a community and assess its assets and limitations. In addition, retail centers can be places where community members and outsiders gather, spend money through the exchange of goods and services, and improve the overall quality of life for residents.

Through retail façade improvement activities, CDCs are able to generate a similar ripple economic effect as seen in their affordable housing initiatives. The more attractive the physical structures are in a community, the more likely people are to invest and spend their money in these retail outlets and shops (Galster et al., 2005; Smith, 2003). In
addition, CDCs help investors to see the potential for capital investment and market generation available in low-income communities. Many of these communities are underserved consumer markets and CDCs can leverage this capital investment. Lastly, because CDCs understand the complexities and nuances of their community and how it acts in the marketplace, CDCs are able to generate and facilitate the flow of a number of investment vehicles, as opposed to adopting a singular model approach.

**CDC citizen participation.**

One of the best ways for CDCs to engage their communities is to encourage resident participation in the planning, formulation, implementation and evaluation of programs (Servon & Glickman, 2003). While not always done effectively by CDCs, neighborhood involvement magnifies the impact that housing and economic development programs have in the neighborhood. Neighborhood involvement in CDC projects increases the value of these projects. The involvement of neighbors in CDC programs increases those programs’ effectiveness in the neighborhood (Galster et al., 2005).

Secondly, this community involvement shows a support for CDC programs that is important to outside philanthropic interests. With community support, CDCs are able to obtain a level of legitimacy with outside interests and donors. Without a broad base of support for neighborhood revitalization, CDCs cannot be effective in community change. Other groups and constituencies are vital to make a case for change in a community. This message can come from a number of groups, such as block associations, social service organizations, schools and religious institutions, not just the CDC.

**Components of CDC capacity**

In the late 1990s, community development practitioners, scholars and funders expressed the need for CDCs to build capacity (Servon & Glickman, 1998). While CDCs
are often understood as building economic development and housing capacity, there is also a significant rationale for CDCs building human or resident capacity as well. Norman Glickman and Lisa Servon (1998; 2003) developed such a model of capacity for CDCs. Because of the significance of this capacity model, the following paragraphs will describe and analyze its value and components.

According to Glickman & Servon (1998; 2003), CDC capacity should be defined by a combination of the following features: resource, networking, programmatic and political capacity.

**Resource capacity.** Glickman and Servon (2003) state that CDCs must be able to “increase, manage and sustain” funding for their operations (Glickman & Servon, 2003, p. 240). Therefore, CDCs need to become more efficient in how to manage their funding. If community organizations are able to do so, this makes them more credible.

**Programmatic, networking and political capacity.** Servon and Glickman (2003) suggest that most CDCs start their work in housing or economic development and then spread their wings to deliver social services. In addition to the actual programs that they develop, CDCs are also involved in political partnerships and networks with local community residents, business owners, investors and government officials at all levels. In using these relationships, CDCs can leverage political interest for the CDC as an organization both within and outside their neighborhood.

In addition to these features of the capacity within the CDC, national intermediaries have made a significant impact in increasing and strengthening the CDC industry in the United States through their access to funding and government technical assistance. The next section of this paper discusses the role of intermediaries in the CDC sector.
National Intermediaries

There are about a dozen national intermediaries in the country (McDermott, 2004). The largest intermediaries are Enterprise Foundation, Neighborworks America, Local Initiatives Support Corporation and Habitat for Humanity. Three of these intermediaries (not including Habitat for Humanity) work in over 2,000 communities and have annual revenues of over $100 million (McDermott, 2004). Intermediaries provide CDCs with funding, advocacy, training and technical assistance. In working with the government, corporations and foundations bring national funding to local CDCs. The CDCs are the beneficiaries of these funds and use intermediaries to their advantage.

During the 1990s, one of the major intermediary initiatives was seen in the Living Cities program, a collaborative between Enterprise Foundation and LISC. In this case, 23 US cities were granted over $250 million creating over $2 billion in investments in these 23 cities.

According to the National Low-Income Housing Coalition (2009):

Intermediary organizations have several primary functions. They marshal resources from financial institutions, philanthropic organizations, government and individuals and direct it to community-based organizations for operating support and project financing. They also provide training, technical assistance, information and networking opportunities, such as conferences, for practitioners. Finally, they advocate for policies that advance affordable housing as well as other priorities at all levels of government and raise awareness of housing and related issues among the general public.

Below are the various purposes of National Intermediaries:
Create Standards. National intermediaries help to bring benchmarks and standards to CDCs all over the country. According to Walker (2002) intermediaries help to increase organizational efficacy and efficiency, develop standardized management systems and provide technical assistance and strategic planning to CDCs. For example, Neighborworks America has developed several training programs for CDCs in the areas of nonprofit housing management, community building, performance measurement system development and tax credit syndication certification.

Fund Local Collaboratives. Since the work of the Living Cities program in the late 1990s, intermediaries have been important players in the work of developing funder collaboratives. These funder collaboratives organically bring together institutions from various sectors (business, nonprofit and government) and their sources of funding. These funding or investment vehicles are used to generate community capacity and wealth in a local neighborhood or region (McDermott, 2004). For example, McDermott (2004) highlights one community development funder collaborative in Columbus, Ohio. This collaborative was created over 12 years ago through the work of the Enterprise foundation using funds from the Living Cities program. From its beginnings in 1992, the collaborative has generated over $1.5 million dollars of investment (McDermott, 2004). In such collaboratives, various partners contribute a significant amount of time and resources as they work together and generate a broad range of support.

Develop and create financial products. As mentioned before in the previous section, intermediaries bring in a variety of financial tools to help CDCs (and other community development institutions). For example, since the inception of the 1986 Low-income Tax Credit program, intermediaries have used this legislation to provide a
market-driven financial investment to affordable housing work done by CDCs (McDermott, 2004). In addition, with the passage of the New Market Tax Credit act, intermediaries have provided equity investment in affordable housing, commercial real estate, community centers, and market rate housing. Enterprise Foundation and LISC have been leaders in tax credit syndication and financing and, depending on the maturity of the CDCs, have provided a significant amount of credit and capital for these organizations to conduct ambitious projects (McDermott, 2004).

Advocacy and public policy work. The community development industry is diverse and has a wide array of sub-sectors, and so it can appear fragmented to law and policy makers. As the community development industry has developed over the last two decades, intermediaries have assisted in communicating the work that CDCs do to create safer, healthier communities. In addition, because of their national focus and prominence, intermediaries communicate best practice models and outcomes in the field to other CDCs. For example, Neighborworks America has been collecting performance measurement outcomes through a data collection method called the Success Measures Project. Neighborworks has collected this database of statistics and data along a number of predefined indicators from their member organizations since the 1990s.

Critiques of Community Development Corporations

Community organizing is a process that enables people who have been marginalized or shut out from the power structure to be able to enter and change the very structure which impedes or increases their marginalization. Community organizing is often linked with the radical Back of the Yards Organization, which was headed by a progressive organizer, Saul Alinsky. Community organizing uses local people to lead,
leverage support and advocate for their rights and it provides to opportunity to participate in democratic processes through collective political action. In addition to developing practical, concrete change in the community, community organizing also seeks to build community organizations through which these local people can affect the change they seek to make in their communities and public spaces. One of the tactics of community organizing is the use of confrontation. A critique of this process is that it tends to divide the community into specific special interest groups.

Community development is a process by which a geographic neighborhood is physically, economically and socially improved (Stoecker, 1997; Vidal, 1997). This process is generally done in an urban context through the work of a CDC. One problem inherent to CDCs is that, in order to bring about change in a community, they need to secure funding from sources that might also be obstacles to political, social and economic change. Much of the literature on the work of CDCs centers on housing and economic development (Stoutland, 1999). Furthermore, unlike community organizing’s use of local people; community development needs to be done by people who are technical experts of various programs and regulations. According to Stoecker (1996) some of the development that is done by CDCs can disintegrate the community. Table 1 shows a graphic illustration of the difference between community organizing and community development:
### Table 1. Differences between Community Organizing and Community Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Organizing</th>
<th>Community Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goals</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Build community power.</td>
<td>Create housing and business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worldview</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict – have, have not have common interests and relationships are zero sum.</td>
<td>Cooperation – have have, have not have common interests and relationships are win-win.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strategies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organize residents to confront elites and demand changes in the distribution of power.</td>
<td>Cooperate with elites to fund development of housing and businesses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source of Human Capital</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents, mostly volunteers, with broad-based neighborhood experience.</td>
<td>Paid staff, mostly non-residents with specific technical expertise.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The most vocal critic of CDC’s is Randy Stoecker, a professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Stoecker, who has studied the work of CDCs for over 25 years, asserts that, while CDCs received federal support through the Community Development Block Grant, the 1990 Affordable Housing Act, and the National Affordable Housing Trust, their impact and purpose continues to wane. While Stoecker (2003) acknowledges the successes of CDCs in terms of providing affordable housing and economic development, Stoecker discusses other issues. Citing his research in Toledo, Ohio he states that studies have shown that many CDCs do not actually proceed through the planned development process they purport to funders and in their various promotional
SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND EMPOWERMENT IN CDCs

According to the now defunct NCCED, CDCs only produced 0.7% of the total annual housing construction (NCCED, 1989). Stoecker references research done by Twelvetrees (1989) which rates CDC along three levels of success:

- Staying in existence
- Achieving their objectives
- Achieving those objectives efficiently

What Twelvetrees (1989) found is that only the largest of CDCs, the organizations highlighted by the research, achieve this final category of reaching their objectives efficiently. In addition to this critique (2003), Stoecker also discusses the main differences in philosophy and perspective between community organizing and community development affecting the overall outcomes and purpose of CDCs. In an article titled *Understanding the Development-Organizing Dialectic* (2003), Stoecker discusses whether or not CDCs can both build homes and engage in community building and organizing. In this article, he uses two CDCs which use both confrontational and Alinsky-style of organizing and community development work.

Stoecker (2003) finds that CDCs end up engaging in community building, which is very different from confrontational community organizing (Gilder & Wilder, 1999; Stoecker, 2003). Community building was first hailed by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) in their work to build community assets. Here, instead of confronting the power differences in a community, community building seeks to create and restore relationship among and between community members (Stoecker, 2003). “The focus is on the internal, finding and building the community’s own assets or social capital rather than confronting or
negotiating with external power and resource holders” (Stoecker, 2003, p. 496). The avoidance of confrontation suits CDCs who must partner and collaborate with external funders and partners. So how can combining community development with organizing confront and agitate power structures? Callahan, Mayer, Palmer & Ferlazzo (1999) state that “project-based community development” (bricks and mortar) and “power-based community development” (confrontational organizing) can work together. However, no systematic research has been done on organizations which incorporate project-based and power-based community development.

**Practitioner research on CDCs**

There is continued interest in research on CDC impact, the movement, its community organizing initiatives, and its relationship to its funders and the citizens it serves. Despite this, there is little work that targets the people actively engaged in the work of CDCs, the staff and board, of CDCs. While there is literature concerning staff and board in other nonprofit or community-based settings, similar research has not been done on CDCs. In a literature search using Academic Search Complete, SOC-Index and ProQuest database, no articles were found showing empirical research on CDC organizational members. However, the national intermediaries collect data on their CDC members.

Prior to 2006, many CDCs were mobilized through an umbrella organization called the National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED). This national association, in collaboration with the Urban Institute and LISC, conducted a census of the CDC sector in the United States. NCCED closed its doors in early 2006 and the last census was conducted in 2005. Since that time, no national organization has
attempted to conduct a census of CDCs across the country. According to the 2005 census, 999 CDCs responded out of a reported 4,600 eligible CDCs (NCCED, 2005). Prior censuses were conducted by NCCED in 1988, 1991, 1994 and 1998 (NCCED, 2005). This census is extremely important in helping to understand the housing production, job and business creation, and community development impact of CDCs. The data provides a descriptive statistical understanding of CDCs. Tables 1 and 2 showed the results of the data that was collected on the race and gender of CDC Executive Directors:

**Table 2.** Race/Ethnicity of Executive Director

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic/Latino</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Pacific American</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaska Native</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Table 3.** Gender of Executive Director

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Male</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of organizational structure and personnel benefits for CDC staff the census revealed the following as shown in Tables 4 thru 6:

**Table 4. CDC Organizational Profile**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CDC Staff</th>
<th>Median Size</th>
<th>Total Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full time staff</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>153,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part time staff</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>132,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

331,000


**Table 5. Age: Executive Director**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>% 2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 39</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 49</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 to 59</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 or older</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Benefits Provided

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefits Provided</th>
<th>% 2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health Insurance</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability Insurance</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid Vacation</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training/tuition assistance</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life insurance</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer-funded pension</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick leave</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flex-time</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This study intends to focus on variables such as the community organization’s sense of community and empowerment among CDC staff and board. The census tells us some important information about some aspects of the CDC and their executive directors. While we have a descriptive understanding of the national scope of CDCs, we know little more than the benefits, race, gender and size of CDC staff. In addition, no census on CDCs has included board members. This supports the notion that there is a gap in the research concerning CDC organizational members.

In addition to Neighborworks America and NCCED, The National Association of Community Economic Development Associations (NACEDA) collects data obtained from state and regional community economic development associations all over the country (NACEDA, 2011). The national data provided on their website is derived from the NCCED 2005 census. However, The NACEDA has engaged in an Organizational
Capacity Assessment (OCA) of its State Association members. The OCA was made possible through funds from the Annie E. Casey Foundation and it is concerned with increasing organizational impact, funding and sustainability of CDCs. The four goals of the assessment are as follows:

1. To assist members in their strategic planning by highlighting organizational strengths and pointing to priorities;
2. To deepen the common understanding within each participating member organization of critical areas such as mission and vision;
3. To create a platform for sharing best practices from all participating member organizations with a view toward strengthening the sector and facilitating effective cross-organization partnerships; and
4. To provide a comprehensive view of the community development sector in your state and create standards of excellence for the sector.

While seven state associations have completed the assessment, the focus of this assessment is for CDCs to develop best practices, common standards, mission and vision and to identify organizational strengths. The purpose of the study does not specifically address the research methodology and purposes that will be conducted for this study.

**Citizen participation**

Citizen participation is the involvement of individuals and groups in communities with an eye to change the policies or programs affecting the quality of their lives (Ohmer & Beck, 2006). Through citizen participation, residents have the opportunity to increase their knowledge, skills and perceived control. Pecukonis and Wenocur (1994) state that
when people are actively involved in changing their social environment, they experience higher levels of empowerment as they are able use their skills and competencies to effect change. In addition, Zimmerman and Zahniser (1991) found that participants that are involved at higher levels in voluntary organizations score higher on measures of sociopolitical control than those that participate to less degree. Citizen participation also exhibits a positive relationship with sense of community. In studies of block or neighborhood associations by Chavis et al, (1987) block participants are more likely to express a sense of community than non-block association participants. Moreover Chavis and Wandersman (1990) find that participation in a neighborhood association positively increases a participant’s sense of community. In short, there are positive outcomes for people who participate in the community, especially within the context of community organizations.

**Participation in neighborhood organizations**

The next section of this review studies organizational member participation in non-profit, community-based organizations. There are two themes in these studies. First, while the term “nonprofits” spans an organizational focus and typology (from museums to library to social service organizations) this review will concern itself with organizational member empowerment and participation in settings whose work is concentrated on a neighborhood or place-based development. The institutions which intersect with this nonprofit organizational typology are called neighborhood organizations and social service agencies. Second, in addition to the organizational typology, the studies deal with members of an organization who are also community
constituents and not necessarily technocrats or professionals who have been trained in college or graduate school to conduct such work.

Neighborhood organizations involve local residents in policy agenda setting, and program planning. Through the use of groups they can raise the collective consciousness of individuals in the community to develop services for the local community (Checkoway and Zimmerman, 1992). Ohmer (2007, 2008) and Ohmer and Beck (2006) have written about the perception of neighborhood organizational members of their organization and the benefits associated with such participation. The organizational empowerment perspective described earlier informs these studies. Ohmer (2008) discusses how the characteristics of empowering and empowered organizations shape member involvement. She cites that empowering organizations 1) use a decision making process which is inclusive of all their members; 2) are marked by structure, order and efficacy; and 3) use clear roles, task and inclusiveness. Empowered organizations 1) possess a good reputation, have organizational sustainability and attain their goals; and 2) use their influence to effectively influence the resource distribution processes of key power brokers. In the 2008 study, Ohmer used a purposive, nonrandomized sample of neighborhood members who were also neighborhood residents of four different neighborhood organizations. There were issues raised by the study that could be generalized beyond its sample. Organizations were chosen who: 1) were located in neighborhood with concentrated areas of poverty according to US Census tract; 2) had locally controlled boards; 3) had at least 50 volunteer members; and 4) oriented themselves to solving social problems in their communities.
Results from this study show that the organization’s characteristics and effectiveness shaped a member’s participation and level of decision-making in the neighborhood organization. However, organizational characteristics predicted a minimal variance – by 8% in member participation and by 6% in decision-making (Ohmer, 2008, p. 865). On the other hand, there was a strong correlation between perception of the members of their organization and the benefits received from their involvement in the organization. For example, sense of community accounted for 30% of this relationship and organizational collective efficacy explained 53% of the variance in perception of members in their neighborhood organization (Ohmer, 2008, p. 865).

Blakely and Evans (2009) studied the motivations of local activists in Manchester, United Kingdom who participated in community activities to solve social problems. Using an ethnographic research methodology, Blakely and Evans (2009) used the rational choice theory to describe why local people participated in community revitalization. The rational choice theory states that people will take the best course of action to solve a problem (Ward, 1995). While some theories discuss people’s participation due to altruistic reasons, rational choice theory asserts that people become involved in community when the benefits outweigh the costs (Crossley, 2002). What Blakely and Evans (2009) found is that the majority of community members who participated were motivated by the declining community standards they were experiencing in East Manchester. Crime, poor schools and declining home values created a “snowball” effect that provoked participation by community members.

Checkoway and Zimmerman (1992) conducted a similar study through their research of 113 Detroit neighborhood organizations. At the time, Checkoway and
Zimmerman (1992) cite that neighborhood organization studies did not look at the organization as a factor for participation. Using a questionnaire, participants were asked to describe the quality of their participation on four different levels:

1) to improve the effectiveness of services
2) to improve the self-efficacy among neighborhood citizens
3) to increase the power and leadership among the people
4) to increase (participation in ?) the decisions affecting the community.

Checkoway and Zimmerman (1992) found that the choice and use of neighborhood intervention strategies differed across organizations based on the quality of neighborhood participation. For example, neighborhood organizations which planned a neighborhood program and educated the community did not differ. However, organizations which developed a social service, conducted advocacy and registered voters differed significantly. Checkoway and Zimmerman (1992) note:

It is possible to view service delivery and community incorporation as internal methods of “helping themselves” that develop community capacity from within, and government committees, public hearings, and voter participation as forms of “external involvement” in the larger sociopolitical system. This study suggests that organizations with high quality participation have reached a stage at which they recognize the importance of engaging in both internal activities for helping themselves and external efforts for influencing their environment (p. 9).

Finally, in terms of the neighborhood organizational leaders, Checkoway and Zimmerman (1992) found that gender, race, age and other demographic characteristics were not associated with the quality of participation. However, a leader’s social attitude
and personal perceptions did have a significant association with the quality of participation.

Foster-Fishman, Pierce and Van Egeren (2009) conducted a study to determine the level of participation among seven different neighborhoods in one community. Foster-Fishman, Pierce & Van Egeren (2009) found that neighborhood leaders are more apt to participate if they have the skills to organize and mobilize the people. In addition, while the skill level of leaders does matter, Foster-Fishman, Pierce & Van Egeren (2009) found that the level of activism as a norm influences participation.

**Factors affecting citizen participation in CDCs**

The previous studies have described the nature of participation by members in organizations such as neighborhood and self-help organizations based in the community. In what other ways are CDCs different from other community-based organizations which may explain their levels of organizational member participation? What else drives the internal structure of CDCs making levels of participation dissimilar? From a theoretical standpoint, Milofsky’s (1988) work helps one to see the organizational differences in CDCs.

Milofsky (1988) conducted case studies of the structure and process of self-help organizations. He writes:

We are encouraged to believe that professional and bureaucrats alike are concerned with protecting personal privileges and with preserving and expanding their domains of responsibility and their access to control over resources. Let professionals and bureaucrats into an organization and it is inevitable, we are told, that the community voice will be driven out. p 184
Milofsky (1988) indicates that one of the reasons that organizations like CDCs are pushed into bureaucratization and professionalism is to provide the credibility and formalization required by external interests such as funders, private investors or other partners. Milofsky (1988) states that the formalization and incorporation of management structures convince external funders that organizational members are responsible and worthy of such an investment. Therefore, as soon as the organization moves from local to external support, the structure of the organization may move from informal to formal; paraprofessional to professional.

This professionalization tends to undercut community participation as an organization is directed by external needs and wants. As mentioned previously, one of the main concerns with CDCs has been the lack of community organizing and citizen participatory initiatives. Because CDCs obtain funding from grants and loans from outside sources, CDCs have become more professionalized and bureaucratic thereby limiting community member leadership and involvement in their work. This structure and formality is not found in self-help organizations and neighborhood organizations.

Milofsky (1988) states that participatory organizations find organizing difficult for four different reasons:

1. Lacking goal definitions due to the need for action and the delivery of services
2. Developing control over important areas of decision making
3. Defining organizational boundaries and consumers
4. Maintaining organizational independence when collaborating or partnering with more powerful organizations

Adapted from Milofsky, 1988, p. 186
CDC’s external constituencies (funders, government, private investors, etc.) demand that their organizational members are technically skilled in the grants and other regulations that come with obtaining their support. One major difference between CDCs participatory levels and self-help organizations is that the CDC’s participation is often mandated or regulated by a grant program. Self-help organizations do not need regulation and focus on management systems. While the lack of these management systems and regulations can create its own challenges, when united by collective sense of purpose and mission, organizational members may be willing to follow the authority and direction of leaders. CDCs, on the other hand, are bureaucratic, and the leadership is based on the creation of a stable organization structure (Milofsky, 1988). Self-help and neighborhood organizations might rely on charismatic leadership and, although community members may repeatedly call into question their legitimacy, there is a clear and ongoing collective agenda in the community. In contrast, CDCs are more apt to develop hierarchical arrangements which persist independently regardless of whether the personnel in such positions change from time to time. However, it should be noted that this is not always the case. For example, in Minneapolis neighborhoods, Filner (2006) found CDCs that represented low-income recipients such as renters or owners of affordable housing while neighborhood organizations represented the interests of real estate investors and corporations.

Social Capital

Nonprofit management literature has studied the factors which contribute towards nonprofit organizational member participation in neighborhood organizations. Since Alexis De Tocqueville’s (1835) study on pre-civil war America, political and academic
commentators and scholars have viewed the United States’ propensity to use voluntary organizations as a way to address general welfare, participation and civil society as a unique characteristic and a strength of this country (Schneider, 2007). The result of such participation in such organizations is a construct called social capital.

Social capital is the “result of relationships based on patterns of reciprocal, enforceable trust that enable people and institutions to gain access to resources such as social services, volunteers, or funding” (Schneider, 2007, p. 573). Work by Portes (1998) and Bourdieu (1986) provided the basis of this definition where social capital is the means by which citizens in a community gain access to much needed resources. The three important dimensions of social capital are closed, bridging and linking social capital. Closed or bonding social capital describes relationships that only exist within communities with a common ethnic or immigrant heritage and do not cross groups. Putnam (2007) discusses the “hunkering down” of ethnic communities which may have networks within their own community, but do not share these networks or associations across ethnicity or even within one’s own larger ethnic community.

Bridging social capital refers to reciprocal ties between people from different communities, such as relationships that cross class, culture and race. For example, interfaith community initiatives are an example of different faith communities developing reciprocal networks to increase trust and solidarity with each other. Linking social capital, derived from Bebbington, Woolcock, Guggenheim (2006), refers to the relationships between people groups where power differences exist. For example, when a foundation provides a construction loan to a CDC the exchange of resource and relationships between these two organizations links them together. These links can be
developed over time as funder-CDC relationships become more established based on reciprocity and trust (Schneider, 2007).

**Social capital and Nonprofit Organizations**

Political and social scientists argue that organizations based in the community, commonly known as community organizations, are important variables contributing to a democratic society. Social capital commentators like Putnam (1995) state that social capital and civic engagement increase when individuals participate in voluntary associations and organizations. Research also documents the developmental effects of organizations impacting the participation of citizens (Guo and Musso, 2007). For example, Almond and Verba (1983) emphasize the importance of associational relationships in organizations in developing political participation and attitudes.

However, this research analyzes participation at the individual level. Warren (1972) states: “the capacities of the individuals to participate in collective judgment and decision making and to develop autonomous judgments that reflects their considered wants and needs” (p.16). Therefore, this research can contribute little to the notion that organizations, not the individual, can develop and represent the interests of their local citizenry.

Many scholars have studied social capital in nonprofits or CDCs has been (Barros and Nunos, 2008; Knotts, 2000; Saxton and Benson, 2005; Schneider, 2007, 2009; Gullen, Coromina and Saris, 2011; Palmer, Perkins and Qingwen, 2011; Warren, 2009). In her literature review of nonprofit leaders and social capital, King (2004) found that nonprofits sustain and enhance social capital. Her literature review also showed that nonprofit executives foster social capital by recruiting new board members, engaging in
advocacy, enhancing community relations and creating a shared vision. These activities are driven for and by the organization’s not the executives’ needs. Saxton and Benson (2005) discuss the link between social capital and the growth and founding of nonprofit organizations. They find that different dimensions of social capital (bridging, bonding, and linking) do not create a uniform impact on the nonprofit sector. They found that environmental factors such as the median value of housing, the level of unemployment, and median income play a significant role in the creation and founding of nonprofits. In terms of CDCs, Knotts (2000) conducted a study on the role of social capital and CDCs in inner city neighborhoods in Atlanta. Here, he compared CDC neighborhoods and non-CDC neighborhoods to show the empirical evidence of the impact of CDCs. He conducted this comparison by surveying residents in these respective neighborhoods. Based on his study, he found that CDCs cannot thrive in a neighborhood that does not contain high levels of social capital. Without high levels of social capital, CDCs are less likely to be successful in improving the social and economic characteristics of a neighborhood. In addition, Knotts (2000) states that the presence of CDCs is less important in explaining neighborhood growth and investment. In fact, social capital is a better predictor of neighborhood investment than the presence of a CDC. Therefore, the use of social capital as an independent variable for this study builds on research documenting the role and importance of social capital in the success and founding of nonprofit organizations. This study intends to determine the level and nature of participation of organizational members of CDCs. While this participation might be predicted by their own psychological or organizational empowerment and COSOC within a CDC, these organizational members might come from neighborhoods with high levels
of social capital. Therefore, the study will determine the extent to which these levels of participation are accounted for by the social capital that exists in organizational members’ neighborhoods.

**Representation of members within nonprofit organization**

Within the realm of social capital literature, there are studies which analyze the representation of members in organizations. Based on the work of Pitkin (1967), Guo and Musso (2007) developed five different dimensions of representations in nonprofit organizations. However, this framework should be used with caution in relation to this study. The framework once again relates to the representation of community constituents in a nonprofit organization as opposed to its organizational members (i.e., staff and board). Conversely, some of the literature used to develop this framework does deal with the level of organizational members (board representation, in particular) representing the interests of the community. Therefore, while this framework once again focuses on community member or constituent participation and representation in nonprofit organizations, it presents a framework for assessing the nature and type of representation by organizational members (staff and board) of CDCs.

According to Guo and Musso (2007) **substantive** representation and **symbolic** representation most accurately portray the “representational legitimacy of organizations” (p. 4).

**Substantive representation.** This occurs when an organization acts for or on the behalf of their constituents. The measure of this representation can be seen in the agreement that exists between organizational leaders and constituents on the major issues that the organization faces. Within the substantive form of
representation, there are two types: trustee and delegate. For example, a trustee acts using his or her judgment no matter the expressed interests of other organizational constituents. The delegate model of representation suggests that a delegate is a delegate of the constituents and therefore must reflect the needs and wishes of the larger constituency (Guo and Musso, 2007). According to work done by Cnaan (1991) and Guo and Musso (2007) it appears that among community-based organizations, much of the representation is closer to the delegate perspective.

**Symbolic representation.** This is when an organization stands for the community constituents of the organization based on their perceptions of the organization, rather than on whether the organization actually represents them in practice. Organizations that pursue this form of representation seek to maintain and build the trust of their constituents. Guo and Musso (2007) also outline other forms of representation in nonprofit organizations based on dimensions of capacity – *formal, descriptive and participatory.*

**Formal capacity.** This form of representation uses an electoral process to hold organizational leaders accountable for their actions. It is assumed (often incorrectly) that because these nonprofit leaders are elected by their constituents, they will reflect the constituents’ needs and desires (Guo and Musso, 2007).

**Descriptive capacity.** This form of representation reflects the belief that the composition of the leadership in nonprofits should reflect its constituency. Therefore, within a CDC context, the staff and board in particular should reflect the demographics of the surrounding community. While there is an increased
diversification of nonprofit boards, like other nonprofits, CDCs still have a long way to go (Stoecker, 1997). However, some find that increasing the descriptive capacity of an organization does lead to the substantive representation of its constituents (Cnaan, 1991; Widmer and Houchin, 2000). Others (Regab et. al, 1981) find that organizations with high descriptive capacity still have leaders who differ from their constituents. Studies do show the link between descriptive and symbolic representation (Ben-Ner and Van Hoomissen, 1994).

In addition, another component to this issue of capacity is that nonprofit organizations have taken an increasing role in the distribution of aid to low-income and marginalized groups since the 1996 welfare reform bill. Federal, state and government officials push this authority to the local communities as there continues to be a growing distrust among the public concerning government’s involvement in improving the lives of its citizens (Kissane & Gingerich, 2004).

Along with this belief that the government should be less involved is the perception that nonprofit organizations, engaged in this work, understand and best serve the public. It is believed that nonprofits are ideally suited to serve the needs of their communities as they best understand and respond to the public (Kisaane & Gingerich, 2004). However, while there is some truth to this rhetoric, the needs of community members might not dovetail with needs perceived by the executive directors and other leaders of the nonprofit sector (Kissane & Gingerich, 2004).

Corollary to the notion that nonprofits should be in touch with their constituents, nonprofits also experience the tension between meeting their constituents’
needs and the needs of their funders. Gronbjerg, Harmon, Olkkonen & Raza (1996) found that various constituency groups have a pull on the nonprofit organization as well as to whom the nonprofit should be accountable.

Other studies of social service staff find that these nonprofit organizations are in touch with the needs of their constituents. These studies show that nonprofit leaders have a long-term focus in comparison to community members who focus more on intermediate and short term problems. Hemmens, Hoch, Hardina, Madsen & Wiewel (1986) highlight this in their study. They found that agency representatives in three Chicago neighborhoods concentrated on the long term issues such as jobs, education and housing. However, in comparison, the residents of these Chicago neighborhoods focused on needs which were more immediate in nature such as police protection, health services and city public projects.

Brabson and Himle (1987) examined the relationship between nonprofit representatives in rural Michigan and their neighborhood resident counterparts. While both representatives and residents agreed that drug abuse, unemployment and marital discord were some of the major issues affecting these communities, the two groups differed on their views of how community organizations should expand their programs. Residents believed that training and education programs should be expanded while nonprofit representatives felt that programs that addressed families should be the focus of expansion.

These studies help scholars to develop a context for comparing and contrasting how community residents and community organization directors view their neighborhood. In conducting this study, it is important to remember that perceptions of
organizational members concerning neighborhood change might be different than those of their neighborhood counterparts. However, while useful, these studies do not show the difference and similarities between organizational member participation and community member participation.

**Psychological Empowerment**

Empowerment of an individual is called psychological empowerment. *Psychological Empowerment (PE)* refers to the empowerment that takes place on an individual level (Zimmerman, 2000). Zimmerman (1995) developed a framework which viewed PE through an outcome perspective. Therefore, using this model, PE is conceptualized into three distinct outcomes in the literature. Zimmerman divided PE into *intrapersonal, interactional and behavioral* outcomes. The intrapersonal component of PE refers to a person’s belief that they have the capacity to change their own social environment (Zimmerman, Israel, Schultz & Checkoway, 1992). Within the intrapersonal component of PE, there are attributes such as 1) domain-specific efficacy; 2) perceived socio-political control; and 3) participatory competence (Zimmerman, 1995, p 588). Domain-specific efficacy is the belief in one’s capacity to organize and carry out actions that result in change within one’s sphere of influence, whether it be work, family, church, etc. Perceived socio-political control is defined as one’s belief in one’s efficacy to change the social and political systems in which one is placed. Finally, participatory competency refers to the one’s perceived ability to participate and contribute to the operation of an organization (Holden, Evans, Hinnant & Messeri, 2005).

The interactional component of PE has the following attributes: 1) Critical awareness; 2) understanding causal agents; 3) skill development and transfer; 4) resource
mobilization (Zimmerman, 1995, p. 588). As a whole, the interactional component deals with a person’s knowledge of resources in their community. The critical awareness attribute refers to the one’s awareness of the presence of resources that will assist in social change. The understanding of causal agents attribute refers to the ability to understand that one’s actions to change the sociopolitical environment impact actors (such as the city council) who possess the power and ability to increase or decrease one’s own empowerment (Holden, Evans, Hinnant & Messeri, 2005). The skill development and transfer attribute describes one’s beliefs, feelings, concerns, and opinions while not alienating or marginalizing others in the process. In addition, skill development and transfer means that a person develops skills in understanding and navigating the social and economic systems, giving her the power change the resources, programs and organizations affecting her life. In addition, to developing these skills within one domain (work), a person uses these skills learn in that domain (work) and transfer these to other domains (family, church, neighborhood association) of their life.

The behavioral component of PE is described as the sum of actions that one takes to influence one’s social and political environment. This component includes 1) community involvement; 2) organizational participation; and 3) coping behaviors (Zimmerman, 1995, p. 588). This involves participation in community-based organizations, developing contact with public officials and organizing the community around a common problem (Zimmerman, Israel, Schultz & Checkoway, 1992). Moreover, the behavior of a person changes as they have a sustained involvement in change in their social environment despite setbacks.
Speer (2000) specifically studied the theory behind the intrapersonal and interactional components of PE. While acknowledging the value of the components of empowerment as laid out by Zimmerman, he critiques the empowerment theory. For example, Speer (2000) writes that Riger (1993) asserts that the outcomes of empowerment are mainly found on an individual level and that they can increase conflict in community. Therefore, an outcome of empowerment, which focuses on control of individual actualization of one’s environment, does not always lend itself to community harmony or unity. Riger (1993) asks whether empowerment which can lead to social and political change can also lead to stress in a community. Therefore, Speer (2000) states that Riger (1993) asks for empowerment theorists to view the relationship between community and empowerment. In addition to this critique, the overarching concern with PE theory is the problem of measurement (Zimmerman, 1995; Speer, 2000). As mentioned previously, empowerment is contextual and cannot be measured across communities, contexts and groups. Much of the literature in the research conducts studies of PE within the confines of community organizational contexts (Florin, Rich & Chavis, 1990; Maton & Salem, 1995; Zimmerman & Zahniser, 1991 to name a few). Few have measured PE in other contexts such as the political context.

Psychological empowerment has been studied in a variety of contexts. Studies have been conducted in the nursing field on the relationship of psychological empowerment for nursing practitioners (Baker, Fitzpatrick & Griffin, 2011; Ning, Qiu-Jie, Dong-Mei, Ping, Gui-Zhi & Xue-Mei, 2011; Stewart, McNulty, Griffin, Quinn & Fitzpatrick, 2010; Wagner et al., 2010) and the relationship between psychological empowerment and job satisfaction (Casey, Saunders & O’ Hara, 2010). In addition, there
are studies the relationship between workplace performance and psychological empowerment (Smith, Andrusyszn, Spence & Laschinger, 2010, Tuuli, Morgan, Rowlinson, 2009) Psychological empowerment has also been studied in international contexts (Chan, Shih & Shu-Man, 2010; Sun et al., 2011; Uner & Turan, 2010).

In community psychology, there have been a number of studies concerning PE. First, Keiffer (1984) conducted a study which showed how fifteen leaders developed as leaders of community-based organizations. Using in-depth interviews, he found that these leaders developed the skills and self-efficacy to participate in community leadership positions and processes. Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988) developed measures of participants’ perceptions of control. They found that the main differences between community members that participate and those that do not are because of a sense of control, critical awareness of their social and political environment, and participation in community organizations. In addition studies show a positive correlation between PE and community participation in community-based or voluntary organizations (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977; Florin, Rich & Chavis, 1990; Irhazy & York, 2003; Holden Holden, Evans, Hinnant & Messeri, 2005; Qi, Xiaojuan & Yongsheng, 2011; Wilke & Speer, 2011).

Zimmerman, Israel, Schultz & Checkoway (1992) used a multi-stage probability sample of housing units in a tri-county region of Detroit, Michigan. Their study found “that individuals in community organizations reported higher level of perceived control than non-participants” (p. 720). Perceived control was determined to be a combination of “perceived effectiveness, difficulty and personal and community control” (p. 718). The study also saw differences in PE among racial groups. Among nonparticipants of
community organizations, white individuals reported higher levels of the intrapersonal component of PE than African Americans. However, among participants, African Americans had higher levels of this component.

Holden, Evans, Hinnant and Messeri (2005) conducted a convenience sample of youth involved in local tobacco control programs in 13 states. While their research is limited to youth empowerment in tobacco control programs, they were able to show how the intrapersonal and interactional components of PE as outcomes of youth involvement in such programs.

Itzhaky and York (2003) conducted a study showing the role of social support in the PE of community workers. While previous research was conducted on the skills and critical awareness for the PE of such community workers, this study built on the role of family and friends who support the ongoing work of these workers. The study, which used the Sociopolitical Control Scale (Zimmerman and Zahniser, 1991) developed a questionnaire which was given to 25 community workers in various lower-income neighborhoods in a city of Israel at the end of a training course in community social work. In addition to showing the importance of such training for courses for community workers, the study added to PE literature by showing that environmental resources (from family and friends) are equally important as the personal resources of self-esteem, self-efficacy and sense of mastery to community worker empowerment (Itzhaky & York (2003).

In a similar study, Peterson and Speer (2000) studied individuals involved in three different community organizations in the Midwestern United States. The organizations used for this study was a service-agency collaborative, electoral association, and a multi-
issue pressure group (pp. 44-45). The purpose of the study was to determine the perceived organizational characteristics in these three different organizations and their relationship to PE. The study used a number of scales to identify the various characteristics of organizational empowerment such as Maton’s organizational characteristics scale (Maton, 1988), Hughey, Speer and Peterson original Community Organization Sense of Community Scale (Hughey, Speer & Peterson, 1999) and Quinn and Spreitzer’s Competing Values Model of Organizational Culture Scale (Quinn & Spreitzer, 1991).

These scales were used to measure the various domains of organizational characteristics and how they contributed to PE. The four main domains used in the study were: *leadership, opportunity role, social support and group-based belief system.* Members of the organizations were mailed the survey or completed the survey at various organizational meetings depending on the organization (Peterson & Speer, 2000).

Overall, Peterson and Speer (2000) found that leadership, opportunity role, social support and group-based belief system were significant predictors of PE. Peterson and Speer find that organizational characteristics combined with various dimensions of PE were not associated across groups but within the various types of community organizations themselves. Additionally, they concluded that while community-based organizations are important means by which individual organizational members obtain empowerment, there are specific organizational characteristics which are actually important to the development of PE. This next section discusses in greater detail the various ways that organizations can be spaces of empowerment for their members.
Speer (2000) conducted a study comparing the interactional component of PE with measures of intrapersonal component of PE. Residents from four different municipalities were randomly sampled using the telephone directory. He found that people with higher levels of interactional components of PE (a personal knowledge of social and political power) reported higher levels of engaging in community organizations and a sense of community than those with lower levels of the interactional components of PE.

**Organizational empowerment**

According to some, organizational empowerment is the “organizational efforts that generate psychological empowerment among members and organizational effectiveness needed for goal achievement” (Peterson & Zimmerman, 2004, p. 130). As previously mentioned, Peterson & Zimmerman (2004) state that there are two types of organizations: empowered organizations and empowering organizations. Empowering organizations develop processes and structures facilitating the psychological empowerment of their members. Empowered organizations change the structure of organizations, create links between them and take organizational action facilitating policy change. Zimmerman (2000) used organizational empowerment theory to provide people with opportunities, structure, leadership and responsibility as a means to gain a sense of control over their lives. Empowered organizations worked to lobby for resources, develop networks and meet their goals while also competing well with their competitors.

**Components of empowering organizations**

There have been few studies showing the role of community organizations in empowering their members. Four components of empowering organizational
characteristics were found in the literature. First, leadership is one aspect of an empowering community organization. Gummer (1998) discussed the importance of the role of leadership in organizations and how leadership in an organization can facilitate positive outcomes for its members. According to Gummer, organizations which combine the right people with the right opportunities create empowering processes and outcomes for the members of their organizations and for the communities in which they are placed. In addition, leaders may encourage other members’ sense of efficacy. A study by Boss, Senjem, Goodman & Koberg, (1999) found that the ease with which the members can approach the leaders created an environment which was positively related to the individual members’ empowerment. In addition, Gutierrez, GlenMaye & Delois (1995) found that, in social service agencies, leaders who argued and advocated on behalf of the members or consumers they served created organizational environments that empowered others.

In addition to leadership, opportunity role structure is an element of empowering organizations. Opportunity role structure refers to the number, accessibility, and types of roles available to members in an organization that allow them to participate, use and build their skills and competencies in organizations. For example, Speer, Hughey, Gensheimer & Adams-Levitt (1995) analyzed opportunity role structure in their study of two community organizations. These scholars found that community organizations that give people a multiplicity of roles and the freedom to try on new roles promote empowerment. In addition, Maton’s (1988) study found that the degree to which members take on different roles of group execution is positively related to member well-being and functioning.
Social support is considered another characteristic of empowering community organizations. Keiffer (1984) found that supportive peer relationships in community organizations move people from feeling powerless to feeling a sense of accomplishment. In addition to supportive relationships, Haynes (1998) found that ongoing training was a necessary element for participants in this peer relational environment to achieve a sense of efficacy.

Group-based belief system is the fourth characteristic of an empowering community organization. According to Rappaport (1993), group-based belief provides for a sense of structure where members coalesce their collective processes of change. The coalescing of these collective beliefs can nurture members and bring them a sense of purpose and togetherness. This in turn facilitates empowerment. Spreitzer (1995) found that corporate business departments that include group-based belief systems as a component of their organizational framework tend to possess empowered middle-level managers. These departments generally focused on cohesion, human interaction and had a culture an environment characterized by a distinct sense of organizational values.

**Intraorganizational component of empowered organizations**

For empowered organizations Peterson and Speer (2004) cite three different components of empowered organizations: intraorganizational, interorganizational and extraorganizational empowerment. Intraorganizational empowerment is the structural and operational attributes of an organization which facilitate member activity (Peterson & Speer, 2004). Specifically, Speer and Peterson (2004) argue that the following are intraorganizational empowerment attributes: 1) viability; 2) the presence of unpopulated settings 3) collaboration of co-empowered groups;
4) resolved ideological conflict; and 5) resource identification.

**Intraorganizational component of empowered organizations**

Studies done by Prestby at al. (1990) and Perkins et al, (1996) with block associations showed that the organizations that were most successful had long-term members, lighting and amenities. Organizations which possess services which actually run and have a track record have a greater potential to create community impact.

Zimmerman et al, (1991) studied organizations in Illinois helping people with emotional issues. Zimmerman et al, (1990) and Wicker (1987) find that community change can be achieved when there is a presence of under populated settings, or settings where there are not enough people to fill organizational roles. Therefore, the lack of organizational settings to help people with emotional issues created an organizational necessity to increase such services in the state of Illinois.

Bond and Keys (1993) (as cited in Peterson & Speer, 2004) found the collaboration of co-empowered groups to be an important component of intraorganizational empowerment. This study found that when groups with different power bases and agendas collaborated, the outcome of this joint movement proved to be more effective than if these groups had worked separately.

Resolved ideological conflict is another component of intraorganizational empowerment. Here, Riger (1984) found that when organizations did not resolve conflict arising in the organizational decision-making and processes, member enthusiasm and participation was affected. Therefore, Riger (1984) concluded that organizations that take pains to develop methods of managing conflict will experience growth.
Finally, resource identification is another component of intraorganizational empowerment. When organizations identify and develop plans to acquire such resources this create organizational innovation and growth. This was found in work done by Zimmerman et al. (1991) which use resource mobilization as the parameter by which an organization became empowered.

**Interorganizational component of empowered organizations**

Empowered organizations with the inter-organizational component develop relationship, links and networks with organizations (Peterson & Speer, 2004). The literature reveals the following aspects of inter-organizational component: 1) collaboration and 2) resource procurement. Collaboration, somewhat self-explanatory, is when empowered organizations generate and develop cooperative relationships with other organizations resulting in change. For example, a Bartle and Halass (2008) study shows that organizations that develop inter-agency agreements achieved their goals and addressed social concerns.

Resource procurement is the process by which organizations use their links and networks to leverage resources for the ongoing operations of the organization, such as funding and in-kind donations. These networks are vital for organizations to obtain additional resources to sustain or enhance change.

**Extraorganizational component of empowered organizations**

Peterson and Speer (2004) state that there are three aspects of the extraorganizational component of empowered organizations: 1) public policy action; 2) creation of alternative programs and settings and 3) distribution of resources to the community. First, when organizations use their power and influence to change the public
policies of the government, they provide a vital example of organizations using their own ways and means for extraorganizational change.

Second, when organizations that develop alternative programs are empowered organizations with extraorganizational components. For example, Housing Unlimited, Inc. in Montgomery County, Maryland is one of the first affordable housing organizations which creates housing for persons with psychiatric disabilities. The housing is not linked to services, meaning that the tenants have a traditional landlord-tenant relationship with the housing organizations. (Often, people with psychiatric disabilities live in housing where mental services are provided by the housing provider as well). Housing Unlimited, Inc. has become a model of supportive housing in Maryland and has been the catalyst for the development of similar housing organizations statewide.

**Community organizations and Sense of community**

McMillan and Chavis (1986) describe sense of community as feelings members have of “belonging, of significant to one another and to groups, and as shared faith that members’ needs will be met through their relationships”. However, McMillan and Chavis were writing within the discipline of community psychology and were focusing on the relationships between individuals and not on the social or organizational scale. According to Keyes (2007), “organizational perspectives can provide intellectual counterweights to the myriad of individual perspectives we find in abundance in western societies” (p.277). Moreover, within the last couple of years, Peterson and others (2008) have found that the sense of community in organizations is an important independent indicator in relationships among participants in communities. In addition, according to Evans, Hanlin & Prilleltensky (2007) community organizations provide valuable settings
in which relationships among people exist and within which individuals and collective groups create means for community change.

When people participate in community organizations, research shows that this participatory process increases one’s sense of community (Davidson & Cotter, 1989; Florin & Wandersman, 1984; Wandersman & Giamartino, 1980). According to Chavis and Wandersman (1990) a greater sense of community can be correlated to higher levels of participation in the associative life in neighborhoods and this increases one’s fulfillment in an organizational member’s environment. Glynn (1981) found that in addition to the number of years married, the number of children living at home, and the number of the years living in the same community increases one’s satisfaction with the community, as one is able to identify and develop relationships in close proximity. Similarly, Buckner (1988) finds that the numbers of years living in the community and one’s level of education are significant predictors in measuring the sense of community.

Community organizations are places where individuals share their concerns and are the medium through which these concerns lead to problem identification. This process creates an environment for social change action (Peterson et al, 2008). Within community organizations, people develop relationships with each other allowing them to develop a common sense of purpose and destiny. As stated, community organizations serve as the host for this collectivized purpose around their desire to change their community environments. However, this entire stream of research focuses on community residents and not organizational members (staff and board). This study hopes to build on this research.
Excluding the work of Hughey, Speer & Peterson (1999) and Peterson and others (2006 and 2008) the sense of community in community organizations has not received much attention from researchers. Boyd and Angelique (2002) noted that the arena for sense of community in organizations was the workplace and not community organizations. The only exception was the study conducted by Hughey, Speer & Peterson (1999) which introduced a new conceptual framework called the Community Organization Sense of Community Scale (COSOC). The COSOC has been used in community psychology and in other disciplines (Anderson, 2005; Blanchard & Markus 2004). Hughey, Speer & Peterson (1999) proposed a framework in which the sense of community in community organizations would be composed of the following elements: 1) relationship to the organization; 2) organization as mediator; 3) influence of the organization, and 4) bond to the community. Therefore, the COSOC was used to measure the mutual understanding between individuals within a community organization. Hughey et al, captured how the organization facilitated mediations between and among other systems, institutions and groups in the community. Concerning the influence of the organization, this variable codifies the organization’s role and effect on the larger social structure within a town, city or suburb. The final component, bond to the community, was used to ascertain the ties and links that the organization and its members have with the surrounding community. Since the 1999 landmark study on the COSOC, studies have used the confirmatory factor analysis to improve the methodological issues contained within the scale (Peterson et al, 2008; Long & Perkins, 2003). Therefore, in addition to supporting the existing literature on psychological and organizational empowerment, this
study will add to the limited research using the COSOC-R scale as a tool to predict the organizational characteristics which contribute to member participation.

While the previous chapter has explored the narrative of research conducted on background, history and types of CDCs, psychological and organizational empowerment, nonprofit member participation and representation and community organization sense of community, the next chapter will provide a conceptual framework which will help to organize and drive the methodology of the study. In addition, this chapter will present the research questions and corresponding hypotheses which are developed in light of the study’s conceptual framework.
CHAPTER 3

THEORY

Theoretical foundations of the study

This research was derived from the sense of community, citizen participation and empowerment research found in the community psychology and social work literature. According to Dalton, Elias and Wandersman (2001) the concepts of sense of community, citizen participation and empowerment intertwine. This study was posited on the theories of sense of community, empowerment and citizen participation. It examined how intra and extraorganizational processes of empowering organizations were predictors of the participation levels of CDC organizational members. Because these theoretical concepts were taken from the community psychology literature, it should be noted that previous research was done in different organizational contexts such as neighborhood groups, political and block associations, and not in CDCs, organizational contexts which fall under the umbrella of community economic development. Therefore, this study contributed to the research by positing these theoretical concepts in the context of a CDC.

Describing sense of community is difficult. Whether it is in the form of self-help groups, churches, neighborhood block associations, volunteer opportunities, or other community organizations, groups play a significant role in people’s lives. The common bond that these groups share is the mutual emotional bond between people who participate in them. As members of these groups, people feel that they are part of something “larger than themselves” and this creates a sense of trust and caring. People’s perception that they are “in this together”, is deemed by community psychologists as their sense of community (Dalton, Elias & Wandersman 2001, p. 187). McMillan and Chavis
(1986) first defined the construct of a sense of community as members having a sense of belonging and significance to another. While building on the work of Sarason (1974), McMillan and Chavis (1986) defined the sense of community as “a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members’ needs will be met through their commitment to be together” (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 9).

In addition, McMillan & Chavis (1986) stated that the specific qualities of the sense of community are the following: “1) membership 2) influence 3) integration and 4) fulfillment of needs and shared emotional connection” (Dalton, Elias & Wandersman, 2001, p. 193). Research on the sense of community has been done with neighborhoods (as an example, see Buckner, 1998; Chipuer & Pretty, 1999, D.D. Perkins et al, 1990, Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Fowler & Williams, 1998) and self-help groups (Luke et al, 1991; Maton & Salem, 1995; L. Roberts et al, 1991). However, in the 1990s, the construct of sense of community had not been operationalized within the context of community organizations, essential vehicles by which organizational members experience a sense of community, empowerment and the benefits of participation in their environment.

In 1999, Hughey, Speer and Peterson developed the first study in translating the sense of community construct into a conceptual framework and measure called the Community Organization Sense of Community (COSOC). This scale has been used in community psychology (e.g. Anderson, 2005; Peterson & Reid, 2003; Wright, 2004) in many contexts including neighborhood block associations, political action committees, and social service associations. Hughey, Speer & Peterson (1999) observed that: “Within community organizations, individuals form attachments to one another; but they also take
action, via their organizations, that may change other settings and institutions in their communities (p. 99).” While the COSOC scale has been conducted in community organizations of various types, this study intended to examine the COSOC scale as one of the factors that facilitate the nature and level of participation of staff and board members who work in CDCs.

In addition to COSOC, this study aimed to build upon the body of literature that looks at how organizational members are empowered by other processes within the organization that help to meet their goals and influence their social environment. According to Gutierrez (1995), empowerment is the process by which people attain a greater sense of worth and personal control. In addition, empowerment is the process by which people are active in working with others to change the environmental conditions that surround them. Rappaport (1987) defined empowered as “a process, a mechanism by which people, organizations, and communities gain mastery over their affairs” (p. 222). The aim of this study was to build on the theory of psychological empowerment. The psychological framework was first conceptualized by Zimmerman and Zahniser (1991) who sought to determine how organizations create an environment which generated individual empowerment. Zimmerman (1995) then added to the development of psychological empowerment through the development of a nomological framework of relationships within psychological empowerment. The nomological framework, first developed by Cronbach and Meehl (1955), was used to obtain construct validity for interrelationships between and among constructs in a study (as cited in Trochim, 2006). The network depicts a set of constructs that are organized empirically. The organization of these constructs is shown in terms of how they will be measured within the network.
As part of the psychological empowerment nomological network, Zimmerman (1995) developed three components of PE: 1) intrapersonal; 2) interactional; and 3) behavioral. While these components can been studied in tandem, this study will examine the relationship between the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment and citizen participation of CDC organizational members. Therefore, this study will explore if a person’s perceptions of his or her own control, competence and mastery influence his or her participation.

This study has also explained the literature discussing the theory of organizational empowerment. The differences between empowering and empowered organizations were discussed previously. To summarize, empowering organizations are organizations which help to facilitate psychological empowerment for their individual members as result of their organizational processes (Peterson & Zimmerman, 2004). Empowered organizations influence the large social structure through resource development, policy change and creation of alternative programs. Using CDCs as the organizational context, this study focused on how the intraorganizational processes of CDCs are empowering for their board and staff members.

The theoretical constructs of COSOC, the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment, and the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations have been studied in the past in various contexts (Peterson, Lowe, Aquilino & Schneider, 2005; Boyd & Angelique, 2002). However, they have not been studied within the context of individuals who are participants in or members of community development corporations. For example, in an extensive literature search of Academic Search Premier®, SOC Index®, ProQuest® Dissertation and Theses and Medline®
databases, these theoretical concepts have not been studied within the context of a CDC. Second, no studies address organizational members of a CDC. Furthermore, there are few studies which focus on members at the staff and board level. While studies have been conducted by Neighborworks, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation, and the now dissolved National Congress of Community Economic Development, they have not used the same methodological rigor as that of an academic study or dissertation.

Community organization sense of community, intrapersonal psychological empowerment and other organizational characteristics were all intraorganizational processes organizations which individually empowered members. The study also used one construct to understand the extraorganizational process influencing CDC member participation. This extraorganizational process is called social capital. Social capital is the network through which a community is interconnected. To build such a network, people and organizations must develop human capital (skills and education), financial capital, and cultural capital (appropriate behaviors based on the community setting (Schneider, 2006). Social capital, a concept made famous by Robert Putnam is his book *Bowling Alone* (2000), has declined since World War II (Pyles & Cross, 2008). Putnam (2007) also discovered that the increasing growth of diverse neighborhoods in America creates distance between groups within communities.

Schneider (2006) states that social capital has the following elements: “1) networks; 2) trust in that specific network; and 3) access to resources that enable that network” (p.7). Therefore, the connection between the presence of networks, the level of trust exhibited between people in those networks, and accessibility of resources allow those networks to exist and flourish. These connections determine the presence of social
capital available to organizational members. The presence of trustworthy networks outside the organization allows members to access those resources that maintain and enhance their social environment. Social capital is, therefore, a construct that extends itself outside the organization, as networks can be found in family, religious and social institutions, and government agencies. For example, a pastor in Indianapolis may be able to obtain funding from the city government for the local CDC because of the trust he has developed with other institutions and individuals which represent such institutions (such as city government or businesses such as banks). According to Pyles (2009) “high amounts of social capital tend to result in better outcomes in education, and children’s welfare, safe and productive neighborhoods, economic prosperity, health and happiness, participatory democracy, and tolerance” (p. 33).

Coming back to the context of this study, social capital was viewed as the extraorganizational construct influencing participation by CDC members. The connection with other networks, sustained by trust, facilitates access to resources organizational members need. Previous studies have viewed participation to be a correlate of social capital, and this study will support research showing the causal relationship between social capital and citizen participation. In conclusion, the constructs studied here are the intra and extraorganizational processes of empowering organizations and citizen participation. Based on the previous discussion, this study explored the inter- and intra-associations between the intra and extraorganizational processes of empowering organizations for the individual member of the CDC. In addition, the study hypothesized associations between the intra and extraorganizational empowering processes and the participation of a CDC organizational member. Moreover
the study hypothesized that the intra and extraorganizational processes of empowering organizations were able to predict the levels of citizen participation in CDC board and staff. The associations of these concepts when networked resulted in the following framework:
Figure 1. Conceptual framework of the study illustrating the hypothesized relationships between variables
Research Questions

Main Research Question:
To what extent does a community organization’s ability to promote a sense of community and empowerment among its members lead to increased community participation among its members?

Sub-research question #1:
To what extent does a community organization promote a sense of community among its members lead to increased participation among its members?

Sub-research question #2:
To what extent does an organization’s ability to empower its members lead to increased participation among its members?

Sub-research question #2a:
To what extent is an organization’s ability to generate social capital among individual members related to participation among its members?

Hypotheses:

Main Hypothesis:
Higher levels in the sense of community in community organizations and empowerment are associated with higher levels at which members participate in the community.
Hypothesis 1a:
Higher levels in the sense of community in community organizations among members are associated with higher levels at which members participate in the community.

Hypothesis 1b:
The higher levels of empowerment among members are associated with higher levels at which members participate in the community.

Hypothesis 1c:
Members who report high levels of social capital are members who have participate in the community at high levels.
CHAPTER 4

METHODS

Research design

Prior to data collection, this study intended to utilize a block design (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). The organizational members were to be divided into homogenous groups according to their role in the CDC. However, this was not done. From the eight ICND organizations which participated in the study, all of the board and staff received the survey. The study did not employ any random sampling; moreover, there was no pre-test or post-test conducted as part of this research design. In addition, the survey was not distributed to participants at different time intervals during data collection. Finally, it was intended that comparisons were to be made among the two groups, the board and staff of the respective ICND organizations. However as the results showed the differences between the board and staff was not statistically significant and therefore the board and staff was viewed as one group.

Procedures

Information from the Indianapolis Coalition for Neighborhood Development (ICND) board and staff was gathered using a web-based survey instrument. Instead of using traditional survey software packages the survey was constructed using a template from GoogleDocs©, which is free to the public. The results of the survey were automatically converted to a GoogleDocs© Excel spreadsheet which was copied and converted to a SPSS© version 17 data file for recoding and analysis.

Executive directors of the ICND organizations were contacted by phone and e-mail to obtain lists of their board and staff members. For the eight ICND organizations
that responded to this request, an e-mail explaining the research was sent to the
participants (see Appendix H). Then a week after this e-mail, a second e-mail letter was
sent to participants (see Appendix I). This letter provided participants with the purpose,
the scope, the efforts to maintain confidentiality, and the voluntary nature of participation
of the study. Specifically, members were informed that: 1) their participation in the
survey was voluntary; 2) their participation was not required by the organization; 3) they
could skip any questions as they completed the survey and; 4) they could withdraw from
the survey at any time.

The study received appropriate Institutional Review Board approval from
Southern New Hampshire University and all procedures were be consistent with ethical
guidelines. Fink (2003) states that Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) use six main
criteria to determine if a research proposal adhered to ethical guidelines for research on
human subjects. First, the study design needed to be both valid and reliable. Please see
the following sections concerning this study’s research design. Second, IRBs assessed the
risk and rewards of this study. Based on the content of the study, the questions on the
scales posed minimal psychological risk for participants. In addition, all of the items in
the survey were taken from scales used previously in the literature in research projects
which obtained previous IRB approval. While limited in scope, the study had the
potential to be very beneficial for organizations creating social change in Indianapolis.

Third, IRBs were concerned about the equitable selection of participants. For this study,
the entire population was surveyed and so all participants will have equal opportunity to
participate. Fourth, IRBs are concerned about the identification of human subjects and
confidentiality issues. The survey handled confidentiality in the following ways:
a. The survey did not ask survey participants to identify their name or organization on the survey
b. The participants’ names were not be linked to survey responses
c. Participants were free to abandon the survey at any time
d. ICND organizations were not required participants to complete the survey in any way

The qualifications of the researcher were also important to the IRB. Besides graduate work, the researcher oversaw undergraduate social work research projects which were completed for social work field experiences. Finally, the IRB was most concerned with the informed consent. To see the informed consent form for this study, please see Appendix H. Participants who return the survey will be eligible to have their names entered in a raffle for a $250 gas card.

In March 2011, the board of the ICND made a commitment that all 21 organizations that are part of the coalition would participate in this study. However, when the initial request was made for the names and e-mail addresses of board and staff participants for the study in May and June 2011, only eight of the 21 organizations participated in the study. This was due to three main factors: 1) between March and June 2011, there were four new Executive Directors at ICND organizations; 2) poor attendance at ICND meetings due to lack of interest on the part of a number of ICND organizations despite board interest; and 3) the request for the names and e-mail addresses of participants was made during the summer, when people are less likely to respond to such requests.
The data gathering method of the study was to survey board, staff and volunteers from these ICND organizations. Unfortunately, few of the participating ICND organizations utilize volunteers to conduct their work. An exception to this was the John H. Boner Community Center, but this organization was reluctant to send surveys to their volunteers. Therefore, the only groups that were studied were board and staff members.

In addition, a final open-ended question regarding the organizational factors which contribute to citizen participation was added to the survey to generate a qualitative response. Unfortunately, the vast majority of the participants did not respond to this final question.

**Instrumentation**

**Community Organization Sense of Community**

The Revised Community Organization Sense of Community Scale (COSOC-R).

To measure the sense of community participants experience in a CDC, the measure used was an 8-item scale called the Revised Community Organization Sense of Community Scale (COSOC-R) (Peterson et al, 2008). This COSOC-R was the scale commonly used to measure a sense of community in an organization. The community organization sense of community has four components: 1) relationship to the organization; 2) organization as mediator; 3) influence of the organization; and 4) bond to the community.

The COSOC-R is different from the original COSOC scale (1999), as the scale only uses positively worded items on the questionnaire. Peterson et al, (2008) and Hughey, Peterson, Lowe & Oprescu (2008) discuss that the items of the scale were
worded both positively and negatively prior to the revised scale. The mixing of positive
and negative worded items on the COSOC scale proved to be a factor in the inability to
see the relationships in the “relationship to organization” and “influence of the
organization” components of the COSOC (Peterson et al, 2008). Therefore, researchers
decided to use only positive worded items for this scale. According to Barnette (2001)
and Schmintz and Baer (2001) the use of positively and negatively worded items creates
problems with a measure’s internal consistency and factor structure. Therefore, the study
reworded all of the items in these scales so that they were all positively worded items.
This methodology was therefore proved to be more scientifically rigorous (Long &
Perkins, 2003; Obst & White, 2004). In addition, this scale is shortened based on the
work of Peterson et al, (2008) who concluded that this shorter, revised scale would be
more appropriate for applied community research settings. Other studies by Hughey,
Peterson, Lowe & Oprescu (2008) for example used an 11 item scale for the COSOC.
This previous mentioned conclusion made by Peterson et al, (2008) fits with the
conditions of this study. Therefore, the 8-item scale will be used. The components of
the 8-item revised scale mirrored the original 16-item 1999 COSOC scale: 1) relationship
to the organization 2) organization as mediator 3) influence of the organization and 4)
bond to the community. The respondents of the study completed the scale using a 5-point
Likert-type format which ranges from “strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree” to
“strongly disagree”. The COSOC-R scale items are found in Appendix A.
Intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment

The Revised Sociopolitical Control Scale (SPCS-R).

This study measured the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment of CDC staff and board. According to previous empirical studies, the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment has been best measured using the Sociopolitical Control Scale (SPCS) (Holden Holden, Evans, Hinnant & Messeri, 2005; Itzhaky & York, 2003; Peterson et al., 2006; Zimmerman, 1990, 1995, 2000). This scale was initially developed by Zimmerman & Zahniser (1991) based on the previous work of Zimmerman (1989, 1990) and others (Rappaport 1981, 1987; Swift & Levin, 1987). The SPCS measures an individual’s beliefs about his or her ability to change the political and social structures in the community (Zimmerman & Zahniser, 1991), his or her capacity to organize groups of people (Smith & Propst, 2001 as referenced in Peterson et al, 2006), and his or her influence on political decisions in the local community (Itzhaky & York, 2003 as referenced in Peterson et al, 2006). In addition, Zimmerman and Zahniser (1991) showed in their study how the sociopolitical scale contributed to psychological health and empowerment.

Zimmerman and Zahniser (1991) who crafted the SPCS developed two different subscales which are embedded in this scale. The Policy control sub section of the scale related to participants’ perception of policy control and political participation at the national and local level (Itzhaky and York, 2000). Leadership Competence subscale referred to the measure by which participants feel able to lead and have confidence in their leadership skills (Itzhaky and York, 2000).
Zimmerman and Zahniser’s (1991) study laid the foundation for its conceptual framework and linked the research literature between sociopolitical control and psychological empowerment. Then following their 1991 work, Zimmerman (1990; 1995) developed a framework for psychological empowerment which divided it into three different components: 1) intrapersonal, 2) interactional and 3) behavioral. While this model has been used before in community-based health and disease prevention settings (Holden, Evans, Hinnant & Messeri, 2005; Hughey, Peterson, Lowe & Oprescu, 2008), this study intends to show that CDC members experience similar components of psychological empowerment.

Since 1991, the Revised Sociopolitical Control Scale was created. This revised scale is based on the original scale developed by Zimmerman and Zahniser (1991) but the negatively worded questions in the 17-item scale are now positively worded. According to a Smith & Propst (2001) study the negatively worded questions failed to produce significant findings (as cited in Peterson et al, 2006). Therefore, this study used the Revised Sociopolitical Control Scale. The respondents of the study completed the scale using a 6-point Likert-type format ranging from \(1 = \text{strongly agree}\) to \(6 = \text{strongly disagree}\). The items in the Revised Sociopolitical Control Scale are located in Appendix B.

**Intraorganizational Processes of Empowering Organizations:**

- **Maton’s Organizational Characteristics Scale, Quinn and Spreitzer’s Competing Value Model of Organizational Cultural Scale and Ohmer’s Scales.**

This study uses measures which address the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations. According to Zimmerman 2000 and others, organizational
empowerment is conceptualized into two categories: empowering and empowered organizations. The scales used will test intraorganizational processes for empowering organizations. This study intended to assess to what extent CDCs as organizations have milieus which increased their members’ participation in the community.

To determine the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations, Maton’s Organizational Characteristics scale was be used (Maton, 1988). This scale was used also in Peterson (1998) and Peterson and Speer (2000) to determine perception of organization characteristics which contributed to individual member empowerment. In this 21-item scale, leadership, opportunity role structure and social support were the domains which are studied. Maton’s scales uses 5-point Likert scale (1=strongly agree to 5= strongly disagree). This scale can be found in Appendix C.

In addition, in order to understand the organizational culture within and between these CDCs, the study employed Quinn and Spreitzer’s Competing Value Model of Organizational Culture Scale (1991). The scale has been used to understand organizational culture and milieu in other contexts (An, Yom & Ruggiero, 2011; Colyer, Soutar, & Ryder, 2000; Gregory, Harris, Armenakis & Shook, 2009; Peterson & Speer, 2000, Yafang, 2011). The scale explored culture at the organizational level, as opposed to the societal or individual level. According to Colyer, Soutar and Ryder (2000) its statistical analysis has the ability to develop a representation concerning the profile of the organizations, sub-groups within the organization, and organizational cultural strengths and weaknesses. This 16-item scale is a 7-point Likert scale (1= strongly agree to 7= strong disagree). The items for this scale can be found in Appendix D.
In addition, three other scales taken from Ohmer (2008) measured tangible community improvement, structure and climate and mission of the CDC. The tangible community improvement scale is a 9 item scale, the structure and climate measure is an 8 item scale and the mission measure is a 6 item scale. The mission and tangible community improvement scales were 5-point Likert scales (1=\textit{strongly agree} to 5=\textit{strongly disagree}). The structure and climate scale was a 5-point Likert scale (1=\textit{Very unlikely} to 5=\textit{Very Likely}). These scales can be found in Appendix E.

**Citizen Participation**

**Citizen Participation Scale.**

As previously mentioned in this study, citizen participation was concerned with where the participant was located – various participatory activities that were at the city, town or local level. In addition, the study did not plan to analyze citizen participatory activities which occurred at the state, national or international level. Therefore, the citizen participation scale was an 11-item scale which measured the extent to which the participants were involved in the local community and neighborhood activities. The citizen participation scale used for this study was developed in a study conducted by Foster-Fishman, Pierce and Van Egeren (2009). This study sought to expand understanding as to the reasons why low-income citizens become involved in participatory activities in their neighborhoods. Respondents of this scale answered on a scale from 1(\textit{never}) to 6 (\textit{more than 7 times}). The first six questions measured organizational participation such as “How many times in the last 12 months have you been involved in the neighborhood association or Parent-Teacher Association (PTA)?” The final 5 questions were concerned with the level of involvement in community change
activities. This scale was obtained from a study done by Foster-Fishman, Pierce & Van Egeren (2009). The scale used for this study will be rated on a 5 item scale: “Never, Once, 2-4 times, 5-7 times, more than 7 times”. The items for this scale can be found in Appendix F.

All of these scales were either 5-point or 7-point Likert scales ranging from “Strongly Agree” to “Strongly Disagree”. However, before analysis of the data, these scales were all positively recoded. According to Barnette (2001) and Schmintz and Baer (2001) the use of positively and negatively worded items creates problems with a measure’s internal consistency and factor structure. Therefore, the study reworded all of the items in these scales so that they were all positively worded items. As an example of this recoding, one of the items for the Organizational Characteristics Scale reads “If a member desires, he/she can take on responsibility for some group tasks.” The Likert response for this item, ranked “Strongly Agree” as 1 to ” Strongly Disagree” as 5.

Because this item is positively worded a high response should correspond to strongly agree and not strongly disagree. Therefore, the Likert scale was recoded where “Strongly Agree” as 5 to “Strongly Disagree” as 1.

Social Capital

Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey

an understanding of respondents’ views on work, their community, health, the economy, the family, their environment, politics, morals and religion.

On a national scale, social capital has been studied as a correlate with variables such as political and religious participation and civic engagement. One such study was Harvard University Kennedy School of Government’s *Saguaro Seminar Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey* (SCCB) (2000). The data and survey for this work is stored under the auspices of University of Connecticut’s Roper Center for Public Opinion. The SCCB was conducted in 41 US communities and measured social capital and its correlates (religious participation, civic engagement, political participation and demographics). The survey was completed by over 26,000 respondents in 41 communities. It has been used by state and local government so that civic leaders can analyze local trends and findings.

In 2006, thanks to funding from several foundations, the Saguaro Seminar at the Kennedy School of Government conducted the *Social Capital Community Survey* which conducted two waves of surveys in 21 communities (Harvard University, 2009). This survey improved on the work done in 2000. For purposes of this study, questions will be taken from the Social Capital Community Survey. Questions in this survey sought to understand the CDC organizational members’ religious and political participation, attitudes towards the workplace, attitudes towards cultural changes and their neighborhood. Please see Appendix G for a detailed listing of questions for this survey.

**Control Variables**

The following set of predictor variable measures was chosen to understand their influence in the associations between the predictor variables and the outcome variable.
1) **Demographics of organizational members:** Respondents’ race, education, income and age.

2) **Age of CDC:** the number of years that the CDC has been in operation.

3) **Size of CDC:** the overall budget, total number of assets

4) **Length of involvement:** The length of time that the participants have been engaged with the CDC (as a board or staff member).

5) **Type of CDC:** According to Stoutman,(1999) and Stoecker,(1997) and other CDCs have two foci:
   - Affordable Housing
   - Other: which included 1) Job and Workforce Development: job creation and employment skills; 2) Economic Development: Business investment, central business district creation and store front revitalization; 3) Social Services: emergency and non-emergency services which provide for the human needs of people (food, child care, clothing, rent and heat assistance, Temporary to Needy Families subsidies, etc.).

6) **Local residence:** did the participant live in the jurisdiction of the CDC as defined by the ICND map.

**Sample**

The Indianapolis Coalition for Neighborhood Development is an association of neighborhood-based community development corporations. ICND is committed to providing leadership and advocacy to promote community-led development of housing and economic opportunities in Indianapolis neighborhoods. As a community of practice, ICND facilitates the comprehensive redevelopment of Indianapolis neighborhoods by
promoting communication, collaboration, and cooperation among Indianapolis CDCs. ICND, through its membership, links CDCs with one another, institutional partners, and with residents of Indianapolis neighborhoods to build economic opportunities and a strong community for all (ICND, 2010). Each of these CDCs work in a given region (see Figure 2 below) on a variety of community development activities. While some of the organizations may not be considered traditional CDCs the sample of ICND organizations has been used as a research sample in previous work (Johnson, 2001; Smith, 2003).
1. Community Alliance of the Far Eastside  
2. Concord Community Development Corporation  
3. Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation  
4. Devington Community Development Corporation  
5. Englewood Community Development Corporation  
6. Habitat for Humanity of Greater Indianapolis  
7. Indy-east Asset Development  
8. John H. Boner Community Center  
9. King Park Area Development Corporation  
10. Lawrence Community Development Corporation  
11. Mapleton-Fall Creek Development Corporation  
12. Martindale-Brightwood Community Development Corporation  
13. Near North Development Corporation  
14. Oasis Christian Community Development Corporation  
15. Partners in Housing Development Corporation Citywide  
16. Rebuilding the Wall  
17. Riley Area Development Corporation  
18. Southeast Neighborhood Development, Inc.  
19. United North East Community Development Corporation  
20. West Indianapolis Development Corporation  
21. Westside Community Development Corporation

*Figure 2.* Indianapolis Coalition for Neighborhood Development organizational map
CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which the staff and board of metropolitan Community Development Corporations (CDCs) in Indianapolis, Indiana participated in the community because of intraorganizational and extraorganizational-empowerment processes. The following chapter details the results of the survey sent to the ICND participants in May and June 2011. Two major conclusions can be made from the data. Correlational analysis from the survey suggests that it was a extraorganizational process of empowering organizations, or in the case of this study, social capital, which showed a strong association with citizen participation. In addition, using hierarchical regression, the data from participants suggests that compared to intraorganizational variables, social capital was significantly more able to predict levels of citizen participation.

Research Participants

A total of 112 staff and 229 board members were eligible to participate in the study. Out of the total of 341 participants, 78 participants completed the survey (23% response rate). A total of 35 staff members returned the survey for a 31% response rate. A total of 43 board members returned the survey for a 19% response rate. One surveyed ICND organization had the highest response rate of 15 of a possible 27 participants for a response of rate of 55%. Another ICND organization recorded the highest response rate of staff respondents at 80% (4 of 5 staff members completed the survey) and yet another recorded the highest response rate of board respondents at 87% (13 of 15 board members completed the survey).
Control Variables

The set of control variables shown in Figure 1 found in Chapter 3, page 89 were considered as such in the theory chapter of this study. However, for the analytical purposes of this chapter, the following variables were considered as a set of control variables. The conceptual framework diagram or Figure 1 (see Chapter 3, page 89) indicated that the first control variable in this set of variables was the Local residence of participants. This variable measured if the respondent lived in the local community or jurisdiction of the specific ICND organization. Respondents were asked if “they lived in the local community of the community organization”. All 78 participants responded to this question. The majority of participants did not live in the local community of the ICND organization. Of those surveyed, 53.8% lived outside the community and 46.2% lived within the jurisdiction of the local community of the ICND organization.

The second control variable obtained demographic information about each participant. The following demographic measures were collected: education level, race, household income and age. Due to low responses in several of the categories in the education level demographic variable measure, this variable was collapsed. Initially, this variable had six categories “less than high school”, “some high school”, “high school graduate or GED”, “some college”, “college degree” and “graduate or professional degree”. The education variable was collapsed to “some college or less”, “college” and “graduate or professional degree”. Based on these education categories, 16.7% of participants earned some college education or less. A total of 43.6% of participants earned a college degree and 39.7% earned a graduate or professional degree.
Similar to education, race and household income variables were also collapsed. Initially, the survey had the following racial categories: “African American or Black”, “Asian”, “White”, “Latino, Hispanic or Spanish origin”, “Native American” and “More than one race”. This variable was collapsed into two race categories of “White” and “Other”. From the sample, 21.8% identified themselves as “Other” and 78.2% identified themselves as “White”. Household income had seven categories of income from “$10,000 or less” to “$100,000 or more”. This variable was collapsed to five income categories from “$35,000 or less” to “$100,000 or more”. The participants reported that 21.8% earned $35,000 or less; 16.7% earned “$35,001 to $50,000”; 7.7% earned between “$50,001 and $75,000”; 24.4% earned between “$75,001 and $100,000”; and 29.5% earned “$100,000 or more”. Finally, the average age of participants in the ICND survey was 46 years. The mode of the age of participants was 36 years, while there was a significant standard deviation from the mean which was 12.28 years. Therefore, there was a significant distribution of age among the 78 participants.

The third variable was *Community Development Corporation (CDC) budget*. This variable measured ICND budget. This information was obtained from organizational reports such as annual reports, brochures and/or Internal Revenue Forms 990 as posted on the nonprofit watchdog website, *Guidestar*. The mode of this variable showed that eight ICND organizations in the sample had budgets valued at “$3,000,000 or more”. The median of the responses for this variable indicated that organizational budgets totaled “$1,000,001 to $3,000,000.”

The variable concerned with the overall mission and purpose of the CDC was the *Main focus* of the ICND organization. The question asked “What is the main focus of the
organization?” Responses were: a) Jobs and Workforce Development; b) Social Services; c) Affordable Housing; and d) Economic Development. This variable was recoded into a) Affordable Housing; and b) Other. The main focus of majority of the surveyed ICND organization reported to have an Affordable Housing focus. A total of 76.9% of the participants stated that their ICND organization had an affordable housing focus. The remaining 23.1% stated that their ICND organization had another focus.

The final variable measure in this set of control variables was the Length of Involvement. This question asked the number of years the board or staff member had served or been employed at the respective ICND organization. The mode and median of the length of involvement variable indicated that respondents had been board and staff members for one to five years. Looking at the percentage breakdown of the responses, 16.7% had been a board or staff for less than 1 year; 51.3% had been involved for one to five years; 19.2% for six to ten years and 12.9% were involved eleven years or longer.

Intraorganizational Predictor Variable Measures

The theory of the study divided the processes of empowering organizations into two main categories: a) Intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations and b) Extraorganizational processes of empowering organizations. There were five predictor variable measures used in the study to assess the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations, which were hypothesized as contributing to citizen participation among the ICND board and staff participants. These measures were a) Maton’s organizational characteristics scale; b) Quinn and Spreitzer’s competing value of organizational culture scale and Ohmer’s scales on c) mission; d) structure; and e) climate and tangible community improvement. The intrapersonal component of
psychological empowerment was measured using the *Revised Socio-Political Control Scale*. The sense of community within a community organization was measured by the *Revised Community Organization Sense of Community Scale*.

In addition, according to the conceptual model of the study in Figure 1, the organizational characteristics scale was hypothesized as three subscales: a) *Opportunity Role Structure*; b) *Leadership*, and c) *Social Support*. In addition, all 21 items in the organizational characteristics scale were also analyzed. Table 7 below shows the mean, mode and standard deviation for each of the subscales and the entire organizational characteristics scale. In addition, the following table includes all of the measures for the sense of community, intrapersonal process of empowering organizations, and the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment. All of these measures were used to understand the extent to which the intraorganizational processes contributed to the citizen participation of ICND board and staff participants.
As Table 7 enumerates, the majority of ICND board and staff participants (60%) indicated that they agreed that their organizations possess opportunities for a wide variety of roles in the organization, leadership and social support in their organizations. A vast majority (80.2%) of the board and staff agreed that there was a clear mission in each of the eight sampled ICND organizations. However the majority of participants (80.8%) said that it was unlikely that their respective ICND organization provided a positive and
vibrant structure and climate for their local communities. As far as these organizations creating a tangible community improvement in their respective Indianapolis neighborhoods, 52.4% of board and staff were neutral concerning this organizational characteristic. Finally, 51.1% of board and staff participants experienced a significant sense of community in these organizations.

Table 7 shows the coefficient alphas for these scaled items. Based on the rule of thumb offered by measurement scholars (DeVellis, 1991; George and Mallery, 2003; Bernstein & Nunnally, 1994), if coefficient alphas are greater than 0.9, the scale is considered “Excellent”; if greater than 0.8, the scale is considered “Good”; if greater than 0.7, the scale is considered “Acceptable”; if greater than 0.6 the scale is considered “Questionable”; if greater than 0.5 the scale is considered, “Poor” and the coefficient alpha less than 0.5, then the scale is considered “Unacceptable”. Virtually all of the subscales and scales are considered to have excellent and good reliability according to this rule of thumb.

**Extraorganizational Predictor Variable Measure**

In addition to the variables which measured the intraorganizational processes which contributed to and influenced citizen participation, one set of Social Capital variables measured the extraorganizational variable contributing to citizen participation. Social capital was measured using the entire 2006 Social Capital Benchmark Survey, a tool developed by the Saguaro Seminar at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government. According to the conceptual framework, social capital possessed a positive one-way relationship with the citizen participation scale and also had a two-way relationship with another intraorganizational factor variable, such as Community
Organization Sense of Community. Similar to the previous variable measures, several of the items found within the Social Capital Benchmark Survey were recoded to make them positively worded. However, even after positively wording several of these items such as “Do you expect to live in your community 5 years from now?” and “What is your overall community rating?” and “How often would you expect the national or local government to do the right thing?” none of these items had significant correlations with such variables. However, two sets of questions concerning 1) Social capital activities in the last 12 months, and 2) Community investment activities in the last 12 months revealed significant correlations with citizen participation. In terms of social capital activities, participants were asked “Have you participated in the following activities in the past 12 months? a) Donated blood, b) Attended a political rally, etc.” The community investment questions asked participants to respond yes or no if they participated in organizations such as “The Knights of Columbus, a bible study, an adults’ sports league, and a labor union”. Table 8 below showed the coefficient alpha and modes for these scaled items. The most common response to participation in social capital activities and community investment activities was “No”. Therefore, the mode response for the ICND board and staff showed low levels of social capital and community investment activities. Based on criteria offered by measurement scholars (DeVellis, 1991; George and Malley, 2003; and Nunnally and Bernstein, 1994) the reliabilities of all of the different scales were poor and unacceptable, suggesting major concerns with their own reliability as composite scales.
Table 8

Reliabilities and Descriptive Statistics of the Extraorganizational Component Scale and Citizen Participation (N = 78 participants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coefficient Alpha</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participation in Social Capital Activities</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Investment Activities</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Scale Values: 1 = Yes; 0 = No

Table 9 shows the coefficient alphas and modes of the dependent variable, Citizen Participation in the Last 12 Months. Activities considered to be participatory were membership in Weed and Seed, Parent Teacher Organizations, Town or City Councils or contacting local government officials to advocate for change in their neighborhood. Similar to the previous predictor variable measures, several of the items found within this dependent variable composite scale were recoded to make them positively worded. The majority of respondents (83%) participated in these activities at least one time in the last year. Based on criteria offered by measurement scholars (DeVellis, 1991; George and Malley, 2003; Nunnally and Bernstein 1994), the reliabilities of all of the different scales were considered good, suggesting no concerns with the reliability of this citizen participation composite scale.
Table 9

Reliabilities and Descriptive Statistics of the Citizen Participation in the Last 12 Months

(N = 78 participants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale name</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen Participation(^a)</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. \(^a\) = Likert scale values: More than Seven Times –5 to Never –1
SD = Standard Deviation

Correlations between Intraorganizational Factor Variable Measures and Citizen Participation

After these reliability tests were generated using SPSS, correlation matrices were developed to determine the correlations between the various variables shown on the conceptual framework diagram. To do this, the Pearson’s \(r\) statistical test was executed. Table 10 below indicates the correlation coefficients between the intraorganizational variable measures and the outcome variable measure, citizen participation, in the last 12 months.
### Table 10

**Correlations of Intraorganizational Variables and Citizen Participation (N = 78 board and staff members)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Citizen Participation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.26*</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.25*</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Community Org Sense of Community</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.43*</td>
<td>.55*</td>
<td>.52*</td>
<td>.33*</td>
<td>.41*</td>
<td>.42*</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.62*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Opportunity Role Structure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.62*</td>
<td>.53*</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.46*</td>
<td>.29*</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.30*</td>
<td>***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Leadership</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.44*</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.54*</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.29*</td>
<td>***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Social Support</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.46*</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.22*</td>
<td>***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sociopolitical Control</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.27*</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Organizational Culture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.25*</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.43*</td>
<td>.58*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Tangible Community Improvement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Structure and Climate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Mission</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.31*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Organizational Characteristics</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *** Opportunity Role Structure, Social Support and Leadership are subscales of the Organizational Characteristics scale and therefore correlations are not displayed

*p < .05, **p < .01
Based on the correlations shown above, initial conclusions concerning the correlational relationships between the intraorganizational processes and citizen participation were made. Without controlling for variables such as demographics or main focus, the matrix showed that there was a statistically significant correlation between community organization sense of community and citizen participation. Community organization sense of community was moderately and significantly associated with citizen participation in the last 12 months, \( r = .26, p \) (two-tailed) < .05. In other words, when board and staff experienced higher levels in the sense of community in the surveyed ICND organizations, there was also an increase in the levels of their citizen participation in their own neighborhoods. This result confirmed what was predicted in the conceptual framework which theorized that there would be a relationship between community organization sense of community and citizen participation.

Sociopolitical control was moderately and significantly correlated with citizen participation, \( r = .25, p \) (two-tailed) < .05. When ICND board and staff participants reported an increase in their sense of well-being, leadership competence and policy control, there was an increase in levels of their participatory activities in their neighborhoods. Once again, this relationship was predicted in the conceptual framework of the study. However, the conceptual framework predicted that there would be correlations between the other intraorganizational independent variables and citizen participation. As displayed in the correlation matrix in Table 10, other measures such as mission, structure and climate and organizational culture did not have a statistically significant correlation with citizen participation in the last 12 months even at the \( p < 0.1 \) level. The conceptual framework theorized that when board and staff expressed an
increase in their affinity towards the organizational mission, structure and culture then these positive estimations of the organization would be associated with a corresponding increase in the levels of their own citizen participation. This was an incorrect prediction based on what the data in Table 4 displayed.

Additionally, the conceptual framework diagram also predicted that there were relationships between the intraorganizational processes of empowering organization measures and the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment. The matrix revealed that out of all of these two sets of predictor variables, sociopolitical control was significantly correlated with tangible community improvement, \( r = .27, p \) (two-tailed) < 0.05. In addition, as the framework showed there was a strong positive correlation between community organization sense of community and sociopolitical control, \( r = .33, p \) (two-tailed) < 0.01. In other words, while the conceptual framework predicted relationships between the two sets of predictor variables, only sociopolitical control, the community organization sense of community and tangible community improvement possessed associations between each other.

**Correlations between Extraorganizational Factor Variable Measures and Citizen Participation**

The Pearson’s \( r \) test was conducted to test the relationships between all of the social capital measures and citizen participation. After conducting these statistical tests, the following social capital measures (the only extraorganizational component contributing to citizen participation) were found to have statistically significant correlations with citizen participation. As Table 11 showed, social capital activities in
the last 12 months were significantly and strongly correlated with citizen participation in the last 12 months $r=.42, p$ (two-tailed) $< 0.01$. In other words, higher involvement of ICND board and staff in social capital activities corresponded with higher levels of citizen participation in the last 12 months. The same was true for community investment which also showed a strong and significant correlation with citizen participation in the last 12 months, $r=.45$ $p$ (two-tailed) $< 0.01$. Again, higher levels reported by board and staff in community investment activities in their own neighborhoods corresponded with higher levels of citizen participation activities. Among all of the other measures derived for social capital, the measure titled “lost wallet neighbor” had a significant correlation with the dependent variable, citizen participation. This measure asked participants if their wallet containing $200 would be returned if found by a neighbor. Participants who reported that their neighbors were more likely to return a lost wallet were associated with lower levels of participation. Therefore, as Table 11 shows, there was a moderate and significant negative correlation between this lost wallet neighbor and citizen participation in the last 12 months $r= -.25, p$ (two-tailed) $< 0.05$.

It should also be noted that correlations were run on all of the social capital measures and the community organization sense of community. This was done as the conceptual model predicted there would be a relationship between community organization sense of community and social capital. After running all of the correlations between community organization sense of community and the social capital measures, the only statistically significant correlation was between the measure which asked participants the “likelihood of the local government doing the right thing” and community organization sense of community. This measure showed a moderate and
significant correlation with community organization sense of community $r = -.21, p$ (two-tailed) $< 0.05$. In other words, the higher the levels of the sense of community that the participants experienced in their respective ICND organization corresponded with a lower likelihood that those same participants expected the local government to do the right thing.
Table 11

*Correlation Matrix between Extraorganizational Factors and Citizen Participation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Citizen Participation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.42*</td>
<td>.45**</td>
<td>-.25*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Social Capital Activities</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.37**</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Community Investment Activities</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Lost Wallet Neighbor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05, **p < .01

*Correlations between Citizen Participation and Control Variables*

Correlations were also performed between one set of predictor variables (demographics, CDC age, length of involvement, main focus and local residence) and citizen participation. The framework has conceptualized that there would be relationships between these variables and the dependent variable, citizen participation in the last 12 months.
Table 12

*Correlations between Control Variable Measures and Citizen Participation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Citizen Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDC Budget</td>
<td>-.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDC Age</td>
<td>-.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your age?</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>-.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local residence</td>
<td>.47**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main focus</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Income</td>
<td>-.21*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of involvement</td>
<td>.20*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05, **p < .01

As shown in Table 12 there were significant correlations between the local residence, main focus, total income and Length of involvement at the CDC. Therefore, the Local residence, Main focus and Total income from all sources in 2010 influenced the levels of citizen participation of the ICND board and staff. Local residence (or if the participant lived in the CDC service area or jurisdiction) was strongly and significantly correlated with citizen participation, $r = .47$, $p$ (two-tailed) < 0.01. When board and staff members lived in the local jurisdiction of the ICND organization, they were more likely to have high levels of citizen participation in that community. This corresponds to what was predicted in the conceptual framework of the study. The Main focus of the organization (Affordable Housing or Other focus) was moderate and negatively correlated with citizen participation, $r = -.28$, $p$ (two-tailed) < 0.01.

The conceptual framework also predicted that main focus of the ICND organization will account for changes in the levels in citizen participation among the board and staff participants. Total income was moderately and negatively correlated with
citizen participation, \( r = -0.21, p \) (two-tailed) < 0.05. There was a negative relationship with levels of citizen participation meaning that the Total income of board and staff participants was linked to a decrease in their citizen participation. Finally, the Length of involvement of the board or staff participant was positively and moderately correlated with citizen participation, \( r = 0.20, p \) (two-tailed) < 0.05. In other words, when board and staff served at ICND organizations for an increasing length of time this corresponded with the increased level of citizen participation. The relationships between citizen participation and Total income and Length of involvement were also predicted by the conceptual framework.

In addition to the zero-order correlations performed on these variables and citizen participation, the conceptual framework predicted that variables such as Length of involvement, Main focus, and the like, would influence the relationships between citizen participation and the other sets of predictor variables. Therefore, the next step was to determine the significance of the extent to which these variables, when controlled for, account for the correlations seen between citizen participation and the intra- and extraorganizational independent variable measures. This is shown in Tables 13 and 14 respectively.
Table 13

*Partial Correlations between Intraorganizational Variables and Citizen Participation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Citizen Participation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Community Org Sense of Community</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sociopolitical Control</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Organizational Culture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tang Community Improvement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Structure and Climate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mission</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Control Variables: Local residence; Main focus; Total income from all sources in 2010; and Length of involvement

Using the control variables that were statistically significant with citizen participation (Length of involvement, Local residence, Total income sources in 2010 and Main focus), Table 13 showed that when the variables were controlled for, none of the intraorganizational variable measures showed a correlation with citizen participation. Therefore, when thinking about this in the context of the study, it was found that the intraorganizational processes are in fact not the predictors which influence the levels of citizen participation among ICND board and staff. Citizen participation among board and staff in the study was heavily influenced by the presence of other predictors, in this case income, Local residence and the Length of involvement in the organization. Total income, Main focus, Local residence and Length of involvement influenced and accounted for the relationship between the levels of intraorganizational processes and citizen participation. For example, sociopolitical control and citizen participation were strongly and significantly correlated $r = .25$, $p$ (two-tailed) < 0.05. However, after controlling for variables such as Local residence the correlation became weaker and reduced in statistical significance, $r = .20$, $p$ (two-tailed) < 0.1. Therefore, the reduction
in the $r$ value suggested that the relationship between sociopolitical control and citizen participation was weakened due to the presence of other predictor variables that were added to the association.

Table 14

*Partial Correlations between Extraorganizational Variables and Citizen Participation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Capital Activities</th>
<th>Social Capital Activities</th>
<th>Community Investment Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Citizen Participation (w/o control variables)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.42***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Citizen Participation (w/control variables)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.38***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Control Variables: Local residence; Main focus, Total income from all sources in 2010; and Length of involvement

* $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

However, when the same set of predictors were used as control variables in a partial correlation, the above social capital measures showed no change in the association with citizen participation. The set of control variables did not weaken or strengthen the relationship between social capital activities and citizen participation activities in the last 12 months. Therefore, variables such as total income, main focus and others did not substantially account for the correlation between the social capital measures and citizen participation. For example social capital activities and citizen participation were strongly and significantly correlated $r = .42, p$ (two-tailed) < 0.01. When variables such as Total income and Local residence were introduced as control variables, the relationship between social capital activities and citizen participation was still strongly and significantly correlated $r = .41, p$ (two-tailed) < 0.01. Therefore, despite the use of a number of predictors as controls, there was no significant change in the relationship
between social capital activities and citizen participation. When these results were analyzed in terms of the conceptual framework, variables such as income, main focus and the residence in the local community were expected to significantly account for the relationship between the extraorganizational empowerment component, or social capital and citizen participation. Data shown in Table 14 disproved this assertion.

**Regression Analysis**

Regression determines how a variable or set of variables can predict values in the dependent (outcome) variable. Simple bivariate linear regression used one outcome variable and one predictor variable (the straight line that best fits the data on a scatter plot). Multiple regression uses two or more predictor variables and one outcome variable. When described in the context of the ICND study, regression helped to explain if one or many of the independent variables predicted the citizen participation levels in the last 12 months of ICND board and staff participants in the study. To answer this question, the use of multiple regression determined the extent the predictor variables placed in a model explained the variance in the levels of citizen participation. According to the conceptual framework of the study, all of the predictor variables accounted for the variance in the levels of citizen participation among the board and staff participants. Therefore, using a statistical tool such as regression, various predictors are identified as having a significant impact on the levels of citizen participation.

Before the following multiple regression was conducted, four simple bivariate regression models were run. Local residence, community organization sense of community, community investment and social capital activities in the last 12 months were run individually against the outcome variable, citizen participation. These predictor
variables were used due to their strong and significant correlation coefficients with citizen participation using the Pearson’s $r$ test. Simple regression models were run for each of these variables (community investment activities, social capital activities, community organization sense of community and local residence of the participant) and were found to possess strong and significant $R^2$ values with citizen participation. The $R^2$ values for each of the variables were as follows: 1) Local residence, $R^2 = .22$, $p < 0.01$; 2) Social capital activities, $R^2 = .18$, $p < 0.01$; 3) Community investment activities, $R^2 = .20$, $p < 0.01$; and 4) community organization sense of community, $R^2 = .35$, $p < 0.01$. In short, all of the aforementioned variables account for a significant variation in the level of citizen participation. For example, for the variable measure local residence, the $R^2$ value is .22. This indicated that local residence was able to explain about 22.1% of the variance that occurred in the citizen participation levels among ICND board and staff participants all other things being equal.

The study theorized that a group of predictor variables such as Length of involvement, Total income and Local residence influenced the strength, significance and direction of the relationship between the other predictor variables and the outcome variable or citizen participation. The hypothesis of the study claimed that higher levels of citizen participation were associated with higher levels of intraorganizational processes such as sense of community, intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations and the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment. In addition, this study claimed that higher levels of one extraorganizational component, specifically social capital, were associated with higher levels of citizen participation. Therefore, in light of this theoretical claim, a hierarchical regression was conducted. Hierarchical regression
permits one or more of the variables to be placed into blocks and is left to the discretion of the researcher (Fields, 2009; Trochim & Donnelly, 2008).

As shown in Table 15, total income and local residence were entered into the first two blocks in the regression model. These variables were most similar to control variables. The rationale for placing these variables into these first two blocks was to determine the extent to which these variables account for the variance in citizen participation. Predictor variables, which had strong and significant bivariate correlation coefficients with citizen participation, were entered into the following blocks. For the first block, the Total income was entered. In the second block, another variable, Local residence or, if the participant lived in the CDC local community/jurisdiction, was entered. In the third and fourth blocks, intraorganizational predictor variables such as 1) socio-political control and 2) community organization sense of community were entered. In the fifth block the extraorganizational predictor variables such as 1) social capital activities in the last 12 months and 2) community investment activities were entered. None of the other predictor variables (organizational culture, tangible community improvement, mission, etc.) were entered because their correlation coefficients were not statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ value and therefore were ruled out as irrelevant for the purposes of this regression analysis.

Table 15 is the model summary table of the hierarchical regression. This table provides the value of $R$ and $R^2$. The change statistics were provided only when requested, and helped to determine if the change in $R^2$ was significant based on each additional block of variables. The significance of $R^2$ was tested using the $F$-ratio and was reported for each block of the hierarchy.
As displayed in Table 15, all of the sets of predictor variables selected for the hierarchical regression had moderate and/or strong correlations with the outcome variable, citizen participation in the last 12 months. All of the above displayed correlation coefficients were significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.
### Table 15

**Model Summary of the Hierarchical Regression**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
<th>R Square Change</th>
<th>F Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.21(^a)</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>3.66*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.49(^b)</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>19.67***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.52(^c)</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>2.83*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>.53(^d)</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>.69(^e)</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>13.12***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. \(^a\) = Predictors: (Constant), Total income from all sources in 2010

\(^b\) = Predictors: (Constant), Total income from all sources in 2010, Local residence

\(^c\) = Predictors: (Constant), Total income from all sources in 2010, Local residence Sociopolitical Control

\(^d\) = Predictors: (Constant), Total income from all sources in 2010, Local residence Sociopolitical Control, Community Org Sense of Community

\(^e\) = Predictors: (Constant), Total income from all sources in 2010, Local residence Sociopolitical Control, Community Org Sense of Community, Community Investment Activities, Social Capital Activities

*\(p < .1, **p < .05, ***p < .01\)

According to Model 1 in Table 15, the total income from all sources in 2010 accounted for 4% of the variance in citizen participation. The adjusted \(R^2\) value in Model 1 is .03. The adjusted \(R^2\) value should be very close to \(R^2\) value (Fields, 2008). The difference between these values is indeed small (.04 -.03 = 0.01; or 1%). This shrinkage meant that if the model was derived from the entire ICND population rather than the sample, it accounted for 1% less variance in citizen participation.

However, in Model 2, which added the local residence, 20% of the variance was accounted for in citizen participation. In both Models 1 and 2 the addition of these variables to the hierarchy shows that the \(R^2\) is significant by the \(F\) change statistic being significant at the \(p < .01\) level. In Model 3, sociopolitical control was added to the
model, and this predictor variable explained only an additional 3% (.27-.24) in citizen participation. However, the addition of socio-political control scale showed that the $F$ change statistic is significant only at the $p < 0.1$ level. Therefore, when all other predictors and moderators are controlled for, the sociopolitical control accounted for less variance in citizen participation in statistical significance terms. In Model 4, adding community organization sense of community increased $R^2$ by 1% (.28-.27) and this $F$ change statistic was not significant ($p = .32$). Therefore, when community organization sense of community was added to the list of predictors in the model, it did not significantly improve the ability to predict the levels in citizen participation among ICND board and staff. Finally, in Model 5 adding the variables which measured social capital and community investment activities, increased the $R^2$ by 19% (.47-.28) from the previous model and 23% (.47-.24) from Model 2 which included only the variables. Therefore, based on the model summary table above, the addition of the extraorganizational processes to the hierarchy appeared to have the largest influence on the overall regression model. In sum, the extraorganizational processes of organizational empowerment, such as social capital activities and community investment activities, were the measures which significantly helped to predict the change in the levels of citizen participation among the ICND board and staff participants.

The $F$ ratio was calculated by dividing the mean squares of the model (2.2 for Model 1) by mean squares of the residual (.60 for Model 1). Fields (2009) also stated that if the improvement made by the regression model is greater than the inaccuracy of the model then SPSS calculated the $F$ ratio as greater than 1. The higher the value of the $F$ ratio suggested that each hierarchy improved the ability to predict the outcome.
variable, citizen participation. Model 1 indicated that income was a poor predictor of
citizen participation levels. Therefore, for Model 1, the F ratio value is \((F 1, 76) = 3.67, \ p < 0.1\). However, the results for Model 2 \((F 3, 74) = 8.44, \ p < 0.01\), suggested that the
addition of local community residence improved the ability of the model to explain levels
of citizen participation among board and staff participants. Adding sociopolitical control
predictor in Model 3 reduced the ability of set of predictors in Model 3 to explain the
variance in citizen participation. Model 3 results \((F 4, 73) = 7.32, \ p < 0.01\) indicated that
the addition of sociopolitical control reduces the value of the \(F\) ratio (from 8.44 to 7.32).
Therefore, among the surveyed board and staff, the sociopolitical control was not able to
significantly predict the levels of citizen participation. Similarly, adding community
organization sense of community to the model reduced the ability to predict the levels of
citizen participation. Model 4 reported another reduction in the value of the \(F\) ratio to \((F 5, 72) = 6.15, \ p < 0.01\). The community organization sense of community results did not
enhance the ability to predict the levels of citizen participation among the board and staff
participants. However, in Model 5, the addition of social capital and community
investment activities to the hierarchy, increased the value of the \(F\) ratio \((F 7, 70) = 9.46, \ p < 0.01\). While the \(F\) ratio was significant for all of the models at the \(p < 0.01\) level, the
addition of the social capital variables increased the strength of the regression
significantly. Therefore, the addition of extraorganizational measures such as social
capital and community investment activities generated the best increase in the ability to
predict the levels of citizen participation. In addition, it appeared that the
extraorganizational as opposed to the intraorganizational processes best predicted the
levels of citizen participation. Board and staff participation in the civic life in their
neighborhoods was therefore best predicted by extraorganizational processes which occur outside the realm of ICND organizations.

The ANOVA of the hierarchical regression informed whether the model results in a good prediction of the outcome variable. However, it does not provide an understanding about the individual contribution of each of the predictor variables to each hierarchy of the model. Table 16 below helps to understand the parameters of each of the models created by the hierarchical regression.
Table 16

*Model Parameters of the Hierarchical Regression*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>Collinearity Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Zero-order</td>
<td>Partial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>12.11***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total income from all sources in 2010</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.058</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>-1.91*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>9.87***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total income from all sources in 2010</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>-1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local residence</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>4.44***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>2.07**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total income from all sources in 2010</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-1.89*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local residence</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>3.73***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socio Political Control</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>1.68*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total income from all sources in 2010</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-1.91*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local residence?</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>3.43***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sociopolitical Control</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The *b* values show how each of the sets of predictor variables entered hierarchically into the regression equation made a significant contribution while controlling for the previously entered variables. Table 16 also includes the standardized values of the coefficients (betas). The standardized regression coefficient scores represent a unit change in the outcome variable from a unit change in the each predictor. Therefore when participants reported that they lived in the local residence of the ICND organization, this resulted in .32 unit increase in citizen participation activity levels when all other variables were held constant in Model 5. In other words, for every board and staff member that indicated they lived in the local community of the ICND organization, there was a .32 increase in the number of times that these board and staff members
engaged in participatory activities in their neighborhood in the last 12 months. In addition, because the standardized regression coefficient values were positive, this showed that the relationship between these predictors and citizen participation were positive. Therefore, simply put, a positive relationship between the predictors and citizen participation indicated that when one of the levels of a predictor increased in value, there is an associated increase in the levels of citizen participation.

The $b$ values also showed the values for each predictor variable, when the other variables are controlled. Therefore, community investment activities ($b=2.37$) was the highest for all of the variables in Model 5. This suggested that the community investment activities variable was the best predictor in determining the levels of citizen participation. When board and staff engaged in community investment activities, these activities were the most suitable variable in determining if the levels of citizen participation among the ICND board and staff would rise.

One interesting result in Model 5 was the correlation coefficient values of sociopolitical control. In Table 16, the sociopolitical control zero-order coefficient is $r = .25, p<.05$ which means that sociopolitical control had a strong association with citizen participation. In addition, because the $r$ value was positive, this indicated when board and staff experienced higher levels of sociopolitical control they were more active in their neighborhoods. However, when all of the other previously entered predictor variables were controlled for, the correlation coefficient of sociopolitical control is $r = -.01, p< 0.05$, which is a very weak, negative correlation with citizen participation. In other words, when all of the other predictors were added as controls to the association between sociopolitical control and citizen participation, this association changed and became very
weak. The association was also negative which meant that when sociopolitical levels increase there was a corresponding decrease in citizen participation levels. When other variables are used as controls, an increase in the sociopolitical control among board and staff in turn was associated with a lower level of participation in their communities.

There are also collinearity statistics in Table 16 which were produced to ensure that two or more predictor variables in the model did not possess strong correlations between each other. This was run to ensure the assumption of no multicollinearity between the predictors, especially social capital activities in the last 12 months and community investment activities which showed strong bivariate associations ($r = .37, p < 0.01$). According to Fields (2009), as long as the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) is not greater than 10 and the average of the VIF is greater than 1, the assumption of no multicollinearity has been met. Additionally, Fields (2009) stated that the Tolerance should be above a 0.2. In reviewing the VIF and Tolerance, all of these figures did not fall into those concerns and therefore the assumption of no multicollinearity was met. In other words, the strong associations between the predictors variables was not concern for the study and did not impact validity of the results in Table 16.

In conclusion, analysis from the ICND survey suggests that extraorganizational processes of organizational empowerment are more strongly associated with citizen participation than intraorganizational processes of organizational empowerment. While there is an association between the intraorganizational processes of organizational empowerment and citizen participation, the addition of variable measures such age, household income and length of involvement, etc. to this association makes it insignificant. Moreover, even when a number of variables are added to the association
between extraorganizational processes of organizational empowerment and citizen participation, this association persisted. Similarly, when a hierarchical regression was conducted, it was found that the social capital variable measures best predicted the outcome in the levels of citizen participation in comparison to the intraorganizational variable measures.
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Introduction

The community organization is one of the major instruments by which social problems are addressed and overcome. While there are many types of community organizations, community development corporations (CDCs) – 501 (c)(3) nonprofit, community organizations – work to increase capital investment, provide affordable housing, create small businesses, facilitate community organizing and administer social services within a specific geographic location or neighborhood (Stoecker, 2003). Research has been conducted on the CDCs themselves (Vidal, 1996; Glickman & Servon 1999, 2003), community residents’ perceptions of and satisfaction with CDCs (Harrison-Proctor, 2006; Majee & Hoyt, 2011; Steinbeck, 2003; Stoutland, 1999) and CDCs’ relationships with national intermediaries and funders (Glickman & Servon, 1999; 2003). While these studies are important, there is a significant gap in the literature concerning the staff and board of CDCs. Few studies have been conducted to indicate how the internal structures of an organization build citizen participation among their staff and board. Studies have been done on efficiency, management and the internal structures that increase employee participation and improve the organization’s bottom-line or “balance scorecard” (Herman & Renz, 1998). Studies in social science have also shown how staff have developed relationships in organizations, thus increasing the social capital of these organizational members and the communities in which they live (Schneider, 2006). The purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which the sense of community and empowerment contributed to the community participation of Community Development...
Corporations (CDC) members. The CDC members in this study were the board and staff of eight (8) Indianapolis Coalition for Neighborhood Development (ICND) organizations.

Sense of community and empowerment are important concepts that have been studied in community psychology and social work (Gutierrez, 1990, 1995; Hughey et al, 2008; Rappaport, 1987). In the community economic development literature, there is not a lot of empirical research literature discussing the role of empowerment and sense of community in organizations engaging in community economic development activities. Therefore, community economic development organizations such as community development loan funds, community development credit unions, micro-enterprise organizations, and CDCs have not been used as contexts for studying sense of community and empowerment. This study sought to build on the existing literature concerning sense of community and empowerment while also introducing a new set of empirical literature, using CDCs as the context, to the field of community economic development.

Community psychology and social work research have been conducted on the role, importance, and significance of the sense of community and empowerment of community residents or members of voluntary organizations, such as neighborhood organizations, youth empowerment groups and electoral associations. However, the sense of community and empowerment literature does not study these concepts using the board and staff of place-based or community development organizations, such as CDCs. In fact, Boyd and Angelique (2002) state that sense of community is often studied in the context of the business workplace as opposed to community-based organizations. This study intended to build on the sense of community and empowerment literature through an empirical analysis of organizational members previously not found in the literature.
The ICND conceptual framework of the study shown in Figure 1 hypothesized relationships between the community organization sense of community, empowerment and citizen participation. The intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations such as the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment and the community organization sense of community were hypothesized as possessing positive associations with citizen participation. In addition, the study also hypothesized that an extraorganizational process of empowering organizations, or social capital, possessed a positive association with citizen participation. Moreover, the study claimed that the intra and extraorganizational processes of empowering organizations would be able to predict the levels of citizen participation among ICND board and staff. In addition, the study sought to assess a plausible alternative explanation to these associations between intra and extraorganizational empowering organizations and citizen participation and used an additional set of control variables (*Total income, Local residence, CDC budget, Main focus, Length of involvement and Demographics*). These variables assessed the extent to which these controls account for the associations between the intra and extraorganizational processes of empowering organizations and citizen participation.

This chapter interprets and evaluates the study’s findings, especially with respect to the original research question and corresponding hypotheses. In addition, the chapter acknowledges the study’s limitations and discuss the possible alternative explanations of the results from the data. Finally, the chapter specifies how the findings of the study can contribute to the community economic development and social work fields in terms of policy and practice, education and research.
Discussion of Findings

Relationship between Community Organization Sense of Community and Citizen Participation.

The purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which the sense of community and empowerment in a CDC influenced the citizen participation among its board and staff members. Research questions were formulated to guide and structure the type of data that was collected and analyzed. The study’s research question asked: “To what extent does a community organization’s ability to promote a sense of community and empowerment among its members lead to increased community participation among its members?” The study hypothesized that ICND data results would show that an increase in the sense of community in CDC members would lead to an increase in their citizen participation. The findings from the study confirmed this hypothesis. An increased level in the sense of community in board and staff was associated with an increased level to which these members engaged in the civic life of their neighborhoods in the last year. In other words, this finding suggested that when ICND members reported strong and vibrant relationships with others in the organization, or when members agreed that their ICND organization created a venue for members to engage in social change in their community, there was a corresponding increase in ICND members’ participation in the life of the community at higher levels.

While there was an association between community organization sense of community and participation, results from the data suggested that the association between the sense of community and citizen participation was influenced by another set of variables. When control variable measures such as Total income, Local residence and
Main focus were introduced to the association, results revealed that these set of variable measures significantly affected the strength of this association. Furthermore, results showed that the association, which was once statistically significant, no longer proved to be significant when the control variables were introduced. Therefore, while the study appear to correctly hypothesize that, as the community organization sense of community increased, there was a corresponding increase in the citizen participation, these results were tempered by evidence that the control variables significantly contributed to this association. In other words, when participants experienced a sense of community as members of an ICND organization, their corresponding citizen participatory behavior was due to other factors. For example, if ICND members lived in the service area of the organization (Local residence) or if they had been involved in the CDC for some time (Length of involvement), then these factors served as alternative explanations for the association between the sense of community and citizen participation. Therefore, the study’s claim that “higher levels in the sense of community in community organizations among members are associated with higher levels at which members participate in the community” was disproved by these results in the data.

The study explored whether sense of community as a variable could predict levels of citizen participation. Using regression analysis, results suggested that the community organization sense of community was not an intraorganizational process of empowering organizations that predicted the levels of citizen participation. When a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted, the data showed that, when compared to the other predictor variables in the study, community organization sense of community did not significantly improve the ability to predict citizen participation. To summarize, there was
an association between the community organization sense of community and citizen participation. However, as this association was reviewed and analyzed further, community organization sense of community in a CDC did not assist in predicting the levels to which board and staff members participated in the community.

The association between community organization sense of community and citizen participation in this study was consistent with the findings of similar studies. A study done by Ohmer (2010) on youth in Pittsburgh found that, in addition to self and collective efficacy, the sense of community was associated with citizen participation. In a nationwide study of the People’s Republic of China, Xu, Perkins & Chung-Chow (2010) found that, in addition to “neighborliness,” sense of community helped to predict a person’s political participation. However, in a study of members of Italian political parties, Mannarini and Fedi (2009) found a negative association between political participation, sense of community and neighborhood and cultural involvement. In other words, a decrease in political participation corresponded with an increase in the sense of community expressed by these members. Due to the diversity of organizations that these participants were involved in, Mannarini and Fedi stated that there is a “complex pattern of relationships linking participation (and) sense of community…” (p.224). The researchers stated that recognizing the different modes of participation (political, social, etc.) helped in understanding the association between participation and sense of community. In other words, the mode in which the citizen participates governs the association with how they experience and report their own sense of community. In addition to this complexity, Mannarini and Fedi framed the relationship between participation and sense of community in terms of how participants viewed or
conceptualized the concept of community itself. After looking at the ICND results in the light of this dynamic, it became apparent that this study was more aligned with other studies (Berry et al, 1993; Levine & Perkins, 1987) which suggest that an increased sense of community is associated with an increase in civic and political participation. Finally, Ohmer (2008) conducted an additional study among Pittsburgh neighborhood organizations and found that volunteers in these organizations tended to be more involved, partly due to the sense of community they experienced in these community-based organizations.

**Relationship between Empowerment and Citizen Participation.**

The second research question, “To what extent does an organization’s ability to empower its members lead to citizen participation?” sought to assess the association between empowerment and citizen participation. The study hypothesized that “higher levels of empowerment among members were associated with higher levels of participation.” The nomological network of organizational empowerment developed by Peterson and Zimmerman (2004) describe the organizational characteristics that empower and influence board and staff member participation. The nomological framework, first developed by Cronbach and Meehl (1955), was used to obtain construct validity for interrelationships between constructs in a study (as cited in Trochim, 2006). The network depicts a set of constructs that are organized empirically. The organization of these constructs is shown in terms of how they will be measured within the network. Peterson and Zimmerman distinguish between empowering and empowered organizations. Using previous work by Zimmerman (2000) and Swift and Levin (1987), Peterson and Zimmerman state that empowering organizations are organizations that develop
psychological empowerment (empowerment at the individual level) for their members - these members experience being part of the organizational process. In other words, board and staff at ICND organizations are empowered due to organizational characteristics that are considered processes within these organizations. These processes include social support, opportunity role structure, organizational culture, group-based belief systems, etc. On the other hand, empowered organizations are those that impact and shift the larger system in which they are a part. They influence areas such as public policy, community programming, creation of resources in the community, etc. (Peterson and Zimmerman, 2004). To summarize, there is a difference between those organizations which facilitate processes for their members because of those members’ membership and involvement and those which, in addition to empowering their members, facilitate specific outcomes in the larger community and society. The purpose of the research question focused on the role which CDCs as organizations play in empowering their members on an individual level, rather than on an organizational or societal level. Because the research question sought to understand the various characteristics of ICND organizations that create empowerment for their members, the study sought to use the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations and their association with citizen participation.

The study claimed that there would be an association between the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations and citizen participation. Specifically, the study claimed that an increase in the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations would be associated with an increase in citizen participation among ICND members. However, results showed that, for all of the various measures of
the intraorganizational processes, only the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment (as measured by the sociopolitical control scale) exhibited an association with citizen participation. Therefore, when ICND members reported an increased level of leadership competence and the ability to change the political and social structures around them, the data showed an increase in their citizen participation levels. According to previous empirical studies, the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment has been best measured using the Sociopolitical Control Scale (SPCS) (Holden, Holden, Evans, Hinnant, & Messeri, 2005; Itzhaky & York, 2003; Peterson et al., 2006; Zimmerman, 1990, 1995, 2000). This scale was initially developed by Zimmerman & Zahniser (1991) based on the previous work of Zimmerman (1989, 1990) and others (Rappaport, 1981, 1987; Swift & Levin, 1987). The SPCS measures an individual’s beliefs about his or her ability to change the political and social structures in the community (Zimmerman & Zahniser, 1991), his or her capacity to organize groups of people (Smith & Propst, 2001 as referenced in Peterson et al, 2006), and his or her influence on political decisions in the local community (Itzhaky & York, 2003 as referenced in Peterson et al, 2006).

The results from the data revealed that sociopolitical control was the only intraorganizational process of empowering organization and that citizen participation could be explained in reviewing the items in each of the variable measure scales. The items on the sociopolitical control scale were similar to many of the items on the citizen participation scale. For example, the citizen participation asked participants to report the number of times they “Spoke with your local community leader?” or “Contacted local government officials to advocate for a change?” and “Tried to improve neighborhood
relationships?” The sociopolitical control scale asked participants, “It is important to me that I actively participate in local issues?” “Most important people in the local community would listen to me”. Therefore, the policy and leadership emphasis in both of these scales generated positive associations between the citizen participation and sociopolitical control scales as they attempted to measure items that were closely intertwined.

While there was an association between sociopolitical control and participation, results from the data suggested that the association between the sociopolitical control and citizen participation was influenced by a set of control variables. When the control variable measures such as Total income, Local residence and Main focus were introduced to the association, results revealed that this set of variable measures significantly affected the strength of this association. Furthermore, results showed that the association, which was once statistically significant, no longer proved to be significant when this set of variables was introduced. Therefore, while the study hypothesized correctly that, as the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations increased, there was a corresponding increase in the citizen participation, these results were tempered by evidence that control variables significantly contributed to this association. In other words, when ICND organizations possessed milieus through which participants described themselves as leaders and competent in policy change, their corresponding citizen participatory behavior was due to other factors.

The results also indicated that intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations did not predict levels of citizen participation. Using regression analysis, results suggested that the intrapersonal component of psychological empowerment was
not an intraorganizational process of an empowering organization that predicted the levels of citizen participation. When a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted, the data showed that, compared to the other predictor variables in the study, sociopolitical control did not significantly improve the ability to predict citizen participation. Therefore, the study’s alternative hypothesis that an “increase in the levels of empowerment is associated with an increase in the levels of citizen participation” was not confirmed by the data.

These results do not align with what other studies have shown in the literature. Hardina (2003) cites an historical thread of research linking citizen participation and empowerment. Ohmer (2008a; 2008b), in studies done on neighborhood organizations in Pittsburgh, established that these organizational member characteristics and processes were most strongly associated with the benefits of citizen participation. In addition, this study claimed that these intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations were a precedent to citizen participation. There is debate in the literature concerning the link between empowerment and citizen participation. Some studies (Bess, Perkins Cooper & Jones, 2011; Itzhaky & York, 2000; 2003; Lee 1994; Peterson, Peterson, Agre, Christens & Morton, 2011; Rappaport, 1987; Zimmerman, 1989) conclude that various forms of participation were predictors of empowerment. Other studies (Berkowitz, 1990; Itzhaky and York, 2000; Speer, Jackson & Peterson, 2001; Zimmerman and Zahniser, 1991) show that empowerment positively affected levels of community participation. The lack of association between many of the intraorganizational processes and citizen participation in this study did not support the link between empowerment and participation found in the literature.
One additional interesting finding was that 80.8% of participants stated that it was unlikely that there was a positive structure and climate within their organizations. In addition, the association between these variable measures was weak and negative and was not significant \((r = -0.06, \text{two-tailed}, \text{n.s.})\). In other words, when participants reported an increase in the likelihood that there was a positive structure and climate in the organization, there was a corresponding reduction in their participation. This was a counterintuitive finding, given the fact that many of the other intraorganizational measures showed that members felt positive about the various processes by which they were empowered within their CDC. However, there might be two alternative explanations for this finding. First, during the time of the data collection, many of the ICND organization surveyed were in the midst of administering the Weatherization Assistance Program funded by the Department of Energy. Through the assistance of CDCs, this federal program enables low-income families to reduce their energy bills by making their homes more energy efficient. The program is heavily regulated and exerts significant administrative demands on provider staff and board (Jacquie Dodyk, personal communication, January 30, 2012). This program could have negatively influenced participants’ view concerning the structure and climate of the organization during the data collection period. Second, as this association was further explored, results suggest that the subsection of participants stated that it was likely for the CDC to improve the structure and climate of community were also participants that engaged at higher levels in the community and vice versa. Therefore, it was the 19.2% of board and staff who had positive views of the structure and climate of the organization that also participated at higher levels in their community.
Relationship between Social Capital and Citizen Participation.

Extraorganizational processes of empowering organizations are processes by which organizations shape life in a community (Peterson and Zimmerman, 2004). Extraorganizational processes found in the literature were facilitating community meetings and sharing and distributing information in attempts to shape community change. The ICND study conceptualized the extraorganizational process of empowering organizations in terms of social capital. Social capital is made up of the associations that people develop within a community organization that help to create trust, social cohesion and networks (Brisson, 2009). In addition to the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations, the study claimed that an increase in the extraorganizational process of empowering organizations would be associated with the increase of levels of citizen participation. The research question for this claim asked the extent to which an “organization’s ability to generate social capital among its members is associated with citizen participation” This extraorganizational process of empowering organizations was measured using a set of social capital variable measures.

Results from the study showed that a set of social capital variable measures were associated with citizen participation. In addition, data from the study confirmed the hypothesis that an “increase in social capital was associated with an increase in citizen participation”. Therefore, when participants engaged in activities that generated social capital, there was a corresponding increase in their participatory activity. In addition, in contrast to the intraorganizational processes, the association between social capital and citizen participation persisted, even with the introduction of a set of control variables, such as Demographics and Local residence.
The results also indicated that extraorganizational processes of empowering organizations predicted levels of citizen participation. Using regression analysis, results suggested that social capital variable measures were able to predict the levels of citizen participation. In other words, when ICND members engaged in activities that increased their social networks with other community members, it was predicted that their citizen participatory activities would increase. When a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted, the data showed that, when compared to the other predictor variables in the study, social capital significantly improved the ability to predict citizen participation. Therefore, the study’s alternative hypothesis that “Members who report high levels of social capital are members who have participate in the community at high levels.” was confirmed by the results of the data.

These results were in line with other studies in the literature. For example, Xu, Perkins & Chung-Chow (2010) found that social capital was a predictor of local political participation by rural and urban community residents in China. Collom (2008), in a study focused on the engagement of the elderly in local voluntary organizations, found that the generation of social capital was linked to participation involvement in those organizations. Saegert and Winkel (2004), in a study of Brooklyn residents living in 487 buildings, focused on the relationship between crime, social capital and participation. They studied the extent to which social capital was a predictor of community participation. The study found that social capital was strongly related to participation in community organizations and churches regardless of the level of crime documented in these neighborhoods and buildings.
It should be noted that one of the social capital variable measures, or social capital activities, could be considered conceptually similar to the citizen participation variable measure. This would explain the strong correlations between citizen participation and social capital activities. In terms of social capital activities, participants were asked “Have you participated in the following activities in the past 12 months? a) A bible study, b) Attended a political rally, etc.” In terms of citizen participation, activities considered to be participatory were having membership in Weed and Seed, Parent Teacher Organizations, Town or City Councils or contacting local government officials to advocate for change in their neighborhood. Therefore, because these measures are conceptually similar, resulting correlations should be viewed with caution.

The results from the study did not support the claim in the research that citizen participation predicts the levels of social capital. Putman conducted what is, perhaps, the most famous study supporting this social capital theory (1994; 1998). Putnam found that people in communities, through participation in various associations, generate various forms of social capital. Therefore, it is through the arena of association developed in community organizations that bonding, cohesion and social networks are created. The results of the study were at odds with Putnam’s understandings of how social capital is generated and developed. Other scholars, such as Wollebaek and Selle (2002), contest the notion that participation in community-based organizations forms social capital. Wollebaek and Selle (2002) contend that, while there was a link between participation and social capital through association, Putnam’s claim that these associations in organizations need to be face-to-face and active should be questioned. Wollebaek and Selle (2002) claim that even passive, less active members of organizations can develop
social capital. However, according to the results, the study showed that social capital, or the extraorganizational process of empowering organizations, improved the ability to predict levels of citizen participation as compared to the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations. While there is complexity in the link between social capital and citizen participation, this study showed that, in fact, the concept of social capital can predict the extent to which organizational members participate in their communities. However, due to the small sample size taken from the ICND organization this conclusion should be viewed with caution.

One last interesting finding was the result in the data concerning the association between the variable measure lost wallet neighbor and/or social capital and community investment activities. The variable measure lost wallet neighbor showed a moderately negative association with social capital and/or community investment activities, albeit not significant. In other words, when people trusted their neighbors to return their lost wallet, this corresponded with a decrease in the social capital and community investment activity. This finding was counterintuitive as it would appear that as board and staff increasingly trust their neighbors they would increase social capital and community investment activities and vice versa. One explanation for this connects to prior research on social capital theory itself. According to certain social capital scholars (Brisson and Usher 2007; Kawachi & Kennedy, 2000; Kawachi, Kim, Coutts & Subramanium, 2004) social capital is a multi-dimensional construct consisting of cohesion, social networks, and trust or bonding social capital. The lost wallet neighbor was used as a way to measure the bonding social capital component. Brisson and Usher (2007) confirm in their study of over 7,000 participants in ten cities that there were five measures which
were reliable and valid in measuring bonding social capital or trust: 1) how close-knit the neighborhood was; 2) the extent to which neighbors were helpful; 3) how well neighbors got along; 4) to what extent neighbors shared values; and 4) to what extent neighbors could be trusted. Therefore, the lost wallet neighbor measure did not comprehensively measure the bonding or trust component of social capital. This helped explain the counterintuitive associations found in the social capital measures in the ICND data.

**Limitations**

When considering the findings of the study, several limitations should be examined. The first limitation to this study was its small sample size. The size of sample is important in research because it allows for the probability of detecting particular effects between the variables in order to avoid a Type II error (Witte & Witte, 1997). The study’s small sample size decreases the likelihood of detecting a possible effect in the data. Moreover, a sample size of 78 participants was inadequate for the probability of not committing a Type II error, especially given the number of variables in the study. In sum, the statistical power of the data was limited and in turn the findings should be viewed with caution.

While the ICND board approved the study, ICND leaders communicated their lack of interest or value for this study during the research process. Several executive directors did not respond to requests to participate in the study. One of the possible reasons for this was that the ICND executive directors were not given the opportunity to provide input to the study’s design and overall methodology. If the study had used an approach such as participatory action research, ICND executive directors could have engaged in the design in the study as opposed to passively accepting the research
methodology that was developed for them. According to Hardina (2002), participatory action research is the process by which “the research abandons control and adopts an approach of openness, reciprocity, mutual disclosure and shared risk (p. 356)”. Therefore, if ICND executive directors contributed and shared in the development of the research methodology, they may have more apt to be engaged in and supportive of the study, thereby increasing participation among ICND organizations. In addition, while the data was collected (during the summer months of 2011), transitions occurred in some of the ICND organizations (several Executive Directors resigned or were terminated during the proposed data collection period), leading to a lack of participation in the study.

The second limitation is that while all of the organizations are deemed CDCs by the ICND, there is no legislative definition or classification of what is and is not a CDC in the state of Indiana. The Indiana CDC community is diverse and dispersed. Many community housing organizations consider themselves to be CDCs. Unlike states like Massachusetts, which have a legal classification of a CDC, Indiana has no law or regulation. Therefore, the group of eight (8) ICND organizations used in this study might not be used in states with a legal classification of a CDC. However, this limitation can be avoided as this group of ICND organizations has been used in other research articles and in other dissertations.

The third limitation is that the sample from the ICND is a limited, geographically focused sample. While the City of Indianapolis is similar to other rust-belt cities found in the Midwestern region of the country, the geographically bound typology of these CDCs presented itself as a possible confounding variable during the research process. In addition, the results from this sample cannot be generalized to other parts of the state
because the rest of Indiana is largely rural or suburban and possesses different contextual issues for CDCs. The study’s findings can be generalized to the city of Indianapolis (Brookings Institution, 2003).

A fourth limitation is that this study also views citizen participation as an outcome variable instead of a predictor variable. As stated in the introduction of the study, a review of the literature reveals that citizen participation has been studied as a predictor variable as opposed to an outcome variable (Christens, Speer & Peterson, 2011; Eliot et al, 1996; Gies & Ross, 1998; Irzhaky & York, 2000a; 2002; Perkins, Brown & Taylor, 1996; Peterson, Speer & Peterson, 2011; Peterson et al., 2011; Pinderhughes, 1983; Veyser & Messner, 1999). Therefore, this study is contrary to the research literature and should be considered in this light.

Finally, the sixth limitation is that the study also uses scales that measure different units of analysis. For example, the Revised Sociopolitical Control scale measures empowerment at an individual level whereas Maton’s Organizational Characteristics scale, Quinn and Spreitzer’s Competing Value Model of Organizational Culture Scale and Ohmer’s scale all measure intraorganizational constructs on an organizational level. In other words, the Revised Sociopolitical Control Scale has a different unit of analysis (individuals) than the other intraorganizational processes of empowerment variable measures (organizations). Therefore, another limitation of the study is that, while its intent was to study individual members of ICND organizations, the instruments it used were ones that measured members and organizational processes.

Despite these limitations, this study contributes to an understanding of how community organization sense of community and organizational processes of
empowering organizations facilitate citizen participation among CDC organizational members. The research on the sense of community and empowerment may be important in the fields of community economic development because it sheds light on community organization processes which influence how board and staff members participate in their social environment. The following section provides implications for community economic development and social work fields.

Implications of Findings and Directions for Future Policy & Practice, Education and Research

At this stage of research on empowerment and sense of community in CDCs, it is difficult to draw any significant conclusions about the extent to which sense of community and empowerment may lead to citizen participation. Prior research on intra and extraorganizational empowering processes has primarily been conducted on neighborhood block groups, political associations and other community based organizations (Gutierrez et al, 1995; Maton & Salem, 1995; Minlker et al, 2001; Peterson, 1998; Peterson & Speer, 2000; to name a few). This is one of the few studies in which organizational processes of empowering organizations, sense of community, and citizen participation have been studied within the CDCs. Additional studies in other places, settings, locations and times should be conducted with organizational members of CDCs to continue to explore the relationships between these concepts within CDCs. The study did provide evidence to suggest the specific types of processes that empower CDC type organizations in the city of Indianapolis. Given the results, one can conclude that in Indianapolis-based CDCs, extraorganizational processes contribute more significantly to citizen participation than intraorganizational processes. For example, social capital and
community investment activities positively influence the levels to which board and staff participate in their Indianapolis communities. Other ICND organizations should consider evaluating whether their organizations possess such extraorganizational processes.

**Community Economic Development and Social Work Policy and Practice.**

In terms of community economic development and social work policy, the lack of participation among ICND organizations in the study can be linked back to the historical federal policy changes and their impact on CDC practice. After the tearing down of the Great Society programs by the Nixon Administration, CDCs became providers of bricks and mortar and/or business development services, rather than a space for community organization. Moreover, the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act created the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program, which is now a cornerstone of funding for CDCs. The CDBG program, administered by the Housing and Urban Development Agency (HUD), is an extremely complex and bureaucratic block grant program. Because of the growth and technical nature of this and other federal and state community development programs, the purpose, mission and focus of CDCs has changed to meet the demands of these evolving funding requirements. The result has been a movement of organizations that have built millions of housing units, created jobs and spurred business investment (NCCED, 2005). Unfortunately, because of these policy and funding realities, CDCs lack the intraorganizational processes by which people can be individually empowered through community organization. Therefore, the study’s findings which suggested that the association between citizen participation and the intraorganizational processes was influenced by factors, supports this policy and funding
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...reality. Other organizations in the community, such as neighborhood organizations, political associations, and faith institutions have taken on this important role.

CDCs need outside stakeholders on the board and technically trained staff to pursue and administrate such complex funding opportunities. While there are facets of community participation to these programs, they are add-ons and are not close to the heart and soul of housing and community development technocrats (Stoecker 1997; 2000; 2003). CDCs might not be the optimal organizational arena for organizational members or local residents to participate at greater levels in the community. However, with downturn of the economy and the corresponding housing crisis, CDCs are being challenged to engage in more community participatory activities and to increase citizen engagement in their own community. Dr. Christina Clamp (personal communication, October 18, 2010) stressed the importance of this analysis of organizational members as it might be the first step for some CDCs to reengage in participation.

In terms of community economic development and social work practice, the study’s findings underscored the nature of ICND board and staff expectations concerning their involvement in ICND organizations. As previously mentioned, current housing and community development policy have resulted in CDCs being mainly focused on housing, jobs, and economic investment rather than empowerment of their members. However, the role and influence of one of the control variables, Local residence, provided a fruitful discourse for the relationship between the sense of community in community organizations and empowerment in ICND organizations. There has been debate among practitioners in the community development field concerning the use and need for staff and board to live in the communities in which they work. Practitioners such as Perkins...
have argued that when board and staff live in the communities in which they work, they are more apt to be involved in and trusted by community residents. While the study did not measure community levels of trust among board and staff in these ICND organizations, results showed that when members lived in the surrounding community, there was a positive association with citizen participation, sense of community in the community organization, and intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations. Moreover, Local residence was a significant predictor in levels of participation. Therefore, in light of these findings from the study, community economic development and social work practitioners should consider increasing the numbers of people on their staff and board that live in the community their organization serves. Such board and staff members are more likely to be involved in their local community, have a strong relationship with the CDC, and acquire skills to contribute to community change.

**Community Economic Development and Social Work Education.**

As mentioned in the limitations section, there was a difficulty in obtaining participation from the ICND organizational leaders. In addition to recommending the use of participatory action research, this lack of participation might be linked to the graduate professional training these ICND leaders received. Most programs in graduate schools of social work have a macro social work concentration, focusing on human services administration, social policy, evaluation and community organization. However, there is a significant absence of housing and community development research, finance, and training in the curriculum. In light of this, few graduate schools of social work adequately train students to become leaders of CDCs, community development finance institutions and microenterprise organizations. Schools of social work develop leaders
who are passionate and concerned about community organization and grassroots participation. Graduate schools of public administration, business and public policy, where housing and community development training and internships are offered, lack a curriculum rich in community organization and participation experience. Therefore, as Stoecker (2003) discusses, there is a dichotomy between community development and community organizing. An absence of community organization and participation ethos among CDC board and staff was revealed by the results and the limited appreciation for and involvement in this study. Graduate schools in a variety of disciplines, including social work, public policy and administration, need to consider increasing interdisciplinary collaborations, concentrations and certificates where students learn both a value for community organization and the technical skills necessary for a fruitful career as a CDC employee and board member.

Community Economic Development and Social Work Research.

The study focused on the intraorganizational processes of empowering organizations and their relationship to citizen participation. While the study found that the association between intraorganizational processes and citizen participation was influence by a variety of control variables, there are other ways through which organizational empowerment theory can be studied within community economic development organizations. Additional research in organizational empowerment theory should be done on the relationship between the various intra, inter and extra organizational outcomes of empowered organizations and citizen participation in community economic development organizations. The research on empowered organizations is growing (Bond & Keys, 1993; Orians, Liebow & Branch, 1995; Riger,
1984; Wilke & Speer, 2011) but understanding the outcomes of empowered organizations, especially in the context of CDCs, would be valuable for the CDC industry specifically, and for federal housing and community development policy as a whole. This research would help to understand the level to which CDCs demonstrate outcomes of empowered organizations such as resource identification, collaboration of empowered groups, and creation of alternative community programs. Such research would contribute to the development of evidence-based community development practice concerning the role, value and purpose of CDCs in their communities and in society. For example, outcomes of the intra, inter and extraorganizational processes of empowered organization connect well with the CDC context. The intraorganizational outcome of empowered organizations has been described as an identification of resources (Peterson & Zimmerman, 2004). Because CDCs are organizations that work with a variety of stakeholders and build public-private partnerships, they are ideal for accessing and directing those resources that strengthen the capacity of other community organizations or social change efforts in the community.

Furthermore, an extraorganizational outcome of empowered organizations is the creation of alternative programs. In light of shrinking federal and state budgets, community organizations all over the country are facing tremendous financial constraints. Because CDCs leverage resources from multiple sources, they have the ability to convene community groups with different interests to develop cutting edge programs such as microenterprise, revolving loans and capital investment in socially entrepreneurial businesses.
Finally, as previously mentioned, the citizen participation scale items were similar to a variety of variable measures such as the social capital activities in the last 12 months and sociopolitical control scales. A possible recommendation to overcome this issue would be to develop a citizen participation scale which contains items that more effectively operationalize citizen participation for board and staff in community economic development organizations. The development of such a citizen participation scale would tease out some of the nuances of citizen participation as they relate to these board and staff members and how and to what extent these scale items are associated with sense of community and empowering organizational processes.

In conclusion, there are several policy & practice, education and research implications in the relationship between and among organizational empowering processes, sense of community and citizen participation in board and staff members of CDCs. CDCs are vital instruments through which communities are strengthened, restored and renewed through entrepreneurial, communal and physical processes. As this industry continues to emerge and mature, CDCs will need a vibrant staff and board who will carry out the goals of CDCs in ways which ultimately facilitate empowerment and self-sufficiency for community constituents. Board and staff who see the importance of and benefits for citizen participation in their own life and work need to be one of the organizational priorities through which CDCs continue their transformative mission.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A

The Revised Community Organization Sense of Community Scale (2008)

COSOC 1: People in the organization have a real say about what goes on in the organization.

COSOC 2: People in the organization respond to what I think is important.

COSOC 3: Being in this organization allows me to be around important people.

COSOC 4: This organization helps me to be a part of other groups in this city.

COSOC 5: This organization helps me to be respected in this city.

COSOC 6: This organization helps me to get a lot done in this city.

COSOC 7: I like living in this town; Indianapolis is the place for me.

COSOC 8: Indianapolis is a good place for me to live.
Appendix B

The Revised Sociopolitical Control Scale (1991)

SPCS1: I am often a leader in groups.
SPCS 2: I would prefer to be a leader rather than a follower.
SPCS 3: I would rather have a leadership role when I’m involved in a group project.
SPCS 4: I can usually organize people to get things done.
SPCS 5: Other people usually follow my ideas.
SPCS 6: I find it very easy to talk in front of a group.
SPCS 7: I like to work on solving a problem myself rather than wait and see if someone else will deal with it.
SPCS 8: I like trying new things that are challenging to me.
SPCS 9: I enjoy political participation because I want to have as much say in running government as possible.
SPCS 10: A person like me can really understand what’s going on with government and politics.
SPCS 11: I feel like I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues which confront our society.
SPCS 12: People like me are well qualified to participate in political activity and decision making in our country.
SPCS 13: It makes a difference who I vote for because whoever gets elected will represent my interests.
SPCS 14: There are plenty of ways for people like me to have a say in what our government does.

SPCS 15: It is important to me that I actively participate in local issues.

SPCS 16: Most important people in the local community would listen to me.

SPCS 17: A good many local elections are important to vote in.
Appendix C

Maton’s Organizational Characteristics Scale (1988)

OC 1: Different members are in charge of different aspects of group functioning.
OC 2: The leader has sole responsibility for most aspects of running this organization.
OC 3: The organization draws upon the talents and abilities of a number of different people to get tasks done.
OC 4: If a member desires he/she can take on responsibility for some group tasks.
OC 5: Positions of responsibility are spread among members of the organization.
OC 6: The organizational leaders are somewhat lacking in organizational skills and know-how.
OC 7: The leaders are committed and dedicated to the organization.
OC 8: The leaders relate and respond well to organizational members.
OC 9: The leadership is very talented as far as self-help group operations are concerned.
OC 10: The leaders’ own problems and personality get in the way of effective leadership.
OC 11: Members regularly reach out and provide support to me.
OC 12: I received as much support and help as I presently desire from members of the organization.
OC 13: I feel understood and accepted by most members.
OC 14: I regularly reach out and provide support to members of this organization.
OC 15: I provide as much support as I receive at this organization.
OC 16: I receive as much support as I provide at this organization.
OC 17: I have developed a close relationship with another member of this organization.
OC 18: Outside of the work I do for this organization, I do not have much contact with other members.

OC 19: I am unlikely to confide in organizational members about my personal problems or situations.

OC 20: Compared to friends and family, my relationships with organizational members are much less intimate.

OC 21: If I stopped being part of this organization, I would continue my friendships developed with members.
Appendix D

Quinn and Spreitzer’s Competing Value Model of Organizational Culture Scale (1991)

CVF 1: There is open discussion and I am encouraged to participate in decisions.
CVF 2: I am empowered to act and take responsibility for my role in the organization.
CVF 3: There is a emphasis of human relations, team work and cohesion in the CDC.
CVF 4: My concerns and needs are considered important.
CVF 5: There is flexibility and decentralization in the approach to management.
CVF 6: There is an emphasis on creative solving problem in the CDC.
CVF 7: Innovation and risk-taking are considered to be important.
CVF 8: Expansion, growth and development are important.
CVF 9: There is an emphasis on excellent and quality outputs.
CVF 10: There is an emphasis on achieving predictable performance outcomes.
CVF 11: The control of management is centralized.
CVF 12: There is stability, continuity and order in this CDC.
CVF 13: The focus is on goal and task accomplishment.
CVF 14: Efficacy and productivity are considered important.
CVF 15: Goal clarity and objective setting are important for direction.
CVF 16: Tasks are routine and formalized in the organizational structure.
Appendix E

Ohmer’s Scales (2008)

Tangible community improvement:

1. Life conditions of community residents have improved.
2. The community has access to affordable housing.
3. The community has access to better information & resources.
4. Local banks increased lending in our area.
5. Conditions in the business district have improved.
6. Illegal or undesirable businesses were shut down.
7. The community is safer.
8. The community is more visually attractive.
9. Youth in the community have more resources & opportunities.

Structure and Climate:

1. Improve physical conditions in the neighborhood like cleanliness or housing upkeep.
2. Get people in the neighborhood to help each other more.
3. Persuade the city to provide better services to people in the neighborhood.
4. Reduce crime in the neighborhood.
5. Get people who live in the neighborhood to know each other.
6. Increase decent, affordable housing in the neighborhood.
7. Improve the business district in the neighborhood.
8. Develop and implement solutions to neighborhood problems.

Mission:

1. There is a clear sense of mission in the organization.

2. The goals of the organization are meaningful to the members.

3. There is a sense of common purpose in the organization.

4. The goals of the organization are important to members.

5. The goals of the organization are challenging.

6. The goals of the organization are meaningful to the community.
Appendix F

Citizen Participation Scale (2009)

How many times in the past 12 months have you attended a meeting of any of the following associations or organizations?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>2-4 times</th>
<th>5-7 times</th>
<th>More than 7 times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Your local Neighborhood Planning Council</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Your local Neighborhood Association, Block, Watch Group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. P.T.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Weed &amp; Seed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Town/city council</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. School Board</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How many times in the past 12 months have you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>2-4 times</th>
<th>5-7 times</th>
<th>More than 7 times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Worked on a neighborhood improvement project</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Spoken with your local community leader</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Organized your neighbors to take action on some</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>issue</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Once</td>
<td>2-4 times</td>
<td>5-7 times</td>
<td>More than 7 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Informed other residents about neighborhood issues or projects</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Contacted local government officials to advocate for a change</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Tried to improve neighborhood relationships.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix G

Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (2006)

1. We’d like to know how important various things are to your sense of who you are.

   When you think about yourself, how important is to your sense of who you are?

   *(Very important, moderately important, slightly important, or not at all important, Don’t know, Refused)*

   How important is

   …your Occupation

   …your Place of Resident

   …your Ethnic or Racial background

   …your Religion (if any)…

   …Being an American…

2. I’d like to ask you some questions about how you view other people. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with?

   People can be trusted

   You can’t be too careful,

   Depends

   Don’t know

   Refused
3. Next, we'd like to know how much you trust different groups of people. First, think about (people in your neighborhood). Generally speaking, would you say that:

   You can trust them a lot,
   You can trust them some,
   Trust them only a little,
   Not at all
   Refused
   Don’t know

People in your neighborhood

(How about) People you work with

People at your church or place of worship

People who work in the stores where you shop

The police in your local community

White people

What about African Americans or Blacks?

What about Asian people?

How about Hispanics or Latinos?

How about Middle Eastern people?

4. If you lost a wallet or a purse that contained two hundred dollars, and it was found by a neighbor, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it?

Would you say very likely?

Somewhat likely,
Somewhat unlikely
Not at all likely
Refused
Don’t know

5. And if it was found by a complete stranger, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it? Would you say
Very likely
Somewhat likely
Somewhat unlikely
Not at all likely
Refused
Don’t know

6. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?
Please answer using a scale where 1 means extremely dissatisfied and 10 means extremely satisfied.

7. And how would you describe your overall state of health these days? Would you say it is:
Excellent
Very good
Good
Fair
Poor
Refused
8. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the local community where you live. If public officials asked everyone to conserve water or electricity because of some emergency, how likely is it that people in your community would cooperate?

Very likely
Somewhat likely
Somewhat unlikely
Not at all likely
Refused
Don’t know

9. How many years have you lived in your community?

Less than one year
One to five years
Six to ten years
Eleven to twenty years
More than twenty years
All my life
Don't know
Refused

10. Do you expect to be living in your community five years from now?

Yes
No
Don't know
11. Would you move away from this neighborhood if you could?

Yes
No
Don't know
Refused

12. Overall, how would you rate your community as a place to live?

Excellent
Good
Fair
Poor
Don’t know

13. Overall, how much impact do you think PEOPLE LIKE YOU can have in making your community a better place to live?

No impact at all
A small impact
A moderate impact
A big impact

14. My next questions are about public affairs. How interested are you in politics and national affairs? Are you:

Very interested
Somewhat interested,
Only slightly interested,
or not at all interested?

15. Are you currently registered to vote?
   
   Yes
   
   No
   
   Don't know
   
   Refused

16. As you may know, around half the public does not vote in presidential elections. How about you – did you vote in the presidential election in 2008 when Barack Obama ran against John McCain, or did you skip that one?
   
   Yes
   
   No
   
   Don't know
   
   Refused

17. How much of the time do you think we can trust the NATIONAL government to do what is right?
   
   Just about always
   
   Most of the time
   
   Only some of the time
   
   Hardly ever

18. How about your LOCAL government? How much of the time do you think you can trust the LOCAL government to do what is right?
   
   Just about always
   
   Most of the time
Only some of the time
Hardly ever

19. Which of the following things have you done in the past twelve months:

(Yes, No, Refused, Don’t know)

Have you signed a petition?
Attended a political meeting or rally?
Worked on a community project?
Participated in any demonstrations, protests, boycotts, or marches?
Donated blood?

20. Thinking POLITICALLY ANDSOCIALLY, how would you describe your own general outlook?

Very conservative
Moderately conservative
Middle-of-the-road
Moderately liberal
Very liberal

21. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?

Republican
Democrat
Independent
Other
22. I want to change subjects now and ask about the groups and organizations you may be involved with. First, what is your religious preference? Protestant, Catholic, Another type of Christian, Jewish, Some other religion No religion

23. What denomination is that, if any?

Non-denominational Protestant Community church Inter-denominational Protestant 7th Day Adventist/Fundamentalist Adventists/Adventist Episcopalian; Anglican; Worldwide Church of God Baptist-Southern Baptist Baptist-all other United Church of Christ (includes Congregational, Evangelical and Reformed, and Congregational Christian) Mennonite/Amish/Quaker/Brethren Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) Church of the Nazarene Free Methodist Church Salvation Army Wesleyan Church
Independent Fundamentalist Churches of America/
Independent Lutheran-Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, all other
Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (LC-MS) or Wisconsin Synod
Methodist-United Methodist Church-Evangelical United Brethren; all other
Methodist-African Methodist Episcopal Church or African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Pentecostal-Assemblies of God
Pentecostal (not specified); Church of God
Presbyterian
Christian Reformed Church or Dutch Reformed
Reformed Church in America
Reformed-all other references
Disciples of Christ
Christian Churches
Churches of Christ
Christian Congregation
Christian (NEC); "just Christian"
Christian Scientists
Eastern Orthodox or Greek Rite Catholic (includes: Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox,
Rumanian Orthodox, Serbian Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox,
Georgian Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox)
Fundamentalist Adventist (Worldwide Church of God)
Or these?

Jehovah’s Witnesses

Mormons; Latter Day Saints

Spiritualists

Unitarian; Universalist

Unity; Unity Church; Christ Church Unity

Other, Specify

Don't Know

Refused

Or these?

American Indian Religions (Native American Religions)

Bahai

Buddhist

Hindu

Muslim; Mohammedan; Islam

Other, Specify ______

24. Are you a MEMBER of a local church, synagogue, or other religious or spiritual community?

Yes

No

Refused

Don’t know

25. Not including weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?
Every week (or more often)
Almost every week
Once or twice a month
A few times per year
Less often than that
Don't know
Refused

26. Besides, your local place of worship, are you involved in any other organizations such as Knights of Columbus, parent-teacher association or a bible study?
(Yes, No, Refused, Don’t know)

How about Adults sports league?
A youth organization (like youth sports league, Boys and Girls Club)?
A veteran’s group?
A neighborhood association, block association, or homeowner or tenant association?
Clubs or organizations for senior citizens?
A charity or social welfare organization?
A labor union?
A political action group, committee, or political party committee?
A literary or art discussion group?
A support or self-help group for people with specific illness, diseases, problems or addictions?
Any other hobbies group like garden clubs or societies?
27. Did the groups you were involved in take any LOCAL action for social or political reform?

Yes

No

Don’t know

Refused
Appendix H

Introductory E-mail: Request to Participate

I write to request your participation in a survey about your involvement in your own community and (name of ICND organization). This week, you will receive an e-mail from rukshan.fernando@snhu.edu which will have a link to the survey. You may need to check your junk mail in the coming days to make sure that you received the e-mail containing the link to the survey. Please note: clicking on the link will mean you have read the information below and agree to participate in this research with the knowledge that you may withdraw from the survey at any time.

The organizations being surveyed are all members of the Indianapolis Coalition for Neighborhood Organization (see the list of member organizations below; not all are participating). Your name was given to me by (name of Executive Director) because you are a board or staff member at (name of ICND organization). The survey will take about 20-30 minutes to complete. Your organization has authorized me to conduct this survey. I believe your feedback will increase understanding your work as board, staff or volunteer members and demonstrate how your work helps the Indianapolis community. In addition, this research will strengthen the work of (name of ICND organization as it strives to meet the needs of neighborhood residents and improve in its own community.

Here are some important issues for you to think about:

- The survey contains questions about your own neighborhood, various aspects of your community organization and your knowledge, skills, and abilities.
- Your participation is completely voluntary. You may quit at any time.
- This is an entirely anonymous survey and your answers will not be identifiable in anyway.
- Your participation is not a requirement from the organization.
- All of your responses will be kept confidential and your answers will not be associated with your name in anyway. Therefore, please remember to not type your name anywhere on the survey.

The survey is voluntary. However, you can help your organization very much by taking a few minutes to share your thoughts and opinions about your own neighborhood and your organization. Because of your investment in this project, you may have the opportunity to win a free gas card worth $250!

I am also conducting this research for my graduate school work at Southern New Hampshire University. If you have questions or concerns about this project, please do not hesitate to contact me at (765) 998-5353. You can also e-mail me at
Thank you very much for helping me with this important survey.

Indianapolis Coalition Neighborhood Development Members

1. Community Alliance of the Far Eastside
2. Concord Community Development Corporation
3. Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation
4. Devington Community Development Corporation
5. Englewood Community Development Corporation
6. Habitat for Humanity of Greater Indianapolis
7. Indy-east Asset Development
8. John H. Boner Community Center
10. Lawrence Community Development Corporation
11. Mapleton-Fall Creek Development Corporation.
12. Martindale-Brightwood Community Development Corporation
13. Near North Development Corporation
14. Oasis Christian Community Development Corporation
15. Partners in Housing Development Corporation Citywide
16. Rebuilding the Wall
17. Riley Area Development Corporation
18. Southeast Neighborhood Development, Inc.
19. United North East Community Development Corporation
20. West Indianapolis Development Corporation
21. Westside Community Development Corporation
Appendix I

Informed Consent Email

I am writing you to request your participation in a survey about your involvement in your own community and (name of ICND organization). Please note: clicking on the link below will mean you have read the information below and agree to participate in this research with the knowledge that you may withdraw from the survey at any time.

Purpose of this study:

The organizations being surveyed are all members of the Indianapolis Coalition for Neighborhood Organization (see the list of member organizations below, not all are participating). Your name was given by (name of Executive Director) because you are a member of the board or staff at (name of ICND organization). Your feedback will help increase understanding of your work as board, staff or volunteer members and demonstrate how this work helps the Indianapolis community. In addition, this research will strengthen the work of your organization as it strives to meet the needs of neighborhood residents and improve in its own community.

What will be done:

The survey will take about 20-30 minutes to complete. Your organization has authorized me to conduct this survey. Questions will ask about your own neighborhood, participation in your neighborhood and various aspects of your community organization.

Benefits of the study:
The survey is voluntary. However, you can help your organization very much by taking a few minutes to share your thoughts and opinions about your own neighborhood and your organization. Because of your investment in this project, you may have the opportunity to win a free gas card worth $250!

**Risks or discomforts:**

No risks or discomforts are anticipated from taking part in this study. If you feel uncomfortable with a question, you can skip that question or withdraw from the study altogether. If you decide to quit at any time before you have finished the questionnaire, your answers will NOT be recorded.

**Confidentiality:**

- Your participation is **completely voluntary. You may quit at any time.**
- This is an **entirely anonymous survey** and your answers will not be identifiable in anyway.
- Your **participation is not a requirement** from the organization.
- All of your responses will be **kept confidential** and your answers will not be associated with your name in anyway. Therefore, *please remember to not type your name anywhere on the survey.*
Decision to quit at any time:

Your participation is voluntary; you are free to withdraw your participation from this study at any time. If you do not want to continue, you can simply close out the web-based survey. If you do not click on the "submit" button at the end of the survey, your answers and participation will not be recorded. You also may choose to skip any questions that you do not wish to answer. If you click on the “submit” button at the end of the survey, you will be entered in the drawing. The number of questions you answer will not affect your chances of winning the gift certificate.

How the findings will be used:

The results of the study will be used for scholarly purposes only. The results from the study will be presented in educational settings and at professional conferences, and the results might be published in a professional journal in the field of social work or community development. Results from the survey will be available at an ICND meeting this fall. In addition, the principal investigator, Rukshan Fernando, hopes to present the findings to other housing and community development groups in Indiana and would be happy to present the findings to individual ICND organizations as well.

I am also conducting this research for graduate school work at Southern New Hampshire University. If you have questions or concerns about this project, please do not hesitate to contact me at (765) 998-5353. You can also e-mail me at rukshan.fernando@snhu.edu. Thank you very much for helping me with this important survey!
By clicking on the link below will mean you have read the above information and agree to participate in this research with the knowledge that you may withdraw from the survey at any time.

(link to survey)

List of Indianapolis Coalition Neighborhood Development Members

1. Community Alliance of the Far Eastside
2. Concord Community Development Corporation
3. Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation
4. Devington Community Development Corporation
5. Englewood Community Development Corporation
6. Habitat for Humanity of Greater Indianapolis
7. Indy-east Asset Development
8. John H. Boner Community Center
10. Lawrence Community Development Corporation
11. Mapleton-Fall Creek Development Corporation.
12. Martindale-Brightwood Community Development Corporation
13. Near North Development Corporation
14. Oasis Christian Community Development Corporation
15. Partners in Housing Development Corporation Citywide
16. Rebuilding the Wall
17. Riley Area Development Corporation
18. Southeast Neighborhood Development, Inc.
19. United North East Community Development Corporation
20. West Indianapolis Development Corporation
21. Westside Community Development Corporation

Sincerely,
Appendix J

First Follow Up Email

Last week you received an email with instructions to complete a survey. This survey asked your opinions about your neighborhood and your community organization. You were chosen to receive this survey because of your involvement in (name of community organization) as a board, staff or volunteer member.

If you have already completed and submitted the survey, please accept my sincere thanks. I am especially grateful for your help because it is people like you that share their experiences and opinions about the good work happening in the city of Indianapolis. Because you submitted your survey, your name has also been entered for a drawing for a gas card worth $250!

If you did not receive the survey, please click on this link: (link) You can contact me at (765) 998-5353 or e-mail me at rukshan.fernando@snhu.edu. I can also send you a hard copy of the survey by regular mail.

Sincerely,
Appendix K

Second and Third Follow Up Email

Thanks to everyone who have completed the ICND and (name of ICND organization) survey. For those of you who have not participated – there is still time! Please click on the link below to complete the survey. In addition, please feel free to call (765) 998-5353 or e-mail me if you have questions about the purposes of the study.

(link to survey)

Sincerely,
RUKSHAN N. FERNANDO
709 West South Street • Upland, Indiana 46989 • (765) 499-2404 •
rukshan.fernando@gmail.com

EDUCATION


Dissertation: How Organizations Promote a Sense of Community and Empowerment Leading Towards Community Participation: A View of the Middle Committee: Dr. Jolan Rivera (Chair), Dr. N. Andrew Peterson and Dr. Loretta Pyles


1998  Bachelor of Science in Social Work. Taylor University.

CREDENTIALS


ACADEMIC POSITIONS

8/2004-5/2012  Taylor University

Assistant Professor and Field Director, Upland, Indiana

• Taught undergraduate social work, community development, nonprofit management, group leadership and international development courses
• Served as senior and junior practicum field coordinator
• Redesigned senior practicum field seminar course
• Served as acting department chair during Fall 2007
• Co-lead a three week interdisciplinary service learning course to Cuenca, Ecuador
• Facilitated university-local nonprofit partnerships to initiate grant writing and community development projects which leveraged $2.75 million from local foundations and HUD grant programs
• Leveraged funds for department scholarships and partnerships from private donors and foundations
• Coordinated and redesigned the junior and senior internship program models
- Served as faculty advisor to the ethnic student association
- Advised social work students on university courses schedules and career planning
- Devised nonprofit sector job search workshop in collaboration with career center
- Assisted with department continuous quality improvement (AQIP) and CSWE reaffirmation processes
- Represented the university at local, regional and state conferences and meetings
- Served as a guest lecturer for Business, International Studies and Psychology courses
- Coordinated prospective student recruiting, strategic planning and marketing

**ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

**7/2006 & 7/2009** Colombo Theological Seminary  
*Visiting Lecturer. Kohuwela, Sri Lanka*
- Taught sociology and social work courses to pastors, non-governmental and business leaders

**RESEARCH INTERESTS**
Community participation in nonprofit organizations  
Empowerment theory  
Spirituality and international development  
Social entrepreneurship

**TEACHING INTERESTS**
Community Development  
Community Organization  
Nonprofit Management  
International Development  
Spirituality and Nonprofit Studies  
Teaching with Technology
Awards and Honors

2011-2012  Morton E. Goulder Scholarship, Southern New Hampshire University
2009      Dr. Joe Burnworth Teaching Award, Taylor University,
2008- present  Johnson Foundation Scholarship, Southern New Hampshire University
2000      National Congress of Community Economic Development (NCCED), Emerging Leader’s Program
1999      School of Social Work Merit Scholarship, University of Michigan
1997-98   Eddie Montgomery Scholarship, Taylor University
1994-98   Ethnic Student Scholar, Taylor University

Professional Publications


Works in Preparation


Fernando, R.N. The role of corporate social responsibility in community development in South Asia.

Professional Presentations


Fernando, R.N. (2008, August). *Seva, Sarvodhaya and Transformational Development: One and the same?* Presentation at the Transformational Development Conference, Newburg, OR.


---

**INVITED PRESENTATIONS**
SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND EMPOWERMENT IN CDCs

Fernando, R.N. (2011, November). Human Trafficking. Presentation at the Marion Public Library. Marion, IN.

Fernando, R.N., Sherlock, J., & Ressler, L. (2011, August). Learning without borders: Bringing the world to the classroom through Interactive internet technology. Presentation at the Ninth Technology for Teaching Conference. Upland, IN.

Fernando, J.L., Fernando R.N. (2011, March). On being the only one. Presentation at the From Every National Symposium on Race. Grand Rapids, MI.


TEACHING

<table>
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<td>SWK 200</td>
<td>Introduction to Social Work (15 semesters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWK 354</td>
<td>Social Work Practice with Groups (6 semesters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWK 370</td>
<td>Fundamentals of Nonprofit Management (1 semester)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWK 370</td>
<td>Introduction to International Development (2 semesters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWK 393</td>
<td>Junior Field Practicum (7 semesters)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SWK 451</td>
<td>Social Work Practice with Communities and Organizations (8 semesters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWK 482</td>
<td>Senior Social Work Capstone (2 semesters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWK 492</td>
<td>Senior Practicum Field Seminar (4 semesters)</td>
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CONSULTING WORK

7/2006

Lunawa Community Development and Environment Project
Dehiwela, Sri Lanka
- Provided technical assistance in community participation and leadership training for project’s tsunami redevelopment department

2/2008

Alliance to Democracy Party
Abuja, Nigeria
- Provided technical assistance for the Alliance to Democracy Party (Nigeria) on developing transformational development outcomes for the national Fadama agricultural development project

7/2009

World Vision Lanka
Colombo, Sri Lanka
- Developed and facilitated trainings on social entrepreneurship to country area development managers
- Guest lecturer for workers enrolled in the Masters in Development Studies program at Lanka Bible College

ACADEMIC/PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

2008-present

Abstract reviewer, National Association of Christians in Social Work (NACSW) Annual meeting

2011

Abstract reviewer, The Association of Baccalaureate Social Work Program Directors’ (BPD) Annual Conference

2011

Focus group participant on 2015 Education Policy Accreditation Standards, Council on Social Work Education

2011-2014

Member, Council on External Relations Council Commission on Global Social Work Education (CSWE)
**Univereity Service**

2010  
Member, Public Health program advisory committee

2009 – present  
Member, Curriculum Management Committee, School of Professional and Graduate Studies

2009  
Member, Ethics Center Taskforce

2009, 2011  
Member, Colleagues’ College Planning Committee

2005-present  
Member, Community Plunge Committee

2006-2008  
Member, Community Life Committee

2008  
Member, Student Life Appeals Committee

2008  
Member, Honors Program Development Committee

2006  
Member, Advancing a Strategy to Increase Cultural and Ethnic Diversity Committee

**Community Service**

2004-2012  
Board member and President, Community Development Corporation of Grant County, Marion, Indiana

2005  
Board member, A Friend’s House, Bluffton, Indiana

**Professional Experience**

10/2000-7/2004  
**Housing Unlimited, Inc.**

*Associate Director, Rockville, Maryland*

- Liaised with government, foundations, corporations for sustainable funding strategies to leverage over $5 million in grant and loan funds
- Directed site selection, financing, and settlement for project development initiatives
- Property managed supportive housing units for low-income single adults with disabilities
- Fostered and mobilized tenants to develop and build a vibrant tenant empowerment program
- Achieved “Standards for Excellence” certification from the Maryland Association of Nonprofits
- Organized state-wide conferences on supportive independent housing that attracted practitioners, government officials and researchers

**The Collaboratory for Community Support**

*Research Assistant, Ypsilanti, Michigan*
• Assisted in the development of a business plan for a start-up nonprofit
• Convened and facilitated planning meetings for local community economic development initiatives
• Conducted qualitative research with various community organizations that contributed to a Wilder Foundation and Grantmakers for Effective Organizations’ publication “Community Visions, Community Solutions: Grantmaking for Comprehensive Impact”
• Developed a research paper on effective community organizing strategies that pursue comprehensive community change

**John H. Boner Community Center**  
*Case Manager. Indianapolis, Indiana*

• Developed and conducted anger management workshops for suspended students
• Created outcome measurement systems for program
• Developed community assets and needs assessments

**John H. Boner Community Center**  
*Social Services/Community Outreach Intern. Indianapolis, Indiana*

• Co-organized an after-school drug prevention program for low income elementary students
• Facilitated client focus groups on evaluation of organization’s human services delivery
• Compiled an extensive research report on the impact of 1996 welfare reform bill on local congregations

**Lanka Evangelical Alliance Development Service**  
*Community Development Intern. Dehiwela, Sri Lanka*

• Conducted qualitative research regarding the efficacy of faith-based drug addiction services
• Developed a continuum of care of faith-based drug rehabilitation services working paper for a coalition of faith-based nongovernmental organizations

1/1997  
**Gleaner’s Food Bank**  
*Outreach Coordinator Intern. Indianapolis, Indiana*

• Assisted with state lobbying regarding the Electronic Benefit Transfer legislation
• Conducted a qualitative research project for Second Harvest food supplier
• Developed informational materials for Indiana Food & Nutrition Network

**Lanka Evangelical Alliance Development Service**  
*Full-time Outreach Worker. Dehiwela, Sri Lanka*

• Provided support for a community re-development project in a slum community
• Created long term feasibility study of slum re-development program for board of directors
• Provided support for educational workshops regarding community economic development process to refugees in war-affected communities

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Institute for Sri Lankan Studies
Association of Baccalaureate Social Work Program Directors, Inc.
Association for Community Organization and Social Administration
Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action
Community Development Society
Council on Social Work Education
Development Studies Association
Human Development and Capability Association
International Consortium for Social Development
North American Association of Christians in Social Work
National Association of Social Workers