

Black Veterans: Organizing & Organizational Strategies for
Community Development

by

Ron E. Armstead

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Signature of Author _____

U
Ron E. Armstead
Department of Urban Studies and Planning

Certified by _____

Ford
Ford Professor Frank Jones
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by _____

U U
Ralph Gakenheimer
Chairman M.C.P.
Committee Department of Urban Studies and Planning

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Ron E. Armstead

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning on
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for the award of Masters of City Planning.

Abstract

Black veterans are an underutilized human resource whose human capital and human capacities stemming from military service are viewed in many instances as non-working capital. It seems to be worthwhile for Black communities to explore converting veterans entitlements, benefits, goods and services for community development a part of their overall strategy.

Community development represents a window of opportunity for the social integration of Black veterans. The community based organizational model has created opportunity, services, advocacy and attracted needed resources to Black veterans, families and the community at large. As a non-profit model for service delivery, project development and social change it is consistent with both the tradition of Black self-help and the theory of community development.

This thesis examines the organizational development efforts and leadership roles of a select group of Black Vietnam era veteran leaders who have become standard bearers in the field of affordable housing development for Black and Vietnam era veterans. Further, the thesis proposes that homelessness and housing development provide both conflicts and opportunities for organizations.

Finally, this thesis proposes that a typology and model for replication exist for organizing Black veterans around the issues of social services and housing across the country.

Thesis Supervisor:

Frank Jones

Title:

Professor, Department of
Urban Studies and Planning

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I. Introduction

This thesis is a case study of three non-profit organizations engaged in the process of developing affordable housing on behalf of Vietnam era veterans. The case studies under examination, which are buttressed by ethnographic research or cognitive anthropology (1), analyze the following premises:

1. Black veterans are an untapped resource in the Black community
2. community development offers a window of opportunity for Black veterans' social integration
3. the national homeless crisis has created both conflict and opportunity for Black veterans and community based organizations

The thesis examines the human capital of Black veterans and how they utilize it in organizing and strategizing for community development; the potential for converting Black veteran human capital into community development; and the multiple roles played by Black Vietnam era veterans as social change agents are studied.

The process entailed examining military service and post war experiences such as college and community involvement as human capital developer, transformer, and politicizer. Also examined were organizational development issues within the context of establishing Black veterans community based organizations. Lastly, self-help orientation, philosophies, perceptions, analysis of problems and social responses or program development were studied.

Since 1975, the official end of the Vietnam Conflict, Black veterans of the Vietnam era have returned to numerous Black communities across the country. Three landmark studies underscore the fact that Black Vietnam veterans continue to suffer significant stress and difficulty adjusting: Forgotten Warrior Project by John P. Wilson describes a Catch 22 scenario for Black veterans. (2) The Legacies of Vietnam study indicates that just being in Vietnam was as stressful for Blacks as being in combat was for whites. (3) The National Vietnam Veterans Research study finds that Black veterans are still more stressed today than their white counterparts. (4)

While veterans have military service in common, there is no "typical" or "average" veteran. While the military experience differs from person to person, many debate that military service contribute to human development due to its primary emphasis on combat training. (5)

Furthermore, socio-economic integration has not been achieved, there is substantial debate as to the factors responsible. Black veterans themselves argue it is the lack of acknowledgment and respect afforded by the Black community. Community leaders insist that the mainstream issues of the Black community are jobs, youth violence, housing, teen pregnancy and substance abuse. George Davis suggest, "some Black leaders complain that Blacks in disproportionate numbers should not be called upon to fight the nation's wars. They argue that the civilian sector withholds adequate education and job opportunities from many young Blacks; hence, the "volunteers" are really draftees in disguise, conscripted by the lack of alternatives."(6) Whites claim that all veterans served and suffered alike, and there is no need for specialized outreach, treatment or services.

Differences in the perceptions of community leaders on the war and veterans add to the problem, and the Black community's economic structure has created some formidable barriers to socio-economic integration.

Black Vietnam era veterans experienced double the unemployment of whites, a decline in social status, limited social opportunity structures, and lower expectations from significant others. In response to growing stereotypes emanating from the media, ambivalence of Black community leaders and the historical problem of racism, Black Vietnam era veterans began organizing rather than succumbing socially to pathology. Vietnam veterans have been viewed primarily as a problem group and Blacks as invisible yet, there is much in the way of diversity and strength, as well as weakness.

Most Black veteran organizations incorporated today have been organized within the past fifty years as socially pluralistic entities. According to James Blackwell, "Pluralism in this case means the development of institutions ... that are similar to those found in the larger society but that were fostered by forces in the larger society in such a manner as to give rise to a Black community."(7) Black veteran organizing during this period has undergone four distinct waves in organizational strategy. The oldest Black veteran incorporated organization (outside traditional groups such as the American Legion, Disabled American Veterans and Veterans of Foreign Wars) is the 761st Tank Battalion and Allied Veterans Association dating back to 1948.

Similar groups such as the Tuskegee Airmen, Montford Point Marines, etc. of the World War II era constitute the first wave of Black veteran organizing. Their organizing was based on membership and specific unit identity, and did not extend to the broader issues of the social or political arena.

The second wave of organizing came during the 1960's with groups like the De Mau Mau, Ju Ju's, or Black Panthers, whose militant stance and ideology led directly to confrontations with the police. Part of the third wave began in the 1970's as a number of Black Vietnam era veterans sought to utilize the G.I. Bill for educational purposes, or survival in a period of economic recession. Enrolling in public institutions for higher education, they began to organize both on campus and at the community level, shifting their focus from rhetoric to the need to provide services for the betterment of the Black community.

The Post Vietnam era reflects the third and fourth waves of organizational strategy, fostering newer models of organizational development in the form of social service delivery or community based organizations. From the beginning of the Post Vietnam Era veterans have undergone a transition from the more confrontational 60's to the self-help or social service oriented community based organization approach of the 80's and 90's.

Throughout the past two decades a series of strategies and tactics, regionally and locally, have given rise to Black veteran leadership, personal growth and organizational development. Consistently, leaders have displayed an array of skills and human capital in areas of higher education and the labor market. Individually and collectively, these Black veteran leaders have struggled to resolve social problems facing returned Vietnam era veterans. Calling for community meetings, negotiating with agencies, testifying at state caucus hearings, soliciting political and community support, they have attempted to raise public awareness while garnering resources from within and outside the Black community. In addition, they have provided for the needs of veterans' families and children.

These actions have given way to the realization that Black veterans have strengths as well as weaknesses, and that these attributes are in fact human capital. Black veterans began to identify resources for their social redress within the Black community. Their leadership, vision, and networking resulted in the tailoring of outreach and multi-services to the wholistic needs of Black veterans. Social needs were addressed in an organized and systematic way.

Dr. Erwin Parson notes, Black veterans have viewed organizing as a process of self-actualization, and of giving back something to both veterans and the community in a positive way and in a tangible form. Faced with a variety of social forces that they are struggling to overcome, Black veterans have turned inward to organize self-help groups and organizations, calling on emotional strengths to control rage and social strengths that arise out of the managing of crisis situations, team work and outcome orientation. They have the gifts of unity, and comradeship and the intuitive understanding of mutual survival or necessity; and from the military service they have learned the effectiveness of small group tactics, discipline, organization and perseverance.

Black veterans were overrepresented in Vietnam especially in combat situations; a Newsweek magazine study (4/11/66), reported that although Blacks represented only 11% of all 19 to 21 year olds in this country they sustained as much as 25% of the losses in Vietnam. However, the inverse is true regarding their receipt of benefits, services and disability allowances from government agencies. Dr. Irving Allen suggest, "A similar disproportionate ethnic representation was also noted in awarding service-connected compensation. That is, looking at the 40% or higher service-connected compensation category, whites averaged 4.5%, Blacks, 3.5%, and Hispanics, 0.0% - even though rates of PTSD were nearly double for minorities. These findings raise serious questions about the process of awarding veterans benefits." (8)

Although there is a dearth of empirical research on the subject, significant anecdotal and clinical evidence, as well as veterans testimony supports the enormous affect that racism has on disability decisions, allocation of resources, hiring and promotions, outreach and treatment. Consequently, institutional racism constitutes an additional stress for Black veterans and their families struggling to remain afloat during economic bad times.

Too often the family disintegrates, and wives and children of Black veterans become casualties as well. Absence of a male wage-earner in the household increases the likelihood of poverty. According to Andrew Sum and Neal Fogg, for the Center of Labor Market Studies, Northeastern University, "Among families headed by women under 35 with no male spouse present in the home, poverty rates ranged as high as 55%. Children in Boston are far more likely to be poor when they live with their mother as opposed to husband/wife families (54.5% vs 15.3%) and when they are members of minority families.

Approximately 40% of all Black children and 57% of Hispanic children were living in families with income below the federal government's poverty rate."(9)

A goal of Black veteran organizing is to transcend Black community perceptions of veterans as a problem-prone group and recast the role of the Black veteran as supporter, catalyst, leader, and social change agent within the context of community development.

A second goal is empowerment. Often the reluctance of Black leaders to recognize Black veterans has fostered social cleavage within the Black community and self-doubt in Black veterans themselves, leading to ambivalent feelings on both sides. According to Dr. Charles Mosko, this "...suggest mutual estrangement," which is only symptomatic of a larger problem.(10) Dr. Daine Pinderhughes, in writing "The Case of African Americans in the Persian Gulf," indicated, "it has become clear to me that important contradictions exist within the Black community about participation of African-Americans within the military... There are, in short, many conflicting strands of philosophical belief on the issue of Black participation in the armed forces, the policies the military must execute, and questions about military expenditures."(11)

In spite of these conflicts and contradictions, many Black veterans groups have attempted to organize to address social problems. On one level, Black veteran organizing has responded to governmental or institutional inequities by establishing community based organizations providing multiple social services to veterans and families in need.

At another level veterans have lobbied for legislation to promote targeted programming and culturally sensitive services, and to direct funding to community based agencies for enhanced outreach efforts. Community based programming has resulted in the redistribution or allocation of resources in a small number of instances.

This thesis focuses on three Black veterans of the Vietnam era within different organizational contexts and in different geographic areas in the northeast region of the United States. Two organizations were started by Black veterans who have maintained leadership over the past ten years. The third organization is not Black per se, but has a Black vice president who served as a catalyst in its organizing.

These organizations illustrate aspects of the third and fourth waves of Black veteran organizing in the past fifty years, and perhaps project a fifth wave of organizing: profit making entities formed primarily in response to economic and political uncertainties surrounding the funding of social services and decreased funding from federal, state and private sources.

The three organizations were chosen because of their successful development of community based non-profit organizations which have spun off or entered into the arena of housing development. Instrumental in these organizations are their Black leaders who possess insight, information and ability in organizing, organizational development and social service delivery.

Their views and analyses of social problems of the Black Vietnam veteran warrant further examination in order that Black veterans' human capital can be more fully understood and utilized. Their observations and assessments of Black veterans, Black women and the Black community at large reveal a previously unheard perspective that suggests opportunity and conflict alike.

There is a direct correlation between the underutilization of Black veterans' benefits, entitlements, goods and services, and the continuing underdevelopment of the Black community at large. Those who have been in crisis and survived must take the responsibility to change through the process of self-determination. Black veteran organizing entails self-help and self-determination, working within the framework of a community based organization as a vehicle for community development.

The three organizations studied were started by Black veterans as non-profit groups in the northeast section of the United States: Boston, Mass.; Brooklyn, N.Y.; and Buffalo, N.Y. They were organized after the Vietnam Conflict (1975) to bring necessary and needed services to their respective communities. These organizations reflect the very nature and personality of the Vietnam era veterans who lead them. However, there are subtle differences in philosophy, organizational structure, leadership style and organizational capacity.

These community based organizations are efforts by Black veterans to re-connect with Black community life. They represent symbolically the untapped human capital and capacities contained in various Black communities around the country.

Now they are in a period of major transition from being focused solely on the delivery of services to the more ambitious task of developing affordable housing. As community developers they will need different types of expertise and capital.

During the decade of the Eighties and the Reagan Administration homelessness reached crisis proportions. Within the homeless population a significant proportion are single male veterans, and another substantial percentage are racial minorities. According to the United States Conference Mayors, Status Report on Hunger and Homelessness in America's Cities: 1989 (A 27 City Survey), "the cities homeless population was 26% veterans and 51% Black, on average." (12) Yet, according to the Department of Veterans Affairs Third Annual Report entitled: "Reaching out across America: Blacks are 3-4 times more frequently identified among the homeless than one would expect from their representation in the general population. Blacks make up 8% of all U.S. veterans (US Bureau of the Census, 1983) but constitute 36% of veterans seen in the Homeless Chronically Mentally Ill Veterans Program (HCMI) program." (13)

Further, according to Tessler's synthesis of multiple-homeless studies, "the proportion of the homeless population who were veterans ranged from 18-51% across the five studies which included this question." (14) This phenomenon of homeless veterans has led these groups to prioritize affordable housing as a critical issue. Thus a window of opportunity has been created in which these particular groups have seized the initiative toward helping the homeless and those at risk of becoming homeless. A by-product of this is the spinning off of development corporations to supply affordable housing and reclaim some of the abandoned properties blighting the Black communities' environment.

These three organizations represent a potential new trend in organizing and organizational strategies for Black Vietnam era veterans. This strategy for organizing and community development can represent a concrete example for mobilizing Black Vietnam veterans in the Black community. The linking of Black veteran organizing, human capital and community development could be a model for replication nationwide, with broad ranging implications on a number of levels:

1. the redefining of the role of the Black veteran as a catalyst and supplement to the community development process.
2. the enhancement of the image of the Black veteran as a positive factor in the Black community.

3. the reestablishing of a mutual relationship and respect which was sorely eroded by the controversial nature of the Vietnam Conflict.

Methodology

Site visits and structured interviews were conducted with agency heads to gain information. The interviews consisted of general categories of question, rather than specific questions. A tape recorder was utilized to maximize accuracy and enhance recall. Afterward the tape was transcribed, edited and analyzed for possible themes determined to be significant. Later the transcripts were sent to the interviewees to acquire their feedback. This allowed for clarification of remarks, expansion of comments into other pertinent areas, and periodic updates on project development and related issues.

Units of Analysis

- * Human Capital
- * Community Issues
- * Organizing and Organizational Development
- * Planning
- * Leadership
- * Racism

Black Veterans Theoretical Model for Community Development

I) Theoretical Framework

This case study model emerged from the basic premise that Black veterans are a hidden resource within the Black community. The premise put forward here is part of the theory of community development, but the case study went further in expounding on the stages of community development. In some instances the case study supported the premise, in others it did not.

The case study documentation provides a framework for understanding the military experience, human capital development, social adjustment/self-development, organizing and organizational development and institution building as a strategy for supplementing community development.

Our model for community development and future replication in African-American communities around the country, the first to promote Black veterans as an "untapped resource," is useful for identifying meaningful social roles that reconnect Black veterans to community life.

The model provides a vehicle for community organizers to reshare attitudes and behaviors, as well as analytical tools, visionary aims, and skills to harness Black veterans human capital within the context of community development.

On many levels it parallels Mel King's theory for Community Development i.e. service, organizing and institution building, (15) and also occurs in stages --military service, adjustment, education, organizing and organizational development, and institution building.

Black Veterans Community Development Model - conceptual framework

1. Military Service

Military service is not highly valued as a human capital developer in the Black community. Minorities point out the lack of opportunity structures that channel Blacks into the military, and argue that because the military is kill-oriented, and outcome driven, it has limited transferability into the community economy. (16)

On the other hand, military service is viewed as an excellent training ground which teaches technical skills, respect for authority, organizational chain of command, and leadership.

However, there are extremes at the ends of the continuum for skills development and transferability to the civilian society. (17)

At one extreme there are technical, mechanical, medical, clerical, and administrative skills and experience; and adaptability stemming from combat situations, in which the ability to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances can mean the difference between life and death. Veterans find that the war experience leaves an indelible imprint on their character and changes how they approach life's challenges. In battle, they have looked death in the face and seen that their courage will carry them far.

The military's human capital development includes training, rate, rank, combat, overseas duty, travel, cultural exchange and interaction. Significantly, the homecoming experience and transition from the military back to community life in many instances has been a roller coaster ride. Some case study examples of the issues faced most commonly by Black Vietnam veterans are blame, issues around killing, community invisibility, lack of community support and services, limited economic options, lower expectations of significant others, and limited opportunity structures afforded Black males in the urban setting. The case study analysis suggests that the military experience can be characterized as the following:

a) Situational

Military service as a situational experience involves a myriad of shared experiences such as in-country Vietnam combat, and camaraderie, shared hardship, sacrifice, wounding, witnessing, exposure to risk, and disability, leading to 'male bonding' and 'unit esprit de corps.' These phenomena usually occur as a consequence of being in combat in a life/death environment. In a number of different ways combat makes racist attitudes and behaviors maladaptive to the aims of group survival. (18) The issue of race and class becomes irrelevant to the goal of mutual survival. The ultimate goal in combat is survival.

Although this type of situational experience is considered unique, the reality of its impact on returning in-country Vietnam veterans is reinforced in the perception of necessity, coalition building strategies, race relations and Vietnam group identification.

Yet, according to Gordon's definition Vietnam group identification does not eradicate ethnic group identification.

Gordon suggests "... the social-psychological element of a special sense of both ancestral and future-oriented identification with the group. These are the "people" of my ancestors, therefore, they are my people, and will be the people of my children and their children.

With members of other groups I may share political participation, occupational relationships, common civic enterprise, perhaps even an occasional warm friendship, but in a very special way, which history has decreed, I share a sense of indissoluble and intimate identity with this group and not that group within the larger society and the world."
(19)

This conception of the military as a situational experience supports the argument that Blacks in the military do not break with cultural identification as an ethnic minority.

b) Transformational

The military as a transformation experience occurred with exposure to different racial attitudes and perceptions. Travel abroad, interaction with foreign nationals and language acquisition skills heightened awareness of self, resulting in an altered world view, self-concept and changed belief system. Whereby geographical changes result in the broadening of horizons beyond the immediate environment.

c) Political

The military as a politicizing experience is based on the often overlapping or contradicting affirmation of democratic idealism vs racial reality. For example, directly experienced racial prejudice -- slower promotions, more hazardous duty assignments, racial epithets, observations of and interactions with the military justice system, etc. -- or color prejudice can transcend national origin, and foster deeper understanding of racism directed at the Third World.

Politicizing experiences also include identification with Black consciousness raising, and demands for civil rights. Race riots, racial conflict, cross burnings, rebel flags, racially derogatory remarks, Ku Klux Klan, and other white supremacist ideologies penetrate more deeply than national loyalty and patriotism.

Politicizing experiences are a complex combination of occurrences involving subjective experiences, observations, trauma, and subtleties implicit within the context of military service.

These experiences in many instances result in a heightened sense of earned rights, greater demand for equality, lower tolerance of racism, greater assertiveness, more perceived aggressive behavior, altered world views and self-concepts, and changed belief systems.

American society generally is resistant to these new attitudes and behaviors and attempts to reimpose former social roles and status upon the veterans' return home. Socio-psychological cognitive incongruence occurs, leading to social conflict as Black veterans struggle to redefine themselves in light of earned rights vs birth rights.

Thus, the perspectives and perceptions of these Black veterans about themselves, America, the world and the African-American community are interconnected with their military service. This suggests that alternative assessments are possible as an approach to interpreting the impact of military service on African-Americans' human capital development; and for heightening sensitivity to the issues of war, adjustment and integration, while developing strategies for supplementing the community development process.

2. Social Adjustment; Self Development

A variety of attitudinal and behavioral responses are reflected in the adjustment patterns of African-American veterans (social isolation, alcohol and drugs, over working, etc.) to the homecoming experience: racism, self-doubt, destroyed community environments; varying degrees of alienation, heightened social criticism and inability to find meaningful roles and employment.

According to Parson, "self-development precedes community development (or at least is achieved coterminously)." He also believes that "if veterans are to mobilize their latent abilities and skills derived from national defense, they are to grow in the direction of changed perspective and increased self-perception." Self-perception includes "owning one's history" -- both as this history evolved in Vietnam combat as well as in the history of Black military service." (20)

The role of public higher education as part of the social adjustment process for these veterans is clear. Even though the college environment was charged with anti-war sentiment it served as a bridging environment and a major resocializing agent in all three cases studies.

Motivation to attend institutions of higher education was based on economic survival during a period of declining labor market opportunities, or on orientation to educational achievement as a cultural value.

Social activism and racial consciousness aided social adjustment in providing proactive rather than reactive responses to felt needs such as college attrition, benefits, and alliance building, and were tied to self-determination and community empowerment.

Predictably, post secondary educational attainment, older student status, and successful graduation have led to higher levels of self-confidence, self-esteem and self-assurance. As the veterans returned to the community they transferred their skills, energies, visions, and experiences into areas of human services and organizational development.

3. Organizing & Organizational Development

Organizing and organizational development were stimulated by the necessity to identify a niche in the community. Organizing meetings facilitated raising community consciousness concerning issues of Black veterans and mitigated against perceptions of powerlessness, hopelessness and alienation. The community began to acknowledge identified veterans who were previously "invisible" and without advocacy.

Human service development provided mutual benefits with respect to interpersonal growth and organizational development. This interpersonal growth and development enabled Black veterans to better serve others, by virtue of having socially adjusted themselves. The human service and community development fields allowed them to observe, participate, assess, and plan positive results. Finally, as individuals and organizations grew, so did their capacity for successful housing development.

4. Institution Building

The organizational development of CBO's suggests leadership growth, experience, vision, development of a track record, and a broadening base of support critical to institution building within the Black community.

In this fourth stage there are four basic goals: (1) establishing institutional longevity through self-perpetuating mechanisms; (2) linking veterans issues to the broader array of issues and concerns affecting the entire Black community; (3) expanding programming into other than traditional veteran areas; and (4) systematically assisting veterans with integration into the community, housing and other developmental processes.

This fourth stage of institution building strongly suggests the need for a strategic planning approach, and the development of alternative models for positive social, political and economic empowerment.

5. Enterprise and Economic Development

Profit making ventures as a strategy for political and economic empowerment are the logical outgrowth of institutional building. Moreover, political and economic uncertainty have fueled the pursuit for the fifth stage of community development. -- Profit making and Enterprising Ventures.

This suggest two primary factors:

(1) maturity in the areas of personal growth and institutional development. A common assumption is that anyone can be a leader, but leadership requires overcoming personal and professional impediments. The average age of the Vietnam veterans is 47 years and the average age of their respective organizations is approximately 11 years. The combination of experience and special leadership ability to overcome obstacles and develop track records of success have led to their desire to shift the focus from delivery of services to policy making.

(2) a milestone has been reached emanating from their desire to become community players vs community service providers, increasing the value and quality of life throughout the entire community.

From this theoretical model much has emerged in the way of enhancing their sense of self, establishing meaningful social roles, contributing to community development and overcoming obstacles.

Empirical study of African-American veterans organizing and organizational development warrant additional investigation and theoretical conceptualization. As community developers, we can no longer maintain perceptions that essentially eliminate supplemental development resources. Our development strategy must be inclusive, with the goal of community control over resources.

Ralph Cooper, Executive Director
Veterans Benefits Clearinghouse, Inc. (VBC)

History of VBC

In 1975 a few veteran-students at Boston State College -- Ralph Cooper, Timothy Foote, David Peters and this writer -- organized a Veterans Club on campus. The Veterans Club addressed the needs and special problems among the Black veteran population which hindered successful completion of school, and graduation. Certain professors labelled veterans baby killers and did not give them credit for risking their lives for the country.

Veterans were psychologically not ready to deal with that kind of harsh criticism. This was before the federal Vet Center program, before the diagnosis Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (1979), and before the initiation of treatment and services that we know are available now.

According to Cooper, Black veterans took even more blame because they left their community which was under siege during the 60's and went off to fight a war for the government which was oppressing them in the first place.

Out of the Veterans Club came the notion that there should be some help on campus for Vietnam veterans. Cooper formed a component called the Veterans Peer Assistance Office, whose focus was on keeping the veterans in school. Blacks had the highest unemployment rates in the country and getting \$300 to \$400 per month was economic survival. Veterans weren't paying attention to the criteria which required them to maintain a 2.0 cumulative average and to matriculate toward graduation.

The Veterans Peer Assistance Office sought to avoid having these veterans pay back this money to the government. The other painful reality was that they would indeed not graduate, would not receive the degree and would not have the credentials to get a better job.

The Veterans Club (1977) was incorporated as the Veterans Benefits Clearinghouse, Inc. (VBC), since it was not just at the college level that veterans were dropping out but at the community level as well. They were living in cars, they were abusing drugs and alcohol, they were overrepresented in mental institutions, and had the highest divorce rate in the nation. They had a very high suicide rate in terms of single car accidents and in the Black community it was devastating. Black Vietnam veterans had to fight a racist Veterans Administration and the City of Boston Veteran Services program.

The VBC used the college environment as a laboratory to formulate their ideas. Cooper believes this writer was the first to put in the Vets House concept, which Cooper refined for some of his courses to see if we could take it from concept paper to reality. He received a good critique from some professors and recommendations on how to structure it.

The Vets House concept was of a residential program consisting of housing, counseling and athletics, etc., under one roof. The idea was difficult to get funded although there was money for a counselling center: the city of Boston had funds coming in specifically for programs modeled after the Vet Center outreach program initiated by the federal government in 1979.

Cooper notes that between 1977 and 1979, the Veterans Club functioned as a recognized student organization on campus, receiving funding almost solely from the Student Government Association. It wasn't until 1983 that the VBC would actually receive its first funding grant. From 1977 to 1979 the VBC was an incorporated entity on campus under the aegis of the Veterans Club. The only funds the VBC was able to raise were through raffles, dances and other minor activities. Nonetheless, the VBC made a start by opening a bank account and generating start-up capital.

VBC: Organizational Development Struggle

After graduation Cooper and others embarked upon fund raising. Although Department of Labor officials Dick Brennan and Jim Reidy expressed enthusiasm for the VBC outreach concept, they did not fund the proposal. The Massachusetts Office of the Commissioner of Veteran Services turned down several early versions of the proposal. Other potential funding sources advised that instead of advocating helping Black veterans, the VBC should tone down the language and use terms like "disadvantaged" and "disenfranchised" instead of "Black." Another barrier to securing funding for a Black veteran program was agency espousal of a color-blind philosophy: veterans have no color, or all veterans are alike. Yet, Black Vietnam veterans argued that they were not receiving services.

When Black veterans requested assistance, often they were considered impatient, outspoken, and loud, and often the police or security were called to escort them out. When they did receive service it was at the 10% service connected disability level, whereas other veterans were getting 60%, 70%, or 80% disability ratings.

Because VBC persisted with the Black veterans issue, according to Cooper, it took them from 1979 to 1983 to receive funding. A new commissioner of State Veteran services was appointed, who was a World War II and Vietnam veteran. Also Deputy Commissioner John Lopes, Cape Verdean veteran of World War II provided internal agency advocacy. This combination of factors and people enabled VBC to arrange a meeting and give voice to their concerns. Further, the research findings of John Wilson (Forgotten Warrior Project) and Arthur Egendorf (Legacies of Vietnam Study) supported the thesis that Black Vietnam veterans indeed were suffering more upon return.

Advocacy, research study findings and people who began to listen to the VBC, led to the promise of a \$60,000 award from an \$80,000 pool earmarked through State Representative Fran Doris's office for Boston.

Somehow through political maneuvering Fitchburg (Mass.) received the lions share (\$60,000) to open up a center outside of Boston, leaving the VBC with only \$20,000 of an original \$60,000 commitment to open a counseling center in Boston.

Nonetheless they took on the challenge. The VBC opened up a part time office at the Shelburne Center in Roxbury in conjunction with the Roxbury Multi-Service Center (RMSC) where Cooper had served from 1980 to 1983 as a Commonwealth Fellow. RMSC allowed them to use space, telephones, and other administrative support services as an in-kind donation. The \$20,000 was used to hire two part-time counselors as outreach workers and one part-time secretary. Cooper served as part-time director.

According to Cooper, they had real success. Even at that crude level, Black veterans were happy to find that there was a place for them, where the people looked like them, and where they could deal with issues like racism, which they could not take to any other place.

Between 1979 and 1983 Cooper through the Commonwealth Fellows Program took a job counseling at RMSC. The Fellows program focused on minority professionals interested in working and learning the operation/management of a community based agency in a specific field. Cooper's field was community counselling.

Shortly after arriving he went to then director Marilyn Chase Anderson and requested that his focus be changed to veterans, noting that RMSC had no programs targeted toward veterans. As he continued with the Commonwealth Fellows program he developed a proposal to secure funding from the Veterans Administration (VA) via the Vet Center contract fee services program to run a veterans counseling component at RMSC.

Unfortunately, Cooper's knowledge of rate setting was limited to the Department of Social Services system used by RMSC. The VBC was the successful bidder, but their low bid made the program a strain on RMSC. RMSC could not withstand the pay scale Ralph was receiving and the amount of money it cost to provide services that the veterans needed.

It was the first time that the VA via the Boston Vet Center had funded a Black agency in Boston as a contract fee provider. As contracting officer technical representative (COTR) for the Boston Vet Center, this writer assisted in the process by sharing and exchanging information relative to the RFP, and to opening and closing dates for bidders, providing encouragement and follow through during the review phase, and advocating within the agency concerning the needs of Black and minority veterans.

The Commonwealth Fellows program ended up with a year long veterans component, which unfortunately was never re-instituted at RMSC. Once Cooper developed the program and received funding privately he carried out the program elsewhere.

RMSC's director Marilyn Chase-Anderson commented, when asked about the identifying of veterans during the intake process, "we used to ask the question, but we took it off, because if they answered yes we didn't know what to do!"

When the directorship of the agency changed, the new director Ricardo Millet questioned whether the number of Black veterans in the community or the need for services were sufficient to sustain the program at RMSC. This writer met with Millet to work through the differences in perception and discuss the magnitude of the problem.

In Millet's opinion, Black veterans were invisible within the community context and small in number anyway. Disparity between fact (Cooper's veterans program) and fiction (Millet's perceived view) was complicated by an increasing degree of interpersonal conflict raging between Millet and Cooper.

Millet's later decision to out-station the veterans program at the Shelburne Recreational Center in the Washington Park section of Roxbury was a compromise toward resolving the conflict between himself and Cooper. Cooper concedes that decision as a blessing in disguise, because it served as a catalyst in the VBC, Inc. organizational development and its quest for self-sufficiency and self-identity.

The new RMSC director was not a veteran or an American born Black and did not understand either veterans or Black males. Additionally, Millet did not understand the significance and importance of servicing the community's veterans. He was pleased that the program received funding to move out of RMSC, but was adamantly against refunding or keeping a veterans component within RMSC. His lack of support forced Cooper to move rapidly to develop the VBC proposal.

Roscoe Morris of the Mayor's Office of Neighborhood Development and Employment (NDEA) referred the VBC to the new Black female director of the Roxbury NDEA office, who encouraged them to respond to a request for proposals (RFP).

The VBC received a \$35,000 grant to service 350 veterans and family members of veterans in the city of Boston. The VBC received very satisfactory ratings throughout the contract, by meeting their target goal and exceeding the expectations of others.

With a renewed contract of \$60,000 from the Office of the Commissioner of Veterans Services, which gave them a \$95,000 budget, VBC was now able to move its office right into the heart of Roxbury, in the Dudley Station area.

At that time 10,000 people per day passed through Dudley Station. The VBC client population doubled the first year. They established themselves in a very visible part of the community and from there were able to track the types of needs and services for which veterans were expressing a need.

VBC Goal & Agenda

The biggest need that emerged after the first year was housing. At that time statistics on homelessness were not readily available, and the VBC focused on employment, believing that a job would cure many of the ills of Black veterans. It was hard to counsel someone around trauma, exposure to war, relationships, substance abuse, etc., if they were unemployed, hungry and homeless.

VBC thought their first steps to get veterans an income and a meaning out of their lives. They thought employment would accomplish that, but as they did more counselling VBC recognized the need to develop a holistic approach.

Once veterans found a place to live and a job, they had to learn how to re-socialize with women and others. VBC had to address basic living skills such as shopping, self-care, etc.

VBC had to be a support network for veterans, accompanying them to court and to different employment boards. There was also the formidable issue of not merely getting the job but keeping it. Maintaining employment in fact became more important than getting the job.

A simultaneous struggle was obtaining qualified staff at salaries that VBC could afford to pay. Then there was the management issue. Cooper was not a manager, but a practitioner who had avoided management courses when he was in college.

He admits that although his seat of the pants management style worked for a while, it hurt the organizational development process overall. Cooper recognized his shortcomings, and having gone through the RMSC program he did know management by objectives. Some management-oriented VBC board members gave valuable assistance on time management and other tools that helped him to improve his management skills and recognize a management style that he did possess.

History of Housing Development (VBCDC)

After the VBC became organizationally independent Cooper asked Ernest Branch, a former U.S. Marines Corps Gunnery Sergeant (20 years) to help VBC in organizational development. Branch had been working with the Boston Housing Authority and Cooper did not realize the wealth of knowledge he possessed about multi-family housing. Branch accepted the challenge and came to work with VBC. As the housing need became more recognized, his relationship with Housing & Urban Development (HUD) officials regionally enabled VBC to set up a meeting, where he discussed the possibility of taking over Granite Properties some abandoned units in Boston that belonged to HUD. There were over 2,000 units in all. The VBC identified sites they were interested in at 495 to 505 Blue Hill Avenue. In what seemed to be an attempt to dismiss VBC's proposal the HUD regional office presented VBC with complicated guidelines and a proposal submission timeline of 30 days. Four days before the 30 day period had expired the VBC had an acceptable proposal into the HUD regional office.

This was done with the help of a Japanese Architectural firm -- Akia Yamashita Associates -- now the VBC's architect, who put the development package together. After submission of the RFP, VBC waited the allotted time for HUD to designate the property to them. HUD apparently tried to renege on designating the buildings to VBC by saying that a letter given was in error.

VBC had cause to take HUD to court, but Branch advised against suing: "HUD is not telling VBC they are not going to do it. They are just telling VBC that this is the new letter." Subsequently, VBC kept both letters. Cooper stated "I really believe it was because we were Black veterans that they just didn't feel we had the smarts to come up with the finished proposal." Afterward VBC received the mortgage money for \$1.8 million from the Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency (MHFA).

Cooper does not suggest that this was an easy process, because it took four years (1985 to 1989) to receive the HUD letters. However, he did receive support from Congressman Joseph Moakley's office, Senator Edward Kennedy's office and Senator John Kerry's office urging the national office of HUD to approve a negotiated sale for the buildings.

The purchase and sales agreement was signed and VBC designated developer and given site control in December 1989. In 1990, VBC put the first bricks in place.

Housing Development Obstacles

1. When VBC submitted a request for proposal, HUD was incredibly slow in indicating that it met their criteria. There was an issue of how much money was needed, and whether VBC could achieve the objectives for \$35,000 or \$40,000 per unit, according to their architect's and developers estimates.

VBC eventually contacted the Greater Boston Community Development Corporation (GBCDC) because they were the leaders in development throughout New England. GBCDC estimated that, to do the development project, VBC must charge from \$78,000 to \$80,000 per unit.

2. There was a fight over 144% of the fair market value of the project with HUD. Then there was a disagreement over syndication and tax credit issues. VBC applied, then the tax law changed. Persons investing in low income housing as a tax credit write-off were eliminated and the Massachusetts Industrial Finance Agency financing fell through.

As a result VBC had to go back to Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency (1988) who confirmed and committed to \$1.8 million dollars in mortgage money and renegotiation of the financial package. Syndication was held up because State Street Bank needed to review the VBC's negotiated sales package before they could say they would buy the syndication package.

3. The HUD scandal added to this delay. Career HUD personnel were afraid to move on anything. However, a judge who had cited HUD as negligent in providing affordable housing in the city of Boston told HUD to give their best effort in remedying the problem. Cooper's feeling is that his was a clean 30 unit project. VBC did not receive assistance from influence peddlers or anyone else, except that the Massachusetts Congressional Delegation were asked to intervene on VBC's behalf.

Veterans Benefits Clearinghouse Development Corporation

Ernest Branch, a 20 year Marine, is the director of the VBC Development Corporation (VBCDC). Because VBCDC is a development corporation with no experience, no track record, and no history, VBC is the sponsoring agency, and has board members who also serve on the board of VBCDC. In that way the sponsoring agency does not lose sight of things happening with a separate corporation. Basically, the VBCDC is the housing development arm of the VBC.

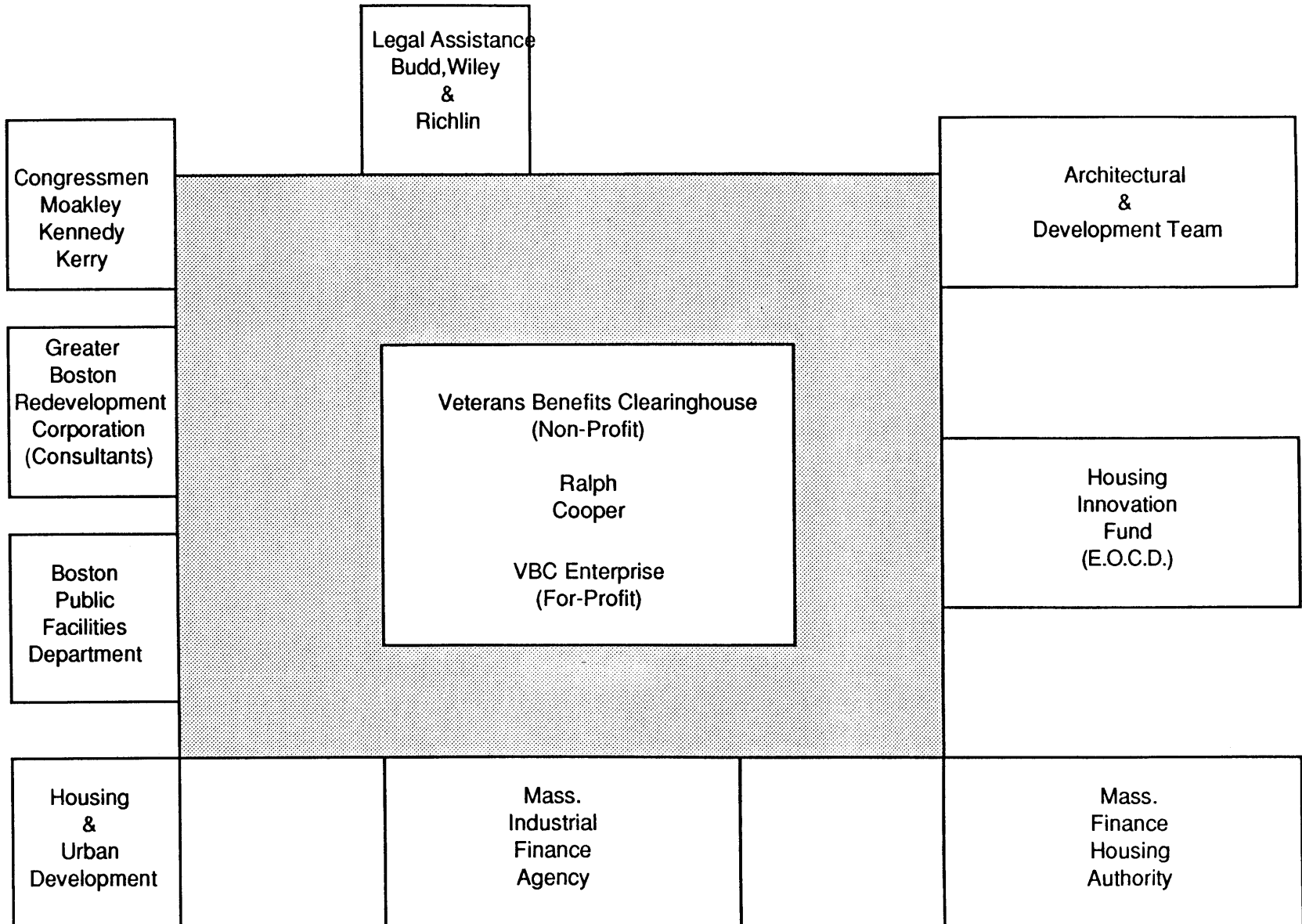
Finance agencies, while enthusiastic, are expressing reservations about funding the VBCDC because it lacks experience in managing multi-family units. This has led the VBC to use GBCDC as its development consultant. GBCDC will develop the property, let VBCDC keep its autonomy, then conduct intensive training on property management, and step away after two years. VBCD is the developer, GBCDC is the development consultant. The VBC is involved in the process from all aspects: tenant selection, tenant involvement and the development of a tenant organization; as well as social services delivery such as basic living skills, job assistance and minor household repairs. VBCDC has a social service component which will address all aspects of social problems, much like the daily operation at VBC. (see chart 1)

Future VBCDC Housing Development Projects

* History of Hartford Manor Project

In 1986 the city of Boston designated John Jones, a Korean war veteran, property known as Hartford Manor. Unofficially he submitted a bid and was awarded the site if he could develop it according to the proposal he submitted. Unable to obtain financing the veteran came to VBC, and negotiated a deal: VBC will be the primary owners and developers and he will either be a partner or accept a cash settlement.

Veterans Benefits Clearinghouse Development Corporation

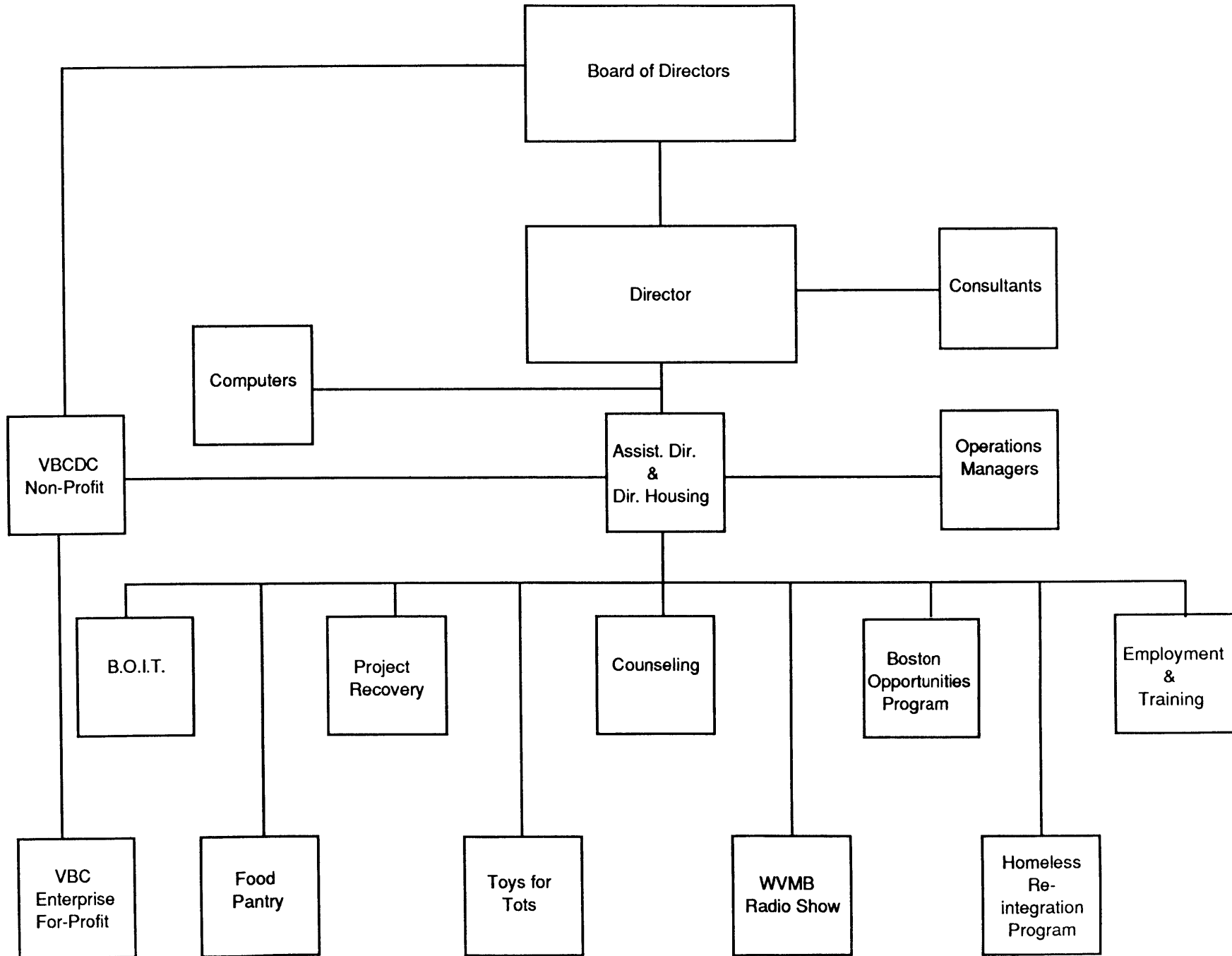


Hartford Manor is 18 units of single room occupancy, to be strictly for veterans who otherwise would probably be homeless. VBC has commitments from the different state agencies for independent rental assistance (707's) for persons who might need special assistance. These individuals are not only homeless, they are going to be in need of social services and other forms of help. If they need mental health illness assistance, the Department of Mental Health is willing to contribute some rental assistance. If they need VA assistance or if they come from the VA hospital, the VA is willing to help them to pay their rent. If they need alcoholism assistance, the Department of Alcoholism and Substance Abuse will offer rental assistance. Through these rental assistance programs and rental paid VBC will be able to pay their mortgage. (see figure 2)

*** Gambon Way**

VBC also is looking at a former nursing home on Gambon Way in Dorchester (see figure 3), seeking to develop a partnership with the VA's new program to address the needs of homeless veterans. The VBC concept is a work and therapeutic community program, where veterans pay rent, live, work and receive their medication or whatever they need to keep up their mental health. VBC has forwarded a draft proposal to the Veterans Administration Central Office (Washington, DC), and the VA Medical Center (Boston). If the federal government thinks it may support the concept, VBC will hone it and shape it into much more specific detail.

Veterans Benefits Clearinghouse INC., Boston, Mass.



Organizational Structure

The VBC organizational structure (see Chart 2) is as follows: the Board of Directors, the Executive Director, the Assistant/Director of Housing, and then the Operations Manager, the Director of Training and Placement, and the Director of Employment and Outreach. Under Training and Placement come two programs:

- (A) Building Opportunities Intern and Training (BOIT) - an intensive training program in word processing, data entry, and bookkeeping run in conjunction with the Humphey Occupational Resource Center and Roxbury Community College.
- (B) Project Recovery - a program geared to training 24 veterans or family members of veterans a year to be Junior Laboratory Technicians and Phlebotomists.
- (C) Boston Opportunities Program (BOP) - a referral program responsible for referring 175 veterans and family members of veterans into various training programs and jobs related to construction, engineering, pre-engineering or anything in that category.
- (D) Employment & Outreach - a person in charge of Outreach for all programs the VBC operates goes into the community for a half day and is in the office half day. The employment specialist is actually the job developer and person who ensures that the client is capable of and available for work.
- (E) Counseling Program - serves approximately 1500 veterans annually and makes up one third of the VBC budget.
- (F) VBCDC - a separate non-profit corporation, with board of director linkages to VBC. VBCDC has a director, a development team, and several projects that are in the pipeline.

Pat Bonner-Lyons, consultant, reports to the Executive Director. Two additional consultants report to the Executive Director: the Resource Developer and the Accountant (which is actually a company). These two consultant positions are crucial and paid under contract to provide needed services. VBC has other consultants utilized on an as needed basis: clerical, production and computer staff.

a) Weaknesses

Cooper understands that an organization is only as strong as its weakest link. For VBC the weakness is their lack of a component that generates capital independent of government support. The only VBC funding which is free of governmental attachment is from private foundations. The VBC needs to take a look at profit-making enterprises: fees for service, holding companies, profit-making corporations, joint-ventures, public/private partnerships and even manufacturing.

Membership is another revenue-generating vehicle. The issue about membership is keeping control and retaining organization ownership. VBC has therefore not utilized it as an alternative, but it's an approach that might be worth brainstorming.

Brainstorming or scenario planning may reflect, instead of the traditional arrangement of the Vietnam Veterans of America (VVA), or the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), a different approach to membership -- maybe stock ownership.

VBC does not have a research and development component where program developers discuss new ideas and planning around future areas of conflict and opportunity.

Cooper feels that VBC is addressing computerization and data base building in a methodical fashion. He needs to have a computer consultant on-site or on-call. Staff needs training in computer literacy, office computerization and networking. Software and hardware with respect to the industry standards are lacking. The VBC should become a clearinghouse for information across the city, state and region.

b) Strengths

The VBC is the only Black veterans advocate and housing development program operating in New England and operated solely by veterans of color. It may be the only social service agency operated solely by Black men. The VBC, in Coopers words, "is like a beacon."

Another strength is attributed by Cooper to Professor Pharnal Longus of Boston State College (also a veteran) who encouraged the VBC toward institution building. The VBC is building an institution that will be a legacy Black veterans.

According to Cooper, when VBC staff walk out in the street they are recognized and women feel safer. They offer stability right in the heart of Roxbury and they are a beacon. They have all walking through the door. The VBC is giving youth, ex-offenders, etc.. another chance, because VBC is able to enter the courtroom, identify themselves to the judge, and have the defendants given over to their custody. The VBC is able to take... through the . courts -- not just veterans but also their family members -- into the VBC program to become reintegrated into society. VBC is affecting the community in a positive manner all the time.

Strengths

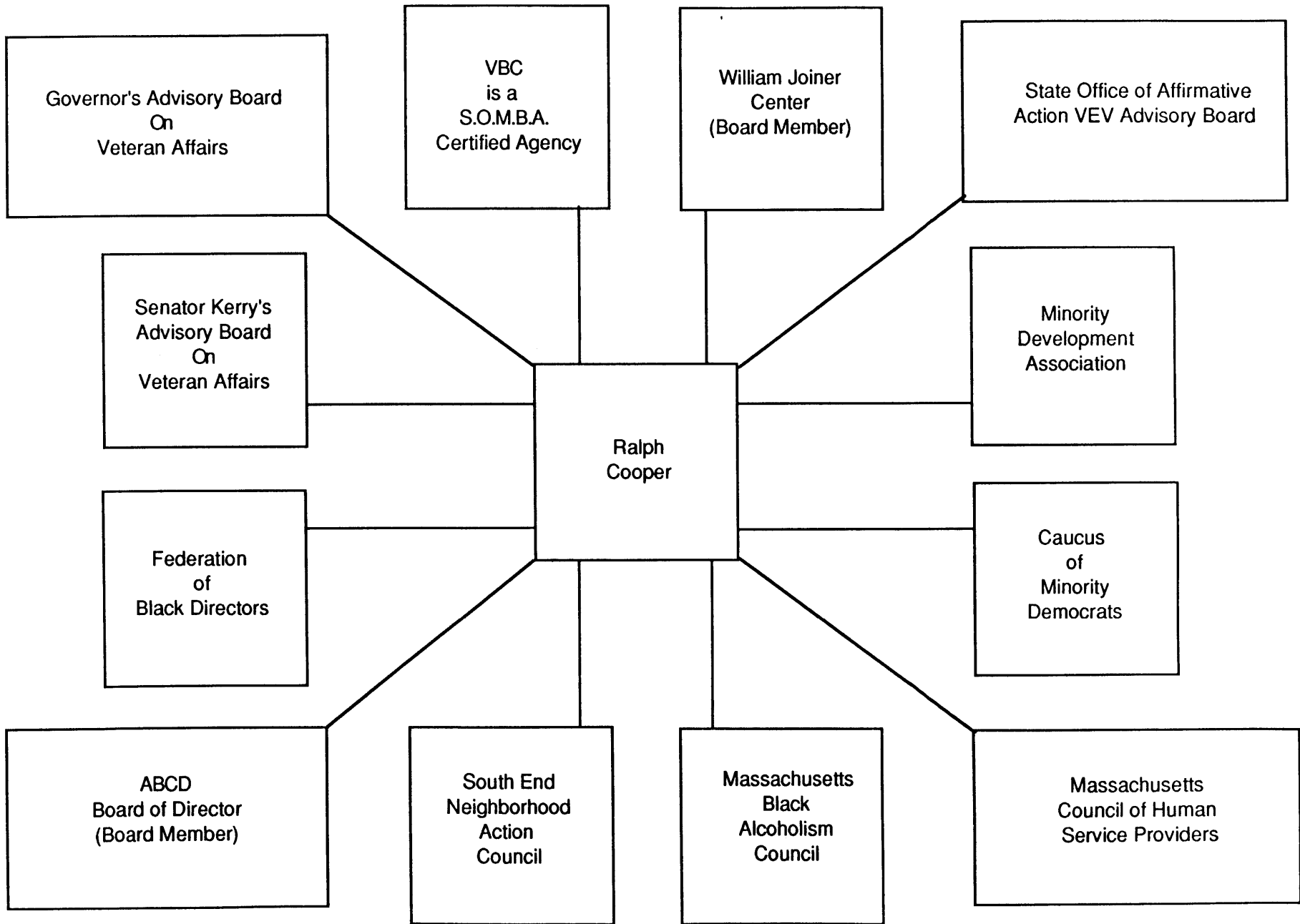
- * VBC's survivability through probably the severest financial crisis that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has ever experienced
- * VBC's steady growth
- * VBC's reputation and community standing
- * VBC's improved JCS contracting status. (VBC has gone from poor in ratings around record keeping and other types of issues, to above average.)
- * VBC's positive feedback & comments

Prospects for the Future of VBC

Cooper would like to see VBC take a look at its profit-making entity recently conceptualized during the housing development corporations incorporation, VBC Enterprises. Entering into the marketplace by coming up with a sophisticated marketing strategy is an option. Another alternative is linking-up with a few banks to engage in venture capital lending. Cooper would like the VBC to expand in the future and develop another 600 or 700 units of housing, not just affordable veteran housing, but upscale housing as well.

Cooper discussed VBC participation in stock market investment. VBC cannot depend upon the dole anymore, but must create its own capital/economic development approach. VBC was begun at the service delivery level, because that was the avenue open to them. But the future does not look good. Companies and businesses with state government contracts have not received their medicare payments for a year, forcing hospitals to take a different look at patients' ability to pay.

They are saying, We can't serve you any more. Veterans in a number of instances have to pay to receive VA treatment if they do not have a service connected disability.



Organizational Staff and Resource Personnel

Early on, Cooper made a concerted effort to hire male veterans and notes that he should have anticipated that the veterans he hired exhibited the same kind of behavior they were coming in seeking help for on the job. It didn't matter who the employer was! What the male veterans exhibited was what the employers often complained about -- failure to:

- * come to work on time;
- * be productive while there;
- * take orders

VBC tried to have a smooth running operation, but instead Cooper had to have client-counselor-employer relationships. Further he states, "The employees with the least amount of hassle and the least amount of problems ended up being female employees." He still has male veterans working for him, but his staff is predominantly female - not veterans, but several significant others of veterans.

What's unique is the level of commitment from Black women to veterans which Cooper states, "he has not found with veterans to veterans or other males to veterans." For example, Pat Bonner-Lyons told Cooper that when she was executive director of Aswalos House, it was Black veterans who escorted and assisted her when she was burglarized. It was Black veterans that got the stolen articles back and she had a commitment to them. Her husband was a Vietnam veteran and she felt an allegiance to and made a promise that she would help VBC whenever they needed it. That has ended up being a three year relationship, which she often reminds Cooper was not the original intent. She has a very difficult time saying no to VBC.

Other women who have come to work with VBC have a similar relationship with veterans. Someone in their family is a Vietnam veteran. Cooper maintains they all have stories of why they want to attach themselves to and be a part of assisting Black Vietnam veterans.

It appears that minority women are able to work with VBC even though they are repelled by Black male veterans' chauvinistic behavior. They still give VBC help, but have difficulty dealing with cursing and the way Branch and Cooper give orders. Yet, they are more able to adjust and work through even the harshest statements that are made. Cooper expresses amazement at the strengths of the females vs the sensitivity of the male veteran employees.

"Black Nationalism & Prospects for Violence in the Ghetto," (22) discussed what the government/society would do with the returning Black Vietnam veterans. Cooper emphasizes that anyone who has used weapons, has taken a life and has been exposed to change by forceful means is not going to be the same, nor willing to accept the same social status when he comes back. What he thinks Black women see is strength.

Cooper sees Black Vietnam veterans as people who will buck the system and say no, or you will have to kill me first. He thinks that this kind of tenacity is necessary in organizing for social change. And he thinks community education is necessary to learn about Black veterans leadership attributes.

Akira Yamashita is a Japanese architect who got involved because VBC's philosophy was Black veterans helping Black veterans and development. He viewed VBC's philosophy as the Japanese parallel custom of helping other Japanese in economic development. He also got involved because of Japan's lack of involvement in the Vietnam Conflict and their lack of support for Black Americans. Japan never has done much for Black Americans and the VBC offered him an opportunity to atone for negative remarks made by the Prime Minister in 1987.

Cooper would like to see more committed veterans involved in the Black veterans movement and the organizing process. But when VBC recruits for skilled people it's women who come forward with the skills. Cooper argues that he cannot provide training; at some point VBC has to have veterans who acquire training, gain competence, and bring their skills back to the community.

Organizational Management & Leadership

According to Cooper, one of the strongest assets and the most essential ability a Black veteran manager can possess is the recognition of talent. Without the ideas people, there would be no Vets House concept to extrapolate from. Some people are implementers, others salespersons.

Managers have to recognize different talents and understanding that organizing is a team effort. As Cooper sees the problem people learn individuality and really haven't learned team work, or how to put collective strategies together.

Egos get in the way. When asked the question, "How do you recognize someone with the right leadership" Cooper answers, "The person that's willing to do the work is the right person." Whatever expertise the person has will come out. The gunnery sergeant with 20 years of military experience put the development package together. Because he recognizes his limitations as a manager, Cooper has an operations manager to make sure of the day to day operations.

VBC must find and encourage the worker who wants to do the work. If it is an ideas person, s/he should be paired with an implementer so their ideas can go forward.

Cooper comments that if you have one person who can do all of the above (e.g. ideas, implement and package or sell) that is a special situation. Yet, that is really unusual. Cooper indicates he is learning from experience that management is the process of identifying both weaknesses and strengths -- more importantly, identifying resources and people with specific kinds of expertise to supplement existing operations. Furthermore he says, "as a manager it is essential to recognize ones limitations, shortcomings and management style, and accept responsibility for supervising personnel and organizational development." Recruiting expertise and resource development is part of the management process.

As the VBC moves forward in other geographical areas they have to operate with existing resources and indigenous people, educating them as to what they need, helping them to identify resources, setting up a mechanism to advertise, recruit and interview people, and ensuring that people are on the same wavelength and committed to what it is Black veterans need and want is imperative.

Cooper is also a member of the Federation of Black Directors of Boston (see Chart 3). He consistently finds that he must constantly remind Black people who run community agencies that they have an obligation to veterans. They should be identifying people as veterans, and letting them know VBC exists. In this connection he states, "there is now much more referral going on with the VBC."



VBCDC's Housing Development Project
495 to 503 Blue Hill Ave., Grove Hall
section of Roxbury (30 Units)



VBCDC's Single Room Occupancy Development
Project located at 6 Hartford St.,
in Roxbury (18 SRO's)



VBCDC' Homeless Veterans Therapeutic
Community Development Project formerly
a nursing home on Gambon Way in Dorchester

Philosophy, Mission, Model & Structure

The VBC philosophy is basically self-help: veterans who have been successful or have gone through and survived the process help other veterans. VBC's motto from the beginning has been that those who are best able to affect change are the ones who have actually gone through the experience themselves.

The philosophy is Black veterans helping other Black veterans and their families to be able to become productive citizens in their community. Vietnam veterans make up 15% of inmates at Massachusetts Correctional Institutions in Massachusetts and out of the total population 80% of the people are Black. Cooper says, "you hear 'where are our Black men?' The answer is a lot of them are in jail or unemployed or on drugs." Thus the VBC feels the need to be productive and effective in the Black community of Boston.

Cooper believes that history will prove him true, that veterans are always at the forefront of political change when it comes to rights, civil rights, affirmative action and social change.

"This is not a Black veterans thing, but a community thing being done by Black veterans"

Job Mashariki, Director
Black Veterans for Social Justice, Inc. (BVSJ)

History of BVSJ

The history of BVSJ begins with Job Mashariki in Staten Island College at the City University of New York where he was enrolled in an undergraduate program.

While asking about educational benefits within the financial aid office, he learned of his eligibility for additional financial assistance available to veterans: tutorial assistance, and workstudy placement at the Veterans Administration (VA).

The veterans workstudy program was administered at the college veterans affairs office and paid for by the VA. At the same time the VA was opening a community based office to service veterans, and assigned him to work in the storefront (1972/73). The community storefront was only about four blocks from the school and many veterans would pass by on their way to class. There were a number of different issues affecting the veterans, and he became reacquainted with the whole atmosphere of the military again within the context of servicing black veterans.

He continued attending school and working in the storefront addressing the different problems that veterans were having getting services or taking advantage of their benefits. The VA storefront managed a number of different benefits and entitlements that were available to Black veterans. As time progressed Mashariki became part of the Black United Front, a continuation of his earlier activism which developed out of Brooklyn's Community Congress. He was a member and chairperson of the Political Action Committee (PAC). Afterward the Brooklyn Community Congress became the Black United Front.

During 1974 the community had become outraged over the shooting of Randolph Evans, a young Black male, and the subsequent acquittal of the police officer responsible. A boycott of the downtown commercial district was initiated, which resulted in a negotiated settlement and the establishment of the Randolph Evans Crisis & Scholarship Funds. Simultaneously, the federal government was trying to give commercial assistance money to the business community.

The community interceded in the government funding because of the failure of the downtown community to have Black participation in business, construction, and other aspects of the business community. Their boycott brought the downtown stores to a standstill.

A mediator and a number of different people were summoned to negotiate. During the meeting the mediator asked who was representing whom? There was concern about lack of representation from the protected classes. Mashariki was representing the Black United Front, and was chairperson of the Political Action Committee (PAC). Yet when they got to him, to his own surprise he said he was representing the Black veterans, which was one of the protected groups. Mashariki states, that went well because they focused on the veterans, women, and a host of community issues.

Mashariki learned at that meeting that veterans were an important group in the community who seemed to warrant special attention! Afterward, he told a friend, lets call a meeting of the veterans and see what kind of response we get.

Organizational Origins

To his surprise fifteen people attended the meeting held in 1979, people they had seen in different places but had never identified as veterans. At a second meeting a number of different organizations such as the De-Tox and community centers were represented. At the follow-up meeting, eight of the original group came, but twelve others also participated; a different group emerged.

The third meeting led to the decision to find a name and hold an election for officers. Mashariki was elected unanimously as director. Mashariki argued, and the group agreed, that the name of the organization needed to make a statement, and the name selected was "Black Veterans for Social Justice".

The BVSJ found an office and renovated it. Soon veterans were fixing up the office, people were coming in to seek assistance with problems, and a quasi-full time operation was functioning so well it was hard to believe it was staffed by unpaid volunteers. One veteran came in, received services and later applied for a job. He couldn't believe there was no money, because BVSJ had an office.

Organizational Development Conflicts

Mashariki had human capital and because of prior experience an understanding of how the organization needed to proceed. He had worked at rehabilitation facilities and had co-founded the East Educational & Cultural Center. He had the responsibility and the background that automatically placed him in the leadership position. BVSJ was an organization, it performed a function, had a structure and parameters around which it operated. The hardest part, according to Mashariki, had been setting parameters around which the organization had to work.

People who volunteered felt they could come and go as they pleased. Others would come in and just hang out, because they were all hanging out to some degree. Because of this situation productivity began to decline. The BVSJ was like a social club house. But Mashariki was trying to carve out something functional and an image that people could see as significant.

Conflict began to develop over Mashariki's values and his perception, as opposed to what others perceived the organization to be. What Job understood them to perceive was the organization to be a social club. He even got into a fight with a brother because of this. Next, the "king of the mountain" syndrome arose. Brothers would come in and question why Mashariki was sitting at the desk of leadership. There were many petty jealousies and rivalries, that had to be worked out for him to develop the organization.

The BVSJ had people like Larry Smith, who is a 100% disabled Black veteran who wasn't working and had time to make contributions. Others wanted to be paid for their work. The question was, where was the money coming from?

Conflicts involving interpersonal relations and the setting of limits and boundaries for the organization continued for a period. There was even an attempted coup by a number of people who got together and tried to oust Mashariki, resulting in internal friction within the organization along two sides. Mashariki took it for granted, but some other brothers wanted to get physical to resolve the dispute. Yet, once the coup was resolved the parameters and limits were definitely set. People came in, received services, and had total respect for the BVSJ.

Organizing Philosophy

The premise for Mashariki is that the Black community is full of resources. He believed that whatever was needed could be found in the Black community and that they could put the resources together. The East Educational & Cultural Organization and the BVSJ program reflect the Eldridge Cleaver saying, "Use what you got to get what you need." This was a good axiom for the BVSJ analysis of community resources. One of the artists Mashariki knew used to say, "Tell the brothers they are money." Thus identifying the resources was relatively easy and culminated with organizing the structure.

According to Mashariki, solidifying the client base was difficult, due to this population being maligned. They had gone to war, come back and become maligned again. Most of the population had multiple problems: psychological, alcohol, drugs, their families, etc..

But Mashariki describes this population as a different type of client group. This population was unique to Mashariki, because he did not have to do political education with them. In previous activist encounters, his main thrust was showing the people the nature of the racism that permeates society and how it affects them.

But with this population, BVSJ would sit and talk about Vietnam (Nam), the military service, the dirty tricks the government would play and all types of issues. Vietnam veterans understood exactly, and that was really surprising for Mashariki, who considered himself a social outcast. Most people didn't understand where he stood due to his radical and militant posture. But with the veterans population he was right at home. There was no doubt about white racism, because veterans understood it.

Brothers would talk about their experience in Nam, about the Dap bands, the hair and the racism. Even the veterans who had not been in Nam, but in Georgia understood what was happening with them and where white racism was coming from. According to Mashariki, this has been consistent with new veterans who come through the office.

On one occasion BVSJ held a rap group session consisting of two sisters, one marine, a couple of people from Nam and a variety of other people. They were there until late in the night, because everybody had to tell one story about themselves and how the military raised their awareness of white racism, whites pitting one person against another. Everybody had a story.

Organizational Analysis

Black Vietnam era veterans are politicized for the most part, but many have personal problems and their understanding of the system is limited. Caught up in the everyday struggle of their own basic survival, Vietnam veterans tend to think that their problems have to be dealt with individually. The BVSJ analysis and approach is that Vietnam era veterans (VEV's) are conscious of their problems and needs, but do not know the structure. The BVSJ helps brothers; if they want to deal with their situation, BVSJ will help them deal with the structure or system.

The major principles of BVSJ's organization are self-determination and self-reliance. Starting when veterans come in, BVSJ is there to help the veteran. But BVSJ will not do it for them. Veterans have to do for themselves! This is the basic principle of BVSJ's efforts toward putting their service delivery system in operation. The term is self-help. The second principle is to garner various resources for Black people. Servicing the needs of veterans in the community is the image BVSJ wants to convey.

The third principle is one of political education about what this system is and what Black people need to do to change it. Ultimately in servicing community people, BVSJ wants to strengthen them and create a powerful force for social change. This is part of the total organizational philosophy.

Organizational Goal

Mashariki states emphatically that the organization's primary purpose was not the delivery of services but the harnessing of veterans human resources to strengthen the community. In meetings and in the early stages of working with the veterans BVSJ it became evident that veterans had a lot of skills and were very politically conscious about the nature of this society. Mashariki had hoped BVSJ could utilize the veteran to strengthen and help the community in trying to liberate itself. The goals were, concomitantly self-determination, self-reliance, self-respect, self-governance, and economic development, with Marcus Garvey's view of economic independence. of establishing their own culture and identity with Africa. Being Black, not American was the basic premise for Mashariki with this particular population.

That philosophical view became an important rationale for approaching the servicing of Black veterans. BVSJ realized it couldn't really move veterans forward until the organization let the veteran know BVSJ was there for his/her interest concretely, and that something spiritual and meaningful could come out of the relationship with BVSJ. Thus BVSJ is not a traditional veterans organization. Veterans are clear after the first or second visit that BVSJ is a different type of organization than the VA. A couple of significant differences, Mashariki points out, between BVSJ and the VA were (1) the VA wasn't hiring Blacks and Hispanics per se and (2) the VA wasn't hiring peer counselors (people who had been to Vietnam).

Black Vietnam veterans could detect the humanistic outreach. That became the philosophical approach that BVSJ tried and it remains their centerpiece for successfully helping veterans. Yet, getting veterans to start helping others or developing the organization to go forward to make certain demands on the community's behalf has been only a fair success. Still, the fact that some aspect of strengthening veterans goes forward is one of the important reasons Mashariki sees himself continuing to work with the organization.

Mashariki exhibits a special set of talents for bringing a philosophical view and tying it into a structure that unites for self-determination. That's important to him and certain people within the organization. BVSJ as an organization has come to agree that their mission is to give veterans understanding and value so that they can function on their own.

History of the Housing Initiative

Several New York city and state institutions were relocating into Brooklyn from Manhattan, primarily due to the higher property values in Manhattan and the city's ability to earn more money by renting or selling the buildings and moving elsewhere in the boroughs.

BVSJ board member Phillip 'Jay' Jones, after experiencing a housing problem, brought in a city listing of abandoned buildings and advanced the proposition of acquiring some property. Mashariki, recognizing that once BVSJ identified a building, they had to determine if BVSJ had the capacity to develop it, contacted the Neighborhood Improvement Association (NIA) that deals with housing. NIA felt that BVSJ could do the development, but really needed to have an architect look at it. BVSJ did not have an architect.

They contacted Pratt Institute a local college which helps community groups acquire real estate, requesting that Pratt examine the rehabilitation potential of the building. Representatives of Pratt, and the city public facilities department, inspected the building, and Pratt Institute prepared a schematic design. Then Pratt committed themselves to assisting BVSJ, along with NIA, in acquiring the building.

BVSJ now had a request for proposal, with NIA and Pratt on the development team. Pratt Institute supplied architectural services and worked with them in gathering data and writing up the proposal. BVSJ's proposal stated that "the housing would be utilized for homeless veterans."

In 1985 more discussion began around homelessness, emphasizing the fact that veterans were a disproportionate percentage of the single male homeless population. Something needed to be done for veterans specifically and consequently the planning was moving toward establishing veteran residential homes.

Initially the BVSJ proposal was turned down. Mashariki reacted by turning to some local politicians, for their support in writing letters and calling certain people.

The next year BVSJ re-submitted the proposal. It was turned down again but placed on an alternate list. The New York State Department of Social Services Homeless Housing Assistance Program gave a Black female staff person the Proposal and directed BVSJ to contact her for future reference. Not many Black organizations were submitting proposals and BVSJ was the only veterans organization among them. What the agency basically said was that if any of their projects didn't pan out they would consider BVSJ's proposal. BVSJ again submitted, again was placed on the alternate list, and again rejected the next time.

At this point BVSJ was trying not to be militant, but during a meeting indicated that the agency was going to force militant action with this type of refusal. An agency representative agreed to give BVSJ the specifics for rejection.

In 1987 the agency informed BVSJ that they were going to receive \$1.8 million dollars to rehabilitate the building. Then BVSJ received a call that the city had taken the building back!

Further complicating the situation, the head of the Housing Unit of the State Department of Social Services announced funding of BVSJ's project for \$1.5 million dollars.

BVSJ negotiated with the city for another building, but discovered it was embroiled in controversy with its previous owners, a coalition of groups who had proposed to renovate the building, but had dissolved. Part of the coalition still maintained that the building was theirs. Mashariki persuaded them to relinquish the building to BVSJ, and finally the city issued site control for the property.

BVSJ has 1.5 million dollars committed. They've gained ownership, and are now working with a Hispanic architect, a veteran who owns an architectural company, and a construction company. He works with BVSJ on a service contract and pay later basis.

The building has 19 units: one three-bedroom, four two-bedroom and 14 single-bedrooms; a community room, handicapped accessibility, and a service room in which BVSJ will provide employment assistance, counseling, advocacy, and other services.

Housing Development Considerations

BVSJ must create a revenue stream on paper detailing how they will run the house for ten years. BVSJ has a ten year subsidy, but if the property is mismanaged it will revert back to the state.

a) Legal Assistance

This fact led BVSJ to acquire the services of a housing lawyer from a community legal assistance housing agency. (Concurrent with this the state fired the housing commissioner, which was to the advantage of BVSJ. Basically, he was moving too slowly in getting affordable units on the market. According to Mashariki he was also misleading the press. He was replaced by a black official.)

b) Architectural/Design Considerations

Having access to architectural services helped BVSJ not only in terms of development and financing, but also to create confidence in BVSJ as an organization with the capacity to deal with development.

Internally BVSJ tried to involve tenants with creating a community setting in the housing project, to take responsibility or ownership beyond the attitude of a renter of an apartment. BVSJ worked extensively with the architect in designing functional spaces, such as the community room which could be utilized for parties, meetings, etc. At first the architect did not understand, because BVSJ's approach was a social engineering perspective.

In fact BVSJ required the architect to redo the design, explaining their desire to have a tenant meeting room, laundry room, courtyard, handicapped ramp, security system with two buzzers, social service office, etc..

Courtyard space was designed for a park area, handball court for teenagers, children's playground and a veterans bust of Harriet Tubman in the courtyard as a symbol of what the housing project represents for veterans and their families. BVSJ feels that they have optimized environment and political consciousness to make the tenants make the housing work.

c) Fiscal Management Considerations

According to Mashariki, expansion and organizational growth involve garnering the resources, not simply submitting the technical data, but reshaping how the community sees you. An example of this occurred when BVSJ approached Black charities for money. The Black charities didn't think that BVSJ was serious. They pointed to their lack of an accountant, and to the fact that the most money BVSJ had handled to date was \$25,000.

As a result BVSJ strengthened their organizations financial management system. Even though BVSJ was less sophisticated than other community based organizations they began to attract resources or people to do fiscal management.

Community Support

Also as a prerequisite to the project BVSJ needed a letter of support from the local community. Mashariki sent an organizational representative to a meeting, assuming that BVSJ would be given the letter. The community chased the representative out of the meeting, vowing that BVSJ would not be allowed to bring a "half-way house" into the community.

The result was his loss of understanding of politics at the community level. There were people he didn't even know on the boards. In retrospect he admits that the experience was a valuable lesson.

Misperception as to the intent of the project was only part of the initial rejection of BVSJ; the other part was local politics. Certain groups wanted the housing issue to come through them.

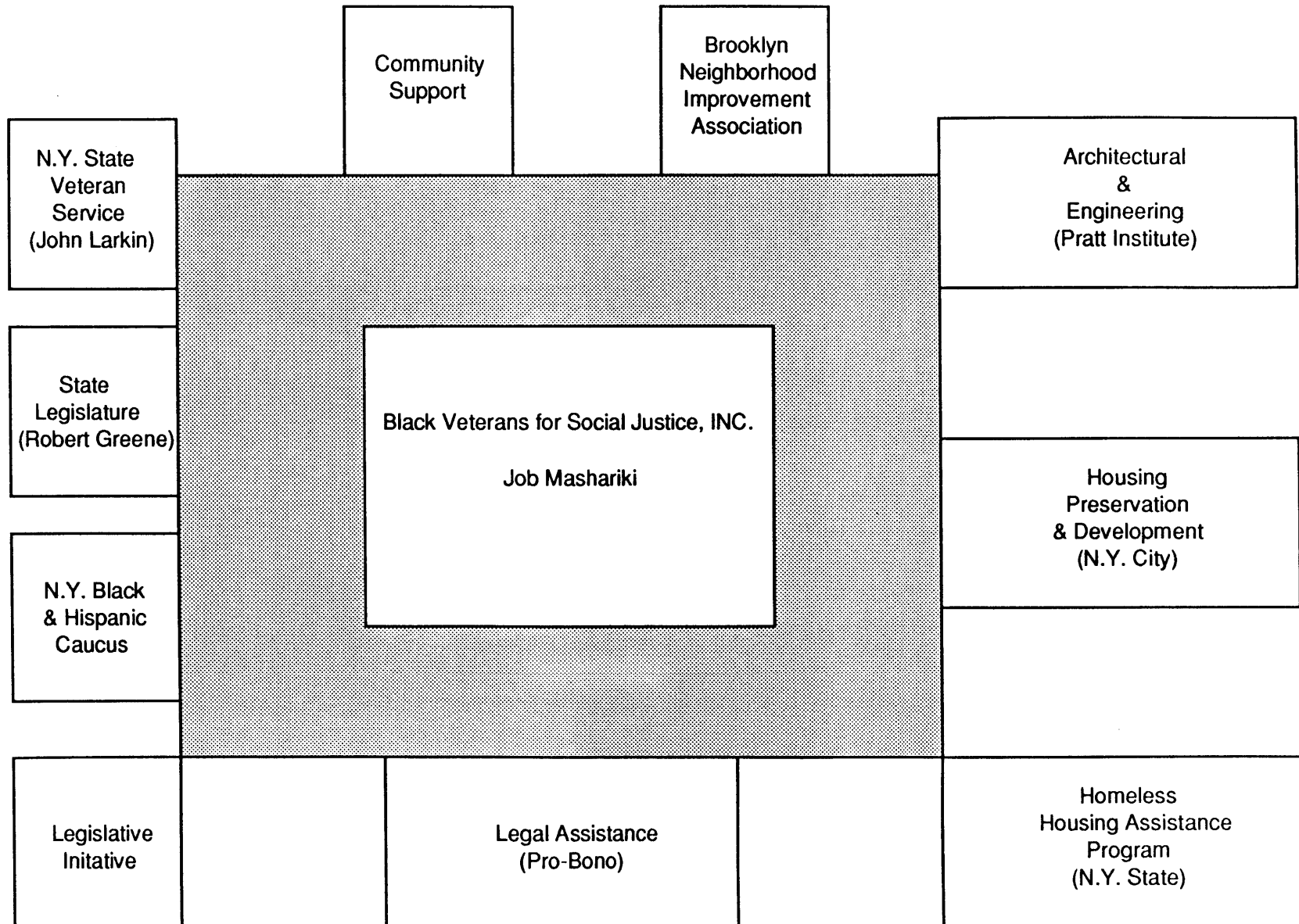
Some community players who had prior conflict with BVSJ's housing technical advisor, Carlise, were using the BVSJ project to get even. Fortunately, Mashariki's awareness of community dynamics enabled him to approach the various individuals in question, listen to their arguments and propose BVSJ's support and willingness to work with them on other neighborhood housing needs.

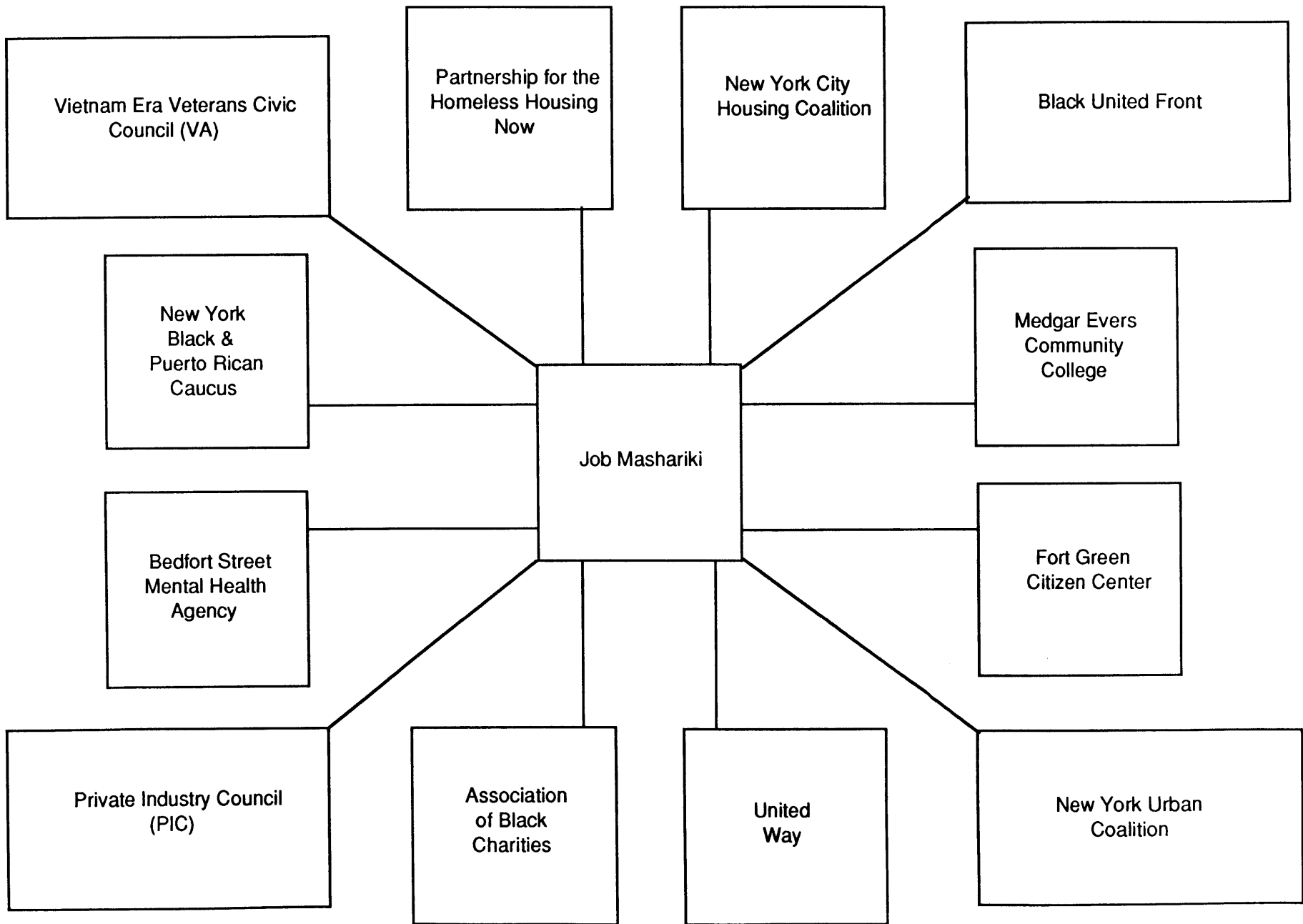
BVSJ generated a petition and canvassed the community residents for signatures, showing the community's support for the housing renovation project; attended the school board meeting with the petition and a letter of support from the principal; attended a Parent Teacher's Association meeting and talked to the members about the project. The concerns that some of the residents had against Carlise were addressed and clarified: He was providing technical assistance but it was not his project as they originally interpreted it to be.

When BVSJ returned to the community meeting, their number one priority was to clarify mis-conceptions about the project. Before they went back, BVSJ did its homework in terms of project scenarios, and had touched base with the residents. Most community people thus knew what the plan was about before BVSJ made the presentation, and with community support the project was able to move forward.

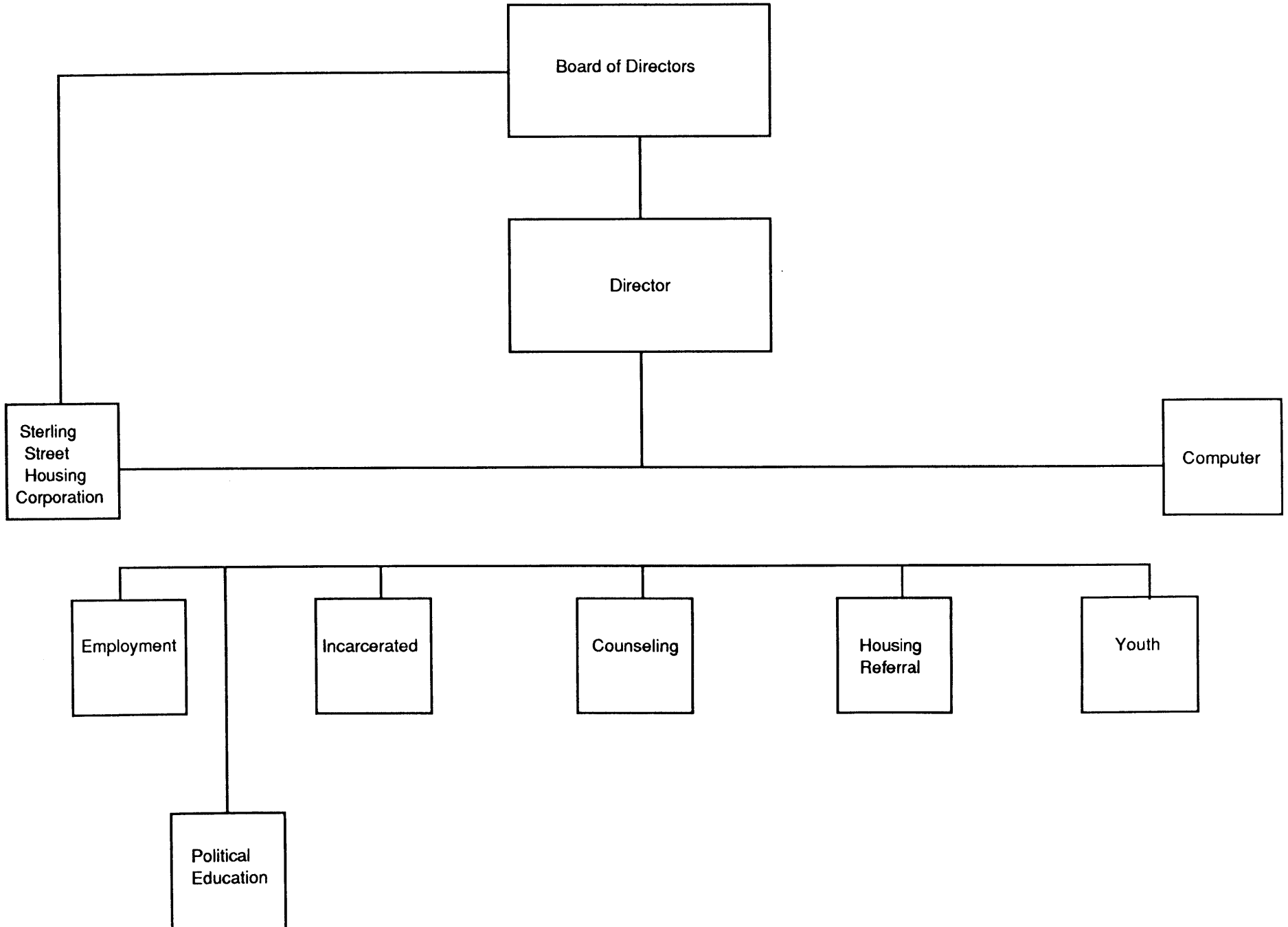
(* see Chart 1,2, & 3)

Sterling Street Housing Corporation





Black Veterans for Social Justice, INC., Brooklyn, New York



Sterling Street Housing Corporation

Housing

BVSJ has had additional opportunities to get into housing, but from Mashariki's perspective the organization lacks either a structured approach to housing development or a plan or philosophy to address it. The only goal BVSJ had was to make the one-shot housing development project a model for veterans. A successful housing program requires a holistic approach and an organizational impact analysis.

BVSJ set up a separate corporation, the Sterling Street Housing Corporation, as an organizational safeguard for BVSJ. Mashariki is trying to maintain BVSJ in the social services business and does not view the position of landlord as desirable for the agency.

BVSJ Organizational Growth and Development

BVSJ services people with needs and asks nothing in return. Clients are not required to join the organization, or to attend a meeting in order to receive services. Volunteer services are accepted from clients.

The current budget of BVSJ who started out with \$25,000, is now \$300,000.

BVSJ Organizational Structure

BVSJ's main program components are:

1. Service delivery and empowerment
2. Political education and involvement

The service delivery program deals with counseling and organizing. The various areas of counseling provided are:

- * crisis counseling
- * prison counseling
- * benefits counseling
- * housing counseling
- * employment counseling

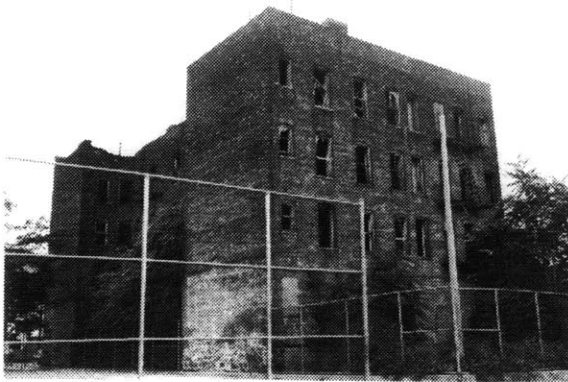
(* see Chart 4)

Frontview



Sterling Street Housing Corporation Development
Project located on Sterling St., in Brooklyn,
N.Y. (19 Units)

Backview



Sterling St. Housing Development Project

Other types of services are:

- * letter writing to federal, state and city agencies or organizations on behalf of veterans.
- * political empowerment that addresses motivating veterans toward community involvement.

BVSJ is developing a youth component, organizing a charity project with veterans, and actively supporting individuals and organizations in anti-draft activities, student outreach, etc. BVSJ supports anti-nuclear activities and performs anti-military intervention visiting other countries and assisting with fund raising for groups. They have sent representatives to Cuba and gone to Nicaragua to observe the political situation there.

Fund Raising & Economic Development

Only recently has BVSJ begun fund raising. Their first major fund raiser, a play called "Sally," made a substantial amount of money. For their 10th Anniversary they produced a journal of advertisements. BVSJ is now trying to set up a business marketing approach selling posters, buttons and other types of memorabilia.

BVSJ is exploring a variety of economic development schemes, including a building fund. Some fund raising for a home or permanent physical facility is desirable, since they pay exorbitant rent at their present location. There is no reason BVSJ can't own their own building.

BVSJ Planning for the Future

This summer the Board of Directors and the staff will participate in a retreat to develop a five year plan. If the plan is successfully implemented at the end of five years they will have a building, cash revenue, and governmental resources. The retreat is also expected to provide a better perspective about where they are organizationally and what they want to accomplish.

Board of Directors

The board of directors consists of people who have been close to Mashariki. The board is close to the organization, but does not get involved with intraorganizational struggle.

BVSJ is trying to keep strife at a low level. Phillip 'Jay' Jones, the activist chairperson of the board of directors, is gaining vision and skills.

Mashariki priorities are the structuring and strengthening of the board so that his role may become that of advisor. Then he can "write a book and do some other projects."

Organization Leadership

An aggressive, energetic leader, Mashariki needs to confront a challenge, handle it, and move on. He envisions, a strong operation and institution that he can feel confident about leaving. He has already experienced turning over an organization prematurely, then seeing it exploited and destroyed. "That is not going to happen with BVSJ!"

Strategies and Tactics

In New York as elsewhere, the white establishment does not listen to Black and Hispanic veterans. The few white veteran organizations giving services to Blacks and Hispanics receive the lion's share of funding, and do not hire Blacks.

The white veterans hierarchy has determined politically who will receive monies and where those monies should go. BVSJ's organization is not a product of white veterans, because BVSJ advocates for the Black and Hispanic community. Because they do, whites accused them of "not being veterans." Thus no white veterans came down to BVSJ and supported their funding.

After the state fired the former commissioner of the New York Division of Veteran Affairs who had ignored BVSJ, BVSJ invited the new commissioner to the veterans workshop sponsored by the New York State Black and Hispanic Legislative Caucus held in Albany. BVSJ has worked with the Caucus on veterans issues for the past four years.

The new state commissioner made a site visit to BVSJ, which allowed him to observe the operation and interact with clients. He and his staff saw clients who needed petty cash to get to a job, but BVSJ didn't have petty cash. He was astonished when one client dressed in a suit and tie came in with a guitar saying he was Whoopi Goldberg's cousin and had a dishonorable discharge. He told his story to both the commissioner and the deputy commissioner: How he was treated in the service, how he received the dishonorable discharge, what he was trying to do. A female veteran came in with her child, saying she was going over to the shelter.

The stories just went on and the office was crowded with people demanding services.

Consequently the BVSJ site visit led to an increase of \$50,000 from the state. Another factor was the Black legislative initiative introduced at the state capital. The Black and Latino Caucus receives and allocates a certain block of money. State Assemblyman Roger Green, the Black and Latino Caucus chairperson, presented the BVSJ project proposal in Albany. Green advocated for the creation of a homelessness fund, which is the source for the BVSJ veterans housing project. The fund was established for \$600,000 and the language drafted in the initiative earmarked the funds specifically for BVSJ.

When white veterans groups learned that BVSJ received specifically earmarked money, designated by the Caucus from the New York State Department of Social Services, and not requiring a proposal, they were furious. In New York City there is an old boys network which formerly nothing could get past.

"When white veterans say, we are going to have a Prisoner of War/Missing in Action (POW/MIA) demonstration, Mashariki says, forget that let's go demonstrate for some affordable housing."

Jerry Bowman, Vice President
Western New York Veterans Housing Coalition (WNYVHC)

History

The WNYVHC started in Buffalo in 1986 out of necessity. One-third of the homeless single males were veterans. Active veterans in the Buffalo area saw the need for collective action to acquire a building to meet the needs of homeless veterans in Buffalo. Their goal was to build a structure with some dignity for individual veterans.

These veterans envisioned affordable housing units, not half-way houses, not homes for veterans with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder units, nor structures that had to do with mental health issues.

The goals of the Western New York Veterans Housing Coalition development project were to give veterans a home and to provide supportive services. The housing development project provides access to a network of existing multi-agency services such as the Vet Center, VA hospital, etc., because people on the board of directors represent a cross-section of agencies.

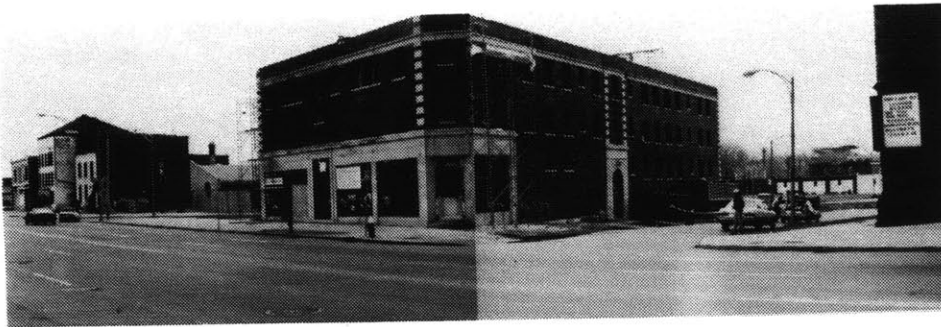
The city of Buffalo sold WNYVHC a building on Best and Main streets for one dollar to develop 24 units of affordable housing for veterans and their families. Later WNYVHC applied and received a Housing and Urban Development (HUD) grant under 202 projects.

The building is located at the junction of three city council districts. All three city councilmen donated a share of their community block grants at a ceremony and WNYVHC publicly acknowledged their support. The Buffalo City Council signed a resolution supporting the project. Bowman believes the money was given for two reasons: because it was a good idea, and so WNYVHC would not become adversarial or a political embarrassment.

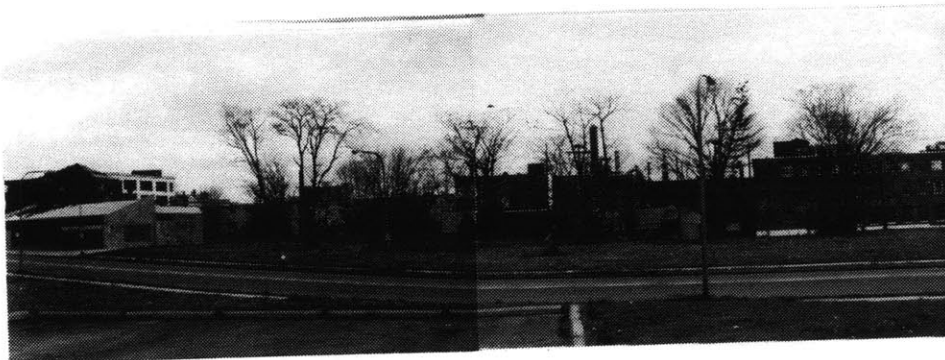
(see figure 1, 2 & 3)



Abutting parcels of land being viewed for second phase development or new construction



Western New York Veterans Housing Coalition affordable housing development project at Best and Main Sts., in Buffalo, N.Y. (26 Units)

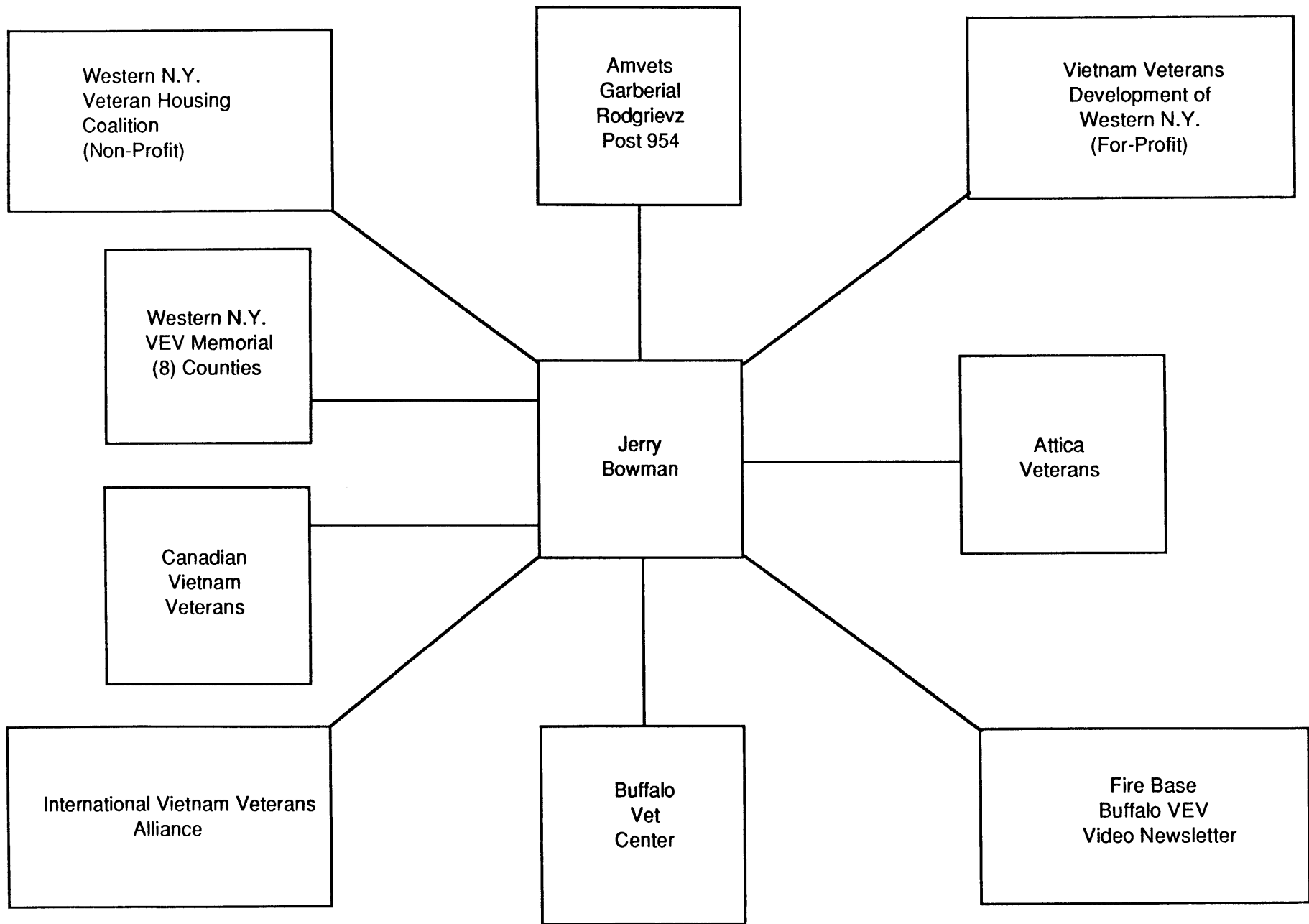


Abutting parcels of land being viewed for second phase development or new construction. Vacant parcels have been promised by city of Buffalo to WNYVHC

WNYVHC started out small at first, then expanded after politicians and media became involved. Today, WNYVHC has a core group of fifteen people on the board of directors who are volunteer workers.

Bowman takes the role of vice president of the Board of Directors seriously. He is also on the executive committee, and heads up a special committee, where his influence and participation impact the defining of how this group of buildings will interface with the community.

(see Chart 1)



Western N.Y.
Veteran Housing
Coalition
(Non-Profit)

Amvets
Garberial
Rodgrievz
Post 954

Vietnam Veterans
Development of
Western N.Y.
(For-Profit)

Western N.Y.
VEV Memorial
(8) Counties

Jerry
Bowman

Attica
Veterans

Canadian
Vietnam
Veterans

International Vietnam Veterans
Alliance

Buffalo
Vet
Center

Fire Base
Buffalo VEV
Video Newsletter

WNYVHC Board members do not want to rubber stamp, but to initiate positive action to right some of the wrongs they see.

WNYVHC Housing Proposal

WNYVHC's initial proposal was not unique. Bowman, after working with veterans in Attica State Prison for ten years and running rap groups at the prison twice a month, noticed that many who were leaving incarceration and returning to the community were experiencing difficulties. Their children had grown up, mothers had been leading the family and the family didn't know how to function as a unit.

In the first phase of the project WNYVHC will build two three-bedroom family therapeutic units with the United Way providing professional services as an in-kind donation.

Commercial space will be included in the property -- perhaps a health club to be named after one of the Buffalo Bills football players who died in Vietnam. WNYVHC may request the Buffalo Bills Foundation to donate expendable work-out equipment -- weights, knee machines, etc.

The commercial space will be a business economic development component stipulated by HUD as part of the funding agreement. Thus the total project will address the homeless problem and the special needs of homeless veterans, and deal with commercial enterprise for veterans.

Under the housing development project, WNYVHC has requested financial assistance from the Agent Orange Assistance Program to start a Vietnam Veteran Entrepreneurship Program. The Exxon Overcharge Fund is providing funding for the WNYVHC experimental base heating and cooling system. The three city councilmen donated a share of their community block grants. A large number of other people have donated their time. The Vet Center is donating office space for the next project manager.

WNYVHC will accept bids on the kind of commercial development which will take place. Abutting parcels of vacant land surround the site, and WNYVHC proposes to develop them for new construction.

Housing Development Obstacles

1. Financing

The first big drawback was financial. All the funding agencies (the city, UDAG, Exxon overcharge, etc.) that gave financial commitments to the project, waited for one another to give the start-up money first. The WNYVHC lawyer on the board of directors provided the necessary intervention that facilitated the city giving the start-up money first.

2. Asbestos

Another drawback was the unexpected need for asbestos removal in the old abandoned building. Not having prior experience with construction, WNYVHC did not know asbestos was present, or that it was dangerous, time consuming and costly to remove. Bowman cautions veterans interested in the development of existing housing that all old buildings contain asbestos which must be removed under HUD regulations.

3. Housing Development Bidding Process

Bowman sensed that the contractors to the bidding process were illegally collaborating on bids. The contractors tried to interject "waiving of competitive bidding," wording which to Bowman meant, 'Blacks need not apply.'

August (1986) was hot, the mid-week meetings were in the afternoon, and people started falling asleep or not coming to meetings. But Bowman was there scrutinizing, "waive competitive bidding," which meant that minority contractors would not have equal opportunity to bid the project or to sub-contract to the general contractor.

Bowman points out that "knowledge about the entire housing development process is imperative -- estimating, learning how to formulate square footage, figuring cost projections, bargaining and negotiation." Terms have to be put down on paper concerning all contractual arrangements.

Before WNYVHC, one of the few Black estimators in the area gave Bowman a crash course in the art of projecting cost, and taught Bowman estimation so he would know not to low bid the project.

According to Bowman, white contractors see big dollars and are like vultures coming at the contract. They also take for granted that a Black person is stupid. They treated Bowman like a crude, idealistic negro and resented the fact that he was the vice president.

(see Chart 2)

Housing/Homeless Problem

You cannot be homeless in Buffalo in the winter, says Bowman, or you are dead. He feels that the homeless problem, as others understand it, is exaggerated. But the critical nature of mental illness, alcoholism, and overcrowding of treatment programs are real problems all interrelated to homelessness.

According to Bowman, homeless shelters lack dignity and privacy. Paralleling the homeless problem has been the building of new townhouses in the city. Bowman doubts that poor Black people can afford these homes, and believes that before long the political base of the Black community within the inner city will diminish. Buffalo will become like Soweto, he feels, with the Blacks living outside the city.

Philosophy

WNYVHC housing development philosophy is to develop affordable housing for homeless veterans. Affordable housing is the springboard for addressing other problems. Their goals and objectives are very simple: provide affordable housing; and use the housing project and the building as keys to leveraging and acquiring the abutting vacant land parcels for new housing construction.

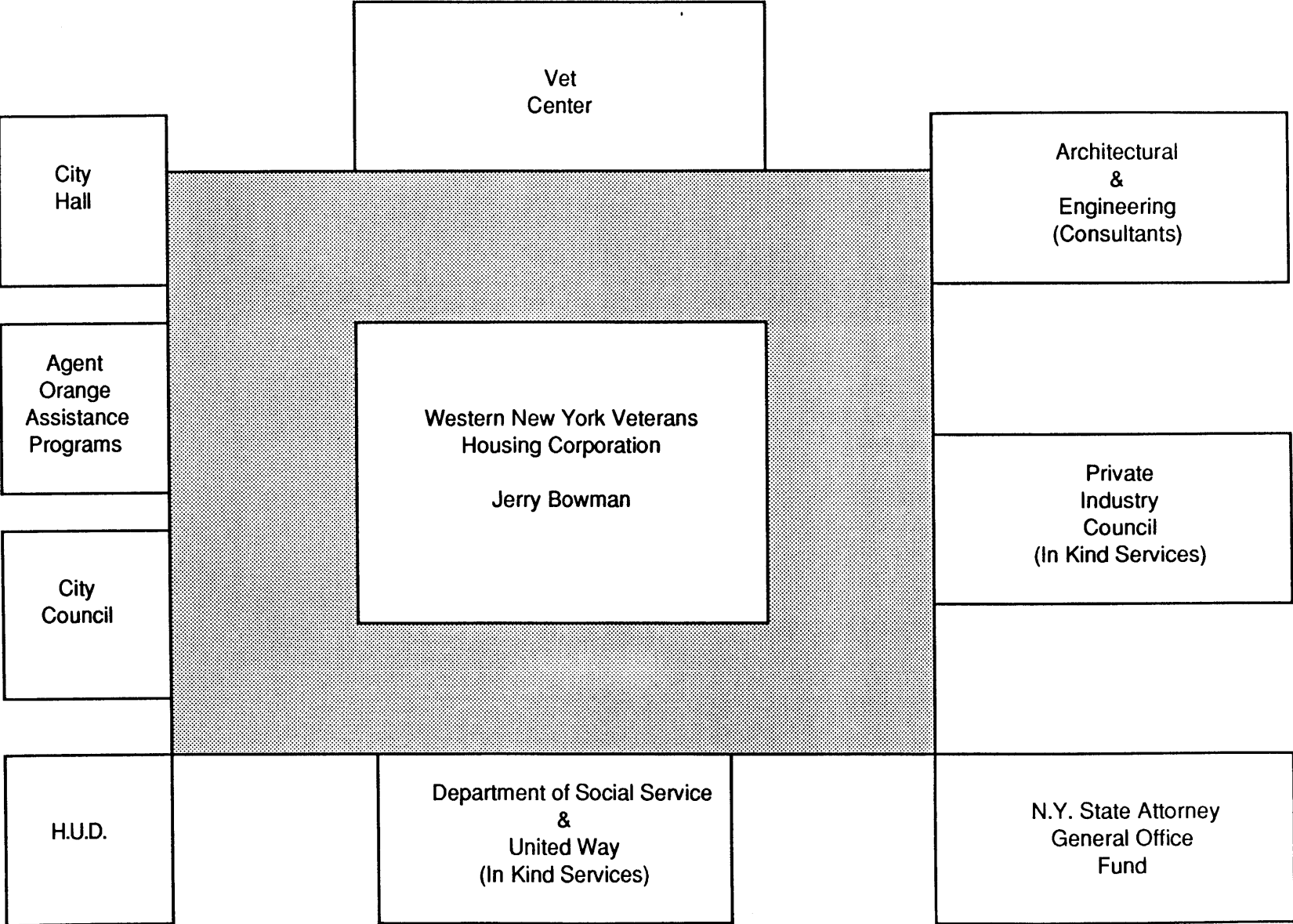
WNYVHC is not running a mental health program. It is planned that men coming from prison will get family counseling and linked into other supportive services including a job eventually leading to their purchasing a home.

Organizational Structure

1. Board of Directors

The members of the board of directors through the development of affordable housing have an opportunity to get involved in a positive way. In addition, Bowman believes, Black veterans should begin to interface with their people in the Black community.

Western New York Veterans Housing Corporation



Ideas generate from approximately four individuals on the housing coalition. Bowman came in with an idea and a way to implement it. He is the point man, with a counseling background, who recruited the probation officer, and a then still incarcerated Black Muslim to the board.

Yet, when the board of directors election rolled around, white veterans did not want to name Jerry Bowman president, and they were not about to name a "nigger" treasurer! So a compromise was struck making white veterans both president and treasurer. Subsequently, funding sources contributed with no opposition.

2. Board Composition

The board recruited a probation officer and parole officer for the purpose, according to Bowman, of allowing them to track the movements of Blacks and others.

Board members were requested to be veterans or emotionally connected with veterans, for example as in the women who lost her boyfriend in Vietnam. She later arranged for Bowman to access the probation department staff.

Joe Ryan, a quadraplegic veteran, has worked hard on the housing project. He will remain as president and Bowman as vice president.

Maureen Ewell, a white female was the project manager. She has prior working experience with housing projects in Michigan, and understood the housing language. Apparently she was amazed at working with Vietnam veterans who were not tearing the walls down.

One of the key people on the board is Brother Charley, who was in Bowman's rap group in Attica and was paroled. Much of the defining of needs, direct delivery of services, transition from jail setting to family home setting, are based on his experience.

3. Board Diversity

WNYVHC has Black, white, male, female, veterans, politicians, and handicapped on the board. WNYVHC divided the 26 units among the agency representatives who serve on the board of directors, and each agency does its own screening of applicants.

4. Executive Committee

Four or five veterans comprise the executive board, which is pretty much governed by consensus.

(see Chart 3)

5.) Standing Committees

a) Project Committee

The project committee is responsible for hiring the project manager. After a person is hired this committee might dissolve, because of its specific function.

b) Management & Programming Committee

The management and programming committee has the responsibility for linking the affordable units with other social services programs that offer adjunct staff support, such as counselors from around the city, to provide the housing project accessibility to services in Buffalo.

The housing project is for veterans without a permanent address, or with an inability to establish relationships, or trouble negotiating the system, who have lacked the ability to get themselves a place with some dignity.

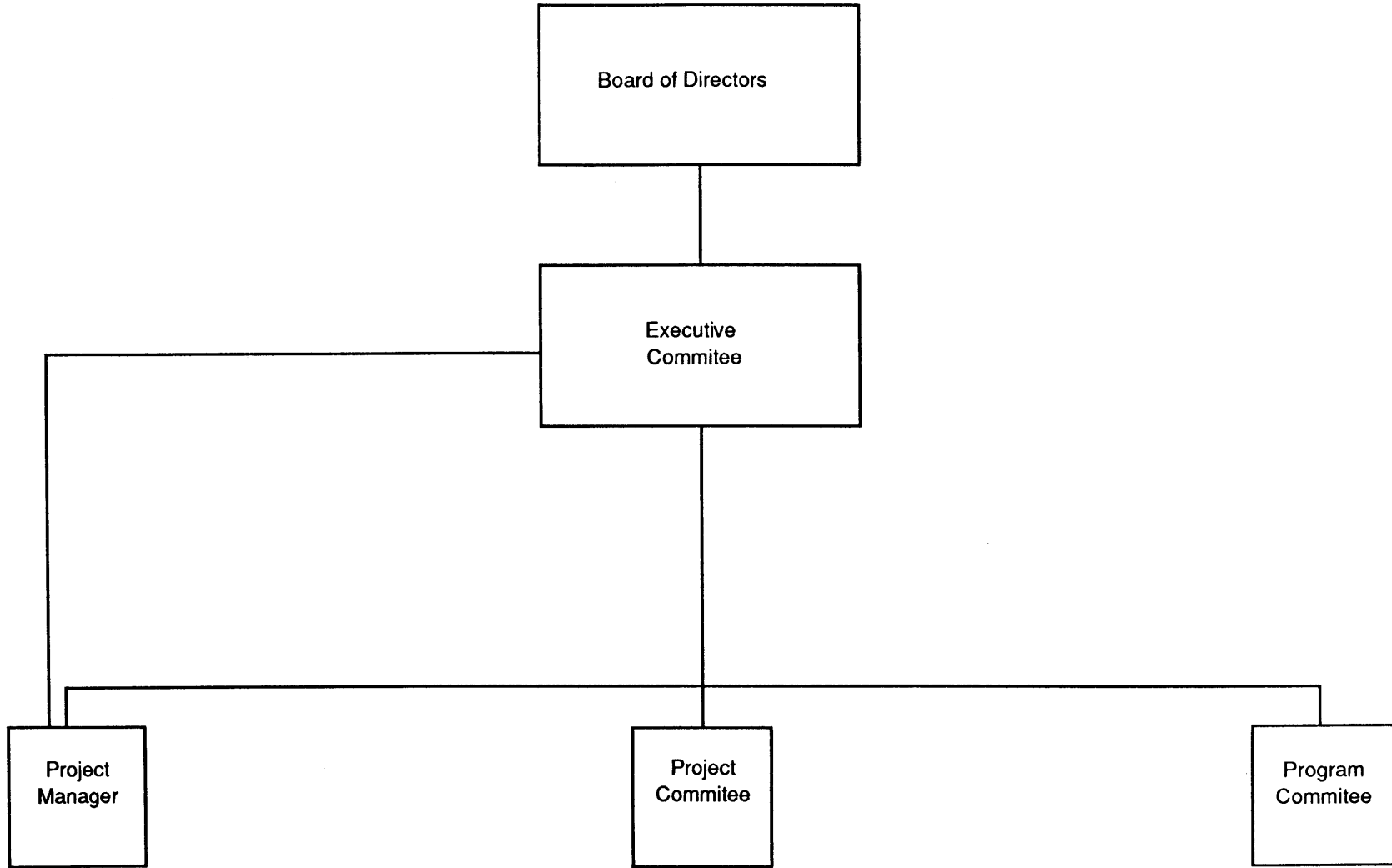
Soon WNYVHC will form its first Tenants Council, giving people an opportunity to really govern their own housing arrangements. The tenants association will allow veterans to assume the responsibility of screening their potential neighbors. Homeless veterans are expected to bring to the project some enthusiasm about changing their plight. WNYVHC sees their role as eliminating housing from the the list of problems.

Strategy & Tactics

Having a well-connected, handicapped, Irish, land owning, liberal president or front man can facilitate organizational success. (The Mayor of Buffalo is also Irish.) With a Black vice president, a Polish secretary, and other board diversity, it was difficult to fail to support the housing project. And there was a pool of money in Washington, DC for the homeless, about \$5 million dollars that needed projects to fund.

Bowman acknowledges that Vietnam veterans as a group must generate their own capital. WNYVHC is using the housing corporation as leverage to access the Agent Orange Settlement Fund in order to start the Vietnam Veterans Entrepreneurial Program.

Western New York Veterans Housing Corporation, Buffalo, N.Y.



Strengths & Weaknesses

1. Weaknesses

- * Number of homeless veterans the project will affect.

Setting up the apartment building for homeless veterans means that WNYVHC affects only 24 people: it is idealistic to think that WNYVHC is solving the homeless problem with one building.

- * more symbolic than anything else
- * lack of Black involvement
- * delayed responses by elected officials, who try to gear their own lack of knowledge to the issues.
- * media's misrepresentation of the homeless
- * lack of involvement of major organizations, such as the Veterans Administration (VA).

2. Strengths

- * provides continuing exposure in the media
- * addresses the veterans image in the community as a positive force
- * creates the impression WNYVHC is worthwhile and a part of the solution
- * provides tangible evidence to Black veterans in order to enhance mobilization efforts

Isolation & Blacks

Bowman is the only Black veteran involved in the project. He would prefer to be with the National Black Veterans Association to bring Black people into community based activity.

Blacks do not understand the critical nature of heir collective situation, Bowman argues. Organizing an all Black working group in Buffalo is difficult, says Bowman, because it's smaller than New York City. Yet he acknowledges that the housing issue could certainly be a successful catalyst, because it is at the top of the agenda of black problems anyway.

"Many Vietnam veterans joined the Black Panther Party and are still in jail," like brother Geronimo Pratt, Bowman says. "Political education classes are the best thing that the Black Panther Party had to offer."

Black Community

Black churches and Vietnam veterans organizing within the community are two trains ready to crash. Vietnam veterans killed people when they were in Vietnam, and ecumenical issues surface.

(There are many reasons why Black males should return to the old institutions and serve as deacons, etc. The Black church understands acquisition of land, because their churches are property holdings in the Black community.)

Bowman also emphasizes that we have to ensure that Black veterans are registered voters. "We are veterans, wounded, parents, homeowners, with all the right credentials. We are going to organize ourselves based on our influence and we will make sure politicians don't get elected who don't support veterans."

"We have not yet become politically active, because we don't understand who we influence, much less who we are!"

Case Study Findings

A number of common themes have emerged from these case studies of three organizations. For the purposes of this thesis I have chosen to identify six important themes in the hope of shedding some light on these areas and to increase the knowledge and understanding of the dynamics involving military service, adjustment, organizing and organizational development. Although they are generalisations due to the small number of cases included, they contain important implications for other minority Vietnam era veterans organizers across the country.

- 1) Human Capital
- 2) Community issues
- 3) Organizing & Organizational Development
- 4) Planning
- 5) Leadership
- 6) Racism

The findings revealed in the case studies represent ground for exploring and understanding the positive and negative factors involved in Black veteran organizing.

The model of choice under examination here is the non-profit community based organization. Within the past two decades a number of strategies for Black veteran organizations have emerged. Some are membership models, others espouse national ideals, some provide direct services, and others are foundations. Whether or not these groupings represent the basic elements necessary to develop and sustain organizational capacity and community development over time is not answered here.

While many Black veteran organizations have come and gone, we know little about the factors leading to success or failure involving organizing and strategizing. In this case study I have chosen to compare and contrast three different non-profit organizations; the three collectively represent important accomplishments in organizing, organizational development and successful transition from service delivery to housing development.

Two of the three organizations are clearly at a transition point in their organizational development. Their meager beginnings have given way to organizational growth and development. However, there remains the formidable task according to the case findings, of guiding the organizations toward institutionalization within the community setting.

Both the BVSJ and VBC are community based organizations which have been involved in the direct delivery of services for over 10 years. They are equally apprehensive regarding political and economic realities in the future. Preparing capital and economic development plans as a precaution against dwindling governmental and private foundation funding is seen as an alternative strategy for facing the future. Spinning off housing development projects in response to the national veterans homeless crisis remains risky, yet has improved organizational capacity and optimism about the future.

Another organizational asset is their community standing. These Black veterans represent approximately 15 years of organizing, activism, organizational development and counseling experience.

Untrained as developers, these Black veteran organizers have set a new precedent by their deeds and documentation for other veterans is a must. There is now momentum for a Black veteran organizations around the country to replicate their organizing and contribute to community development.

There are community activists who maintain that social roles of Black veterans need to be redefined relative to community development. There are others who would ignore racial and cultural differences among veterans. However, collectively Ralph Cooper, Job Mashariki and Jerry Bowman illustrate that a window of opportunity is present. Although these organizations have not been appointed as leaders in the Black community, their organizers have continued to act for the betterment of the black community. In 1990 significant housing events were ground breakings in Brooklyn and Boston, and the ribbon cutting ceremony in Buffalo.

Housing development in each case has bolstered organizational capacity, assisted in the developing of track records and brought in millions of dollars in community development, while dramatically increasing credibility. Yet, closer examination reveals the difficulties of acquiring architect-engineers, accommodating fiscally conservative lenders, recovering from bureaucratic snafus, and generating political and community support for the process of housing development.

An analysis of this requires us to examine a number of thematic issues.

1. Human Capital

a) Military Experiences

In all three cases the individuals interviewed are Black veterans, although only one of the three has actually served in Vietnam. The other two served in Europe during the Cuban Missile Crisis, but are considered Vietnam era veterans due to their dates of service. The cases find a mixed picture of military experience. However, all express significant ambivalence over military service as a developer of human capital.

- * only one interviewee reported being in Vietnam and drawing on the lessons of Vietnam when addressing present day problems and situational difficulties.
- * the second stated that he did not think the military did much for his development, then conversely reports that he traveled, experienced foreign cultures, acquired language skills and felt for the first time that he was received as a human being, rather than a "nigger," adding that this experience will be with him forever.
- * the third veteran did not discuss his military experience to any degree.

Thus human capital formation by virtue of military service is unevenly reported across the case studies. The case studies show some evidence of adjustment problems taking root in the post military experience. One interviewee reports that he had been drinking and abusing drugs heavily after military service and suffering from deep felt guilt feelings and low self-esteem.

The other two report different patterns of behavior during their post-military experience. One revealed a consistent employment history since returning from Vietnam. The other became a militant/activist, and by self-definition a social outcast.

The data is ambiguous as it relates to military experience as a developer of human capital. Yet, if the factors of travel, exposure to different cultural groups, language acquisition skills, on the job training and technical skills development are considered, it is highly plausible to think of the military experience as an enhancer of Black veteran human capital formation.

The post-military experiences in which the three were engaged is also important. In two of the three cases the Black veterans were community activists with prior organizing experience at developing new institutions within the Black community.

b) Community Involvement

The backgrounds of all three of the veterans are rooted in community organizing and commitment. In Buffalo the community organizing efforts of Jerry Bowman led to his founding of the Black Community Information Center and distribution of local black and militant newspapers. Financing came from his Vietnam service money. In Brooklyn, Job Mashariki helped organize the East Cultural & Education Center, economic boycotts of downtown businesses, and the establishment of the Randolph Evans Emergency Fund and Scholarship. In Boston, Ralph Cooper established the first peer counselling center in the city of Boston and later became a Commonwealth Fellow at the Roxbury Multi-Service Center. In all cases community organizing with related experiences contributed heavily to building and expanding local resources and practical skills development on behalf of the broader array of Black community concerns.

A strong community orientation was thus the springboard toward approaching the problems of Black veterans from a community based and structured point of view. All three leaders mentioned that they see organizing and servicing Black veterans as a continuation of their efforts at addressing community problems.

c) College Backgrounds

Perhaps the most significant case study finding with respect to human capital development is the role of public higher education. All three leaders have attended state colleges on the G.I. bill, where they were considered campus activists. Two of the three received undergraduate degrees, and have gone on to graduate school and received masters degrees in education (M.Ed.), while concentrating in community counseling.

The third was expelled from undergraduate school for campus activism, but is presently under review for reinstatement. All three Black veterans chose social or human services as academic and career choices.

The importance of college is considered twofold: (1) it served as a bridge for the transition from the military back to community life. Within this context it allowed for the expansion of knowledge, renewed social interactions, acquisition of new skills, competitively stimulating environment, credibility as a student, and campus political activism;

(2) the G.I. Bill provided monetary incentives for veterans engaged in the pursuit of higher education even if the motivation for attending was the inability to find meaningful work. Thus it provided a positive holding environment until such time as Black veterans could re-enter the labor market.

The college backgrounds and organizational histories of the three subjects reveal an inter-connectedness and commonality: in Boston it is Ralph Cooper and others who organized the Veterans Club on Boston State College campus and later incorporated the Veteran Benefits Clearinghouse, Inc. (VBC); in Brooklyn it is Job Mashariki attending City College of New York who accepts work-study at the Veterans Administration (VA) community storefront and continues community organizing that leads to the establishment of Black Veterans for Social Justice, Inc. (BVSJ); and in Buffalo it is Jerry Bowman who organizes the Third World Veteran Association on the campus of University of Buffalo. Later, Bowman was hired by the VA/Vet Center, where he organized and established Attica (state prison) Veterans over a 10 year period, and became the vice president of Western New York Veterans Housing Coalition (WNYVHC).

Public higher education and returning to college played a major role in (1) transition from the military to community life, (2) contributing to personal growth and development, and (3) human capital formation. Most importantly it provided an environment conducive to short-term economic survival, long term learning, and teaching institutional maneuvering and negotiation skills. Black veteran leaders gave positive ratings to public higher education, campus activity, and continuing education.

2. Community Issues

All three of the veterans basically agreed on the need for greater community responsiveness, and acknowledged community divisions and conflicts stemming from both the Vietnam experience and Black veterans status. In Buffalo the perception of Black Vietnam veterans as heading on a collision course with Black churches and politicians underlines an intrinsic schism within the Black community. In Brooklyn, Job Mashariki's comments that no one has recognized Black veterans as a leadership group suggests that there is an uneasiness about acknowledging veterans abilities. In Boston, Ralph Cooper has stated that the need to repeatedly remind Black community service providers of their obligation to identify veterans and support veterans reinforces the notion of structured invisibility.

Internal community division over the Vietnam Conflict is thus the basis of structural invisibility and interpersonal conflict. All three mentioned that they see conflict interpersonally, organizationally and socio-politically between Black veterans and old line Black community leadership

3. Organizing & Organizational Development

The chief motivation for organizing Black veteran self help groups rests with their political philosophies -- Pan Africanism, Black nationalism and lessons from Vietnam -- resulting in moral responsibility toward other Black veterans who have not, for one reason or another, been able to adjust. Other motivating factors include the need for pragmatic social responses to multiple problems, and the need to design, implement and operate programs specific to the needs of Black veterans.

Visions for the future reflect optimism and positive projections for Black veterans integration into the community context. Moreover, in many ways these projections transcend social and community expectations of Black veterans based on current stereotypes, perceptions and images. Overall these Black veterans report that they organized because of felt need, and not because of positive group identification.

a) Organizational Similarities & Differences

There are basic similarities and differences in the organizational structuring, staff composition and operation of the three groups.

The WNYVHC is completely housing oriented, board of director driven, and has no staff with the exception of a project manager. The VBC & BVSJ are explicitly Black veteran social service providers, are director driven, and have weak boards of directors. However, all three -- WNYVHC, VBC and BVSJ -- offer veteran supportive services as an integral part of their housing development projects.

The mission of each of the three organizations is based on felt need and outcome-oriented social responses. But their resulting success and evolution warrant further scrutiny. This is particularly true of VBC & BVSJ. The immensities of organizing and sustaining organizational development and growth within a uniquely Black context and without former models have not been documented. In reality, race and veterans issues are not standard political or social priorities, and organizing specifically around Black veterans issues is slow and difficult. These two organizations illustrate high degrees of commitment and consciousness and belie lingering stereotypes of Black Vietnam era veterans.

The three organizations are all based on genuine needs and problems. Their positive adjustment to community life and prevailing economic conditions, while it does not fit the social stereotypes of Black 60's and 70's veterans, is consistent with the historical roles of Black social pluralism and self-help. This is particularly true of VBC and BVSJ.

The incorporating of these two organizations has quietly altered the well established pattern of relationships between both Black veterans and community, and black veterans and governmental agencies heretofore responsible for the delivery of goods and services to the veteran population. Since their inception VBC & BVSJ have steadfastly maintained racially and culturally specific programs, whereby Black and minority veterans are treated holistically and humanely. A special focus has been placed on providing for the cultural, racial, spiritual and/or social needs of the Black veteran population in concrete ways.

The staff composition of the organizations in which these Black veterans serve is another important sub-theme. In two of the three cases Black veterans assert leadership, and staff members are people of color -- Black & Hispanic -- performing day to day operations and service delivery. But, one of the two staffs (VBC) is composed of predominantly females of color and the other (BVSJ) predominantly males of color.

Jerry Bowman of WNYVHC is the only Black veteran participant on an otherwise white organization. He sees his role in the position of vice president as a monitor for the Black community providing Black input into decision areas impacting upon the Black community.

There are basic similarities and differences in the organizational structuring, staff composition and operation of the three groups.

- * The WNYVHC is board of director driven (initiated & governed) and has no staff, with the exception of a project manager. The members of the board of directors are volunteers, ethnically diverse, social service agency representatives, well established businesspeople and in the majority of instances Vietnam veterans and/or emotionally connected to the issue of Vietnam era veterans.
- * The other two (VBC & BVSJ) are director driven (organized, implemented and managed) with weak board of directors. The boards of directors in these cases have had much less formidable roles in the overall organizations growth and development.
- * The WNYVHC is specifically veteran housing oriented, in contrast to VBC & BVSJ which are veteran social services oriented.

c) Organizational Development Strengths & Weaknesses

A number of organizational weaknesses spanning a wide range of issues were identified in the case study. These weaknesses are classified in the following manner: seat of the pants management; difficulty in recruiting and retention of qualified staff; lack of capital planning and development; limited community based agency identification and referral; low veteran commitment and involvement; difficulty organizing Black veterans as working groups; small scale of housing development projects; media stereotyping; delayed recognition by elected officials; multiple veteran problems, including the inability to take advantage of benefits; and lack of Black veteran advocacy, representation, and visibility.

Another negative reality for Black veteran organizations is their inability to compete with governmental agencies and the private sector, as far as salary and benefits are concerned. Cooper explains, "just as we get staff to a certain level of competence and familiarity with our operation they leave for greater monetary gains."

However, this trend represents an unintended benefit: the agencies have become employment and educational springboards for community residents other than veterans.

On the other hand, organizational strengths revolved around the impact of affordable housing development on the community. Other examples involved assistance of affordable housing development in building organizational legitimacy and image; management outcome orientation; effecting positive community change; provision of tangible services and increasing affordable housing supply; committed leadership; organizational confidence and increased capacity; stronger financial management systems; positive media exposure; targeted veterans programming; development of support networks for veterans and their families; filling the gap in the existing service delivery system; offering employment opportunities for Black males; building community reputations, standing and positive feedback.

d) Black Veterans Organizing Difficulties

An examination of organizing difficulties within the context of the case study reveals a wide range of factors ranging from psycho-social problems stemming from war related trauma, feelings, racism and the cultural dilemma of being Black and veteran. (James Fenrich 1972 (31); James Carter 1982 (32); Thomas Yeager 1984 (33); Erwin Parson 1985 (34); and Leo Oxley 1987 (35))

Multiple psycho-social problems such as drug and alcohol, hunger and homelessness, family dysfunctions and divorce, overcrowding and housing problems, suicide and incarceration, unemployment and underemployment due to attitude and behavioral problems on the job add to the difficulty of any successful mass mobilization.

Black veterans lack of meaningful social roles leads to the absence of a positive sense of community connectedness, and is exacerbated by community ambivalence, isolation and alienation. Moreover, differing perceptions of veterans as victimizers and victims contributes to interpersonal conflict and intrapersonal incongruence providing formidable obstacles to organizing efforts within the community context.

Black veterans in Buffalo, Boston and New York City are hesitant to become involved and active. Organizers comment that the basic needs of the masses of Black veterans must be met in tangible ways before interest and involvement can take place.

Black veterans are considered politically aware, but because of personal problems and limited knowledge of the system, they are caught in the day to day struggle for survival.

Organizers are guardedly optimistic about the prospects of mobilizing the knowledge, skills and experience of the Black veteran population. This optimism is founded in their organizational philosophies of self-help and self-determination, program designs emphasizing spirituality, meaning, basic skills, support networks, job maintenance and housing with dignity.

Yet according to Bowman, "if you can do it once , you can do it twice," implying that the successful accomplishment of the housing project can and will serve as a catalyst for Black veterans to re-think the realm of possibilities for acting on behalf of themselves and their communities. The optimistic view of all three veterans is that success and tangible evidence can draw Black veterans into the process of organizational and community development.

e) Housing Development

Organizational expansion from direct delivery of services to housing development is another area of conflict and opportunity. Since WNYVHC started with the sole mission of providing affordable housing, role conflict was not experienced.

For VBC and BVSJ, organizations which were originally primarily service providers, the expansion to housing developer was much more complicated.

Yet housing development projects have represented important milestones for each organization, and have been a major organizational capacity builder. Further, information on implementation of housing initiatives and expedition of the process was acquired. The three organizers report that they incorporated a housing development component as a separate entity by spinning off housing development components such as Veterans Benefit Clearinghouse Development Corporation (VBCDC) and Sterling Street Housing Corporation (SSHC). At BVSJ it was viewed more as a safeguard against future liability, if in fact the housing development project were to encounter fiscal difficulties. Their organizational expansion from community service provider (tenant advocate) to housing developer (landlord) has created role conflict with regard to organizational leadership and mission.

WNYVHC and VBC report more housing units are in the pipeline, pending successful completion of first phase housing projects. Rehabilitation of existing housing stock is clearly the preferred choice of Black and veteran development corporations at this point.

4. Planning

All three organizations were evaluated in terms of their plans to develop comprehensive ongoing organizational development strategies. Neither the VBC, BVSJ or WNYVHC have a strategic plan for significantly increasing their organizational capacity or economic development to wean themselves from governmental & private foundation assistance and toward financial independence.

There is a fundamental need for a process-oriented model for strategic planning and economic development. An orchestrated planning effort is required so that the activities listed below may begin or continue.

- * replicating activism, services & model building
- * teaching skills and political education
- * exploring capital development and profit making enterprises
- * documenting Black institution building within America
- * clarifying organizational ideas and concepts for both internal and external purposes
- * understanding organizational evolution and validating organizational leadership
- * promoting opportunities for organizational leaders/managers to dialogue with planners

The findings indicate that a lack of planning continues to plague their organizations, which suffer from the stresses of meeting day to day needs and operational issues that arise.

All three Black veteran organizers view the future with a certain amount of uncertainty as it relates to individual and institutional growth and development. Despite a uniform lack of planning for professional and institutional development, planning has begun through engaging the organizers in the case study process. The case study represented an opportunity to project their organizational needs, personal interests, and concerns about the political & economic environment.

Various ideas were proposed as a way of exploring initiatives or considering use of time, energy and money. Organizational leaders were all clearly interested in capital and economic development planning.

5. Leadership

Black veteran leadership is a composite of street knowledge, positive attributes, role modeling and skills for servicing the Black veteran, his or her family, and the community.

The three Black male veterans of our focus displayed committed leadership as organizers, founders and directors of organizations for the past 10 years. Their vision, leadership style, skills and values enhance outcomes for veterans, families and the Black community at large.

Black veteran leaders and organizations reflect positive Black male images and role models, veteran activists who demonstrate racial consciousness, community commitment and veteran identification in the cause of self-determination and community development. Each of the three leaders studied is a pointman, or pivotal person who serves as a magnet to draw in other veterans; a leader to instill hope and mobilize others through example; a trailblazer who charts new ground for the future.

All three agree on the need to be politically active and involved in order to empower the minority community and Black veterans within the community. They actively support political candidates in exchange for political support around veteran issues, e.g., appointments, benefits, services and treatment programs. Thus Black veteran leaders have become political brokers as well as service providers, even though non-profit organizations are forbidden by law to actively support candidates or influence legislation. According to Bowman, Political Action Committees offer another route toward establishing the Black veterans issue as political and one that has international implications.

Yet, Black Vietnam era veteran leaders have begun to exhibit a special vulnerability stemming from long working hours, lack of recognition, low-level support, residing within the communities where they work, and increased demand for services complicated by decreased revenues. Veterans advocacy and organizing have raised a number of health related issues and concerns, the most prevalent being leadership isolation.

a) Leadership Isolation

Four specific types of isolation have been identified with regard to all three Black veteran organizers.

- * One pattern of social isolation is exhibited between **veterans and the larger Black community**. As Cooper points out, "When Black veterans give a community affair or event people say, that's for Black veterans, not that it is a community affair or event given by Black veterans."
- * Another type of isolation is between **Black veteran management and staff** stemming from conscious efforts by directors to socially distance themselves.
- * The third pattern of Black veteran organizer isolation is **implicit in their adversarial relationships with the larger white veteran organizations and agencies** when advocating for larger shares of resources for the Black community.
- * The last type of isolation is **among Black Vietnam era veterans themselves** and their lack of participation in organizing, organizational development and community development in meaningful ways.

The secondary effects of isolation have resulted in stress and health related illnesses. Stress, a major factor in many of their lives has manifested itself in a variety of physical conditions requiring medical treatment for Cooper and Mashariki.

Living within the communities that they work in and being accessible constantly, not taking vacations regularly, not going to the hospital for routine check-ups and failure to exercise regularly, serve to exacerbate mental and physical problems.

This isolation among and between Black veteran organizers and veterans, staff, and the Black community increases stress factors in Black Vietnam era veterans organizing efforts.

6. Racism

The founders of VBC & BVSJ had to overcome a number of obstacles in implementing programs specifically focusing on Black veterans in Boston and New York.

When Cooper was told to drop the word 'Black' and substitute words like "disadvantaged" and "disenfranchised" because funds were not available for Black veterans programming, he refused to acquiesce. Mashariki insists that by virtue of his organizing and advocacy on behalf of the Black community as opposed to traditional veterans causes, it was said that "he and his organization were not veterans"!

The variables of race and veteran status create substantial barriers to organizing, acquiring funding and recognition of problems. Note the positioning of Blacks within otherwise white veteran groups or coalitions: rarely does a Black serve as president or treasurer of a white veterans group; the position of vice president is fairly common.

The case studies illustrate another aspect of race as a salient variable in each project's start-up time -- institutional racism from governmental agencies responsible for providing services. In the case of VBC and BVSJ housing development project start-up took 4 to 5 years.

It can understandably be argued that racism is not a determinant variable in all three cases. However, when the data is codified as (1) lower expectations of Black veterans and (2) no whites in visible leadership positions (3) Blacks viewed as stupid, idealist or crude (4) Black manager insulation within government agencies (5) governmental hiring practices that exclude Blacks from policy formulation (6) interpersonal racism in terms of defining white comfort zones for Black leadership, etc; project implementation takes on an added dimension. Otherwise, racism can be explained as a multi-dimensional problem within the framework of structures, institutions and interpersonal relationships.

The implicit nature of racism within an inter-racial organizational context is seen in the defining of white comfort zones in terms of Black leadership as illustrated in WNYVHC's refusal to consider Bowman for the position of president or treasurer. This resulted in voter compromise and his election to the vice presidency, generally considered a passive position within most organizational settings.

Nevertheless, attention to determining the pervasiveness of favorable racial perceptions leading to cross-racial coalition efforts in the securing of resources such as Bowman has noted are interesting and worthy of greater exploration. In Vietnam and in combat situations characteristics of race and class are suppressed due to the necessity of mutual survival.

At the same time white poor and working-class veterans' grudging acknowledgment of the racial composition of in-country Vietnam combat units, and their own minority status upon return, provide a continuing basis for situational solidarity and the leveraging of a greater share of resources. Some say the behavior is based on guilt, but others say white veterans have an obligation to support Black veterans. Whichever is true the outcome in Buffalo is obvious -- faster project initiation and board member responsibility. Therefore it is imperative that positive race relationships and male bonding as organizing factors be explored.

Case Study Conclusions

The case studies have provided ample data for the development and structuring of a typology for mapping the process of organizing and strategizing, i.e. organizing, organizational structuring, program management, resource development, leadership, etc. They provide a profile of attributes and characteristics for future examination and usage. The typology's potential value lies in its ability to serve as a road map, simulation exercise or computerized data base for referencing and model building in the future. Information sharing could greatly enhance organizing outcomes in other locations across the country if the information were presented and marketed correctly as a training module, computerized exercise or series of hands-on workshops.

The need is clearly indicated for a planning and research component that provides ongoing supportive services to these Black veteran CBO's of mid- and long-range planning, specifically in the areas of economic development, technical assistance and computer technology.

This thesis has attempted to discuss four basic premises. They are:

- 1) Black veterans have a role in contributing to community development
- 2) Black veterans have human capital
- 3) Black veterans strategizing around organizing and organizational development offers a window of opportunity
- 4) Black veterans have turned the homeless crisis into a housing development opportunity area

a) Role & Function

The three Black veterans interviewed in these case studies have demonstrated leadership, resourcefulness, community commitment and the dual realities of being Black and veteran. In order to function successfully they have had to overcome war-related stressful experiences, and learn to position themselves in the Black community. In addition they have had to struggle to leverage a larger share of both social and economic opportunities for Black veterans, their families, and the Black communities in which they reside.

Simultaneously they have had to complement their resources by attracting other types of professional expertise. Black veterans leadership roles and responsibility are manifested in differing forms and to differing degrees in a variety of skills, both tangible and intangible. When we analyze these Black veterans in the roles of supporter, organizer, service provider, catalyst, and developer within the community context we begin to see their symbolic significance, their true role and functional relationship to the Black community.

The Black community is still divided over the issue of Vietnam from the point of view of these veterans. Factionalism between veterans and the Black community all too often has created an air of tension, diminishing the Black communities capacity to overcome problems of homelessness, urban violence and family destruction.

The estrangement between Black veterans and the community has resulted in a spiral of social fall-out and increasing alienation. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the absence of Black Vietnam era veteran males from political and community leadership, which is related to other Black community issues such as the absence of Black males in households, divorce, and youth violence.

The tenuous position of Black Vietnam veteran leaders within an ambivalent Black community context has been a factor in the development of Black veteran organizations, primarily as a response to social, political and economic conditions both within and outside the Black community. Their social context has provided the foundation for organizing black veterans to create services, a sense of community or belonging, and meaningful social roles. Their organizational efforts are not for the betterment of Black veterans only, but for the entire black community.

Although many definitions of community development exist in the literature, such as Rubin's Community Organizing and Development, King's community development theory compares favorably to that of the Black veterans community development model.

King's definition of community development as a process of learning and action in stage (e.g. service stage, organizing stage, and institution building stage) and building within a chronological context, is similar to the evolution of the Black veterans interpersonal and organizational development theory.

Since the end of the Vietnam Conflict these three Black Vietnam era veterans have shown growth and development along the lines of those described by King: in the 70's, through advocacy for accessing services to a higher degree; in the 80's, with the building of alternatives to the existing delivery of services; and in the their shift during the 90's from the provision of services to the development of affordable housing.

During each stage the psycho-social dynamics of individual transformation have occurred concomitantly with the process of community development. Complementary changes as related to self-esteem, self-image and self-perception were the outcome, a by-product of education, the struggle for self-determination, and the acquisition of new skills. According to King's theory, even their failures served as feedback in organizing and organizational development as a consistent part of the learning process.

Finally, in each stage King suggest power relationships change critical areas of the Black community. These stages (e.g. military service, social adjustment/self-development, organizing and organizational development, institution building and enterprise/economic development) result in supplementing the community development process and the empowerment of Black veterans.

a) Black Veterans Human Capital

Collectively these three Black veterans represent over 30 years of knowledge and experience with respect to servicing, organizing, advocating and developing veterans human capital. Their expertise spans community and campus organizing, incarcerated veterans organizing, political activism and community involvement.

Each Black veteran revealed tangible and intangible skills, assets, strengths, and experiences. Mashariki, through his self-description as militant and social outcast and his ideological frame of reference, philosophy of self-determination, vision, commitment and leadership, offered prescriptive details of military radicalization resulting in community involvement and veterans organizing. Cooper's acknowledgment of the impact of the overseas experience and inter-cultural relationships indicative of a transformation experience was revealing and informative.

Bowman's affirmation of lessons extracted from the in-country Vietnam experience, broad usage of the term brother to include both Blacks and whites, and articulation of a philosophy of action based on necessity are helpful in understanding the impact of the war, male bonding and the war as a politicizing experience.

All of these Black veteran leaders and their respective organizations can learn a lot from one another, for example, from Bowman about the lessons of Vietnam and the necessity of mutual survival; from Mashariki with respect to racism as a global phenomenon, Pan-Africanism, and Marcus Garvey's theories and philosophy; and from Cooper on the perspective of the overseas experience as profoundly altering self-concept, and humanism, Black nationalism, program management, relationships with Black women and emotional connections.

A comprehensive method of inventorying these Black veteran leaders' military experience and organizations effectively is necessary for supplementing community development; otherwise, given the debate and widespread apprehension surrounding the military, Black veterans human capital is going to be continually underutilized.

The inability of the Black community to assess, harness and effectively convert Black veteran human capital and to take advantage of their non-working capital -- benefits and entitlements -- remains one of the most significant shortcomings.

b) Black Vietnam Era Veterans

One of the conclusions reached in the case studies is that these black Vietnam era veteran leaders have been experiencing extreme difficulty in the process of organizing and mobilizing the resources of Black veterans. Undoubtedly, alienation is a factor for the social malaise of many Black veterans. Another factor is the prevalence of stress related problems suffered by a large number of Black Vietnam veterans. In combination the above factors place Black Vietnam era veterans in a high risk category in need of specialized outreach, services and advocacy.

c) Organizational Development

Black veteran non-profit agencies generally are less sophisticated, less diversified and less well integrated into the black community as a whole than their counterparts. Black veteran CBO's have neither strong boards of directors nor broad-based community support.

Nevertheless, they have survived in an atmosphere of economic uncertainty and despite an apparent political leadership vacuum. Many lessons can be learned from this disenfranchised group who have organized non-profit organizations in order to leverage goods and services.

Black veteran community based non-profit organizations are increasingly asked to provide additional services historically offered by the government. Black veteran CBO's have responded to increased demand and decreased services directed toward the black community within the past two decades. These organizations are struggling to legitimize their role and redefine the relationship of the black veteran to government agencies as financial support wanes and the problems of AIDS, homelessness, underemployment, unemployment, and lack of affordable housing reach crisis proportions.

d) Housing Development

Although housing development projects have had positive effects on the various organizations by increasing capacity, credibility and visibility. Initially only two of the three organizations had expressed interest in additional housing development projects for the future.

Western New York Veterans Housing Coalition has acquired 54 units of potential housing and four townhouses as an ongoing part of their housing development strategy. The VBCDC presently has four housing development projects in the pipeline, plus a commitment from their architectural consultant to develop an additional 600 units of affordable housing in Massachusetts and another 1000 units across the country. Although the housing sites have not been identified at present it is believed capacity will grow after the successful completion of their first two housing development projects.

Black veteran CBO's in the Northeast, notably Brooklyn and Roxbury, may be at a critical turning point in terms of moving toward institutionalizing services within the community context. The opportunity for organizational expansion into housing development can be a catalyst to future economic development and community organizing.

The scale of the projects in no way reverses the present trend of growing veteran homelessness, and nowhere is the inability of the veterans housing rehabilitation to keep up with homelessness more evident than in Boston and New York City. Black veteran leaders realize that the homeless problem is related to the inability of Black veterans to take advantage of their benefits and entitlements. Meanwhile the majority of Black veterans because of poor work histories, bad credit ratings, unemployment, and substance abuse have become economic wards of a governmental caste system with no future in sight.

Note, however, that northeast veterans non-profit housing development corporations generally are more dependent on acquiring governmental aid than their original veteran services programs. The government remains the largest contributor to Black veterans housing development corporations. These organizations are paralleling other types of development corporations in the Black community and elsewhere to become more diversified and self-sufficient as government funding lessens. Nonetheless, obstacles to forming Black and/or veteran development corporations and profit-making enterprises do exist.

e) Economic Development Obstacles

- * need for more technical assistance for effective organizational growth and development.
- * less competitive salary ranges and benefits packages limit hiring certain kinds of expertise.
- * relative perceptions about Black veterans tend to be deficit oriented, highly suspect and exclusionary in nature.
- * Black veterans require much in the way of training, technical expertise, management skills, tangible incentives, financial management, improvement of attitudes and behavior, and enhancement of competence and experience.

f) Strategies & Tactics

The ongoing meeting process was the central tactic for organizing and ushering in housing development projects. However, other tactics employed involved meetings, site visits, letter writing campaigns and telephone call-ins; political intervention and support at state and federal levels; effective use of groups such as the Massachusetts Congressional Delegation and New York Black and Hispanic State Caucus for support; and legislative initiatives earmarking funding on a non-competitive basis.

Strategic development in the form of multiple levels of participation was also an enormous tactical consideration in the formulation of social service delivery systems and housing development projects. For example, national, state, city and community resources were targeted rather than focusing on a single level of supportive resources. In this regard, relationship building or networking became an important part of the overall process.

Other factors such as perseverance, patience, and determination, however intangible, were no less important in terms of the overall process and final housing outcomes. While these organizations' housing projects embraced similar and divergent strategies stemming from felt need regarding the veterans homeless situation, each handled the implementation of strategic options differently.

Most notably, the strategy of forming coalitions with whites as a strategic option to move projects forward should be analyzed further. This strategy reflects a tactical consideration advanced by a number of other blacks given what they perceive as social, political and economic realities. Nevertheless, the strategy has both positive and negative elements that need to be examined.

The social responses of Black veteran leaders to perceived political, economic and racial realities embrace a number of ideologies stemming from minority - majority relationships. Black veteran leaders such as Cooper and Mashariki argue that coalition organizing dilutes the issue to such a degree that whites and not Blacks are the primary benefactors. However, coalition building among and between Vietnam combat veterans seems to take on another dimension in need of exploration. If only because Vietnam was America's first integrated war, one might speculate that racial relationships, attitudes and experiences are significantly different than among other veterans, or society at large.

In terms of strategies on housing development, Black veteran organizations compare favorably with the average community development corporation (CDC). There is no data contained within the case studies themselves that would suggest that the Department of Veteran Affairs, state veterans departments, veterans benefits and entitlements played a role directly or indirectly in securing financing. Although veterans benefits and/or entitlements were not part of the packaging of housing development projects, the disproportionate representation of veterans among the homeless population, estimated at one-third, was used as leverage to advocate the need. Presently very little information is available on the socio-economic impact of Black veterans on the black community, the extent of benefits and entitlement utilization among black veterans, or cooperative or creative strategies for community development.

There are two major roads not taken: (1) there is no strategy for inter-organizational cooperation or joint venturing in the northeast among these Black veteran leaders; regional inter-organizational strategizing for the development of affordable housing constitutes an option to be explored to generate economies of scale;

(2) there is no strategy for the collective utilization of individual benefits or entitlement.

g) Racism & Discrimination

Conclusions concerning the pervasiveness of racism and discrimination are indisputable as they impact on adjustment, organizing, organizational development, service delivery, and housing development projects.

The issues of race, veterans status, and social justice or equity are interwoven. Structural, institutional and interpersonal racism is revealed along both horizontal and vertical lines. Racism within governmental institutions is seen throughout the case study interviews in terms of the allocation of resources, decision making processes, hiring patterns and organizational philosophies; and interpersonal racism both subtle and overt stemming from individual white veterans' and their respective organizations surfaces in terms of leadership opportunities, priorities, and focus of concerns.

Institutional and interpersonal racism as reflected in the case studies is yet another manifestation of the historical racism Blacks continue to face irrespective of veteran status: the institutional withholding of goods and services, inequitable allocation of resources, discriminatory hiring practices, and limited input into decision-making or policy formulation.

White conservative male leadership and fiscal control of state and federal agencies maintain hegemony over policy, programming, resources, services and contracts to the black community. Institutional philosophies of color blindness invariably lead away from cultural sensitivity, appropriateness within treatment programs and targeted outreach.

Advocacy along the lines of race is met with extreme resistance within the white veterans population, and leads white veterans to label Blacks as divisionist or non-veterans. Conversely, advocacy around veterans issues within the Black community is met with a lukewarm reception. Understandably, the Vietnam Conflict juxtaposed against the backdrop of the Civil Rights Movement created a moral and ethical dilemma for many leaders in the Black community, and has led to Black veteran issues being isolated from the mainstream issues of the Black community.

h) External Factors

On the other hand, Black veterans external to these CBO's or within otherwise white mainstream agencies and organizations have played an important role, as revealed in the case studies, by advocating within governmental settings the need to focus on minority veterans as an underserved population.

Simultaneously, as state veteran directorships changed and Black advocacy continued, the dual dynamics of internal pressure and external force resulted in greater degrees of leverage. How? First, by installing new state agency leaders who were more open and less entrenched within the state bureaucracy. Second, new leadership was less willing to be driven by an in-house perception of need or older established priorities. Third, new directors (in Massachusetts and New York) tended not to be members of the old boy network politically, and generally came from outside the state status quo.

An adjunct to these factors was coordination between legislative caucuses and community groups which provided a bridging environment fostering meaningful dialogue, mutual interest and cooperative agreements as a result of political intervention.

In summary, this thesis has attempted to defend the proposition that community development offers a window of opportunity for black veterans integration into the black community:

- 1) Black veterans possess both tangible and intangible skills to be utilized in the black community, as reflected in organizers' recruitment of disabled and retired veterans as unpaid staff, etc..
- 2) Black veteran leaders are explicit advocates of the philosophy of self-help and self-determination, in the Black tradition.
- 3) Black veteran community based organizations are affecting the entire black community through employment, job training, taxes, social services to families, court intervention, and the rehabilitation of abandoned housing.
- 4) Black veteran community based organizations have established a niche in servicing the needs of a submerged population within the Black community, who otherwise would go unserved or inadequately served for the most part.

Little priority has been assigned to the Black veteran - a repository of human capital, organizational capacity and social linkages across the Black community. But Black veteran CBO's offer Black communities a special supplement to the community development process and fuel its development an important step further.

Recommendations

Ten recommendations based on the case studies are offered to help strengthen and support community development.

1) Strategic Planning

The thesis itself initiated the process of strategic planning in that it offered these Black veterans an opportunity to brainstorm, exchange ideas, reflect, document, and project into the future. One of the most significant recommendations of the case studies is the strong need for the three individuals to engage in capital or economic development planning. They have suggested that a planning effort, beyond their own scope, should be mounted to address in a comprehensive manner the continuing uncertainty surrounding governmental and foundation funding. In addition, a case study typology has been extrapolated for the purpose of building a model for replication in other parts of the country. The case study documentation and discussion have culminated in recommending a strategic planning process to address the issues of economic development in the future.

Uncertainty has fueled the interest of these black veterans in fostering capital and economic development strategies. Although they have intuitively utilized strategic planning methods in this regard, they have not explicitly utilized planning. Two critical questions arise:

- a) is traditional planning appropriate within their CBO context?
- b) are organizational latitude (or scope) and longitude (or time) sufficient?

Black veteran CBO's are unwilling to engage in traditional planning processes due to fiscal, time and resource constraints.

2) Creative or Collective Economics

Black and minority communities should explore making veterans' entitlements for community development a part of their overall strategy.

Creative and collective economic strategies for buying houses on the G.I. Bill have been discussed, yet to our knowledge never utilized. Developing partnerships and joint venturing, coupled with socio-economic development planning, are other options to explore as part of the strategy for enhancing community development.

3) Marketing Campaign

There is a need for public relations or promotional efforts that communicate the positive attributes of Black veterans and their organizational services in order to counteract stereotypes, enhance images and market services to a larger segment of the Black community and mainstream society.

4) Computer Technology

The utilization of new technology -- computers, telecommunications, video imaging, interactive video, etc. -- is recommended. The ability of Black veterans to solve organizing, organizational development and networking problems for community development is integrally related to how well they use information and communication resources. The use and exchange of information technology by Black veterans can play an important role in redefining organizational relationships, managing scarce resources, avoiding duplication of effort, improving governmental and legislative monitoring, and enhancing outcomes.

5) Human Capital Evaluation

The portfolio evaluation process has been widely utilized by both colleges and universities in determining and converting lifelong learning experiences into college credits. Objective and effective assessment of Black veterans human capital should be undertaken.

6) Community Development Training

Community development training is recommended as a vehicle for the development of practical skills deemed essential to successful organizing and strategizing. Thus CBO leaders would become trainers utilizing their skills and experiences in a series of programs consisting of workshops, seminars, special studios and conferences for veterans and others working in and concerned about community development within various cities around the country. Field-based sessions could travel to different cities spending a day or a week planning and reviewing organizational strategies and tactics, and coordinating focus groups to improve outcomes around the country.

Training would offer an opportunity to design organizational service delivery systems, develop management skills, explore interpersonal relationships, strengthen personal and professional development, and define leadership roles. The sessions could also address special issues such as stress management, meeting processes, political education, bargaining and negotiations, resource development, etc.

Follow-up technical assistance can be facilitated by telecommunications including teleconferencing.

7) Community Forums

The issue of community perception is problematic. Perceptions of Black veterans and non-veterans reflect a continuing schism within the Black community. Alvin Schexnider, points out, "There is perhaps skepticism on the part of both civilian and military leaders since the former are often perceived as liberal and the latter as conservative; however, one suspects that not much in the way of dialogue has occurred." (36) An opportunity for Black Vietnam era veterans, advocates and community leaders at large to publicly express and exchange views and concerns for the betterment of the community is a must.

A series of community forums should be established to allow for examining perceptual differences, engaging in constructive dialogue, and fostering mutual cooperation building, fact-finding and problem solving. The forums, whether informal or formal, could be open to the general community and public at large convened at various locales throughout the community.

8) Community Based Organization & Housing Portfolio Fund

The most challenging issue facing all three organizers is achieving economic security and empowerment. Many variables come into play: human capital, organizational growth and expansion, management, leadership and investment decisions and opportunities.

There are the issues of return on investment and social cost vs social benefit to society and risk. Organizational inventories should be conducted to collectively package, market, and attract investment opportunities. The potential for establishing community based organizational portfolio fund opportunities should be examined.

Many opportunities exist to make social investments that promote social uplift, build affordable housing, strengthen neighborhood pride, etc., while capitalizing on the current movement for socially conscious and responsible investing, e.g., syndication of housing, non-profit organization projects and divestiture in South Africa; (2) the national euphoria surrounding the Persian Gulf or the "we support the troops" movement.

9) Regional/National Housing Development Plan

Development of a regional/national housing coalition and housing development plan. The plan would be called "Housing Initiative 2000" to be undertaken under a cooperative agreement or joint-venture among the three Black veteran housing developers in order to bring a regional and community-based perspective to the issue of affordable housing development for minority veterans.

The goal is to document the need for affordable housing in the region, and to increase advocacy, and to leverage housing development opportunities -- rehabilitation or new construction -- by concentrating, coordinating and cooperating with respect to housing needs in distinctly minority communities and neighborhoods.

The objective of the regional/national plan is to develop a strategic approach which fosters future vision, inter-organizational capacity building, grassroots mobilization and most importantly, greater economies of scale.

Prospects for the regional plan's implementation at the federal and state level are considered good based on the current statistics surrounding veterans as a disproportionate number of the single male homeless.

10) National Case Study Research Project

There is a need for conducting national research to increase our understanding and develop newer approaches for integrating Black veterans into the community development process and identifying the strengths and success factors involved in Black veterans contributions to the community development process. In collective terms the relative merits of Black veterans groups have not been calculated, nor mapped in the form of case study research. Examining and harnessing their collective resources could be used to strategically support community development initiatives, or counterbalance critics of Black and other minority social gains.

Even though the case study sample size as such can not be generalized in national terms, it is among the first in which research is conducted on the relative contributions of Black veterans within the context of community development -- organizing, organizational development, human capital, leadership and philosophy as a response to racism emanating from the larger society. Ongoing research efforts in this regard are highly recommended.

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Appendix (A): Case Study Participants Names and Addresses

Ralph Cooper, Executive Director
Veterans Benefits Clearinghouse, Inc.
70 Warren St.
Roxbury, Mass. 02119
(617) 445-7030

Job Marshiriki, Director
Black Veterans for Social Justice
686 Fulton St.
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217
718-935-1116

Jerry Bowman, Vice President
Western New York Veterans Housing Coalition
Struass St.
Buffalo, N.Y.
716-891-5490

Ron E. Armstead, Case Study Researcher
86 Thornton St.
Roxbury, Mass. 02119
617-442-1623

Appendix (B): Case Study Taxonomies of Black Veterans:
Organizing and Organizational Strategies for
Community Development

Human Capital	Black Veterans	Vietnam Era Veterans ———— [Europe Vietnam Army Air Force College Activist Community Organizer Incorporator				
		Leadership ———— [Executive Director Director Vice President				
	Skills					
	Social Support					
	Attributes	Consistency Persistence	Perseverance Commitment	Resilience Initiative	Innovation Creativity	Determination Survivorability
	Philosophy	Elderidge Cleaver Marcus Garvey - Self-Determination Black Panthers - Political Education	Black Community Resources	Vietnam Lessons Historical Precedence	Peer Counseling Self-Help Systems Intervention	Pan Africanist Black Nationalist Black Integrationist
	Secondary Issues					
	Organizational Management	Employees Clients	Consultants Volunteers	Contracts Community		
	Roles	Fund Raiser Program Manager Resource Developer Catalyst Counselor Service Provider Planner	Problem Solver Analyst Public Relation Specialist Advocate Negotiator Conflict Mediator	Organizer Adminstrator Communicator Educator Activist Developer	Strategist Tactician Social Change Agent Political Broker Architect Visionary	

Human Capacities	College	Activist	Veterans Administration (VA) Community Center 3rd World Veterans Alliance, University of Buffalo Veterans Club, Boston State College		V.A. Educational Benefits i.e. monthly allotment, workstudy & tutorial		
					Veterans Peer Assistance Program (BSC)		
					Student Government Association (BSC)		
					Masters Degrees (2)		
	Community	Randolph Evans Fund East Cultural Center Black Veterans for Social Justice	Black Peoples Information Center Buffalo Vet Center/Attica Veterans Western New York Veterans Housing Coalition	Commonwealth Fellow Roxbury Multi-Service Center Veterans Benefits Clearinghouse			
	Community Based Organizations	Black Veterans for Social Justice		Sterling Street Housing Corporation			
		Veterans Benefits Clearinghouse		VBC Development Corporation		VBC Enterprises	
		Buffalo Vet Center		Western New York Veterans Coalition			
	Model	Non-Profit 501c3	Social Services		Director - Driven		All Black
			Housing Development		Board - Driven		Lone Black
Housing Development	HUD Property		Rehabilitation Code Upgrade New Construction	Single Room Occupancy (SRO's) Affordable Housing (Apt's) Commercial Space		Separate Entity	
	City Property					Joint Board of Director Participation	
	Private Property						
Housing Stock	Abandoned Buildings		Apartment Buildings (Attached)	Townhouses	Nursing Homes	Abandoned Hotel	
	Abutting Vacant Lots		Brick	Woodframe	Woodframe	Brick	

Organizational Development	Organizational Development Stages	Meetings Discussions Elections Organizing Organizational Development Housing Development Institution Building					
	Internal Dynamics	Meetings Setting Organization Parameters King of the Mountain Syndrome Solidifying Client Base			Interpersonal Conflict Role Confusion Changing Relationships Management Issues		Recognition of Limitations Identification of Strengths
	Services	Wholistic Approach	Outreach	Humanistic Spiritualistic			Resocialization
			Counseling	Peer Counseling	Life Meaning	Basic Living Skills	
				Multiple Services	Support System	Job Maintenance	
			Attracting Resources				
	Seeking Funding						
	Delivering Services						
	Consistant Leadership						
	Political Support						
	Institution Building						
	Uncertainty						
	Organizational Transition	Affordable Housing Marketing	Capital Development Building Fund		Venture Capital Lending Enterprise		
	Capital Development	Upscale Housing Manufacturing	Membership Stock Planning				
Enterprise	Profit Making Entity						

Housing Assets	Boston	Blue Hill Ave.	Hartford Manor	Beacon St.	Gambon Way	Total
		Apartment Building - Attached HUD Granite Property Affordable Apartments 30 Units Brick Rehabilitation \$2.9 million	Nursing Home City Owned (PFD) Single Room Occupancy 19 Rooms Woodframe Rehabilitation \$494,000	Apartment Building Boston University Single Room Occupancy 9 Rooms Brick Code Upgrade \$169,000	Nursing Home Private Owner Single Room Occupancy 18 Rooms Woodframe Code/Rehabilitation \$375,000	30 Units 46 Rooms
	Brooklyn	Sterling Street				
		Apartment Building City Owned Property Affordable Apartments 19 Units Brick Rehabilitation \$ 1.5 Million				19 Units
	Buffalo	Best & Main St.	Townhouses	Stafford Arms		
Manufacturing Building City Owned Property Affordable Apartment & Commerical Space 26 Units Brick Rehabilitation \$2.5 Million		New Development Private Developer Affordable Housing 8 Units Woodframe Code/New Construction \$	Abandoned Hotel Private Owner Affordable Apartments 56 Units Brick Rehabilitation \$3 Million (plus)		82 units 8 Townhouses	
Funding Sources	Housing & Urban Development (Federal) Agent Orange Settlement Fund (Private) Exxon Oversharge Fund (State) Homeless Fund (N.Y. Black & Hispanic Caucus Community Black Grant (City)		Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency (State) Private Donation (Japan) Bank Syndication (Private) Urban Development Action Grant (City) Public Facilities (City)		10	

Appendix (C): Case Study Typologies of Black Veterans
Leadership

Ralph Cooper	Resources	Black & Minority Women	Military Retirees	Campus Based Funding & Organizing	Outside Agency Support	
		In-Kind Donations	Consultants	Contracts for Services		
		Fellowships	Management Expertise	Housing Expertise	Mass. Cong Delegation	
	Success Formula's	Military Experience & Physical Strength & Parental Foundation				
		Education & Competition	Ideas People & Implementors			
	Management Assets	Recognize Talents	Distinuish between Idea's & Implementors	Willingness to Work	Acknowledging Limits & Finding Expertise = Management	
		Set Limits & Boundaries		Linking Ideas with Implementors		
		Team Effort				
	Program Philosophy	Wholistic	Basic Living Skills	Counselling Model	Self-Disclosure	
			Support Network		Using Self as Model	
Job Maintenance			Education Important			
Affordable Housing						
Management Issues	Non-Competitive Salaries		Rate Setting for Contract Services			
	Seat of the Pants Management vs Management by Objectives		Employee / Management Relationships			
	Identifying & Improving Personal Management Skills/Style					
Housing Corporation	HUD Property	Model	Separate Corporation	Process	Meetings	
	City Property		Non-Profit		HUD Lobbying	
	Private Property		Joint Board of Director Participation		Telephone Calls & Letters	
Black Veterans Assessment	Sensitive Work Related Problems	Experience Leadership				
Comments	Black Institution building in America needs documenting					

Job Mashariki	Resources	Disabled Veterans	Prior Experience	Office Space
		Volunteers	Site Visits	Local Colleges with Community Programs
		Salvaging	Consultants	
		Veterans Skills	N.Y. Black & Hispanic Caucus	
	Personal Values	Activism & Organizing		Identifying resources within community @ large
		Emphasis on Physical Space		Setting limits / parameters of organization
		Utilizing Volunteers & holding them accountable		Vision
	Program Philosophy	Humanistic Outreach		
		Wholistic Approach		
	Housing Development	Organizational tightening	Community politic's	Community canvassing
		Outside Resources	Letters of intent	Petition signing
		Political Support	Telephone calls	Conflict with organizational mission
Meeting Process		Lobbying	Role conflict	
Housing Corporation	Model	Separate corporation		
		Joint Board of Director Participation		
		Team Approach		
		One shot model		
Black Veterans Assessment	politicized have personal problems caught up in basic survival & everyday struggle limited understanding of the system skilled			
Comments	Case study interview clarifying a lot of things in his mind Send copy of thesis after completed Internally there is a need to know organizational history Never have talked to people about organizing issues before Uncertainty & changing political environment make timing critical			

Jerry Bowman	Meetings	Elections	Implied Pressure	White Comfort Zones	Emotional Connection	
			Roles	Process	Consensus Governance	Outcome Oriented
			Encourage others to attend meetings	Responsibility Issue	Robert Rules of Order	Business Agenda & Minutes
	Philosophy	Necessity		Political Education Classes		
	Concepts	Pointman		Base Plate	Vietnam Knowledge	
	Strategy	White Liberal Front Man		Symbolic Gestures (Naming Organization & Activities)		
		Political Education Classes		Community Newspapers	Stacking the Deck	
		Political Action Committee		Capital Development	Greasing Them	
	Resources	Disabled Veterans	Wife of Serviceman	Building Stock	Volunteers	People & Telephones
	Organizing Repercussions	FBI Files		Scare Tactics	Incarceration	
	Housing	Asbestos Removal	Commerical Space	Crash Courses		Politics & Handshaking (Public Realties)
		Weather	Competitive Bidding	Bargaining & Negotiation		
		Support Services	Cost Estimating	Referrals		
Black Veterans Assessment	Other Priorities Need Tangible Proof					
Comments	Activitism Spun-Off by veterans in the Buffalo area	Genetic Rebellionist	Symbolic Gestures	Base Plate or Model		

Appendix (D): Black Veterans Formula's for Community
Development

1. Ron E. Armstead

a) Military Experience + Social Adjustment/Self Development +
Organizing/Organizational Development + Institution
Building =

b) Military Experience + Black Consciousness + Social
Activitism + Education + Peer/Family/Community Support =

2. Jerry Bowman

a) Necessity + Political Education + Priority + Tangible
Proof or Symbolic Gestures =

3. Ralph Cooper

a) Military Experience + Physical Strength or Tenacity +
Parental Foundation =

b) Education + Competition =

c) Sensitivity + Experience + Leadership =

4. Job Mashariki

a) Leadership + Experience + Vision =

b) Politicizing + Activitism + Organizing =

5. Ernest Washington

Respect + Recognition + Meaning =