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EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN ACTIVISTS: IMPLICATIONS
FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZING THEORY AND PRACTICE

I long to hear that you have declared an independency—and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors....If perticuliar care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

—Abigail Adams to John Adams
March 31, 1776

The field of community organizing would be wise to heed the words of Abigail Adams to her revolutionary husband, John. Contributions of women activists have been virtually ignored by the field of social work. Consequently, social work has a diminished knowledge base and has alienated large numbers of talented women. Ironically, both the past and the future of community organizing are tied intimately with the action of women. Foremothers include Jane Addams, Dorothea Dix, and Lillian Wald. Current trends suggest that “women’s issues,” such as poverty, the family, and reproductive rights, will be on national, state, and local agendas for years to come. In order to prepare for the future, we need to understand the talents of the past and present.

This paper explores the experiences of women activists, primarily in the labor, peace, and feminist movements. A number of salient themes, generated in interviews with and presentations by women activists, are identified. Suggestions are made as to

how and why these themes should be integrated into community organizing practice. Given that a personal research goal of the author is to generate a community organizing theory based on the experiences of women, the discussion of themes is preceded by a newly developed analytical framework for collective practice. This project also represents a preliminary attempt to weave qualitative research methods, feminist thought, and women’s experiences into an understandable and meaningful whole.

Such an approach is a departure from traditional community organizing theory and practice for a number of reasons. First, critical attention is paid to the impact of gender. Second, women’s experiences are considered legitimate and credible, an important factor given that the needs, thoughts, and actions of women organizers are rarely addressed in the literature and in training. Third, the benefits of cross-fertilization are illustrated, since none of the women interviewed considered themselves “community organizers,” yet their actions are quite applicable to the field. Finally, the analysis is from neither a community organizing model perspective (Rothman, 1979) nor a “how-to” approach (Alinsky, 1969,

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1972; Kahn, 1982; Speeter, 1978; Staples, 1984). Rather a wholistic approach is presented that focuses on the "how" or process of organizing instead of the "what" or product of organizing. Important work along this line has been done by Brandwein (1981), Burghardt (1982), Freire (1974), Galper (1980), and Galper and Mondros (1980).

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

This project reflects much of the author's thoughts and experiences as a feminist activist. This experience includes legal advocacy for women, labor education, and, currently, consciousness-raising workshops on unlearning or confronting the "Isms"—racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, ageism, and handicapism. Much feminist analysis has been brought to bear on this project. A complete discussion on feminist scholarship, however, is beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, the women's movement is a rich, yet uncultivated area for community organizing. The reference section of this paper includes a number of sources that ought to be incorporated into community organizing curricula. For the purposes of this paper, many basic tenets of feminist thought are seen in the identification of salient themes.

A nonpositivist, qualitative research approach was selected because this methodology seemed best suited for women to define their reality, rather than it being imposed upon them. The analysis is based primarily on interviews with and presentations by women activists (listed at the end of the paper). The interviews were open-ended, and much of the richness in the material results from "chasing tangents." Five issues, however, were raised in all of the interviews: (1) Reasons for becoming

an activist; (2) How organizing is accomplished; (3) Structure of the organization; (4) Gender dynamics within the organization; and (5) Type of training. Additional interviews and relevant material published in a variety of social-change oriented journals supplement the analysis.

Although this paper focuses on the experiences of women activists, its application should not be limited to a female audience. The purpose of this project is defeated if the results are not considered in an integrative fashion. For a variety of reasons, including sex-role stereotyping and "either-or" analytical frameworks, there exists the temptation to dichotomize the findings. By way of a warning, two dichotomies should be mentioned: male versus female styles, and process versus product orientations. Each shall be considered briefly.

There is a growing body of literature, particularly in the area of group development, on male and female styles of leadership, power, and authority. Within this literature there is general agreement that masculine and feminine styles do exist. Furthermore, masculine styles are typified by aggressive, task-focused, and competitive traits, and feminine styles are typified by passive, interpersonal-focused, and cooperative traits (Bokemeier & Tate, 1980; Brandwein, 1981; Gilligan, 1982; Hyde, 1983; Johnson, 1976; Reed, 1981; Van Wagner & Swanson, 1979). The community organizing field needs to be attentive to these different styles, for in varying degrees they have implications for the recruitment and training of both practitioners and constituents. Reed (1981) suggests three areas in which gender differences influence the training of group leaders: assumptions about gender-related behaviors, gender composition of groups, and a group's reaction to female leaders. It is her contention, shared by others, that these issues surrounding gen-

der need to be brought to the forefront of a training experience. Failure to acknowledge or plan for them could undermine the overall goal of the group.

The existence of masculine and feminine styles, however, does not mean that they are intrinsic traits (Brandwein, 1981:189). Many feminine traits, however, do emerge in the themes presented below. Therefore, they receive what may appear to be a lopsided emphasis, especially given that the community organizing field is seen as having a masculine orientation. This study does not conclude, however, that women are the only people capable of nurturance, emotions, and other feminine actions, nor that their behavior is limited to these traits. Such conclusions limit both women and men. As one woman involved in the peace movement states:

The notion that women are more nurturing and, therefore, should participate to save the earth is usually sexist. That's our sex role stereotype. The fact is that everyone has the capacity to nurture. That women have been socialized to do so is a reality, and it's an asset we have going for us. But at the same time we recognize it as a strength, we must deplore it as a mandate. If that's done, then I think we're talking feminism. (Popkin & Delgado, 1982:40)

Community organizing would be enhanced if a greater integration of masculine and feminine characteristics occurred. For this to happen, organizers need to be aware of these different traits, to stop dismissing feminine traits as weak and ineffective, and to encourage both men and women to acquire a more integrative style in their organizing.

A second dichotomy, often viewed as a component of the male-female split, is between process and task (or process and product). Crow (1978) and Riddle (1978) provide thoughtful discussions on the damaging impact that this dichotomization has

on organizing and social change efforts. A process orientation focuses on *how* things are accomplished and attention is paid to the development of trust, sensitivity, empathy, and support among group members. A product orientation focuses on *what* things get accomplished and attention is paid to the efficiency, action, rational order, and task completion. There are strengths and weaknesses in both approaches and a savvy organizer needs to determine a balance. There is a distinct bias, however, in this paper toward a process orientation. This is partly due to the emphasis placed on process by the women activists. It is also a reaction to the lopsided product/task orientation found within community organizing. Here again, the ideal would be an integration of process and product.

EMERGING PARADIGM

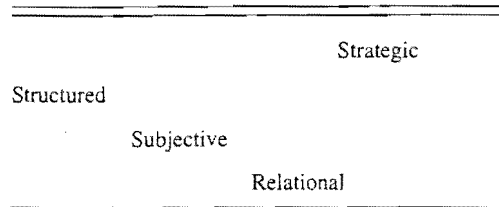
As stated above, one goal of this project was to develop a paradigm that would prove useful for future analysis. This paradigm would emerge from and reflect the experiences of women activists, suggest a wholistic approach to community organizing, and relate all components to one another rather than force a linear or causal ordering. The result is referred to as a Wholistic Collective Practice Paradigm, illustrated in Fig. 5.1.

The four dimensions, subjective, relational, strategic, and structural, represent different concerns or levels within collective practice. Briefly, definitions for these dimensions are:

Structural: Focuses on the organization, its purpose, development, apparatus, and positions. Also focuses on connections between organizations.

Strategic: Action aspects of practice, with emphasis placed on the strategy as a

FIGURE 5.1
Wholistic Collective Practice Paradigm



process. Tactical steps are considered a sub-unit of this dimension.

Relational: Focuses on the relationships between people-people and people-organization. Stresses the collectivity, its origin, maintenance, and growth. Also focuses on the process of others engaging in strategies.

Subjective: Introspective or reflexive statements by the individual (such as the organizer). Captures the assessments, interpretations, and opinions of the individual. This transcends all dimensions.

Collective practice, such as mobilizing or organizing, is the process of connecting these four dimensions toward the goal of some form of intervention or social change. All of these dimensions are connected to or interdependent upon one another. No dimension is more important to the process than another, although at a given point in time one may have greater emphasis placed upon it. This paradigm can be envisioned as a mobile trying to balance its parts.

Within each of these dimensions are themes that specifically relate to the experiences of women organizers. There is considerable overlap, in that a theme is not constrained to one dimension. In fact, the power of this paradigm is that it forces us to consider that an act has implications on a variety of levels. For example, when an organizer considers a fundraising effort, she/he needs to consider the organizational structure, pre and post effort, the steps involved, the opinions, desires, and skills of

the collective and individual concerns. While the development of this paradigm is in its preliminary stage, it may provide a new frame of reference or a way of thinking about or analyzing community organizing efforts. It conveys the importance of considering a variety of dimensions simultaneously (a difficult notion to grasp, see Boulet, 1981). Furthermore, it suggests that the practitioner needs to allow the group to define its own reality, rather than imposing a predetermined, ordered plan upon it.

A number of themes appear consistently and without prompting in the descriptions of the experiences of the women interviewed. At the very least, these themes should be seriously considered in relation to current community organizing practice. A process by which these themes can be integrated into practice is important. Hopefully, these themes, and the dimensions, will serve as a foundation for the generation of a new community organizing theory.

THEMES

(1) *The Wholistic Organizer.* Many of the women activists stated that to be an organizer meant to involve oneself fully. One woman stated it quite eloquently: "What is my view of social change? It is a wholistic approach. It involves all, the spiritual, actions and intellect. It is engagement" (KL). This notion of total engagement or investment was echoed by others. Considerable attention was paid to personal investment and to the alienation felt when emotions were denied. Thus, an organizing effort should not focus solely on what is being done. It also needs to incorporate the intellectual and emotional needs of individuals and the collective.

The wholistic organizer should not be equated with the organizer who does every-

thing. Alinsky believed that an organizer needs to be adept at all phases, yet this creates a power dynamic between organizer and group that many of the women felt unnecessary and detrimental. First, it places too much emphasis on the organizer as expert, a pressure that often leads to burnout and disinvestment. It also suggests that the group becomes too dependent on the organizer's expertise and will be unable to function once the organizer leaves the setting. Second, it closes a door for the organizer in terms of her or his own learning. There was overwhelming sentiment that while an organizer can offer something to the organizing effort, the effort serves as an educational experience for the organizer.

When one woman said, "...overall, the whole thing has been very enlightening" (TN), she was referring to the skills and insights she gained while being the facilitator to a self-help group. She, and others, also acknowledged that they do not know everything. Rather than limiting the group's development, this can free up the group to explore the skills and strengths of others. Thus, delegation, support, interdependence and the acknowledgment that everyone can contribute something, become focal points for the organizing process.

(2) *Fulfillment Through Organizing.*

Closely tied to the wholistic organizer is the notion that organizing, aside from reaching a goal, can be a fulfilling process in and of itself. The learning and support gained while organizing became as meaningful as achieving the product. One woman described organizing as a "natural high" (KG), despite the struggles and setbacks. In fact, one way of overcoming disappointments was with support for others. The encouragement of bonding and the development of support networks were considered of primary importance by the women.

(3) *Personal as Political: The Indigenous Organizer.* A common image of a community organizer is the person who goes into the community, helps people organize around an issue, and then leaves. There is little sense as to the actual investment of the organizer into the issue. This image did not apply to these women activists. Their reasons for becoming activists varied, but the common theme was that they became involved because the problem or issue was personally experienced. Reasons include:

"It started with my own health. I was misdiagnosed" (TN)

"I think I initially became involved because of self-interest. The neighborhood was going down and nobody was doing anything about it" (Hayes, p. 24).

"Whatever it (project) is, it will have a lot of personal investment. Like Braun Court, this is important. It's our home (scheduled for rezoning). I am guided by personal issues, I need that kind of investment to organize" (FS).

"Listening to the (women's) music is like being on dope without drugs. I had a lot of friends who were musicians and we would get together. It filled a need, it was something very personal. And, I can't sing or anything, but I know how to organize and thought, why not organize an event that would feature women performers" (KG).

"I feel strongly that what I'm doing is for them (her children)" (TL).

These personal reasons for being an activist stem from two main sources. One is the need to gain knowledge. Perhaps the best or, at least, most recognized example of this is the book *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. This book began with a group of women who gathered to discuss their health needs and how they were not being met by the current medical establishment. The outcome was the Boston Women's Health Collective and the publication of one of the most influential books regarding health care and self-help. Often,

the need to obtain knowledge is accompanied by the need to disseminate any information so that it could help others. The women believed it was important that others have access to information and to demystify previously denied information so that it could be understood and used.

Another reason stems from a reaction to unmet needs and hostility found within male-dominated organizations. Both Freeman and Evans (1980) argue that early participants in the women's movement had endured degrading and humiliating treatment within the leftist and student movements of the 1960s. These women obtained important skills while working in the movements, yet were not given credit for their contributions and were not treated seriously. Demands for equality were scoffed at and ignored. Women caucuses began to be formed and experiences were shared, thus creating an environment that provided a springboard for the feminist movement. This analysis suggests, again, the importance of personal fulfillment and investment.

(4) *Use of Emotions.* In many of the organizing efforts, emotions provided the cornerstone. The Women's Pentagon Action (Linton & Whitham, 1982; Popkin & Delgado, 1982) was mobilized around mourning, rage, empowerment, and defiance. Every activity was tied into expressing these emotions. (In my own work, I use an equation Awareness = Pain = Healing = Growth, as a way of emotionally contextualizing an antiracism [or other ism] workshop. Exercises help participants pass through these stages.)

Women stressed the importance of bonding, of people getting to know each other so that they could work together in a way that was mutually fulfilling and rewarding. Attention to emotional or personal needs improves the overall organizing effort:

"I learned that if a person feels important, they will help and get involved" (EK). Not only does the acknowledgment of emotions and bonding help people become invested, it also serves as a source of reserve energy in the face of opposition. Knowing that others care often comforts an individual when confronted with derogatory comments, hecklers, etc. Fears and concerns can be addressed within a supportive environment. This sounds obvious, yet it is often overlooked because accomplishing the task has assumed a disproportionate emphasis, to the detriment of the group. Rather than denying emotions, they should be used as a way of building personal ties and as a context for mobilizing. When emotions are used as a focus of organizing or as a source of strength, attention must be paid to the building of support networks (they won't happen spontaneously) and to the allowance of time so that people can sufficiently express their feelings.

(5) *Attention to the Environment.* The themes identified thus far have stressed the importance of support, emotional bonding, and personal investment. Women stressed that a "safe" environment was essential to developing these interpersonal sides of organizing. A safe environment is one in which trust, respect, equality, and validation of an individual's experiences takes place. It was viewed as a high priority among most of the women: "I want a good, open working environment, where people are safe. A safe environment is definitely one of my interests and needs. It's a place where people trust one another" (FS). Most of the women said that a safe environment was all-female, although all-female environments are not necessarily safe. One woman suggested: "That with all women staffs you have differences in power and control. You don't have the male/female

battles. It is a support and sanctuary that you can invest in" (QZ).

A safe environment, however, is not an environment that is conflict free. The creation of a safe environment allows for the airing of problems, for the exchange of diverse ideas in a direct manner. In building a safe environment, attention is paid to the creation of a process through which information, grievances, and thoughts can be heard. For one woman, consensus decision making was the key. Her experience of being an organizer/participant in a local women's peace camp proved rewarding, in part because the planning group had taken considerable time in determining a consensus style that was accessible and available to all participants: "...(P)ositive stuff [was] that a lot of feelings got heard and a lot of subtle adjustments were made in the actual plan, that, because people were heard, ideas came forward and... it was very rich, very diverse...and that doesn't happen when you have an uncomfortable environment, when it's not a safe environment to talk" (MB). Taking the time to address the environment can pay off in the long run with increased commitment, greater group ownership for the project and organization, and different, creative ideas.

(6) *Gender Dynamics.* In connection with discussion on a safe environment were comments regarding gender dynamics. Most of the women saw clear differences between male and female styles of organizing that were in line with the stereotypes outlined above. These differences were particularly apparent in comments on power/control and communication:

Regarding Affinity Groups for a peace action and the lack of recognition given to a facilitator: "so they don't acknowledge what a facilitator is and it's the men that don't, I'm sure it is, that disrupt it because they don't have a sense of what collective work is and they're not

trained...but they're not comfortable with having somebody who is the person, who is trying to help everyone manage their feelings and their conflict" (MB).

"Men and women are different as organizers. One of my major complaints is with men. Organizationally, they are always dealing with power issues. Women are more trusting, more sensitive, able to communicate and relate to others....Women intuitively use group process and interpersonal skills. Where men are rational and intellectual....very un-intimate, real 'heady.' Can't listen to others." (FS)

"What I have noticed is that where men are involved, they end up being power hungry. Not cooperative." (TN)

"I was taught the Alinsky model. Charging white knight saving the day. I knew that I couldn't do that." (TL)

In order to break down the walls that exist between men and women, it is important that women's experiences and concerns are respected and treated seriously. It is also important that men become trained in other methods of decision making, leadership, and control, given the opinions against hierarchical, male-dominated, aggressive, individualistic settings.

(7) *Bridging Differences.* A common concern among these women was closing gaps that exist along racial, sexual preference, class, age and handicap lines. Consequently, confronting one's own biases, rather than ignoring them, was seen as central to individual and group development. Before, or in conjunction with an organizing effort, internal group prejudices are addressed. Rather than hide these problems so that an illusion of solidarity is created, these women stress the importance of raising these issues directly as a way of furthering growth and opportunities. Failure to do so will lead to divisiveness, anger, frustration, and, ultimately, disintegration.

(8) *Women's Culture and History.* Virtually every woman had a female role model who served as a source of inspiration and courage. These were not necessarily famous women, but they were women who helped make a struggle understandable and workable through their actions. Some of these role models were known personally as they were bosses, friends, or other activists. Others served a symbolic purpose, such as in the Women's Pentagon Action, in which women who died from the violent acts of men were remembered in ceremonies. Still others represent feminist culture (music and arts) and are viewed as a source of sustenance and connection: "I turn on 'Sweet Honey in the Rock' and understand Bernice Reagan's meanings of social actions, consciousness raising. Need this global meaning. You need emotional support" (KL).

Community organizing needs to rediscover the female organizers of its past. It should also consider the life histories of women in a variety of movements for they will suggest a different way of mobilizing.

(9) *Training.* There was no consistent view of the best training. Many of these women received their training through experience and not through any formal educational process. Some took advantage of available training opportunities presented by organizations, such as settlement houses, the Midwest Academy, and labor schools. Of concern to the field of community organizing should be the resentment felt toward the increased professionalization of the field. One woman, when asked why she went back to school, said: "It's time for the credentials" (KG); another said: "All I'm getting is a piece of paper that says I'm qualified" (FS). These women have demonstrated that grassroots experience, particularly if one is open to learning from others, is a valuable means of gaining an education of organizing.

Community organizing needs to determine ways of tapping this knowledge and creating learning situations that are meaningful to women.

CONCLUSION

This paper has explored some common threads among women activists with the hope that these findings can be incorporated into community organizing practice. It presented an analytical paradigm that stresses a wholistic approach to collective practice. The paradigm's four dimensions—subjective, relational, strategic, and structural—comprise an integrated, interdependent whole—much like a balanced mobile. Within these dimensions are themes, nine of which were presented. Most of these themes focused on the emotional and interpersonal aspects of organizing, a view often overlooked or ignored in current community organizing theory and practice. I hope that serious consideration of these themes occurs and that community organizing, from training through the execution of efforts, changes in ways that accept and integrate the experiences of women activists. In the words of Abigail Adams, "Remember the Ladies," and the future will be stronger and more vital.

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