

SEEDS OF CHANGE:  
A BIBLIOGRAPHIC INTRODUCTION  
TO LAW AND ORGANIZING

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PREFATORY NOTE

This bibliography, the work of two of my colleagues at the University of Tennessee College of Law, represents an important contribution to a larger dialogue that is beginning to emerge among lawyers, law students, and law teachers who are looking for ways for progressive legal professionals to play a useful and cogent role in efforts to achieve a more just society. For lawyers who are convinced that winning a more democratic and equitable social order is only possible in the presence of widespread organization at the grassroots level, the question of how law and lawyering relate to organizing is a crucial one.

That law and organizing are related is self-evident in some ways. Social movements and grassroots organizations can hardly exist without interacting to a significant degree with law, lawyers, and the legal system. How that interaction occurs, however, and what roles lawyers play in structuring and planning it, can vary dramatically. Lawyers sometimes have advanced and sometimes retarded the efforts of disempowered people to build strong organizations. Likewise, when those organizations have developed strategies—whether by choice or necessity—that included significant interaction with the legal system, they have met with mixed results. Such strategies have sometimes helped and sometimes hurt the efforts of organizations to meet the challenges of organizing: that is, to

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cogently analyze problems, to animate and empower individual members, to imagine alternative policies, to frame effective critiques and campaigns, to build strong coalitions, to make demands on those in power, to take direct action, to win concrete gains, and to marshal what it takes to monitor, defend, and expand upon legal or practical victories after they are won.

Nevertheless, the intersection between law and organizing seldom has been examined by scholars in a concentrated or focused way, either through the lens of legal theory or of social science. Existing index systems and search engines are of little help in tracking the sources that do touch on this theme. Further, the canonical issues and narratives that regularly appear in training materials aimed at public interest lawyers on the one hand, and at organizers on the other, provide few bridges between these two different vocational and ideological worlds.

Given the described gaps and absences in the current literature and practice, a bibliography like this one is a particularly welcome contribution. It maps new territory by proposing a set of sources as a first cut on a canon-to-be for this emerging subject. It takes a cosmopolitan approach by including international sources as well as materials from other disciplines and from the “real world” of practical organizing. Through its selection of topics, it flags a set of themes, skills and problems and implicitly urges interested lawyers to take them under consideration. All of these moves plow new ground.

The authors are appropriately modest about the limits of this initial effort, especially given the daunting and eclectic universe of issues raised by their topic. For instance, they are aware of the paradox that the list is both too short (because they have doubtless overlooked more than a few helpful and relevant sources), and too long (because they have also failed to distill a list of the Indisputably Top Ten Indispensable Writings on Law and Organizing—surely a list that many would love to see). In addition, after some momentary hesitation, the authors have elected not to include a serious selection of sources on social theory and political economy. These subjects clearly are relevant to the intersection of law and organizing. (How does social change come about in the first place? What is the role of human agency in that process? What is the nature of power in contemporary national and global society, and how—if at all—can someone or some group that lacks power get it? What is the role of law in creating power relationships? In reproducing or interrupting them? Can law ever be wielded in a way that helps to achieve redistributive justice and meaningful participation in governance for the have-nots? If so, when and how?) Despite the relevance of these questions, however, they are probably best tackled by a different bibliographic project. Accordingly, with a few minor exceptions the authors have properly left the task of assessing and selecting from the social science literature for another day.

Nevertheless, what they have chosen to do with this bibliography is far from modest, for what they have provided should serve as a tremendous aid to lawyers, legal educators, and law students who want to understand—and perhaps

help to construct—the relationship between law and effective organizing for social change. For that we are in their debt.

It has been a pleasure to watch this project grow and now to be among its beneficiaries. I look forward to ways that it helps enable next steps in what I believe to be an important open-ended project.

—Fran Ansley

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## INTRODUCTION

The original citations for this bibliography were culled from reading lists compiled by Fran Ansley, Jennifer Gordon, Joel Handler, and Lucie White. We built upon that beginning by conducting our own searches, of course, but also by asking many people knowledgeable about various kinds of organizing to suggest resources that would be informative, insightful, and enlightening or inspiring for lawyers and law students interested in public interest law or pro bono work related to bottom-up social change. We wanted to compile a list of basic readings that would explain to lawyers something about grassroots social movements and organizations and their philosophies. Our aim is to put lawyers in touch with resources that could help them work well with community and workplace groups who put a priority on grassroots organizing for social change. Several dozen people from organizations far and near responded enthusiastically with suggestions which ranged widely but often overlapped as well.

Included here are citations to several groups of materials, all of which pertain to the broad theme of “law and organizing.” The items in the first group, entitled simply “Law and Organizing,” represent our effort to identify a limited set of materials that would set the stage and highlight the major issues. These sources are certainly not the only ones we could have selected for this opening section, but we believe that taken as a group, they introduce most of the major themes, recurring dilemmas, and important questions. They also tell instructive stories about why it is important for lawyers to understand the relationship between law and organizing, and what the content of this understanding ought to be.

The second section is a large group of citations to classic texts and illustrative case studies from the literature on labor and community organizing. Sometimes these materials are explicitly and consciously related to law, and sometimes not. The section is entitled “Organizing: Basics, Classics, Narratives.” Many of the citations were suggested to us by trainers, organizers, and lawyers involved in the real world of community or labor organizing, and we are grateful for their help.

The third group of citations is entitled “Histories and Theories of Poverty Lawyering.” These citations point readers toward literature that describes and theorizes about the conscious practices of lawyers who have involved themselves

in advocacy and law reform on behalf of groups that are economically distressed or excluded. Of course, these are not the only lawyers whose experiences are relevant for law and organizing, but they surely are important examples.

The fourth set of sources is entitled “Legal Education for Rebellious Lawyering.” The phrase “rebellious lawyering” is intended to invoke Gerald López’ widely-read book of that name (a book that touches on the importance of organizing and critiques what López calls the “regnant model” of lawyering for subordinated groups). From the large literature on legal education and legal pedagogy, this section selects a set of materials that bear—some directly, others indirectly—on the question of how law teachers might better prepare future lawyers to work effectively in support of organizing efforts.

The final section, entitled “Popular Education and Participatory Research” is a group of citations about two fields of social practice that we believe are relevant to the intersection of law and organizing for social justice. A number of law-trained writers have begun arguing the relevance of these two fields for lawyers who want to work collaboratively with grassroots organizing efforts, so we have provided an introductory view.

The final section of the bibliography proper is followed by two appendices. The first contains audio-visual materials on a range of subjects related to law and organizing; some are in documentary format and others are scripted fiction. This listing is by no means exhaustive. In fact, it is a barebones, highly subjective list that only begins to suggest the range of videos and films on this topic.

The second appendix provides information about some of the national and regional organizations, training centers, and other intermediaries across the country that are active in training and providing technical support to organizers. Although this list certainly is incomplete, we hope it will prove useful in tracking down people and resources not easily identifiable through traditional academic search networks. In nearly every part of this country and in most areas of the world, there are organizations whose mission is to empower poor and working people. Many of them conduct trainings and have created written and non-written materials that can shed important light on organizing and its relationship to law.

We would also like to point out that the literature of community and workplace organizing for social change is truly interdisciplinary, and the curious, therefore, would do well to look beyond law to specialized publications coming out of other relevant disciplines. Some likely fields include social work, planning, sociology, political science, religion, psychology, women’s studies, and ethnic studies. Each discipline has a unique viewpoint that provides valuable insight. Further, each discipline is home to topic-specific publications that may prove helpful for a particular project. We have attempted to include a smattering of references from different disciplines to signal to readers a few of the possibilities. However, it was beyond the scope of this bibliography to perform a thorough search or retrieval mission across all disciplines. We

therefore encourage researchers to explore sources from other disciplines and counsel them not to overlook journals such as the *American Journal of Community Psychology* and the *Journal of Social Issues*, which often contain material directly relevant to matters of grassroots organizing.

Finally, we wish to close by once again thanking our wide network of collaborators. Fran Ansley, a teacher at our institution, has been particularly supportive of this project and has provided us with valuable guidance, insight, and feedback. We certainly hope that readers will find the bibliography to be a helpful contribution to their work. It is meant to be of concrete use, and we sincerely welcome your comments and suggestions.

Loretta Price  
Melinda Davis

## LAW AND ORGANIZING

1. BACHMANN, STEVE. *Lawyers, Law, and Social Change*. 13 N.Y.U. REV. L. & SOC. CHANGE 1 (1984–85). Examines whether law and lawyers have any useful roles to play in implementing desirable social change. After discussing his own position, Bachmann describes three alternative ones: public interest/legal reform, “a-legal,” and “fusionist.”
2. BRANCH, TAYLOR. *PARTING THE WATERS: AMERICA IN THE KING YEARS, 1954–63*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988. Pulitzer Prize winner. Claims to be neither a biography of Martin Luther King, Jr., nor a simple recitation of the facts of the historical King, but an amalgamation of the two. Takes a closely textured look at a movement that intersected in frequent and complex ways with the law.
3. COLE, LUKE W. *Empowerment as the Key to Environmental Protection: The Need for Environmental Poverty Law*. 19 ECOLOGY L.Q. 619 (1992). Basic premise is that the burden of pollution is disproportionately borne by poor people and that traditional legal tools fail to work for poor people. Two case studies illustrate principles and strategies of empowerment, including community-based lawyering.
4. ———. *Macho Law Brains, Public Citizens, and Grassroots Activists: Three Models of Environmental Advocacy*. 14 VA. ENVTL. L.J. 687 (1995). Examines some of the laws used to block potentially dangerous local land uses. Discusses three approaches to environmental advocacy (professional, participatory, and power) and their relative usefulness.
5. CUMMINGS, SCOTT L., AND INGRID V. EAGLY. *A Critical Reflection on Law and Organizing*. 48 UCLA L. REV. 443 (2001). A timely, extensive review of the literature and discussion of the issues involved in our bibliography. Provides a historical backdrop for community organizing and progressive lawyering and suggests the limits and conflicts of lawyers as organizers.
6. FOX, MICHAEL J. *Some Rules for Community Lawyers*. 14 CLEARINGHOUSE REV. 1 (1980). Lists suggestions for lawyers working with a community of organized clients. Discusses “social change practice” of poverty law through the use of sixteen rules.
7. GORDON, JENNIFER. *We Make the Road by Walking: Immigrant Workers, the Workplace Project, and the Struggle for Social Change*. 30 HARV. C.R.-C.L. L. REV. 407 (1995). One of a series of articles in the symposium issue, “Economic Justice in America’s Cities,” commemorating the journal’s thirtieth anniversary. Uses the Workplace Project as a model of alternative institutions for confronting problems of immigrant workers in the service industry. Offers clear overview of both the potential and the problems involved in one attempt to use law as a tool to organize workers for social change.

8. GUINIER, LANI. *LIFT EVERY VOICE: TURNING A CIVIL RIGHTS SETBACK INTO A NEW VISION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998. Describes the struggle of ordinary people “. . . to be given a meaningful chance to participate in making the decisions that affect all of our lives.” In chapter titled, “Lawyers as Bridge People: Architects of a New Public Space,” Guinier discusses the lawyer’s role in “. . . voicing individual grievances within a larger community-based struggle.” Includes extensive resource list and bibliography.
9. KINOY, ARTHUR. *RIGHTS ON TRIAL: THE ODYSSEY OF A PEOPLE’S LAWYER*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983. Autobiography of this “people’s lawyer,” whose cases included a number of the landmark civil rights and First Amendment cases of the twentieth century. Kinoy worked tirelessly to defend citizens and their organizations against governmental and corporate attempts to interfere with efforts to organize for social change. Kinoy was a staunch defender of radicals throughout the Cold War period and was actively involved in representing civil rights movement activists as well.
10. KLAWITER, RICHARD F. *¡La Tierra es Nuestra! The Campesino Struggle in El Salvador and a Vision of Community-Based Lawyering*. 42 *STAN. L. REV* 1625 (1990). Describes the history of land ownership in El Salvador and the movement to narrow the gap between the economically dominant landowners and the itinerant rural peasants (campesinos) who work the land. Suggests lessons to be learned from the El Salvadoran experience that are applicable to other subordinated peoples. Implies that the traditional view of public interest law in the U.S. limits its effectiveness. Calls for a broader view of what being a good “advocate” means.
11. LAI, ZENOBIA, ANDREW LEONG, AND CHI CHI WU. *The Lessons of the Parcel C Struggle: Reflections on Community Lawyering*. 6 *ASIAN PAC. AM. L.J.* 1 (2000). Case study of the struggle of Boston’s Chinatown against the sale of Parcel C to New England Medical Center for use as a garage. Makes specific suggestions for the use of community organizing and community lawyering.
12. LÓPEZ, GERALD P. *REBELLIOUS LAWYERING: ONE CHICANO’S VISION OF PROGRESSIVE LAW PRACTICE*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992. Essential reading for lawyers and others who want to make a difference in the lives of oppressed peoples. Classic study of progressive public interest lawyering. Each chapter is built around a lawyering situation that, while fictional, is filled with closely observed detail. These accounts illustrate López’s arguments for alternative ways that lawyers could approach working and lawyering for social change. Includes extensive bibliography.

13. LYND, STAUGHTON. *THE FIGHT AGAINST SHUTDOWNS: YOUNGSTOWN'S STEEL MILL CLOSINGS*. San Pedro, Cal.: Singlejack Books, 1982. The story of the largest plant closing in the nation's history and the community that tried valiantly to resist it, using litigation and organizing. Told by the lawyer who served as general counsel for various rank and file and community groups who tried to prevent the mill's closure.
14. MANN, ERIC, WITH THE PLANNING COMMITTEE OF THE BUS RIDERS UNION. *A NEW VISION FOR URBAN TRANSPORTATION: THE BUS RIDERS UNION MAKES HISTORY AT THE INTERSECTION OF MASS TRANSIT, CIVIL RIGHTS, AND THE ENVIRONMENT*. Los Angeles: Strategy Center Publications, 1996. A concise history and analysis of the struggle of the Bus Riders Union to end what that organization viewed as the Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority's systematic discrimination against low-income people of color. Discusses the intervention, coalitions, and organization, the tactics and strategies which resulted in public hearings, a successful lawsuit, and reform in a context in which organizers worked to reveal the racially and economically discriminatory impact of "business as usual" in L.A.'s public transportation system. (See Bibliography # 209.)
15. MCCANN, MICHAEL W. *RIGHTS AT WORK: PAY EQUITY REFORM AND THE POLITICS OF LEGAL MOBILIZATION*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. Takes the view that social movements and organizing campaigns can invoke legal rights to advance their organizing and mobilization, not by winning lawsuits but as part of building a campaign. Describes this dynamic in the context of the 1980s movement for pay equity.
16. QUIGLEY, WILLIAM P. *Reflections of Community Organizers: Lawyering for Empowerment of Community Organizations*. 21 OHIO N.U. L. REV. 455 (1994). Includes interviews with organizers who emphasize the importance of learning to join, listen, and assist as tools of empowerment lawyering. Offers an accessible introduction to the promise and perils of this work.
17. ROSE, KALIMA. *WHERE WOMEN ARE LEADERS: THE SEWA MOVEMENT IN INDIA*. London: Zed Books, 1992. Provides thick description of an amazing movement of extremely poor women in India. SEWA, the organization that grew out of their work, was founded by a woman lawyer, and operates with broad support and incorporates democratic governance structures.
18. SU, JULIE A. *Making the Invisible Visible: The Garment Industry's Dirty Laundry*. 1 J. GENDER, RACE & JUST. 405 (1998). Tells the story of the struggle of undocumented aliens working in a sweatshop in El Monte, California, under conditions verging on slavery. Discusses the tensions



between traditional lawyering and activist lawyering that practitioners often feel.

19. WHITE, LUCIE E. *Collaborative Lawyering in the Field? On Mapping the Paths From Rhetoric to Practice*. 1 CLINICAL L. REV. 157 (1994). Describes an advanced clinical law seminar at UCLA in which students investigated grassroots social initiatives in South Central Los Angeles, looking in particular at the types of organizations, the roles of lawyers in the organizations' agendas, and the inherent tensions of this work. Stresses the need for critical reflection upon the dynamics and the process of grassroots organizing and for increased clinical scholarship.
20. ———. *Mobilization on the Margins of the Lawsuit: Making Space for Clients to Speak*. 16 N.Y.U. REV. L. & SOC. CHANGE 535 (1987-88). Presents two examples of client-empowerment (disability recipients in North Carolina and a theater group for the homeless in Los Angeles) and suggests using creative thinking to increase client participation and empowerment in litigation.
21. ———. *To Learn and Teach: Lessons From Driefontein on Lawyering and Power*. 1988 WIS. L. REV. 699 (1988). Tells of the successful collaboration between two "outsiders" (a lawyer and an organizer) to educate and empower residents of a South African village to resist the apartheid government's relocation of the villagers. Suggests that change-oriented lawyering which empowers its clients would be more effective than other models.

#### ORGANIZING: BASICS, CLASSICS, NARRATIVES

22. ADDAMS, JANE. *TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE, WITH AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Classic story by a pioneer of justice-oriented social work about the exemplary Chicago settlement house she founded.
23. ALINSKY, SAUL D. *REVELLE FOR RADICALS*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. *New York Times* bestseller; the classic description of how to build a grassroots community organization. Includes the "By-laws of the People's Organization."
24. ———. *RULES FOR RADICALS: A PRACTICAL PRIMER FOR REALISTIC RADICALS*. New York: Random House, 1971. Composed mostly of speeches the author had previously given at universities and organizations. Of particular interest here are Alinsky's methods for educating and training organizers.
25. ALTSHULER, ALAN A. *COMMUNITY CONTROL: THE BLACK DEMAND FOR PARTICIPATION IN LARGE AMERICAN CITIES*. New York: Pegasus, 1970. Discussion of political decentralization and black participation in

that process; issues and viewpoints that surround community control; possible results of various options for action.

26. APTER, DAVID E. AND NAGAYO SAWA. *AGAINST THE STATE: POLITICS AND SOCIAL PROTEST IN JAPAN*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984. The story of the long struggle of the Sanrizuka-Shibayama Farmers' League Against the New Tokyo International Airport. Forced to give up its livelihood to make way for the airport, the farming community organized into militant sects. The sects served as a focal point for protest movements all over Japan for a generation.
27. ARNSTEIN, SHERRY R. *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*. 35 J. AM. INST. PLAN. 216 (1969). Uses examples from three federal social programs to illustrate eight levels of increasing citizen participation in political and economic decision-making. Bottom levels (manipulation and therapy) result in nonparticipation; middle levels (information, consultation, and placation) begin legitimate participation; and upper levels (partnership, delegated power, and citizen control) complete the process.
28. BACHRACH, PETER, AND MORTON S. BARATZ. *POWER AND POVERTY: THEORY AND PRACTICE*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970. Attempts to find a general theory of the political process through study of Baltimore local government. Considers community power structure, decision-making, and non-decision-making.
29. BAILEY, ROBERT JR. *RADICALS IN URBAN POLITICS: THE ALINSKY APPROACH*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974. Uses both survey research and participant observation to study the Alinsky organization, Organization for a Better Austin, to determine whether this type of urban organization provides citizens with a way to overcome their alienation and to give expression to it. Detailed analysis of the Alinsky approach to community organizing in this setting leads the author to conclude that this approach can be an effective method of organizing middle class ghetto communities to solve urban problems.
30. BIRCHALL, JOHNSTON. *BUILDING COMMUNITIES THE COOPERATIVE WAY*. Report of the Institute of Community Studies. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul Methuen, 1988. Discusses various theories of social organization, individualistic, pluralistic, collectivistic, and communistic, in the context of British public housing.
31. BLANCHARD, DALLAS A. *THE ANTI-ABORTION MOVEMENT AND THE RISE OF THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT: FROM POLITE TO FIERY PROTEST*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994. Discusses the development and dynamics of the anti-abortion movement in the United States. Delineates anti-abortion organizations and their interactions, methods, tactics, and relationships to the New Right. Includes an extensive appendix of resources, organizations, and publications.

32. BLOCKER, JACK S., JR. *AMERICAN TEMPERANCE MOVEMENTS: CYCLES OF REFORM*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988. This analysis of the temperance movements reveals the complexity of reformers and their activities over the course of two hundred years.
33. BOBO, KIMBERLY A., JACKIE KENDALL, AND STEVE MAX. *ORGANIZING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: MIDWEST ACADEMY MANUAL FOR ACTIVISTS*. Third edition, Santa Ana, Cal.: Seven Locks Press, 2001. The training manual of Midwest Academy, a nationally-recognized training center for organizers. Focuses on the fundamentals of direct action organizing. Describes strategies and techniques of organizing, building a power base, and the creation of opportunities for citizen participation in public life. Includes extensive resource listings.
34. BOOKMAN, ANN AND SANDRA MORGEN, EDS. *WOMEN AND THE POLITICS OF EMPOWERMENT*. Women in the Political Economy Series. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988. Essays center around the relationship between the workplace and community organizing. Uses participant observation, in-depth interviewing, and examples of individual acts of resistance and mass mobilizations to describe the struggles of working class women.
35. BOUCHIER, DAVID. *RADICAL CITIZENSHIP: THE NEW AMERICAN ACTIVISM*. New York: Schocken Books, 1987. Provides analysis of the citizen movement, "progressive individualism," and radical social change.
36. BOYTE, HARRY C. *THE BACKYARD REVOLUTION: UNDERSTANDING THE NEW CITIZENS' MOVEMENT*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980. Discussion of community organizing of the 1970s and '80s.
37. ———. *COMMON WEALTH: A RETURN TO CITIZEN POLITICS*. New York: Free Press, 1989. History of the active citizen tradition in American politics. Goes beyond Boyte's earlier works to provide more theoretical examination and critique of various attempts and efforts of grassroots populism.
38. ———. *COMMUNITY IS POSSIBLE: REPAIRING AMERICA'S ROOTS*. New York: Harper & Row, 1984. Case studies and stories illustrating recent changes from traditional notions of progress, success, and unbridled individualism to "neopopulist," decentralist, and pluralist values.
39. BOYTE, HARRY C., HEATHER BOOTH, AND STEVE MAX. *CITIZEN ACTION AND THE NEW AMERICAN POPULISM*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986. Discusses progressive populism and its fight for social and economic justice.
40. BRONFENBRENNER, KATE, ET AL., EDS. *ORGANIZING TO WIN: NEW RESEARCH ON UNION STRATEGIES*. Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press, 1998. Includes chapters on community-based organizing and suggests ways that community-based organizing can complement union organizing.

41. BURGHARDT, STEPHEN. *THE OTHER SIDE OF ORGANIZING: RESOLVING THE PERSONAL DILEMMAS AND POLITICAL DEMANDS OF DAILY PRACTICE*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Pub. Co., 1982. Considers the interaction of two aspects of social work practice: the larger social-historical context within which community-based practitioners work and the deferential social relationships that the "helping process" itself creates.
42. ———, ED. *TENANTS AND THE URBAN HOUSING CRISIS*. Dexter, Mich.: New Press, 1972. Analyzes and describes the reasons the tenants' rights movement developed. Reviews the tools (organizing, legal advocacy, planning, etc.) available.
43. CALPOTURA, FRANCIS AND KIM FELLNER. *SQUARE PEGS FIND THEIR GROOVE: RESHAPING THE ORGANIZING CIRCLE*. Oakland, Cal.: Center for Third World Organizing, 1996. While placing value on Alinsky-style community organizing movements, suggests that time and experience have developed need for new directions for progressive organizing. Asserts that, instead of broad-based organizations that buy into the values of the traditional culture, new approaches that forge "an equitable, respectful, multi-cultural, shared, cohesive, progressive justice community out of many diverse and competing identities is, in and of itself, an appropriate and necessary organizing objective." A response to Mike Miller's critique (*see Bibliography # 83*) of Gary Delgado's *Beyond the Politics of Place* (*see Bibliography # 52*).
44. CARO, ROBERT A. *THE POWER BROKER: ROBERT MOSES AND THE FALL OF NEW YORK*. New York: Knopf, 1974. Biography of Robert Moses, who dominated all aspects of New York City's city planning, urban renewal, public housing, highways, and construction during the 1940s and '50s. Hundreds of thousands of low-income people were dispossessed without relocation and neighborhoods were divided by housing projects and expressways, causing racial and ethnic segregation.
45. CHONG, DENNIS. *COLLECTIVE ACTION AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. Discusses the dynamics of public-spirited collective action in the context of the postwar civil rights movement in the United States. In-depth analysis of the social and psychological conditions under which people are willing to participate in collective action for the public good.
46. CLAY, PHILLIP L., AND ROBERT M. HOLLISTER, EDS. *NEIGHBORHOOD POLICY AND PLANNING*. Politics of Planning Series. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1983. Discussion of urban neighborhoods, their functions, structures, and dynamics of change. Suggests that public policy carries social meaning.
47. COBB, EDWIN L. *NO CEASE FIRES: THE WAR ON POVERTY IN ROANOKE VALLEY*. Cabin John, Md.: Seven Locks Press, 1984. Uses experience

- of community action agency, Total Action Against Poverty, in Roanoke, Virginia, to analyze the best way to eliminate poverty.
48. COOVER, VIRGINIA. *RESOURCE MANUAL FOR A LIVING REVOLUTION*. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1985. In-depth manual of empowerment. Full of exercises, resources, suggestions, bibliographies for training and organizing for nonviolent social change.
49. COUTO, RICHARD A. WITH CATHERINE S. GUTHRIE. *MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK BETTER: MEDIATING STRUCTURES, SOCIAL CAPITAL, AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROSPECT*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. A well-researched study of twenty-three community-based organizations in middle Appalachia that promote democracy, reduce inequality, and increase social capital, "the moral resources and public goods that we invest to produce and reproduce ourselves in community."
50. CRAIN, MARION. *Gender and Union Organizing*. 47 *INDUS. & LAB. REL. REV.* 227 (1994). Concerned with influence of gender on union organizers' philosophies and strategies. Statistical studies show that most organizers have not modified style, strategies, and issue selection to take into account worker's gender. Some exceptions to this pattern are described and analyzed. Includes a useful bibliography.
51. CRAIN, MARION, AND KEN MATHENY. "*Labor's Divided Ranks*": *Privilege and the United Front Ideology*. 84 *CORNELL L. REV.* 1542 (1999). Uses *EEOC v. Mitsubishi Motors* case to illustrate how the failure of labor unions and labor law to recognize and represent the increasing diversity of the working class not only disempowers the most marginal workers, but undermines efforts to present a united front. Examines majority rule, exclusivity, and community- and identity-based organizing and structure.
52. DELGADO, GARY. *BEYOND THE POLITICS OF PLACE: NEW DIRECTIONS IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZING*. Second edition, Berkeley, Cal.: Chardon Press, 1997. Overview of the history of organizing; discusses "the relationship between organizing and race, class, political change and community development." This work provoked a critical response by Mike Miller in his work, *Beyond the Politics of Place: A Critical Review*, (see Bibliography # 83) and a further discussion of organizing in Calpotura and Fellner's, *Square Pegs Find Their Groove: Reshaping the Organizing Circle* (see Bibliography # 43).
53. DELGADO, GARY. *ORGANIZING THE MOVEMENT: THE ROOTS AND GROWTH OF ACORN*. Edited by Paula Rayman and Carmen Sirianni. Labor and Social Change Series. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986. Uses the ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) experience to discuss community organizing.

54. DWORKIN, JULIE AND LES BROWN. *Organizing Homeless Youth Strategy for Change*. 17 CHILD. LEGAL RTS. J. 12 (1997). Discusses the issue of youth homelessness and the efforts of the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless to organize homeless youth on their own behalf.
55. EPSTEIN, ROBIN. *CITIZEN POWER: STORIES OF AMERICA'S NEW CIVIC SPIRIT*. Lexington, Ky.: Democracy Resource Center, 1999. Details nine inspiring stories of contemporary grassroots organizing efforts in rural Kentucky. Contains valuable state-by-state resource guide to local, regional, and national citizen organizations and a listing of related Web sites. With an introduction by Reverend Jesse Jackson.
56. EVANS, SARA M. AND HARRY C. BOYTE. *FREE SPACES: THE SOURCES OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN AMERICA, WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. Themes of "the nature of public life, the importance of community, the substance and meaning of democratic values," illustrated with discussions of the visions of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Knights of Labor, the women's movements of Victorian America, and citizenship education programs of community groups today. "Free spaces" are defined as the usually small but private places where intensely important matters can be seriously and honestly addressed.
57. FAUE, ELIZABETH. *COMMUNITY OF SUFFERING & STRUGGLE: WOMEN, MEN, AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN MINNEAPOLIS, 1915-1945*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. Discusses the nature of labor history and the political and cultural aspects of the labor movement. Main argument is that the current decline of the labor movement is based on its failure to acknowledge the connections between community and workplace, the importance of women's work in the family economy, and by labor's alienation of women workers. Extensive bibliography.
58. FISHER, ROBERT. *LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE: NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZING IN AMERICA*. Second edition, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994. An analytical, selected history of neighborhood organizing since 1886. Discusses the three dominant approaches: social work, political activist, and neighborhood maintenance. Concludes with a description of the "new social movement."
59. FRIEDMAN, SHELDON, ET AL., EDS. *RESTORING THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN LABOR LAW*. Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press, 1994. A selection of papers originally presented to a 1993 conference between the Department of Economic Research of the AFL-CIO and the School of Industrial Relations at Cornell University. Describes legal obstacles that prevent increasing numbers of women and minority workers from being adequately represented.

60. GAVENTA, JOHN. **POWER AND POWERLESSNESS: QUIESCENCE AND REBELLION IN AN APPALACHIAN VALLEY.** Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1980. Study of mining community in Kentucky, analyzing power, inequality, quiescence, participation, and rebellion. Detailed study of various dimensions and mechanisms of power within the company, the union, and the community. Builds on Stephen Lukes' theories and categories of power.
61. GOLDBERG, ROBERTA. **ORGANIZING WOMEN OFFICE WORKERS: DISSATISFACTION, CONSCIOUSNESS, AND ACTION.** New York: Praeger, 1983. Uses Baltimore Working Women as a case study to examine the role that gender plays in developing class consciousness. Discusses the specific types of dissatisfaction found among women office workers and the types of consciousness that exists among women who participate in office workers' organizations.
62. HANDLER, JOEL F. **THE CONDITIONS OF DISCRETION: AUTONOMY, COMMUNITY, BUREAUCRACY.** New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1986. Uses the cooperative decision-making model of Madison, Wisconsin school district for special education students to illustrate how a grass-roots organizing effort increased administrative due process for large numbers of people.
63. ———. **DOWN FROM BUREAUCRACY: THE AMBIGUITY OF PRIVATIZATION AND EMPOWERMENT.** Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996. Discusses the consequences of decentralization, deregulation, and privatization for citizen and community empowerment. Emphasizes the effects on subordinate groups and the new bottom-up social movements.
64. HARKER, DONALD F. AND ELIZABETH U. NATTER. **BEYOND VOTING: A CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO PARTICIPATING IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.** Berea, Ky.: MACED (Mountain Association for Community Economic Development), 1991. A guide, in question and answer format, to how local governments work and how citizens can participate. Several appendices, including sample open records request forms and a sample complaint letter (although specifically for use in Kentucky), are very useful. Available from MACED, 433 Chestnut St., Berea, KY 40403.
65. HARTMAN, CHESTER W., ET AL. **DISPLACEMENT: HOW TO FIGHT IT.** Berkeley, Cal.: National Housing Law Project, 1981. Part of the Legal Services Anti-Displacement Project, and funded by the Research Institute of the Legal Services Corporation, this guidebook was written for community organizations and their advocates to provide strategies to deal with the "epidemic of displacement."
66. HESKIN, ALLAN D. **THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNITY.** Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1991. Illustrates, using two case studies, attempts to achieve the "new American progressive populism." Useful notes and extensive bibliography.

67. HOERR, JOHN P. *WE CAN'T EAT PRESTIGE: THE WOMEN WHO ORGANIZED HARVARD*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997. The story of the office and laboratory workers who organized a union at Harvard University. Uses interviews, published materials, unprocessed archives of the HUCTW (Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers), and other historical documents to relate this contemporary organizing effort.
68. HOOSE, PHILLIP M. *IT'S OUR WORLD, TOO!: STORIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE WHO ARE MAKING A DIFFERENCE*. Boston: Joy Street Books, 1993. Relates varied experiences of young people and their efforts to make a difference. Includes a handbook for young activists with ten tools for change, examples, and tactics.
69. HORWITT, SANFORD D. *LET THEM CALL ME REBEL: SAUL ALINSKY, HIS LIFE AND LEGACY*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992. The story of Alinsky and his "persistent experimentation with a set of ideas and methods aimed at addressing a number of the country's historic, enduring problems, especially those having to do with race, poverty, and political inequality."
70. KAHN, SI. *HOW PEOPLE GET POWER: ORGANIZING OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES FOR ACTION*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970. Community organizing for organizers, based on the author's experience as a white "yankee organizer" in the rural South in the 1960s.
71. ———. *ORGANIZING: A GUIDE FOR GRASSROOTS LEADERS*. Revised edition, Silver Spring, Md.: National Association of Social Workers, 1991. NASW places great importance on the role of the social worker as an agent of change and empowerment. This manual stresses strategy, training, and communication; organized in a question and answer format.
72. KRETZMANN, JOHN P. AND JOHN L. MCKNIGHT. *BUILDING COMMUNITIES FROM THE INSIDE OUT: A PATH TOWARD FINDING AND MOBILIZING A COMMUNITY'S ASSETS*. Evanston, Ill.: The Asset-Based Community Development Institute, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University, 1993. A basic, practical, and detailed guide for rebuilding communities by focusing on assets, skills, and local institutions and citizen associations, rather than on community needs and problems. Seminal work on "assets-based" organizing. Distributed by ACTA Publications, 4848 North Clark St., Chicago, IL 60640, 1-800-397-2282.
73. LA BOTZ, DAN. *A TROUBLEMAKER'S HANDBOOK: HOW TO FIGHT BACK WHERE YOU WORK—AND WIN!* Detroit, Mich.: Labor Notes, 1991. A manual for union organizing. Narratives, tactical and strategic plans, questionnaires, guides, resources, and short bibliography. Distributed by Labor Notes, 7435 Michigan Ave., Detroit, MI 48210.
74. LEAVITT, JACQUELINE, AND SUSAN SAEGERT. *FROM ABANDONMENT TO HOPE: COMMUNITY-HOUSEHOLDS IN HARLEM*. Columbia History of



- Urban Life Series. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. Case studies of housing issues and tenant activities in Harlem in 1960–80s.
75. LYND, ALICE, AND STAUGHTON LYND, EDS. *RANK AND FILE: PERSONAL HISTORIES BY WORKING-CLASS ORGANIZERS*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1973. Shortly after unrest of the 1960s, groups (students, blacks, women, veterans of Vietnam) that had been swept up in that unrest began to move into the workplace. This book relates their experiences (as well as some from workers who were active mainly in the 1930s) as organizers in the rank and file movements within the unions of the steel industry of the Midwest. Although many of the interviewees had radically differing politics, all were militant in their demand for basic social changes within their unions, workplaces, and within society. (See Bibliography # 238.)
76. MANN, ERIC. *TAKING ON GENERAL MOTORS: A CASE STUDY OF THE CAMPAIGN TO KEEP GM VAN NUYS OPEN*. Los Angeles: Center for Labor Research and Education, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987. An inside look at a protracted organizing campaign, based in a UAW local but reaching into the larger community. Aims to create “broader debate about union strategy, economic policy and, ultimately, what structural change in the system will be necessary to serve working people and their unions.” (See Bibliography # 237.)
77. MANN, ERIC, WITH THE WATCHDOG ORGANIZING COMMITTEE. *L.A.’S LETHAL AIR: NEW STRATEGIES FOR POLICY, ORGANIZING, AND ACTION*. Los Angeles: Labor/Community Strategy Center, 1991. Well-documented case study of corporate and governmental forces and strategies that created the nation’s smog capital. Places these environmental issues in a broader agenda for social, racial, and economic justice, and discusses the efforts of Labor Community Strategy Center and its allies to build a conscious organizing strategy among constituencies harmed by environmental injustices.
78. MCCLORY, ROBERT. “*Wherever Two or Three Thousand Are Gathered. . .*” 65 U.S. CATH. 12 (2000). Describes how congregation-based community groups provide committed bases for organizing massive groups of citizens. Uses Chicago’s Catholic Church-based United Power, among others, as an example of a bigger, stronger, and more inclusive organization.
79. MCMILLAN, TRACIE. *Schools of Door Knocks: A New Generation of Organizing Academics Asks: Does Making the Good Fight Your Life’s Work Have to be a One-Way Ticket to Martyrdom?* 25 CITY LIMITS 25 (2001). Short analysis of the changing world of professional organizing, followed by vivid descriptions of training available at organizing schools across the country.

80. MCNEIL, GENNA RAE. *GROUNDWORK: CHARLES HAMILTON HOUSTON AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983. Biography of the black lawyer whose work in the U.S. legal system for equal justice set the stage for the civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century. Hamilton was often referred to as the person who built the legal foundation for *Brown v. Board of Education*. Based on his papers and court records, this book focuses on his struggle for change and on the way the law can be used as an instrument of social change.
81. MCUSIC, MOLLY, AND MICHAEL SELMI. *Postmodern Unions: Identity Politics in the Workplace, An Essay*. 82 IOWA L. REV. 1339 (1997). Calls for emphasizing commonalities within a diverse workforce, rather than differences and exclusionary alignments, as a way of promoting increased workplace equity.
82. MEDOFF, PETER, AND HOLLY SKLAR. *STREETS OF HOPE: THE FALL AND RISE OF AN URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD*. Boston: South End Press, 1994. The story of the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative of Boston. (See Bibliography # 217.)
83. MILLER, MIKE. *BEYOND THE POLITICS OF PLACE: A CRITICAL REVIEW*. San Francisco: Organize Training Center, 1996. A critique of Delgado's *Politics of Place* (see Bibliography # 52). Disagrees with Delgado's argument that a non-Alinsky style of organizing responsive to issues of race as well as other identity-based concerns is developing. Miller argues that broad-based, Alinsky-styled community organizations are evolving sufficiently to meet current needs. (See response by Calpotura and Fellner, Bibliography # 43.)
84. MONDROS, JACQUELINE B., AND SCOTT M. WILSON. *ORGANIZING FOR POWER AND EMPOWERMENT*. Columbia University Press Social Work Series: Empowering the Powerless. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. Uses the results of a survey of forty-two east coast social action organizations to examine the dynamics of this type of organization. Describes the processes as well as the outcomes, focusing in particular on the effect of successful social action on the individual's confidence in the possibility of change.
85. MORRIS, ALDON D. *THE ORIGINS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT: BLACK COMMUNITIES ORGANIZING FOR CHANGE*. New York: Free Press; Collier Macmillan, 1984. Concentrates on the diverse local organizations and movements that were active primarily between 1953 and 1963.
86. OAKLEY, PETER. *PROJECTS WITH PEOPLE: THE PRACTICE OF PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT*. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1991. Prepared with the financial support of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FOA), UNIFEM (United Nations Develop-

ment Fund for Women), International Labour Organization, and World Health Organization. International study concerned with the practice of participation in rural development projects that are initiated by external agencies. Concentrates on methodology and includes many examples.

87. OMI, MICHAEL, GARY DELGADO, AND REBECCA GORDON. *CONFRONTING THE NEW RACISMS: ANTI-RACIST ORGANIZING IN THE POST-CIVIL RIGHTS ERA: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY*. Oakland, Cal.: Applied Research Center for the C. S. Mott Foundation, 2000. Analyzes the issues, methods, and strengths and weaknesses of six organizations (the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAA AV) in New York City, the Dismantling Racism Program of the National Conference in St. Louis, the Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment in Oregon, the Southern Empowerment Project in Tennessee, the Anti-Racism Institute of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CAL S) in Chicago, and the Labor/Community Strategy Center in Los Angeles) to examine emerging anti-racist practices in the U.S. All groups achieved some success using their differing methods to embrace “a vision of social justice that extends beyond formal legal guarantees of equal opportunity.”
88. PARENTI, MICHAEL. *POWER AND THE POWERLESS*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1978. Examines power in American society, particularly in terms of social structure and political consciousness, and the patterns of relationships among groups in the American social system.
89. PAYNE, CHARLES M. *I’VE GOT THE LIGHT OF FREEDOM: THE ORGANIZING TRADITION AND THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM STRUGGLE*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1995. Recounts the history of voter registration drives aimed at blacks in Mississippi in the 1960s, based on interviews with grassroots organizers and other participants. Especially valuable for its insights into the process of gaining the trust and cooperation of communities.
90. PIVEN, FRANCES FOX, AND RICHARD A. CLOWARD. *POOR PEOPLE’S MOVEMENTS: WHY THEY SUCCEED, HOW THEY FAIL*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977. An overview of the protest movements of the mid-twentieth century in the United States. Concludes that activists who have tried to develop formal organizations during times of massive social unrest have not only failed to create sustainable organizations, but actually blunt the force of such protests.
91. PULIDO, LAURA. *ENVIRONMENTALISM AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE: TWO CHICANO STRUGGLES IN THE SOUTHWEST*. Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press, 1996. Discusses two social and environmental movements, the 1965–71 pesticide campaign of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and a grazing rights conflict in northern New Mexico involving the Ganados del Valle (Livestock Growers of the

- Valley). Explores the “environmental/livelihood struggles of marginalized communities within the context of political economy, social movements, and identity politics.”
92. RIVERA, FELIX G. AND JOHN L. ERLICH, EDS. *COMMUNITY ORGANIZING IN A DIVERSE SOCIETY*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1992. A collection of essays focusing on the issues and problems, strategies and tactics of organizing among various ethnic groups, including Native Americans, Chicanos, African-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chinese-Americans, and Japanese-Americans.
93. ROGERS, MARY BETH. *COLD ANGER: A STORY OF FAITH AND POWER POLITICS*. Denton, Tex.: University of North Texas Press, 1990. Studies the faith-based organizing strategy of Ernesto Cortes, whose methods are informed by his Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) training and Liberation Theology.
94. ROSE, FRED. *COALITIONS ACROSS THE CLASS DIVIDE: LESSONS FROM THE LABOR, PEACE, AND ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000. Suggests ways to build alliances between organizations to achieve the goals of all. Places case studies in broader, theoretical framework. Good bibliography.
95. ROZELL, MARK J. AND CLYDE WILCOX, EDS. *GOD AT THE GRASS ROOTS, 1996: THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT IN THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997. A series of essays, written mostly by political science faculty, discussing the “impact of the Christian Right in the 1996 national, state, and local elections.” Examines this group’s methods of grassroots organization in key states and makes an assessment of the successes and failures in each case.
96. SACKS, KAREN B. *CARING BY THE HOUR: WOMEN, WORK, AND ORGANIZING AT DUKE MEDICAL CENTER*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1988. The account of how clerical, service, and technical workers (primarily women) almost succeeded in unionizing Duke University Medical Center in the 1980s.
97. SALOMON, LARRY R. *ROOTS OF JUSTICE: STORIES OF ORGANIZING IN COMMUNITIES OF COLOR*. Berkeley, Cal.: Chardon Press, 1998. The stories of the communities of “ordinary” people that make up the history of various social justice movements in the United States. Refutes the idea that great leaders spontaneously bring movements into being. The stories include the Underground Railroad, “Zoot Suit Riots,” “Salt of the Earth,” Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and Native Americans Occupy Alcatraz.
98. SCHLOSSBERG, STEPHEN I., AND JUDITH A. SCOTT. *ORGANIZING AND THE LAW*. Fourth edition, Washington, D.C.: Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1991. Accessible guide to the legal principles affecting union organization in the context of the National Labor Relations Act.

Provides basic information about relevant court rules and decisions and about National Labor Relations Board procedures and decisions to enable the organizer to avoid mistakes.

99. SELDEN, IAN. *Environmental Justice—A Ready-Made Tool for Union Organizing in the Silicon Valley*. 56 NAT'L LAW. GUILD PRAC. 207 (1999). Argues that "labor unions will have to start looking to other, less traditional methods of organizing workers if they are to stop the decline in union membership and preserve the labor movement." Discusses the causes for the decline in membership and describes a community-based movement, the Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition, "that could offer unions an opportunity to work outside the traditional union models and around the defects in current labor law."
100. SHOSTAK, ARTHUR B. *ROBUST UNIONISM: INNOVATIONS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT*. Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press, 1991. Presents case studies of innovative labor initiatives and self-renewal methods of labor organizers.
101. STAGGENBORG, SUZANNE. *THE PRO-CHOICE MOVEMENT: ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVISM IN THE ABORTION CONFLICT*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. This study discusses the collective action of social movements through the "sociological examination of the development of the pro-choice movement." Focuses on the activities, documents, and experiences of thirteen major organizations and interviews with past and present activists.
102. STOUT, LINDA. *BRIDGING THE CLASS DIVIDE AND OTHER LESSONS FOR GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1996. The story of the Piedmont Peace Project (PPP) of North Carolina and its founder, Linda Stout. This self-taught activist describes the organizing model developed at PPP and gives practical lessons on how to build relationships between people of different income levels, races, and genders.
103. THEMBA, MAKANI N. *MAKING POLICY, MAKING CHANGE: HOW COMMUNITIES ARE TAKING LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS*. Berkeley, Cal.: Chardon Press, 1999. Details many contemporary case studies that combine three guiding principles—grassroots organizing, effective media advocacy, and public policy work (often with the aid of pro bono lawyers)—to get policy initiatives started. Includes practical strategies, tactics, and a resource list. Author currently directs the Applied Research Center's Grass Roots Innovative Policy Program (GRIPP).
104. WALLS, DAVID. "*Power to the People*": *Twenty Years of Community Organizing*. Adapted from *THE WORKBOOK, 1996*, available at <http://www.sonoma.edu/Sociology/dwalls/commun.html>. A brief history of community organizing, especially the four national networks, Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now), Citizen Action, and National People's

- Action. Describes some of the interconnections and differences between the movement's various approaches.
105. WEST, GUIDA. *THE NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS MOVEMENT: THE SOCIAL PROTEST OF POOR WOMEN*. New York: Praeger, 1981. A history and analysis of the welfare rights movement, a grassroots political movement begun in the 1960s by poor women, and a nationally prominent organization that emerged from that movement, the National Welfare Rights Organization.
106. WEST, GUIDA, AND RHODA L. BLUMBERG, EDS. *WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROTEST*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. A series of articles addressing social movements and organizing from a feminist perspective. Of particular interest are Parts I and II that consider women's roles in specific grassroots economic and racial/ethnic protests. Includes an extensive bibliography.
107. WITTIG, MICHELE ANDRISIN, ED. *An Introduction to Social Psychological Perspectives on Grassroots Organizing*. 52 J. SOC. ISSUES 1 (1996). Issue devoted to various theories, case histories, and studies analyzing grassroots organizing and community empowerment. Articles include "Electronic Grassroots Organizing," "The Cooperative Movement in Nicaragua: Empowerment and Accompaniment of Severely Disadvantaged Peasants," and "The Intragroup Dynamics of Maintaining a Successful Grassroots Organization: A Case Study." Example of work on organizing from a social psychology perspective.

#### HISTORIES AND THEORIES OF POVERTY LAWYERING

108. *Lawyering for Poor Communities in the Twenty-First Century: Seventh Annual Stein Center Symposium on Contemporary Urban Challenges*. 25 FORDHAM URB. L.J. 813 (1998). Looks at new ways to work with poor communities. Publication from a two-day conference at Fordham Law School, November 5–6, 1997. (See Bibliography #234.)
109. *Symposium, "Parkdale Community Legal Services: Twenty-Five Years of Poverty Law"*. 35 OSGOOD HALL L.J. 603 (1997). Special issue devoted to documents and speeches of the twentieth and twenty-fifth anniversary conferences. Relates the history, experiences, and visions of this organization. Contains articles including Lucie E. White's "The Transformative Potential of Clinical Legal Education," Janet E. Mosher's "Legal Education: Nemesis or Ally of Social Movements?," and Cherie Robertston's "The Demystification of Legal Discourse: Reconceiving the Role of the Poverty Lawyer as Agent of the Poor."
110. *Recommendations of the Conference on the Delivery of Legal Services to Low-Income Persons: Professional and Ethical Issues*. 67 FORDHAM L.

- REV. 1751 (1999). Lists conclusions about how common legal objectives of low-income persons can best be addressed.
111. ABEL, RICHARD L., ED. *Lawyers & the Power to Change*. 7 LAW & POL'Y 57 (1985). Articles in this special issue have as a common theme the creation of social programs using alternative methods of legal services delivery. Contributors use examples of progressive lawyering from the United States, Canada, England, and Australia with a variety of approaches, goals, and tactics.
112. ALFIERI, ANTHONY V. *The Antinomies of Poverty Law and Theory of Dialogic Empowerment*. 16 N.Y.U. REV. L. & SOC. CHANGE 659 (1987–88). Argues that traditional poverty law cannot remedy poverty, and that client and community empowerment are the only weapons that can.
113. ———. *Reconstructive Poverty Law Practice: Learning Lessons of Client Narrative*. 100 YALE L.J. 2107 (1991). Tells the seminal story of Mrs. Celeste and the use of client narrative to combat client powerlessness.
114. ARBOGAST, REBECCA, ROGER L. BARNETT, RONALD C. SLYE, AND LESLIE K. TREIGER. *Revitalizing Public Interest Lawyering in the 1990's: The Story of One Effort to Address the Problem of Homelessness*. 34 HOW. L.J. 91 (1991). Discusses the changing nature of public interest law, and describes the use of community institution building. Applies this new model of lawyering to the problem of homelessness in New Haven, Connecticut; discusses the challenges this model presents to the traditional roles of the lawyer.
115. ARDILA, EDGAR AND JEFF CLARK. *Notes on Alternative Legal Practice in Latin America*. 2 BEYOND LAW 107 (1992). Describes various types of social movements since the 1970s and how legal practitioners have participated in or failed to play a role in these movements. Concludes that intertwined components of legal assistance, popular education and participatory research may contribute to social transformation by shaping people's responses to social conflicts.
116. ARNOLD, CRAIG A. *Planning Milagros: Environmental Justice and Land Use Regulation*. 76 DENV. U. L. REV. 1 (1998). Discusses the land use planning model of environmental justice from a proactive and participatory, rather than a reactive, viewpoint. Suggests strategies advocates and activists can use to solve complex problems such as racism, class inequities, limited resources, greed, and envy that are underlying factors in environmental injustice.
117. BACHMANN, STEVE. *Gerald Rosenberg's The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* 19 N.Y.U. REV. L. & SOC. CHANGE 391 (1991–92). Agrees with Rosenberg's central premise "that courts have little impact, directly or indirectly, on the progress of significant social change," but criticizes his failure to analyze how social change actually takes place. Suggests that the PITL (Public Interest Through Litigation)

perspective may reflect a tendency of Western culture to rank people. Subscribes to the ACORN perspective that rather than court action, ordinary people, especially when organized, can make history and determine social change.

118. BELLOW, GARY AND JEANNE CHARN. *Paths Not Yet Taken: Some Comments on Feldman's Critique of Legal Services Practice*. 83 GEO. L.J. 1633 (1995). Suggests ways to address the shortcomings of federally funded legal services programs as delineated by Mark Feldman. Includes responses to low quality representation in individual cases by these programs and the lack of system-wide focus in legal services practice. Provides two appendices: a sample "protocol" that a legal services office might create to provide guidance in the handling of particular cases and a description of the efforts at the Legal Services Center in Boston to follow the suggestions described.
119. BELLOW, GARY AND MARTHA MINOW, EDS. *LAW STORIES*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996. Compiles participant narratives that are multi-faceted depictions of practices and institutional cultures that give "insights into how legal workers and those affected by law make their choices, understand their actions, and experience the frustrations and satisfactions they entail." Each case/story raises questions about the legal system, society at large, public interest lawyering, legal education, and the human experience.
120. BLASI, GARY L. *Litigation on Behalf of the Homeless: Systematic Approaches*. 31 WASH. U. J. URB. & CONTEMP. L. 137 (1987). Discusses lawyering strategies in the context of a project that challenged a variety of "input controls" used by the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services to limit access to assistance by the homeless. Suggests that lawyers must do "on the street" field research before they will have enough objective and accurate information to model successful litigation strategies that provide concrete results.
- 121.———. *Litigation Strategies for Addressing Bureaucratic Disentitlement*. 16 N.Y.U. REV. L. & SOC. CHANGE 591 (1987-88). Suggests that new methodologies developed over the last two decades may benefit the litigator. Operational information collected by bureaucracies may make the effects of "planned disentitlement" easier to measure and "performance auditing" may allow complex systems to be more comprehensible by a judge or jury.
- 122.———. *What's a Theory For?: Notes on Reconstructing Poverty Law Scholarship*. 48 U. MIAMI L. REV. 1063 (1994). Uses the context of homelessness to discuss "the possible consequences of the theoretical work produced in law schools, particularly work that is intended to be relevant to poverty law practice." Suggests that most academic writing in this area is too general and superficial to be useful, and that new,



perhaps more unconventional, methods of scholarship need to be developed.

123. BUCHANAN, RUTH M. *Context, Continuity, and Difference in Poverty Law Scholarship*. 48 U. MIAMI L. REV. 999 (1994). Discusses the last thirty years of poverty law practice. Argues that historical context can provide broad theoretical foundation on which to build future approaches. Detailed differentiation of various methods of poverty lawyering.
124. BUCHANAN, RUTH AND LOUISE G. TRUBEK. *Resistances and Possibilities: A Critical and Practical Look at Public Interest Lawyering*. 19 N.Y.U. REV. L. & SOC. CHANGE 687 (1992). Provides an overview of the emergent field of lawyering for the disadvantaged known as “rebellious” or “critical lawyering,” or “the new public interest law.” After describing the ways traditional and critical lawyers approach public interest lawyering differently, illustrates the goals of the critical lawyer with stories. Defines obstacles to changing methods to match new model of public interest lawyering.
125. CALMORE, JOHN O. *A Call to Context: The Professional Challenges of Cause Lawyering at the Intersection of Race, Space, and Poverty*. 67 FORDHAM L. REV 1927 (1999). Part of special issue, “Conference on Delivery of Legal Services to Low-Income Persons: Professional and Ethical Issues.” Examines “cause lawyering” as practiced on behalf of inner-city poor. Argues that being marginalized can itself bring perspective and knowledge.
126. CRUZ, CHRISTINE ZUNI. *[On the] Road Back In: Community Lawyering in Indigenous Communities*. 5 CLINICAL L. REV. 557 (1999). Discusses the imperative of understanding and valuing culture and community in lawyering. Uses the author’s experience with the Southwest Indian Law Clinic to describe this approach to lawyering.
127. DIAS, CLARENCE J. *Challenging the Structures of Injustice in the South and in the North: Asian Legal Resources and Human Rights Organizations in the “New” World Order*. 2 BEYOND LAW 123 (1992). “[D]ocument[s] how various peoples’ struggles for justice have enabled them to break some of these ‘spokes’ [of the spider web of injustice].” Describes the structure of injustice in the global South, how injustice operates, how it is installed and reinforced. Makes suggestions how legal resource groups and human rights organizations in Asia can support the peoples’ movements against injustice.
128. DILLER, MATTHEW. *Lawyering for Poor Communities in the Twenty-First Century*. 25 FORDHAM URB. L.J. 673 (1998). Gives overview of community lawyering and introduces the Symposium issue of the Seventh Annual Stein Center Symposium on Contemporary Urban Challenges.

129. FELDMAN, MARC. *Political Lessons: Legal Services for the Poor*. 83 GEO. L.J. 1529 (1995). A critical analysis of legal services work and its shortcomings. Suggests ways to improve effectiveness and other ways of responding to problems of the poor.
130. FORDHAM LAW SCHOOL LIBRARY REFERENCE STAFF. *Bibliography to the Conference on the Delivery of Legal Services to Low-Income Persons: Professional and Ethical Issues*. 67 FORDHAM L. REV. 2731 (1999). Bibliography of books, articles, standards, studies, legal opinions, and other materials in the subject area covered by the Conference. Includes short annotations.
131. GOMEZ, MARIO. *Bogotá and Beyond: The South's Search for Alternatives*. 2 BEYOND LAW 138 (1992). One of several notes that describe issues raised at the South-South Exchange of Experiences on Legal Resources and Legal Services in Bogotá, Colombia in January, 1992. Describes the concept of "alternative law" and lawyering as well as the activities and strategies that have been wielded for these purposes in Sri Lanka. Alternative lawyering is the particular strain within the legal profession that is committed to social movements and moral activism, thus providing an "alternative" to the value-neutral aspect of traditional lawyering.
132. GREEN, BRUCE A. *Rationing Lawyers: Ethical and Professional Issues in the Delivery of Legal Services to Low-Income Clients*. 67 FORDHAM L. REV. 1713 (1999). Foreword to a special issue from the Conference on the Delivery of Legal Services to Low-Income Persons: Professional and Ethical Issues. Describes planning, development, and organization of conference. Summarizes recommendations and lists areas for further study.
133. GREENBERG, JACK. *CRUSADERS IN THE COURTS: HOW A DEDICATED BAND OF LAWYERS FOUGHT FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION*. New York: Basic Books, 1994. The story of the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund, written by a staff attorney. A detailed, vivid history of the organization's activities, programs, legal struggles, and accomplishments, as well as a memoir of the personalities and internal and external rivalries of this part of the civil rights movement.
134. GREENSTEIN, ROBERT. *Universal and Targeted Approaches to Relieving Poverty: An Alternative View*, in THE URBAN UNDERCLASS, CHRISTOPHER JENCKS AND PAUL E. PETERSON, EDs., 437-59. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1991. One of a group of essays presented at a conference at Northwestern University. Discusses which elements of social programs for reducing poverty create more political support for those programs and which create less.
135. HANDLER, JOEL F. *LAW AND THE SEARCH FOR COMMUNITY*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990. Uses ideas from

many fields (education, law, welfare, economic regulation) to explore citizen-state relationships. Argues that the liberal legal due process protections of the citizen-state relationship have failed to address the unequal distributions of wealth and power. After describing several types of community regulation, examines style called "participatory exception" by the author.

136. ———. *SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM: A THEORY OF LAW REFORM AND SOCIAL CHANGE*. New York: Academic Press, 1978. Provides a theoretical framework for evaluating the outcomes of attempts to effect social reform. By applying social movement theory as it had evolved up to 1978, tries to determine what law reformers try to accomplish, the methods they use in this work, and under what circumstances they succeed or fail. Compares approaches used in environmental protection, consumer protection, civil rights, and social welfare cases and draws conclusions about their strengths.
137. HANDLER, JOEL F., AND YEHESKEL HASENFELD. *THE MORAL CONSTRUCTION OF POVERTY: WELFARE REFORM IN AMERICA*. Newbury Park, Cal.: Sage Publications, 1991. Traces the history of welfare policy and the social conditions that underlie current work requirements. Argues that social welfare policy rests on a set of symbols that tries to distinguish between the "deserving" poor and the "undeserving" poor, and that this scheme both enacts and expresses a moral system full of myths and "ceremonies."
138. HANDLER, JOEL F., ELLEN J. HOLLINGSWORTH, AND HOWARD S. ERLANGER. *LAWYERS AND THE PURSUIT OF LEGAL RIGHTS*. New York: Academic Press, 1978. Through the use of questionnaires and interviews with lawyers, this book "examines the organizational responses of the legal profession to demands for more involvement with social change." Discusses the highly varied mechanisms and organizations used by lawyers to provide legal services to the poor.
139. HOBBS, STEVEN H. *Following the Drum Major for Justice: Reflections on Luther D. Ivory's Toward a Theology of Radical Involvement: The Theological Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.* 50 ALA. L. REV. 7 (1998). Analyzes Ivory's biography of King in order to explore ways lawyers and law professors can address issues of social injustice. The initial paper in the proceedings of the 1998 Symposium of the Law Teachers of Color Conference, *Dr. Martin Luther King's Life in Pro-active Engagement: The Lawyer as Social Activist in the Community*.
140. JACOBS, MICHELLE S. *Pro Bono Work and Access to Justice for the Poor: Real Change or Imagined Change?* 48 FLA. L. REV. 509 (1996). Argues that mandatory pro bono programs cannot achieve social justice for the poor.

141. JAMES, MARLISE. *THE PEOPLE'S LAWYERS*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973. The story of both well-known and lesser-known lawyers who played major roles in cases or organizations for social justice. Provides an outline and history of the people's law movement during the first half of the twentieth century from the lawyer's viewpoint.
142. JOHNSON, EARL. *JUSTICE AND REFORM: THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE OEO LEGAL SERVICES PROGRAM*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1974. Reviews the programs and activities of the OEO Legal Services Program, looking particularly at its allocation of limited resources and its goal of equal justice.
143. JOHNSON, KEVIN R. AND AMAGDA PEREZ. *Clinical Legal Education and the U.C. Davis Immigration Law Clinic: Putting Theory into Practice and Practice into Theory*. 51 SMU L. REV. 1423 (1998). Considers the question of "whether clinical legal education, often implemented in programs providing legal assistance to subordinated communities, does any good for those communities." Uses the Immigration Law Clinic at U.C. Davis as an example.
144. KATZ, JACK. *POOR PEOPLE'S LAWYERS IN TRANSITION*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1982. Discusses equal access to justice issues by relating a historical case study of the professional staffs and organizations that provide civil legal services to Chicago's poor. Identifies ways in which these services relate to social and political movements.
145. KLARE, E. KARL. *Toward New Strategies for Low-Wage Workers*. 4 B.U. PUB. INT. L.J. 245 (1995). Considers the problems and interests of "low-wage workers" whether they are actually employed in a low-wage job or whether they are welfare recipients, immigrants, or those on fixed incomes, including the elderly and disabled. Suggests that neither traditional employment law or poverty law effectively serves these groups.
146. KOONS, JUDITH E. *Fair Housing and Community Empowerment: Where the Roof Meets Redemption*. 4 GEO. J. ON FIGHTING POVERTY 75 (1996). Uses the case of *Houston v. City of Cocoa* to discuss how litigation may serve the goals of client and community empowerment.
147. KUNSTLER, WILLIAM M. *DEEP IN MY HEART*. New York: Morrow, 1966. The autobiography of one of the highest-profile lawyers deeply involved in the Civil Rights movement. This biography evokes a particularly vivid picture of the ways lawyers participated in this movement, from the relatively early vantage point of 1966.
148. LONG, LEONARD J. *Optimum Poverty, Character, and the Non-Relevance of Poverty Law*. 47 RUTGERS L. REV. 693 (1995). Argues that the

problems of poverty and discrimination cannot be solved until society values eliminating those problems enough to permit distributive justice.

149. MANSFIELD, CATHY L. *Deconstructing Reconstructive Poverty Law: A Practice-Based Critique of the Storytelling Aspects of the Theoretics of Practice Movement*. 61 BROOK. L. REV. 889 (1995). Critique suggests that clients' goals may not be reached if the theories of the theoretics of practice movement are followed, and that this movement assumes a "paternalistically greater role than poverty attorneys have in their clients' lives."
150. MARGULIES, PETER. *Progressive Lawyering and Lost Traditions*. 73 TEX. L. REV. 1139 (1995). Review of Milner S. Ball's *The Word and the Law* and Anthony T. Kronman's *The Lost Lawyer: Failing Ideals of the Legal Profession* as descriptions of two types of approaches—redemptive and prudentialist—to lawyering.
151. ———. *Representation of Domestic Violence Survivors as a New Paradigm of Poverty Law: In Search of Access, Connection, and Voice*. 63 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 1071 (1995). Attributes the marginalization of domestic violence in the context of poverty law to the current emphasis on public benefits issues, rather than "private" matters, and to the use of "instrumental" lawyering techniques, designed to serve the most people with the least expenditure of resources.
152. MEILI, STEPHEN. *The Interaction Between Lawyers and Grassroots Social Movements in Brazil*. 1993 BEYOND LAW 61 (1993). Describes cause lawyering in Brazil and analyzes the forces that have historically constrained cause lawyering and the more recent ones that have fostered this type of lawyering.
153. MERKEL, PHILIP L. *At the Crossroads of Reform: The First Fifty Years of American Legal Aid, 1876–1926*. 27 HOUS. L. REV. 1 (1990). This article reviews the formative years of legal aid in the United States, a period neglected by historians, according to the author.
154. PIOMELLI, ASCANIO. *Appreciating Collaborative Lawyering*. 6 CLINICAL L. REV. 427 (2000). Detailed analysis of collaborative lawyering, the style of lawyering that stresses the "direct involvement of clients in individual and collective efforts to speak out and act against their own oppression." Discusses the scholarship of Handler, Simon, and Blasi which criticizes earlier work by Alfieri, White, and López. Argues that the critiques by Handler, Simon, and Blasi are premature and fail to distinguish between the insights of each earlier scholar. Uses the "packing" of the East Palo Alto Rent Board to discuss the nature of collaborative lawyering.
155. POLIKOFF, NANCY D. *Am I My Client?: The Role Confusion of a Lawyer Activist*. 31 HARV. C.R.-C.L. L. REV. 443 (1996). Discusses the conflict of representing clients with whom a lawyer identifies, particularly in the

context of social and political activism. Most of the examples are drawn from the author's experiences representing gay and lesbian activists in civil disobedience settings. Polikoff advocates client-centered counseling, but points out the inherent discomfort and conflict felt by the lawyer in this role.

156. SARAT, AUSTIN AND STUART SCHEINGOLD, EDS. *CAUSE LAWYERING: POLITICAL COMMITMENTS AND PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. Collection of essays examining the boundary between law and politics. Uses both international case studies and theoretical overviews to illustrate the "diversity of styles, strategies, and substance that is described by the term 'cause lawyering.'" The third section is noteworthy for its examination of the ways lawyers "use law as a tool of progressive social change."
157. SCHEINGOLD, STUART A. *THE POLITICS OF RIGHTS: LAWYERS, PUBLIC POLICY, AND POLITICAL CHANGE*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974. Examines the role of law and lawyers in American politics, especially the interplay between values and behavior. Concentrates "on the efforts of lawyers to put litigation and legal rights at the service of redistributive political goals."
158. SCHULER, MARGARET AND SAKUNTALA KADIRGAMAR-RAJASINGHAM, EDS. *LEGAL LITERACY: A TOOL FOR WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT*. New York: UNIFEM, 1992. Uses experiences from Asia, Africa, and Latin America to explore the process of legal literacy as a strategy for achieving social justice for women. Discusses "the role of lawyers as agents of legal literacy," and the role of nonprofessional community-based organizers.
159. SHAH, DANIEL S. *Lawyering for Empowerment: Community Development and Social Change*. 6 *CLINICAL L. REV.* 217 (1999). Summarizes the last four decades of community development programs and their efforts to improve social and economic conditions. Attempts to ascertain the extent that lawyers influence this work by looking at the relationship between the rhetoric of empowerment and the realities of practicing community development law.
160. SIMON, WILLIAM H. *The Dark Secret of Progressive Lawyering: A Comment on Poverty Law Scholarship in the Post-Modern, Post-Reagan Era*. 48 *U. MIAMI L. REV.* 1099 (1994). According to Simon, "The Dark Secret" is that effective lawyers cannot avoid making judgments in terms of their own values and influencing their clients to adopt those judgments.
161. ———. *Visions of Practice in Legal Thought*. 36 *STAN. L. REV.* 469 (1984). "Contrasts the vision of law practice expressed in the established professional culture with a vision derived from recent critical legal writing."

162. SMITH, J. CLAY, JR. AND E. DESMOND HOGAN. *Remembered Hero, Forgotten Contribution: Charles Hamilton Houston, Legal Realism, and Labor Law*. 14 HARV. BLACKLETTER J. 1 (1998). This tribute to Houston, who was the major architect of the NAACP's strategy to overturn *Plessy v. Ferguson*, explores his less well-known contribution to American labor law, particularly in the case of *Steele v. Tunstall*. Houston believed that litigation alone could not solve the problems of discrimination and worked collaboratively with the NAACP chapter and black trade unionists to strengthen his legal theories and their impact.
163. SOUTHWORTH, ANN. *Collective Representation for the Disadvantaged: Variations in Problems of Accountability*. 67 FORDHAM L. REV. 2449 (1999). Argues that any discussion of ethical considerations of representing poor people must take into account the differences between client as an individual, the client as a class, and the client as an organization. Proposes that lawyers should not be discouraged from helping clients build organizations to serve their own needs.
164. ———. *Lawyer-Client Decision-Making in Civil Rights and Poverty Practice: An Empirical Study of Lawyers' Norms*. 9 GEO. J. LEGAL ETHICS 1101 (1996). Empirical observations of the roles lawyers assume in the decision-making process with respect to poverty and civil rights clients. Based on interviews with Chicago lawyers, respondents reported a variety of beliefs and rationales.
165. ———. *Lawyers and the "Myth of Rights" in Civil Rights and Poverty Practice*. 8 B.U. PUB. INT. L.J. 469 (1999). Uses the results of sixty-nine interviews to consider what strategies civil rights and poverty lawyers pursue and what goals they believe they are accomplishing. In addition to litigation, most use multipronged strategies, such as lobbying, organizing grassroots campaigns, training clients, and building coalitions, depending on institutional attributes and client characteristics.
166. ———. *Taking the Lawyer Out of Progressive Lawyering*. 46 STAN. L. REV. 213 (1993). Reviews López's *Rebellious Lawyering*, and suggests that both the traditional understanding of activist lawyering and López's view fall short. Advocates for more study of attorney-client interaction as well as the substance of the lawyer's work. (See Bibliography # 12.)
167. TREMBLAY, PAUL R. *Rebellious Lawyering, Regnant Lawyering, & Street-Level Bureaucracy*. 43 HASTINGS L.J. 947 (1992). Argues that rebellious lawyering emphasizes allocating resources toward long-term solutions benefiting the community, while regnant lawyering emphasizes short-term needs of individual clients. Maintains that the ethical considerations of rebellious lawyering must be examined.
168. TRUBEK, LOUISE G. *Embedded Practices: Lawyers, Clients, and Social Change*. 31 HARV. C.R.-C.L. L. REV. 415 (1996). Examines two

models of alternative lawyering practices used in Wisconsin: the "client non-profit" and the "social justice law firm."

169. WHITE, LUCIE E. *Goldberg v. Kelly on the Paradox of Lawyering for the Poor*. 56 BROOK. L. REV. 861 (1990). Discusses the limitations of *Goldberg v. Kelly* as a catalyst for progressive change and suggests that unfair treatment is potentially a more "explosive" issue than material deprivation.
170. ———. *Specially Tailored Legal Services for Low-Income Persons in the Age of Wealth Inequality: Pragmatism or Capitulation?* 67 FORDHAM L. REV. 2573 (1999). Succinctly summarizes the philosophies of legal services that aid the poor over the past decades.

#### LEGAL EDUCATION FOR REBELLIOUS LAWYERING

171. ANSLEY, FRANCES. *Starting With the Students: Lessons From Popular Education*. 4 S. CAL. REV. L. & WOMEN'S STUD. 7 (1994). Expands presentation, "Bringing Values and Perspectives Back into the Law School Classroom: Practical Ideas for Teachers," given at an AALS Symposium. Suggests that the popular education philosophies of Paulo Freire and Myles Horton have much to offer to law faculty, and that law faculty use reflection papers, among other devices, to bring real life experiences of students into the classroom. Advocates that students be encouraged by law faculty to work in community settings.
172. BEFORT, STEPHEN F. AND ERIC S. JANUS. *The Role of Legal Education in Instilling an Ethos of Public Service Among Law Students: Towards a Collaboration Between the Profession and the Academy on Professional Values*. 13 LAW & INEQ. J. 1 (1994). Part of the proceedings of a Minnesota Symposium on Legal Education and Pro Bono. The symposium was a collaborative effort between legal educators and practitioners to increase the level of public service in the profession. Argues that the largest untapped legal resource for low income individuals is volunteer attorneys and law students.
173. BEZDEK, BARBARA L. *Reconstructing a Pedagogy of Responsibility*. 43 HASTINGS L.J. 1159 (1992). Describes methods for teaching professional responsibility through investigation and personal reflection on the meanings of poverty.
174. ———. *Reflections on the Practice of a Theory: Law, Teaching, and Social Change*. 32 LOY. L.A. L. REV. 707 (1999). Frankly discusses the difficulties of teaching within the traditional legal education setting and pursuing social change. Discusses some aspects of the "Legal Theory and Practice" courses taught at Maryland Law School.



175. DUBIN, JON C. *Clinical Design for Social Justice Imperatives*. 51 SMU L. REV. 1461 (1998). “Re-explores the social justice dimensions of clinical design features in the deeply underserved communities of South Texas’s poverty belt.” Uses the Center for Legal and Social Justice at St. Mary’s University School of Law as an example of “holistic representation and service, community empowerment, advocacy across international boundaries . . . .”
176. LÓPEZ, GERALD. *Training Future Lawyers to Work With the Politically and Socially Subordinated: Anti-Generic Legal Education*. 91 W. VA. L. REV. 305 (1988). Criticizes legal education for offering too few general approaches to teaching and learning. Suggests that law students who plan to work with the subordinated—the poor, women, the elderly, people of color, the disabled, etc.—are particularly ill- equipped by the current learning model. Describes particular changes in the law school curriculum that would better prepare the rebellious lawyer for working with the subordinated.
177. MANN, ERIC. *Radical Social Movements and the Responsibility of Progressive Intellectuals*. 32 LOY. L.A. L. REV. 761 (1999). Speech given at the Symposia, “Power, Pedagogy, and Praxis: Moving the Classroom to Action.” Describes the Labor/Community Strategy Center of Los Angeles and its efforts to build broad, multifaceted working class community organizations. Relates specific examples of law being used as a tool for social change, including the 1996 Consent Decree agreed upon to remedy overcrowding in the MTA bus system.
178. OMATSU, GLENN. *Teaching for Social Change: Learning How to Afflict the Comfortable and Comfort the Afflicted*. 32 LOY. L.A. L. REV. 791 (1999). Paper from “Power, Pedagogy, & Praxis: Moving the Classroom to Action.” Connects the author’s experiences in the classroom with his five principles for teaching: classroom learning must be linked to community movements; knowledge is something to be shared; teachers are facilitators or organizers in the learning process; knowledge is to be used responsibly to change communities; and students can be agents of social change when they join with community movements.
179. PITEGOFF, PETER. *Law School Initiatives in Housing and Community Development*. 4 B.U. PUB. INT. L.J. 275 (1995). One of several articles in a symposium issue, “New Approaches to Poverty Law, Teaching, and Practice.” Uses the experiences of housing and economic development clinical programs at Seton Hall, Yale, and SUNY Buffalo to demonstrate how law school students can collaborate with community organizations in ways that both supports community-based development and teaches “the art of lawyering in the context of reflective practice.”
180. TRUBEK, LOUISE G. *On Long Haul Lawyering*. 25 FORDHAM URB. L.J. 801 (1998). Discusses the video, “So Goes a Nation,” and the three

essential elements of innovative legal practices: multiple organizational practices, expanded lawyering skills, and intensive collaborative relationships, such as described in the video. Concludes with strategies for supporting such practices. (See Bibliography # 234.)

181. WEXLER, STEPHEN. *Practicing Law for Poor People*. 79 YALE L.J. 1049 (1970). Maintains that poor people are very different from traditional clients and that law schools do not prepare lawyers for the special needs of poor clients.
182. WHITE, LUCIE E. *Pro Bono or Partnership? Rethinking Lawyers' Public Service Obligations for a New Millennium*. 50 J. LEGAL EDUC. 134 (2000). Argues that the model of lawyers' public service responsibility as individualized voluntary pro bono representation is outmoded and that changing gender roles, race norms, and immigration patterns make this model too time-consuming, as well as ineffective. Suggests that emerging partnerships between community service providers, professional practitioners, law faculty and students is a better model.

#### POPULAR EDUCATION AND PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

183. ANSLEY, FRAN AND JOHN GAVENTA. *Researching for Democracy & Democratizing Research*. 29 CHANGE 46 (1997). Describes the emerging global research approach that values the participation of people themselves in research that draws conclusions about them. Lists and describes various higher education institutions (including law schools), consortia, programs, and projects that use collaborative community research methods. Suggests that research partnerships between universities and the community have much to offer but also face several institutional challenges.
184. BELENKY, MARY F., LYNNE A. BOND, AND JACQUELINE S. WEINSTOCK. *A TRADITION THAT HAS NO NAME: NURTURING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE, FAMILIES, AND COMMUNITIES*. New York: BasicBooks, 1997. A study of four organizations, the Mothers' Center movement in the United States, the German Mothers' Centers, the National Congress of Neighborhood Women, and the Center for Cultural and Community Development, and how each is effective in bringing public voice to women in poor and isolated communities. Describes a leadership tradition that nurtures each individual as a contributing member of community life.
185. BEROLD, ROBERT AND COLLETTE CAINE, EDS. *PEOPLE'S WORKBOOK: WORKING TOGETHER TO CHANGE YOUR COMMUNITY*. Johannesburg: Environmental and Development Agency, 1981. Written to provide information for rural communities of South Africa about how to improve

lives and organize for democratic development. Practical advice about agriculture, construction, water, health, legal rights, and working in groups. Distributed by the Environmental and Development Agency, Box 62054, Marshalltown, South Africa 2107.

186. BLAZER, JONATHAN AND VIRGINIA RUIZ. *Lay Advocacy Training: Promoting Immigrant Leadership and Activism*. 54 GUILD PRAC. 129 (1997). According to the authors, recent legislation has eroded the traditional legal rights of immigrants. Therefore, it is imperative to increase the ability of immigrant communities to engage in political activity on their own behalf. Written from the immigrant perspective, the description of the use of civic action projects (CAPS) to develop lay advocacy skills may be beneficial to others promoting similar skills in other marginalized groups.
187. BOYD, ANDREW. *THE ACTIVIST COOKBOOK: CREATIVE ACTIONS FOR A FAIR ECONOMY: A HANDS-ON MANUAL FOR ORGANIZERS, ARTISTS AND EDUCATORS WHO WANT TO GET THEIR MESSAGE ACROSS IN POWERFUL, CREATIVE WAYS*. Boston: United for a Fair Economy, 1997. Focuses on effective action against economic injustices. Published by an organization devoted to creative, multifaceted education about the wealth gap in America.
188. CANCIAN, FRANCESCA M. AND CATHLEEN ARMSTEAD. *Participatory Research* in *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIOLOGY*, EDGAR F. BORGATTA, ED., 2038–44. Detroit: Macmillan, 2000. Short article that defines and summarizes participatory research as research in which the people being studied actively participate and control; popular knowledge, experience, understanding and feelings of the people are respected and included; the focus is on power and empowerment; the education of all participants is a primary goal; and political action with structural change and social transformation is the end product.
189. CASTANO FERREIRA, ELEONORA AND JOÃO CASTANO FERREIRA. *MAKING SENSE OF THE MEDIA: A HANDBOOK OF POPULAR EDUCATION TECHNIQUES*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997. A handbook for developing a “popular education curriculum through which learners can develop a critical analysis of the mass media.” Designed for classroom use by organizers of all kinds, as well as by teachers of high school, college, adult literacy, ESL, and other community-centered classes.
190. CHAMBERS, ROBERT. *WHOSE REALITY COUNTS?: PUTTING THE FIRST LAST*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1997. Presents the need for personal, professional, and institutional change if the realities of the poor are to be addressed. Tries to rectify the “gap in the writing about development: the lack of analysis of how error, professionalism, power, and personal interactions interlink.” Discusses

- PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal). Practical guide for practitioners, researchers, and policymakers. Includes glossary, tables, diagrams, extensive bibliography. Written by a British practitioner and scholar of development studies.
191. EAGLY, INGRID V. *Community Education: Creating a New Vision of Legal Services Practice*. 4 CLINICAL L. REV. 433 (1998). Uses a Chicago-based program for immigrant women workers to illustrate ways nontraditional forms of lawyering and community education can be used as a part of legal services practices. Particularly useful for its practical considerations and references to other important works in this field.
192. FALS-BORDA, ORLANDO, AND MOHAMMAD ANISUR RAHMAN, EDS. *ACTION AND KNOWLEDGE: BREAKING THE MONOPOLY WITH PARTICIPATORY ACTION-RESEARCH*. New York: Apex Press, 1991. Discusses Participatory Action-Research (PAR) as an approach to social and economic change that allows people to become directly involved in determining directions and goals for themselves. Emphasizes the need for committed professionals to share their knowledge and expertise with the people. Fals-Borda is a noted Colombian sociologist considered one of the founding generation of PAR in the global South.
193. FREIRE, PAULO. *PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED*. New York: Continuum, 1993. Classic work on popular education for social change by the Brazilian-born educator. First published in 1970.
194. THE HIGHLANDER RESEARCH AND EDUCATION CENTER. *A VERY POPULAR ECONOMIC EDUCATION SAMPLER*. New Market, Tenn.: Highlander Research and Education Center, 1990. A collection of materials (articles, exercises, activities, skits, songs, resource lists) "developed by community groups and economic educators who have collectively explored local, national, and international systems and dynamics." A tool kit for community empowerment.
195. HINSDALE, MARY ANN, HELEN M. LEWIS, AND S. MAXINE WALLER. *IT COMES FROM THE PEOPLE: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL THEOLOGY*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995. Case study of community development process in the small rural mountain town of Ivanhoe, Virginia. "In chronicling the impact of industrialization and economic restructuring on community life, it tells how people in a dying community on 'the rough side of the mountain' organized to revitalize their town" using participatory techniques.
196. HOPE, ANNE AND SALLY TIMMEL. *TRAINING FOR TRANSFORMATION: A HANDBOOK FOR COMMUNITY WORKERS*. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1992. A three-volume set of materials about theory and skills, as well as a critical analysis of community development and education. Includes guidelines, workshop materials, songs, plays, resource materials, films, and bibliographies.

197. HORTON, MYLES AND PAULO FREIRE. *WE MAKE THE ROAD BY WALKING: CONVERSATIONS ON EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE*. Edited by Brenda Bell, John Gaventa, and John Peters. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990. Two champions of adult education as a method of social change discuss the differences and similarities of their values, philosophies, and experiences.
198. KELEHER, TERRY. *JUSTICE BY THE PEOPLE: ACTION EDUCATION WORKSHOPS FOR COMMUNITY SAFETY AND POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY*. Oakland, Cal.: Applied Research Center, 1997. A manual of fifteen workshop designs written for facilitators, rather than for participants. Presents “a model for combining grassroots analytical and policy development with direct action by those who formulated the policy proposals.” Workshops provide systematic educational programs about political and economic issues to make progressive organizations more effective in implementing strategic actions and developing unified connections.
199. KRETZMANN, JOHN P. AND JOHN L. MCKNIGHT. *A GUIDE TO MAPPING AND MOBILIZING THE ECONOMIC CAPACITIES OF LOCAL RESIDENTS: A COMMUNITY BUILDING WORKBOOK*. Evanston, Ill.: Asset-Based Community Development Institute, Center for Urban Affairs, 1996. A workbook for discovering and mobilizing individual members of a community. Exercises and activities are designed to identify contributors and capacities of the local economy. Suggests various methods of creating links between individuals to promote economic development. Distributed exclusively by ACTA Publications.
200. LOUIE, MIRIAM C., WITH LINDA BURNHAM. *WOMEN’S EDUCATION IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY: A WORKBOOK OF ACTIVITIES, GAMES, SKITS AND STRATEGIES FOR ACTIVISTS, ORGANIZERS, REBELS AND HELL RAISERS*. Berkeley, Cal.: Women of Color Resource Center, 2000. A workbook that uses popular education methods to “enable women in our communities to increase their awareness of the impact of global restructuring on women’s lives” and “envision ways to organize for economic justice from a strong gender, race, and global perspective.” Includes statistics and definitions, as well as relevant notes and listings of resource organizations. Distributed by the Women of Color Resource Center, 2288 Fulton St., Suite 103, Berkeley, CA 94704-1449.
201. MANASE, WILSON T. *Legal Services in Rural Areas: The Zimbabwean Experience*. 1992 *THIRD WORLD LEGAL STUD.* 179 (1992). In Zimbabwe, the Legal Resources Foundation has been providing basic legal services to the majority rural population in two basic ways. Direct services to the public are provided through paralegal training and through a public legal education program that uses advice volunteers, paralegal lawyers, advice centers, and public interest law firms. These

programs seek "to educate specific impoverished communities about their rights and the laws and procedures relevant to their day-to-day activities, so as to enable them to decide for themselves when and how to take recourse to the law and when not to do."

202. MURPHY, DANNY, MADELEINE SCAMMELL, AND RICHARD SCLOVE, EDS. *DOING COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH: A READER*. Amherst, Mass.: Loka Institute, 1997. A collection of articles from various scholarly disciplines that illustrate the range of issues central to the community-based research approach to solving social problems.
203. NADEAU, DENISE. *COUNTING OUR VICTORIES: POPULAR EDUCATION AND ORGANIZING: A TRAINING GUIDE ON POPULAR EDUCATION AND ORGANIZING*. New Westminster, British Columbia: Repeal the Deal Productions, 1996. A kit that promotes the use of popular education to support organizing in the post-NAFTA era. Based on many experiences from unions, women's groups in Nicaragua, theology students, and anti-free trade work, the kit contains eleven modules of tools, activities, and resources and a video of examples for discussion of approaches to the popular education process.
204. PARK, PETER, ET AL., EDS. *VOICES OF CHANGE: PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA*. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 1993. A collection of articles about participatory research in North America. Particularly useful is John Gaventa's essay, "The Powerful, the Powerless, and the Experts: Knowledge Struggles in the Information Age." Discusses how information affects power relationships and how disempowered people can utilize information in their strategies.
205. SCLOVE, RICHARD, MADELEINE L. SCAMMELL, AND BREENA HOLLAND. *COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH IN THE U.S.: AN INTRODUCTORY RECONNAISSANCE, INCLUDING TWELVE ORGANIZATIONAL CASE STUDIES AND COMPARISON WITH THE DUTCH SCIENCE SHOPS AND THE MAINSTREAM AMERICAN RESEARCH SYSTEM*. Amherst, Mass.: Loka Institute, 1998. The twelve organizations studied represent a variety of concerns, operating procedures, institutional and geographic settings and demographic characteristics. Although much is known about the mainstream research system in the United States, very little study or analysis has been done on community-based research. The study lists specific gaps in the critical evaluation of community-based research efforts which limit the effectiveness and efficiency of community groups.
206. TRAPP, SHEL. *BASICS OF ORGANIZING: YOU CAN'T BUILD A MACHINE WITHOUT NUTS AND BOLTS*. Chicago: National Training and Information Center, 1986. Part of a series on Organizing and Neighborhood Preservation; a manual for staff as well as community leaders; provides

very basic and specific guidelines for what to do and not do in successful community organizing drives.

## APPENDIX I: AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS

The audio-visual materials contained in this listing are by no means exhaustive of our subject of law and organizing and related issues. This highly subjective listing only begins to suggest the range of videos and films on this topic. Some of the films are documentary; others are scripted fiction. Some of the summaries have been adapted from publishers' catalogs and other resources.

207. *AMERICAN DREAM*. Cabin Creek Films, 1990. The true-life story of a 1985–86 workers' strike in Austin, Minnesota.
208. *AT THE RIVER I STAND*. California Newsreel, 1993. Documents two 1968 events in the civil rights movement—the sanitation workers' strike in Memphis, and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Shows how the black community, local civil rights leaders, and AFSCME mobilized behind the strikers in mass demonstrations and a boycott of downtown businesses.
209. *BUS RIDERS UNION*. Strategy Center Publications, 2000. A complex portrayal of a multiracial grassroots movement that took on some of the most powerful forces in Los Angeles and won. (See Bibliography # 14.)
210. *THE DEMOCRATIC PROMISE: SAUL ALINSKY AND HIS LEGACY*. University of California Extension Center for Media and Independent Learning, 1999. Legendary organizer Saul Alinsky led the movement to empower disenfranchised communities through collective action. This film examines Alinsky's life and influence as illustrated by the work being done in two contemporary people's organizations.
211. *EUGENE DEBS AND THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT*. Cambridge Documentary Films, 1977. A biographical sketch of Eugene V. Debs, labor leader, industrial unionist, and American Socialist, narrated by his friend Shubert Sebree.
212. *EYES ON THE PRIZE: AMERICA'S CIVIL RIGHT YEARS*. Blackside, Inc., Producer, and PBS Video, distributor, 1986. A comprehensive history of civil rights movement in America, using archival film footage and interviews with participants in the civil rights movement.
213. *THE FIGHT IN THE FIELDS: CESAR CHAVEZ AND THE FARMWORKER'S STRUGGLE*. Paradigm Productions, 1997. The story of Cesar Chavez, the charismatic founder of the United Farmworkers Union, and the movement he inspired. Film includes archival footage, newsreels and present-day interviews with activists, politicians, and Chavez family members.
214. *THE GLOBAL ASSEMBLY LINE*. New Day Films, 1986. Portrays the lives of working men and women in the "free trade zones" of developing countries and North America, as U.S. industries close their factories and search the globe for lower-wage workers.



215. **GOLDEN LANDS, WORKING HANDS.** California Federation of Teachers, 1999. Ten labor history units designed for high school students, covering the labor movement in California from the 1860s to the present day.
216. **HARLAN COUNTY U.S.A.** Cabin Creek Films, 1976. Documents the 1973 coal miner's strike in Kentucky against the Brookside Mine and Duke Power Companies stemming from the companies' refusal to honor the national United Mine Workers of America contract.
217. **HOLDING GROUND: THE REBIRTH OF DUDLEY STREET.** New Day Films, 1996. Documents the story of how residents, activists and city officials in a Boston community organized the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative to carry out its agenda for preserving and revitalizing the neighborhood. (See Bibliography # 82.)
218. **HOMES AND HANDS: COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS IN ACTION.** Women's Educational Media, 1998. Illustrates how communities nationwide have organized to gain control of their local land and resources, using the community land trust model to create a stock of permanently affordable housing.
219. **THE INHERITANCE.** Harold Mayer Productions, 1992. Depicts the history of early twentieth-century immigration to the United States, the social and economic conditions of the immigrants which influenced the development of the trade union movement, and the resulting cultural changes. Includes archival photographs and newsreel footage.
220. **JUSTICE IN THE COALFIELDS.** Appalshop, 1995. Documentary focusing on the United Mine Workers' 1989 strike against the Pittston Coal Company, the effect on the people and communities involved, and the unresolved issues left in its wake.
221. **THE KILLING FLOOR.** Kino on Video, 1985. The story of a southern black sharecropper who became a union activist after being subjected to abominable working conditions in a Chicago slaughterhouse in the early 1900s.
222. **MATEWAN.** Lorimar Home Video, 1987. The story of a bitter clash between a union and coal company in West Virginia in the 1920s.
223. **THE MILAGRO BEANFIELD WAR.** MCA Home Video, 1993. The story of a small New Mexican village that is threatened by development, and of a single act of rebellion that rekindles its pride and strength of spirit.
224. **MILES OF SMILES, YEARS OF STRUGGLE.** California Newsreel, 1983. The personal narratives of retired Pullman train porters about the formation of their union—the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
225. **AÑO NUEVO.** Cinema Guild, 1981. Describes the living and working conditions of undocumented Mexican agricultural workers at Año Nuevo flower ranch in San Mateo County, California. Documents the efforts of these workers, fired when they attempted to join a union, to

- reach a settlement with the Año Nuevo owner through the U.S. legal system. Shows how their victory established the right of workers to protection under American fair labor laws regardless of their legal status. In Spanish and English.
226. NORMA RAE. CBS Fox Video, 1979. A textile worker in a small Southern town discovers that she has a social conscience when a labor organizer arrives to establish a union at her mill.
227. OH FREEDOM AFTER WHILE. Webster University and the University of Memphis, producer, California Newsreel, distributor, 1999. The story of Missouri sharecroppers, both black and white, who staged a dramatic roadside demonstration in 1939 to protest treatment by local landowners, resulting in new housing for displaced farmworkers, a new farming community and lasting changes in individual lives.
228. THE ORGANIZER. Hen's Tooth Video, 1997. A professor turns union organizer to help an exploited group of factory workers in Turin at the beginning of the twentieth century.
229. OUTRIDERS. Skylight Pictures, 1999. Documents the cross-country bus trip by the Kensington Welfare Rights Union of Philadelphia to collect stories of the poor, homeless, and unemployed to be presented to the United Nations as evidence of economic human rights violations.
230. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM. California Newsreel, 1995. Biography of the African-American labor leader, journalist, and civil rights activist A. Philip Randolph.
231. SALT OF THE EARTH. Voyager Press, 1985. Semi-documentary of the year-long struggle by Mexican American zinc miners in New Mexico. When an injunction is issued against the workers, their wives take up battle with a fury, leaving the husbands to care for home and children. Originally produced as a motion picture in 1953 by blacklisted filmmakers; selected for the National Film Registry.
232. SHOUT YOUNGSTOWN. Cinema Guild, 1985. Documentary about the closing of three major steel plants in Youngstown, Ohio between 1976 and 1980. Includes interviews with steelworkers, attorneys, local union leaders, and community activists.
233. SILKWOOD. Embassy Home Entertainment, 1984. Based on the true story of an Oklahoma woman who becomes contaminated with plutonium by the town plant, and works to organize a response to the plant's safety hazards.
234. SO GOES A NATION: LAWYERS AND COMMUNITIES. New York Lawyers for the Public Interest, 1997. Examines three examples of legal assistance to low-income communities in the New York area: the Brownsville Family Health Care Center, funded through the efforts of Brooklyn Legal Services Corporation; efforts in Brooklyn to fight environmentally hazardous projects in poor neighborhoods; and the

Workplace Project in Hempstead, Long Island helping immigrant workers and enforcing labor laws. Teaching materials to accompany this video were published on CD-ROM by Fordham University School of Law. (See Bibliography # 108, 180.)

235. **STRUGGLES IN STEEL: A STORY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN STEELWORKERS.** California Newsreel, 1996. Traces one hundred years of black industrial history, including the 1892 Homestead Strike, the Great Migration during World War I, the Great Steel Strike of 1919, the CIO organizing efforts of the 1930s, World War II, and the 1974 labor agreement that provided hiring and promotion goals for women and minorities, and the bitter realities of deindustrialization. Probes racism of both employers and unions.
236. **THEY WERE NOT SILENT: THE JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE HOLOCAUST.** The Archives, 1998. A documentary highlighting the American Jewish labor community's anti-Nazi efforts after the rise of Hitler, the suppression of free trade unions in Germany, and the widespread terror against Jews and others during the Holocaust. Features interviews with scholars, Holocaust survivors, and labor leaders, as well as archival film and photographs from Germany and the United States.
237. **TIGER BY THE TAIL.** Labor Distributors, 1985. The workers at a General Motors automobile plant in Van Nuys, California, slated for closure, banded together and organized the Labor/Community Coalition to Keep G.M. Van Nuys Open in an attempt to forestall the closing. (See Bibliography # 76.)
238. **UNION MAIDS.** New Day Films, 1976. Adaptation of the book *Rank and File*, by Alice Lynd, about the American labor movement of the 1930s. The film relates the personal experiences of three militant women who tried to organize laborers in Chicago. (See Bibliography # 75.)
239. **THE UPRISING OF '34.** First Run/Icarus Films, 1995. The story of the General Strike of 1934, a massive but little-known strike by hundreds of thousands of textile workers.
240. **VOICES FROM THE FRONT LINES: ORGANIZING IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN LOS ANGELES.** Center for Labor Research and Education, UCLA, 2000. Highlights emerging anti-corporate leanings within the environmental movement; documents the Strategy Center's battles with the South Coast Air Quality Management District, its international solidarity with Acción Ecológica in Ecuador, and the activities of the Bus Riders Union in Los Angeles.
241. **THE WILLMAR 8.** California Newsreel, 1980. The story of eight low-wage, women bank workers in Willmar, Minnesota who formed a union and started the first bank strike in Minnesota. Illustrates their two-year struggle to challenge injustice.

242. **WITH BABIES AND BANNERS: STORY OF THE WOMEN'S EMERGENCY BRIGADE.** Cinema Guild, 1977. Describes the role of women, especially the members of the Women's Emergency Brigade, in the General Motors sit-down strike of 1936-37. Includes interviews with several Brigade members on the fortieth anniversary of the strike.
243. **YOU GOT TO MOVE: STORIES OF CHANGE IN THE SOUTH.** Cumberland Educational Cooperative: First Run/Icarus Films, distributor, 1985. Documents the efforts of ordinary people against injustices caused by strip mining in Kentucky, toxic waste dumping in Tennessee, and illiteracy and discrimination in South Carolina.

## APPENDIX II: ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES

The organizations, training centers, and other intermediaries on this list represent a range of groups that are working in different ways on a wide array of issues and serving a variety of constituencies. The appendix is intended as a practical aid to potential readers and does not represent an attempt to provide a comprehensive listing of all groups that can be characterized as working in support of grassroots organizations and mobilization. Our attempt, admittedly fuzzy at the edges, has been to identify a range of groups that generally share an egalitarian vision, a critique of inherited patterns of inequality, and a commitment to significant redistribution of social power and material resources. Finally, we have not attempted to include organizations that function primarily at a local or state level, although their work is in many ways the most important. The focus here is rather on organizations that function at a regional or national level to train, network, educate, or service the groups and people who are working locally.

**ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now)**

739 8th Street, S.E.

Washington, DC 20003

[www.acorn.org](http://www.acorn.org)

Phone: (202) 547-2500

Fax: (202) 546-2483

The largest low- and moderate-income membership organization in the United States; ACORN's "first priority is building organization in low-income communities."

**AFL-CIO Organizing Institute**

815 16th Street, N.W.

Washington, DC 20006

[www.aflcio.org/orginst](http://www.aflcio.org/orginst)

Phone: (202) 639-6200; (800) 848-3021

Fax: (202) 639-6264

"A selective program that includes classroom training, field training and job placement [for union organizers]."

**AFL-CIO Union Summer**

815 16th Street, N.W.

Washington, DC 20006

[www.aflcio.org/unionsummer](http://www.aflcio.org/unionsummer)

Phone: (800) 952-2550

Fax: (202) 639-6230

This program run by the AFL-CIO focuses on “introducing college students to the union world.” It provides paid internships and intensive training, and groups students in front-line union-organizing activities. AFL-CIO also sponsors the Law Student Union Summer ([www.aflcio.org/unionsummer/law\\_student.htm](http://www.aflcio.org/unionsummer/law_student.htm)) and Seminary Summer ([www.aflcio.org/unionsummer/seminary.htm](http://www.aflcio.org/unionsummer/seminary.htm)). Law Student Union Summer assigns six to ten law students to various unions across the country for ten week internships, where they work on-site with varied legal activities “helping working people organize unions and win first contracts.” Seminary Summer is a similar program for twenty-five seminarians, novices, and rabbinical students who “work with religious, community and union activists to build support for workers organizing unions.”

Alliance for Justice

11 Dupont Circle, N.W., 2nd Floor

Washington, DC 20036

[www.afj.org](http://www.afj.org)

Phone: (202) 822-6070

Fax: (202) 822-6068

“A national association of environmental, civil rights, mental health, women’s, children’s and consumer advocacy organizations. Since its inception in 1979, the Alliance has worked to advance the cause of justice for all Americans, strengthen the public interest community’s ability to influence public policy, and foster the next generation of advocates.”

Applied Research Center

3781 Broadway

Oakland, CA 94611

[www.arc.org](http://www.arc.org)

Phone: (510) 653-3415

Fax: (510) 653-3427

“A public policy, educational and research institute whose work emphasizes issues of race and social change.” Works loosely with grassroots organizing groups based in communities of color.

Center for Community Change

1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.

Washington, DC 20007

[www.communitychange.org](http://www.communitychange.org)

Phone: (202) 342-0567

Fax: (202) 333-5462

“Committed to reducing poverty and rebuilding low income communities.” Publishes *Getting Good Jobs: An Organizer’s Guide to Job Training*, by Linda Schade, and an on-line newsletter, “Organizing,” at [www.communitychange.org/default.asp](http://www.communitychange.org/default.asp).

Center for Democratic Renewal  
P.O. Box 50469  
Atlanta, GA 30302  
[www.publiceye.org/cdr](http://www.publiceye.org/cdr)  
Phone: (404) 221-0025  
Fax: (404) 221-0045

“Founded in 1979 as the National Anti-Klan Network, the Center for Democratic Renewal is a multi-racial organization that advances the vision of a democratic, diverse and just society free of racism and bigotry. It helps communities combat groups, movements and government practices that promote hatred and bigotry and is committed to public policies based on equity and justice.”

Center for Third World Organizing  
1218 East 21st Street  
Oakland, CA 94606  
[www.ctwo.org](http://www.ctwo.org)  
Phone: (510) 533-7583  
Fax: (510) 533-0923

“A central hub that links communities of color with organizing skills, political education, and visions of a just society. CTWO seeks to galvanize public support for policies that both advance racial justice and to promote equity in the arenas of gender, economics and sexuality.” Offers training through the Community Action Training, Movement Activist Apprenticeship Program, and Research Organizing Action Resources, and networking.

Chardon Press  
3781 Broadway  
Oakland, CA 94611  
[www.chardonpress.com](http://www.chardonpress.com)  
Phone: (510) 596-8160; (888) 458-8588

“Books and other resources on fundraising and organizing for social change.” Publisher of *Grassroots Fundraising Journal*.

COMM-ORG  
<http://comm-org.utoledo.edu>

An online community connecting community organizers and academics, maintained by a sociologist at the University of Toledo. Extensive links to further resources.

Community Food Security Coalition

P.O. Box 209

Venice, CA 90294

[www.foodsecurity.org](http://www.foodsecurity.org)

Phone: (310) 822-5410

Fax: (310) 822-1440

Promotes community-based solutions to hunger and works to network local groups working on food issues; sponsors workshops nationwide.

Friends for a Non-Violent World

1050 Selby Avenue

St. Paul, MN 55104

[www.fnvw.org](http://www.fnvw.org)

Phone: (651) 917-0383

Fax: (651) 917-0379

An organization of the Religious Society of Friends that provides education, training, and experiences to “build a world where all people can speak truth to power, practice alternatives to violence, gain strength from community, and act in a spirit of cooperation to work for peace and justice.” In addition to many other projects, summer interns work with Quaker activists in a wide range of activities to learn organizing skills.

Grass Roots Innovative Policy Program (GRIPP)

3781 Broadway

Oakland, CA 94611

[www.arc.org/gripp](http://www.arc.org/gripp)

Phone: (510) 653-3415

Fax: (510) 653-3427

“A multi-level collaborative initiative bridging policy organizations and technical assistance intermediaries to support the development of community-based, progressive policies addressing welfare and racial equity in public education.” Publishes *News & Notes*, available at their Web site.

Highlander Research and Education Center

1959 Highlander Way

New Market, TN 37820

[www.hrec.org](http://www.hrec.org)



Phone: (865) 933-3443

Fax: (865) 399-3424

“Founded in 1932 . . . the Center remains committed to working with grassroots leaders and community groups to help bring about social change through collective action.” Coordinates workshops, conducts field research, and provides materials, resources, and contacts with local leaders.

Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF)

220 West Kinzie Street

Chicago, IL 60610

[www.tresser.com/IAF.htm](http://www.tresser.com/IAF.htm)

Phone: (312) 245-9211

Congregation-based community organization network founded by Saul Alinsky in the 1940s.

Jewish Organizing Initiative

37 Temple Place, 5th Floor

Boston, MA 02111

[www.jewishorganizing.org](http://www.jewishorganizing.org)

Phone: (617) 350-9994

Fax: (617) 451-7895

Provides Jewish young adults one-year paid fellowships in community organizing. Fellows are trained in organizing skills and educated in Judaism's religious, ethical, and historical tradition of working with groups for social and economic justice.

Labor/Community Strategy Center

3780 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 1200

Los Angeles, CA 90010

[www.thestrategycenter.org](http://www.thestrategycenter.org)

Phone: (213) 387-2800

Fax: (213) 387-3500

“A multi-racial anti-corporate ‘think tank/act tank,’ emphasizing rebuilding the labor movement, environmental justice, mass transit, immigrant rights, and opposing the criminalization, racialization and feminization of poverty.” The Center conducts campaigns in Los Angeles, but offers training through The National School for Strategic Organizing on a national basis.

Loka Institute

P.O. Box 355

Amherst, MA 01004

www.loka.org

Phone: (413) 559-5860

Fax: (413) 559-5811

“Research and advocacy organization concerned with the social, political, and environmental repercussions of research, science and technology.” Links researchers with communities.

Low Income Networking and Communication Project (LINC Project)

Welfare Law Center

275 Seventh Avenue, Suite 1205

New York, NY 10001

www.lincproject.org

Phone: (212) 633-6967

An electronic clearinghouse for low-income organizations that “helps low income organizations to integrate technology into their campaigns.” Web site includes the “Organizer’s Online Toolkit” and links to other organization Web sites and newsletters. A project of the Welfare Law Center.

Midwest Academy

28 East Jackson Street, #605

Chicago, IL 60604

www.midwestacademy.com

Phone: (312) 427-2304

Fax: (312) 427-2307

A national training center for progressive social change, training organizers and leaders to build organizations and work for social, economic and racial justice. Conducts five-day training sessions in Direct Action Organizing in various locations across the United States. Publishes the Midwest Academy Manual, *Organizing for Social Change*. (See Bibliography # 33.)

National Association for Public Interest Lawyers (NAPIL)

2120 L Street, N.W., Suite 450

Washington, DC 20037

www.napil.org

Phone: (202) 466-3686

Fax: (202) 429-9766

Training, fellowships, and information about employment opportunities in public interest law. Offers post-law school fellowships to graduating law students each year, and hosts a national conference and job fair on public interest law.

National Center on Poverty Law  
205 West Monroe Street  
Chicago, IL 60606  
[www.povertylaw.org](http://www.povertylaw.org)  
Phone: (312) 263-3830  
Fax: (312) 263-3846

Publishes *Clearinghouse Review*, a publication aimed at legal services attorneys and other poverty lawyers; provides access to the electronic version of the Poverty Law Library by subscription.

National Employment Law Project  
55 John Street, 7th Floor  
New York, NY 10038  
[www.nelp.org](http://www.nelp.org)  
Phone: (212) 285-3025  
Fax: (212) 285-3044

Originally founded as a “back-up center” for federally-funded legal services lawyers, NELP has worked for over thirty years “on behalf of low-wage workers, the poor, the unemployed and other groups facing significant barriers to employment and government systems of support.”

National Immigration Project (NIP) of the National Lawyers Guild  
14 Beacon Street, Suite 602  
Boston, MA 02108  
[www.nlg.org/nip](http://www.nlg.org/nip)  
Phone: (617) 227-9727  
Fax: (617) 227-5495

“A network of immigration lawyers, law students, jailhouse lawyers, and legal workers who work to end unlawful immigration practices, to recognize the contributions of immigrants in this country, to promote fair immigration practices, and to expand the civil and human rights of all immigrants, regardless of their status in the United States.”

National Lawyers Guild  
126 University Place, 5th floor  
New York, NY 10003  
[www.nlg.org](http://www.nlg.org)  
Phone: (212) 627-2656  
Fax: (212) 627-2404

“Dedicated to the need for basic change in the structure of our political and economic system.” Web site links to news articles and reports on Guild activities and projects.

National Organizers Alliance  
715 G Street, S.E.  
Washington, DC 20003  
[www.noacentral.org](http://www.noacentral.org)  
Phone: (202) 543-6603  
Fax: (202) 543-2462

NOA’s mission is “to advance progressive organizing for social, economic and environmental justice and to sustain, support and nurture the people . . . who do it.” Members are organizers responsible to a defined constituency who help build that constituency through leadership development, collective action and the development of democratic structures. Many links from NOA Web site to other progressive organizations and resources.

ORGANIZE! Training Center  
508 Johnson Avenue  
Pacifica, CA 94044  
[www.bapd.org/gorier-1.html](http://www.bapd.org/gorier-1.html)  
Phone/Fax: (650) 557-9720

Conducts training and distributes publications in support of community organizing, democratic participation, and social and economic justice.

Orion Society  
195 Main Street  
Great Barrington, MA 01230  
[www.orionsociety.org](http://www.orionsociety.org)  
Phone: (413) 528-4422  
Fax: (413) 528-0676

Provides support for grassroots community organizing for environmental and economic issues. Publisher of environmental education materials.

Pacific Institute for Community Organization (PICO)  
171 Santa Rosa Avenue  
Oakland, CA 94610  
[www.pico.rutgers.edu](http://www.pico.rutgers.edu)  
Phone: (510) 655-2801  
Fax: (510) 655-4816

A national network of congregation-based community organizations that provide resources for recruiting, training, and technical assistance for community organizers.

Poverty & Race Research Action Council  
3000 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 200  
Washington, DC 20008  
www.prrac.org  
Phone: (202) 387-9887  
Fax: (202) 387-0764

“A non-partisan, national, not-for-profit organization convened by major civil rights, civil liberties and anti-poverty groups . . . to link social science research to advocacy work in order to successfully address problems at the intersection of race and poverty.” Publishes a newsletter, *Poverty & Race*, which includes an extensive list of resources, including many that are directly relevant to organizing.

Project South  
9 Gammon Avenue SW  
Atlanta, GA 30315  
www.projectsouth.org  
Phone: (404) 622-0602  
Fax: (404) 622-7992

Broad-based, community-driven organization helping to develop popular political and economic education for grassroots community development in the South.

The Ruckus Society  
4131 Shafter Avenue, Suite 9  
Oakland, CA 94609  
www.ruckus.org  
Phone: (510) 595-3442  
Fax: (510) 595-3462

“Provides training in the skills of non-violent civil disobedience to help environmental and human rights organizations achieve their goals.” Although training, planning, and preparing for high-profile direct action is the goal of this organization, “safety and non-violence are integral themes of each subject taught.”

Southern Empowerment Project  
343 Ellis Street  
Maryville, TN 37804

[www.geocities.com/southernempowerment](http://www.geocities.com/southernempowerment)

Phone: (865) 984-6500

Fax: (865) 984-9916

“Multi-racial association of member-run, member-based organizations;... recruits and trains community leaders to become organizers to assist organizations in the South and Appalachia to solve community problems.”

Southern Organizing Cooperative

1515 East Magnolia Avenue, #401

Knoxville, TN 37914

[www.organizingcoop.org](http://www.organizingcoop.org)

Phone: (865) 637-0056

Fax: (865) 522-7476

An alliance of community organizations exploring ways to strengthen organizing in the South and to gain increased funding for organizing to win social, economic, and political justice in the region.

Western States Center

P.O. Box 40305

Portland, OR 97240

[www.westernstatescenter.org](http://www.westernstatescenter.org)

Phone: (503) 228-8866

Fax: (503) 228-1965

Conducts research and policy analysis for social, economic, racial and environmental justice issues in the western United States. Conducts training for grassroots organizers and community leaders in advocacy and public policy skills.

The Workplace Project/Centro de Derechos Laborales

91 N. Franklin Street

Suite 207

Hempstead, NY 11550-3003

[www.peggybrowningfund.org/wpp.html](http://www.peggybrowningfund.org/wpp.html)

Phone: (516) 565-5377

“Organizes low-wage Latino immigrants to fight for better working and living conditions.” Develops worker-owned co-ops, leadership training, and labor-related legal support. (*See Bibliography #7.*)