

COMMUNITY & YOUTH DEVELOPMENT
Series

**Community
Development and
Youth Development**

**The Potential
for Convergence**

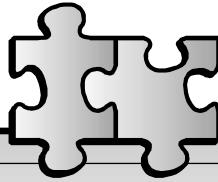
**P. Jefferson Armistead
Matthew B. Wexler**

LOCAL INITIATIVES SUPPORT CORPORATION

*with three
Community Development Corporation
Case Studies*

THE FORUM FOR YOUTH INVESTMENT

WITH THE SUPPORT OF
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APRIL 1997
WORKING MEETING



THE COMMUNITY & YOUTH DEVELOPMENT SERIES, VOLUME 1
PUBLISHED WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE FORD FOUNDATION



The Forum for Youth Investment was created to increase the quality and quantity of youth investments and youth involvement by promoting a “big picture” approach to planning, research, advocacy and policy development among the broad range of national organizations that help constituents and communities invest in children, youth and families. To do this, the Forum commits itself to building connections, increasing capacity and tackling persistent challenges across the allied youth fields.

The Forum offers its members tools, intelligence, training, international perspectives and individual supports. It creates opportunities for youth investors to come together in neutral forums to tackle persistent challenges such as shaping public perceptions of young people and strengthening the links between preventing youth problems and promoting youth preparation and development. It helps identify, facilitate and broker relationships among members, offering them new lenses for looking at old issues, supports to turn the ideas into action and vehicles to reflect on lessons learned. It works to ensure that the information, tools and insights generated by the Forum and its members are shaped by and useful to local communities and practitioners. It asks members to contribute commentary, products and time toward the creation of a shared information base. All this work is done in full partnership with Forum members, with the aim of increasing collective learning and action on “big picture” issues — issues that cross traditional sectors and lines, and which are beyond the capacity of any organization to tackle alone.

The Forum for Youth Investment is a U.S. initiative of the International Youth Foundation™

ABOUT THE FORD FOUNDATION'S COMMUNITY YOUTH DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE

Using the positive youth development framework and guiding principles, the Human Development and Reproductive Health unit of the Ford Foundation launched the Community Youth Development Initiative. The term “community youth development” is used to define the process of young people and adults working in partnership to create the necessary conditions that will result in the successful development of young people, their peers, families and communities — the integration of youth development and community development. The Forum's work with the International Learning Group on Youth and Community Development is one of several projects funded by the Ford Foundation as part of its Community Youth Development Initiative.

The initiative's goal is to enhance the ability of young people from economically disadvantaged communities to successfully transition from adolescence into responsible adulthood, economic self-sufficiency and engaged citizenship by building the capacity of low-income communities to create supportive environments.

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PREFACE

COMMUNITY AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Exploring Common Ground

Communities are dependent upon the minds, hearts and hands of their young people and youth are dependent upon the viability, vitality, protection and attention of their community. These would seem to be common-sense statements, but in many countries, including the United States, this vital interdependence of youth development and community development is too often ignored.

The past few years, however, have witnessed a major upswing in interest in the relationship between youth and community. Youth development researchers are looking for improved measures of community influence and indicators of healthy environments. Economists and demographers are measuring the impact of youth skills and behaviors on community viability. Youth advocates are looking for more powerful ways to show that young

people can be key catalysts for change in their communities. Youth service providers are increasingly recognizing the importance of involving youth in community development and community actors in youth development. (“Community youth development,” the term now used by the National Network for Youth, 4-H and other youth-serving organizations to refer to a blended set of youth and community commitments, reflects this shift.) And growing numbers of community development organizations are responding to the increased need for youth services and opportunities.

The overlap in the timing of these revelations is important. It has created a sense of excitement and possibility and sparked some innovative programs and initiatives. But the long-term implications of this overlap — the extent to which heightened concern about youth

and community development will translate into shifts in practice within the two broad sectors — are less clear.

The Ford Foundation and the International Youth Foundation both have deep commitments to improving the viability of youth and communities. Equally important, both strongly believe that 1) it is critical to engage young people and adults in partnerships to create the conditions necessary

for youth and community development and 2) this engagement needs to be a priority for both place-based organizations (e.g., community development corporations [CDCs]) and people-based organizations (e.g., youth-serving organizations). The two foundations, therefore, have made a commitment to explore this common ground together through joint meetings, publications and projects. We welcome others on this journey.

INTRODUCTION

COMMUNITY AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Complementary or Competing Priorities for Community Development Organizations?

On April 16-18, 1997, the Ford Foundation and the International Youth Foundation (IYF) cosponsored a working meeting in Princeton, New Jersey, to encourage the emerging partnership between youth development organizations and community development organizations.

Representatives of 50 foundations, youth-serving community-based organizations, community development corporations (CDCs), policy research organizations, advocacy groups and youth leaders attended the two-day working meeting. The primary question: How can and do organizations that have community and economic development as their primary goal contribute to the protection, preparation and participation of young people?

The papers, case studies and panels prepared for the meeting provided participants with a deeper understanding of how, historically, young people and youth services have factored into the missions, strategies and services of these organizations that are currently shifting or expanding efforts to address and involve youth. We initiate the Community & Youth Development Series with three publications that were generated for or sparked by this meeting.

First in this workshop series is *Community Development and Youth Development: The Potential for Convergence* by P. Jefferson Armistead and Matthew B. Wexler of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC). This thought-provoking paper, which builds on a presentation made at a

December 1996 Wingspread conference, is accompanied by case studies of three community development corporations that have significant youth programming and involvement.

Second in the series is *Youth Development and Community Development: Promises and Challenges of Convergence*, a persuasive overview of theoretical and practical evidence of youth and community development as convergent goals or strategies prepared by Michele Cahill, Director of the Youth Development Institute of the Fund for the City of New York. Accompanying this piece is a case study of Youth Development, Inc., a youth-serving organization that has now established a CDC.

The third report, *Beacons: A Union of Youth and Community Development*, is a compilation of three case studies of New York City organizations that have started Beacons, school-based community centers that offer young people and families a wide array of opportunities to engage in youth development and community building. The case studies show how three organizations with different origins — a CDC, an immigrant family advocacy organization and a child and family services organization — approach a similar challenge. These case studies, as well as those in the other publications coming out of this meeting, were prepared by Judith Silber, with the assistance of Shawn Mooring and Annetta Seecharran.

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

THE POTENTIAL FOR CONVERGENCE

Powerful factors are pushing community development corporations to broaden their mandates and strategies to include youth, and long-standing factors are making this convergence challenging. But it is important to note that the first community development corporation began with significant youth involvement. The Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation was established in 1967 in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, New York, at a time when the neighborhood suffered from severe deterioration in both its housing stock and its community fabric. The founding of the Restoration Corporation was powerfully influenced by Senator Robert Kennedy, who drew community lead-

ers and corporate executives to the support of the new venture. In its early days, the corporation experienced several false starts. Large-scale plans and designs were developed by nationally renowned planners and architects, such as Edward Logue and I.M. Pei, but these eventually proved too large, unwieldy and top-down for an effective neighborhood revitalization strategy. Then, fortunately, Franklin Thomas was recruited to head up the corporation.

Franklin Thomas had grown up in Bedford-Stuyvesant and had received undergraduate and law degrees from Columbia University. At the time of the search for someone to lead the new corporation, Thomas had recently moved from a position as assistant U.S. attorney in New York to become deputy police commissioner and general counsel

The first community development corporation began with youth development as part of a broader strategy for involving young people, homeowners and community institutions in the rebuilding of the community.

of the police department. As he considered start-up plans for development in Bedford-Stuyvesant, he included participation of young people as an essential element in Bedford-Stuyvesant's overall strategy for community revitalization.

His opening card was to organize the neighborhood block by block with the immediate goal of upgrading the appearance of the streets, brownstone facades and stone stairways. With a high proportion of homeowners in the neighborhood, Thomas saw basic repairs as an appealing first step toward larger, more deeply rooted change. Critics who saw this plan as a cosmetic touch-up missed the underlying organizing principle. The Restoration Corporation would train young people to pour cement, patch stonework, recast iron grill fences and repair doorways. These services would be offered to homeowners for a nominal fee in exchange for their commitment to devote an amount of funds equivalent to the exterior work on the rehabilitation of the building interiors. The work could engage local teenagers in the neighborhood, while

training them in crafts traditionally leading to well-paying jobs. With this approach, Thomas saw that uniting the youth with the homeowners could be the partnership needed to begin a community-wide movement for better homes, jobs and quality of life.

This vignette serves to illustrate an important point: the first community development corporation began with youth development as part of a broader strategy for involving young people, homeowners and community institutions in the rebuilding of the community. Although community development is known for its focus on affordable housing and, more recently, economic development, it has always centered upon neighborhoods and what is happening to the people in those communities. We need today to remember how closely linked community development and youth development were at the beginning, because the two have diverged significantly over the intervening years. There is no doubt that community and youth development belong together and that, as partners, they can achieve a far greater and more enduring change than either one alone. To provide a framework for understanding the need for and potential of convergence, this paper sketches the history of community development corporations, with particular attention to the evolution of a community development industry and the more recent efforts to integrate community and youth development.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF CDCs

At the leading edge of the community development movement are community development corporations (CDCs). *What are CDCs? They are neighborhood-based and community-governed nonprofit organizations whose mission is the revitalization of their distressed neighborhoods, with a particular emphasis on physical and economic revitalization.*

CDCs take on many different forms and, in addition to the neighborhood-focused model just described, there are rural CDCs and CDCs that have a city-wide, or even state-wide, focus. CDCs have achieved substantial recognition not only for their achievements in physical redevelopment, particularly with the construction of affordable housing, but also for bringing about broader revitalization through a range of economic development and community-building projects. They often serve as advocates for improved public services, traditional block organizers, conveners for neighborhood planning, networkers for job referral, open space conservationists, builders of day care and health care facilities and partners with police around community security. At the center of this array of CDC

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT: ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO DATE

- Created more than 2,200 CDCs in urban neighborhoods and rural communities.
- Developed a national infrastructure that provides financial and technical assistance.
- Produced approximately 500,000 units of affordable housing and 23 million square feet of commercial/industrial space.
- Lent over \$200 million to business enterprises.
- Created the equivalent of more than 68,000 full-time jobs.

activities, however, has usually been the development of affordable housing.

What is the scale of CDCs' accomplishments? Thirty years after the founding of the flagship Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, there are more than 2,200 CDCs in urban neighborhoods and rural communities, and a national infrastructure that supports them with a variety of development partnerships, intermediaries, financial and technical assistance providers, and public sector programs. In terms of development, CDCs have produced approximately 500,000 units of affordable housing and 23 million square feet of commercial/industrial space. They have also lent over \$200 million to business enterprises and created the equivalent of over 68,000 full-time jobs, not counting the hundreds of thousands of short-term construction jobs.

But the accomplishments of CDCs are understated by the numbers alone. In many cases, CDCs were formed in response to the appalling effects of the disinvestment in inner-city neighborhoods that occurred over decades, when it did not appear that government, the private sector or anyone else had any effective strategies for halting the blight. They were formed in many cases as a last ditch effort by community residents to stop the advance of abandonment and arson of buildings and the destruction of neighborhoods, and their initial aim and strategy was to reclaim the neighborhood one building at a time. The real success of CDCs is seen in the neighborhoods around the country that had been written off by everyone, which now have been rebuilt and revitalized, and in the promise this holds for other distressed communities.

The success and proliferation of CDCs is attributable to a number of different factors.

Creative Financial Packages. First, from the beginning, CDCs' projects combined financing from diverse sources — bank loans; government subsidies in the form of grants, low-interest loans and land write-downs; foundation and private sector philanthropic grants; and corporate equity investments — into creative financial packages that work for these neighborhoods, i.e., they permit the construction of high-quality housing with monthly rents or mortgage payments

affordable to low-income individuals and families. In developing creative and complex financial packages in response to the difficulty of development in inner-city environments, CDCs created channels for renewed private investments in the inner city, linking capital markets to poor neighborhoods. Early successes allowed for more simplified, efficient and larger-scale financing structures to be developed later. Successes in small projects made it possible to draw in new investment sources and new partners.

Long-Term Commitment. Second, unlike many for-profit developers in low-income areas, CDCs are committed to long-term renewal of the neighborhood, not short-term profit, and they are held accountable over the long term by their board members and neighborhood residents, as well as by financial supporters. This focus on neighborhood objectives allows CDCs to carry out projects providing minimal returns that would not be acceptable to the private sector, but which the CDC is willing to accept because of the importance of the project to the neighborhood. This is a two-edged sword, however, because these projects ultimately place significant strains on the CDC's financial capacity. Another limiting factor for CDC growth is that CDCs, which have developed significant expertise and capacity in development, tend not to use it for profitable development opportunities outside of their own neighborhood.

Expanded Agendas. Third, CDCs that have become valued institutions in their neighborhoods by success in one arena (usually housing development) have expanded their agendas to address other local concerns. Housing production and rehabilitation will not alone turn around depressed city blocks, but they can provide a measure of stability and a catalyst for new efforts by other community-based organizations and for expanded activities by the CDC itself. The negative impact of this tendency of CDCs to expand into multiple areas of activity, however, is that it places significant strains on their limited staff and on their ability to raise operating funds.

Core Values. Fourth, CDCs succeed in neighborhoods otherwise written off because they draw upon core values — self-help, partnerships and local decision making — that do not waver in shifting political and economic climates.

Support Structure. Fifth, a support structure for community development has grown up that has dramatically increased the opportunities for directing new investment to CDCs and for forming new partnerships to implement CDC projects. The growth of the community development support structure — which includes foundations, private sector lenders and investors, national intermediaries, metropolitan partnerships, government subsidy programs, bank regula-

tion legislation and other components — is discussed in more detail below.

The support structure for community-based housing was critical to the expansion of community development in the 1980s and it provides a key ingredient for future expansion. One of the linchpins of the system has been philanthropic support for CDCs, particularly by the Ford Foundation, which has provided unprecedented financial and intellectual support not only for CDCs but for national and local intermediaries as well.

A second key element has been the development and growth of national intermediaries, the two largest of which are the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) and the Enterprise Foundation. National organizations that support the work of CDCs in numerous cities and rural areas around the country, LISC and Enterprise have:

- directed growing streams of capital to CDC projects;
- assisted CDCs in gaining increased levels of operating support;
- provided CDCs with technical assistance on project and organizational development; and
- strengthened the relationships between community-based organizations and other private and public sector participants in the development industry.

Local intermediaries, often called housing partnerships, have also come into being and play many of the same functions as the national intermediaries. Examples are the Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership, the Columbus Housing Partnership, the New York City Housing Partnership and the San Antonio Housing Trust.

In the early 1990s, the network of CDCs, foundations, intermediaries and metropolitan partnerships was augmented by the formation of the National Community Development Initiative (NCDI), a consortium of philanthropies, financial institutions and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Over a six-year period, these organizations provided \$150 million in loans and grants for CDC community development projects (\$100 million more is likely for an additional four-year period) and elicited significant commitments from municipal governments and the private sector in exchange.

A third component to the community development support system is government subsidies for housing and economic development. Countering the myth that government spending on housing does nothing but aggravate the isolation of the poor and exacerbate social problems in distressed neighborhoods, community development receives support from a handful

of government programs that work effectively and efficiently to build affordable housing. Among the clear winners in this area are the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) and HOME programs of HUD. These two block grants deliver flexible funding to municipal governments for housing production and a host of other neighborhood investments. Since its inception in 1987, the Federal Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) has provided corporate investors with an incentive to pump significant amounts of capital into low-income rental housing. Intermediaries and CDC advocates have been successful in channeling large portions of these funds into CDC projects in inner-city areas. In 1995 alone, the LIHTC contributed \$2.2 billion toward these efforts and produced 114,000 units of affordable housing.

The importance of the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) to community development should not be underestimated. CRA requires financial institutions to meet the credit needs of all creditworthy customers, regardless of income level. By making banks' performance under CRA an element of the bank examination by its regulators, the CRA gives community organizations a powerful tool for holding banks accountable to fair lending practices, which has proven key to increasing home mortgages and other loans in minority and low-income

neighborhoods. Many banks have found that doing business in these communities can be profitable and, moreover, this stimulus comes at no cost to government.

The infrastructure that supports community development corporations has created an environment in many cities where CDCs have achieved significant impacts. In some environments, CDCs have “gone to scale.” In that process, the field of community development has attracted thousands of dedicated professionals to its ranks, generated media visibility for CDC accomplishments in low-income neighborhoods, and drawn political attention to the plight of our cities, preserving critical government support in times of budget tightening.

Looking forward, CDCs and their supporters continue to press for a national build-out of community development and to support CDCs as they embrace comprehensive community revitalization efforts. We have described how the number of CDCs and the scale of their work have increased dramatically over three decades, how they have achieved some significant impacts in their communities and how a structure has been put in place to support this growth. The growth of CDCs in this period has often been described (by critics and admirers alike) as the transformation of a movement into an industry. We described how the community devel-

opment movement and youth development were linked at the beginning, and also outlined some of the community-building projects that CDCs are currently engaged in. However, it is also true that the growth of CDC housing development activities into an industry has been accompanied by developments and forces that have caused CDCs and youth development organizations to diverge significantly. What are these forces?

FROM MOVEMENT TO INDUSTRY: UNDERSTANDING DIVERGENCE

Probably the most significant force is the professionalization of the housing development field. Housing development and finance is a highly technical field. Many CDC executive directors and development directors learned the field on the job by doing their first project. By continuing to do new projects of different types, expanding their portfolios and working with their own development team members and their counterparts in finance and construction, they quickly acquire highly specialized skills. Opportunities to do larger and more complex development projects — to build on their success — reinforce the tendency to concentrate attention on a narrow field. Larger CDCs sometimes develop serious orga-

nizational splits between their development divisions and other divisions, especially community organizing.

Housing development is also fraught with risk. Completing the project on time and on budget carries with it rewards: earning one's developer fee instead of having to put it into the project; avoiding penalties; and maintaining the reputation for competence that will allow the organization to obtain land and financing for the next project. Failing to complete the project on time and on budget can mean reputational and financial disaster. Facing these rewards and sanctions, it is not surprising that CDC development directors often choose to focus on a narrow set of project goals. They often avoid complicating their project, which increases their risk, by including, for example, projects to train and use teams of young people in construction.

A related issue is the inherent tension placed on CDCs by accepting the responsibility of managing low-income rental housing over the long term. Many CDCs have roots in advocacy and community organizing and were thrust into development by the need to halt neighborhood blight. After successfully completing the development of a rental housing project and finding themselves with the responsibility of managing a physical and financial asset, they find themselves in the uncomfortable position of a landlord-tenant relationship. The

landlord role at times challenges a CDC's commitment to organizing and resident participation. Building managers who are charged with keeping buildings graffiti free may find themselves thinking about young people living in their buildings as potential "problems." The solution that often comes to mind is to manage this problem with programs and services, rather than to seek youth participation.

It is easy to see how CDCs, faced with this difficult new role and responding to it traditionally, could be perceived as now being different, other, outside and lacking in caring and understanding of the community. On the other side of the coin, other community-based organizations may react negatively to what they see as CDCs' favored status with respect to funding sources.

To add to the potential gulf, CDCs do not always recognize the expertise of other organizations, such as youth-serving organizations. CDCs have experienced the thrill of mastering the development process, and much of their strength is based in a "can do" mentality that was not stymied by an initial lack of technical expertise. When considering whether to address a community issue other than housing by developing a programmatic response themselves or reaching out to other organizations in the community, CDCs may not give sufficient thought to the collaborative approach. In

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

<i>Forces Causing Divergence</i>	<i>Forces Causing Convergence</i>
<p>Property Management Responsibilities</p> <p>Rooted in advocacy and community organizing, many CDCs were thrust into development by the need to halt neighborhood blight.</p> <p>Professionalization</p> <p>The development of highly technical skills can lead to isolation from other sectors and traditional CDC community organizing approaches.</p> <p>Non-Collaboration Pressures</p> <p>Completing the project on time and on budget is paramount, causing opportunities for sectoral collaboration to be overlooked. Additionally, CDCs do not always recognize the expertise of other organizations and do not often look to collaborate on programming outside of housing development.</p> <p>Place-based Versus People-based</p> <p>Community development is often described as a place-based strategy and youth work as a people-based strategy of service provision, allowing for a growing sense of separation.</p>	<p>Property Management Challenges</p> <p>The responsibility for property management powerfully focuses the attention of CDCs on youth issues. CDCs want to build neighborhoods where youth have a future.</p> <p>New Urgency to Connect</p> <p>The mature state that community development has reached in many locations is causing CDCs to recognize the need for connections with other sectors in order to sustain development efforts.</p> <p>Expanded Collaboration Supports</p> <p>The support network of foundations and intermediaries which has invested heavily in the field encourages collaboration and strategies for community building.</p> <p>New Youth Development Frameworks</p> <p>The growing acceptance of a youth development framework which is explicitly community focused lays the groundwork for a shared vision.</p>

effect, this may amount to a discounting of the expertise of other community-based organizations.

Conversely, other community-based organizations do not always recognize

the real estate development skills that CDCs have acquired, and call on them to utilize them. A common mistake made by community-based organizations is to decide, without obtaining enough information or advice, to

acquire a building to “save on rent,” and unknowingly take on more risk and financial and legal liability than they expected. Advice and development services provided by a CDC can help to produce a better outcome.

There has probably been a process of specialization and professionalization taking place in youth work as well, particularly in the more traditional branches of the field where the principles of youth development have not yet taken hold. In the community development world, one tends to hear youth work described as a people-based strategy of service provision, rather than a place-based strategy like community development. This parallel process of specialization and the pigeonholing of the two fields as people-based versus place-based has probably acted as an additional force for divergence.

FORCES FOR CONVERGENCE

At the same time that we can point to forces that have caused community development and youth development to diverge, there are powerful forces going in the other direction. There is a clear need for us to take advantage of these forces to bring about a convergence. The most important among them is probably the mature state that community development has reached

in many locations. In discussing these issues with CDCs around the country, we have heard a new urgency that paradoxically comes out of their success in physical development. Ten to 15 years ago we heard CDC directors saying, “Unless we can halt abandonment and stabilize the neighborhood with some physical redevelopment, it will be lost.” Today we hear them saying, “Unless we can address a number of issues — schools, crime, jobs, a future for the young people — then everything we have built will have been for nothing.” CDCs are deeply engaged in trying to make their neighborhoods into neighborhoods of choice, and they are looking for approaches to youth development that will help them achieve that goal.

In this context, the responsibility for property management powerfully focuses the attention of CDCs on the youth issue. CDCs want to build neighborhoods where youth have a future. They also want and need to maintain their physical and financial assets, i.e., the buildings that house families including young people. They know this cannot be done unless a range of issues are addressed, including youth development issues. CDCs are looking for the best ideas and the best ways of thinking about youth development, and the best ways of making their neighborhoods into places where youth can get the supports they need. The fact that CDCs have a long-term stake in the neighborhood and, at the

same time, have property management responsibility, means that they are open to a dialogue with youth development organizations.

A third force for convergence is related to the support network of foundations and intermediaries that has invested heavily in the growth and expansion of the community development field. Intermediaries and foundations have turned their attention to collaboration and networking among community-based organizations and developing integrated strategies for community building. Intermediaries such as LISC have developed strong networks for communicating best practices among CDCs and community-based organizations. For example, over the past three years, LISC has provided \$17 million in grants and loans to support 39 CDCs in 11 cities for innovative community-building experiments, which include youth development initiatives. LISC works with hundreds of CDCs in 36 urban areas and with 50 rural CDCs as well, and has developed a network with significant ability to encourage CDCs to address youth issues, to establish communication between CDCs and CBOs across the country, and to replicate successful approaches. Other foundations and intermediaries are similarly focused on these issues and in many cases are making major funding commitments.

Finally, the growing acceptance of a youth development framework that is

explicitly community focused and that focuses on building supportive communities for youth, is itself a powerful force for convergence.

CDCS AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT: CONVERGENCE AND CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

CDCs can play a substantial role in the creation of a local environment that nurtures youth development — safe, decent housing is just one component. Although this conference will explore in detail several case studies and will focus on the possibilities and challenges for convergence, it is worth presenting here a few examples of how CDCs have successfully integrated youth programs into their neighborhood initiatives.

In East New York, a CDC used a youth program to cast a final blow to an open air drug market that had blighted the corner of Newport and Riverdale Avenues for over 15 years. While the CDC had driven the dealers from a vacant building by rehabilitating it as affordable housing and had temporarily halted sales by engaging the NYPD Tactical Narcotic Team, when the police left, the dealing began again. Taking a cue from stories they had heard about

street closings, the CDC obtained permission from the city to close the street eight hours each day, attach a sprinkler device to the fire hydrant and provide sports equipment and supervision for the dozens of children who spent the summer enjoying the camp-like atmosphere. The Play Street was complemented by activities a block away at the Police and Community Together (PACT) Center, a youth center operated by the CDC and the local precinct. Miraculously, a simple youth program had achieved the outcome that police, politicians, neighbors, attorneys and rival drug gangs had failed to gain.

It is often said that volunteers make more work than they accomplish. Knowing this, a Chicago CDC was hesitant when a local artist sought to volunteer with their organization. The group, however, wisely chose to use the artist to enhance an existing undertaking rather than starting a new program. The CDC organized a group of teens to work with the artist, who was a trained ceramicist, to make glazed ceramic tiles that could be installed in the foyers and bathrooms of the housing that the CDC was building. The general contractors enthusiastically installed tiles in the CDC buildings and ordered more for non-CDC projects. When a series

of misfortunes crippled and eventually killed the CDC, the tile business spun off a small youth-run business supplying individuals and the trade with one-of-a-kind ceramic tiles.

While these examples illustrate single projects that have made a difference, there are an increasing number of CDCs that have embraced youth development as core to their work. Following is a sketch of one such group, the Cypress Hills Local Development Corporation (CHLDC) in the East New York neighborhood of Brooklyn. In addition to extensive housing rehabilitation and new construction, CHLDC is involved in a plethora of activities for local youth.

CHLDC has done tremendous work to open public and private schools in its neighborhood to locate after-school and evening classes and activities for youth and families. Public school I.S. 302 serves as a Beacon School Community Center, providing a wide range of educational, counseling, recreational, leadership development and vocational programs. Many of the teen leaders for CHLDC programs have entered through its Intergenerational Services Program, where teens provide volunteer support services to homebound seniors. These programs at the Beacon primarily engage teens and adults, while the

after-school centers at P.S. 65 and 290 provide educational programs to elementary school children. CHLDC has not been the direct service provider in each case, but subcontracted to a variety of local organizations. A substantial percentage of the funds to run these programs comes from local government agencies. Youth development programming seemed to grow organically for CHLDC, in part because the neighborhood housing stock was in reasonably good shape, but more because East New York contains the highest proportion of youth in any community in New York City. Simply responding to this demographic factor, CHLDC found itself focusing on youth.

Another successful marriage of community and youth development can be found in the trio of Germantown Settlement, the Greater Germantown Housing Development Corporation (GGHDC) and the Wister Neighborhood Council (Council), which function as a team for the rehabilitation of this historic North Philadelphia neighborhood.

Germantown Settlement was founded in 1884 as a multi-purpose human service agency; it now provides comprehensive programs and services out of six community facilities. A list of the services for youth and their families includes a

day treatment program for adjudicated youth, a prevention program targeting at-risk teens, a peer counseling program, summer day camps, family preservation services, and youth and parent network groups, as well as a family center with on-site referral, social and health services. The GGHDC has been a steady producer of affordable housing in the area since 1977 and the Council functions as a neighborhood watchdog and advisory committee for the development and service activities of its Germantown siblings. Accelerating and deepening the integration of community and youth development in Germantown are the Lower Germantown Rebuilding Community Project (sponsored by the Annie E. Casey Foundation) and the LINK Development (sponsored by the Fund for Urban Neighborhood Development). These comprehensive initiatives have opened the channels of communication between the Germantown family of agencies and other community organizations and service providers in the neighborhood. The connections have enlarged the circle of neighborhood stakeholders, resulting in greater resident mobilization, planning and organizing, with youth services delivered in community facilities, at the local middle school and in (sometimes CDC-built) homes.

What makes these organizations work? Is it the personalities and experience of staff, available funding streams, other neighborhood resources or a combination of these and other factors? How have they moved beyond the constraints of the real estate development process? To move beyond the anecdotal phase and into a period of activity where we systematically learn to better integrate community and youth development, we need to begin with the current success stories. In an intelligent and practical way, we need to under-

stand what makes these organizations able to manage their broad agendas so well. Without indulging in too many theoretical discursives, our task is to disassemble the component parts of successful programs and organizations and build upon what works. Parallel paths for community and youth development will continue to yield some exciting results, but bringing the two fields together and creating organic links — fulfilling the promise that was there from the beginning — holds enormous potential for communities.

CASE STUDY NO. 1

CYPRESS HILLS LOCAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

FOUNDED IN 1984

Unless kids are connected to activities, they will tear up our buildings. That's not really why we provide youth with opportunities. We want these young people to become the next generation of community leaders.

— Michelle Neugebauer, Executive Director

Special thanks to Michelle Neugebauer, Executive Director, and to all of the staff and youth at CHLDC for welcoming us to the site.

along Fulton Street. While more than 350 businesses line either side of this strip, Cypress Hills is actually a study in contrasts.

OVERVIEW

The Cypress Hills Local Development Corporation (CHLDC) is breathing life into a Brooklyn community grappling with economic and social trials. An ethnically-diverse neighborhood of 37,400 residents, Cypress Hills is a low- to moderate-income area of small family homes, low-rise apartment buildings and small shops. The Cypress Hills business district cuts through the center of the community and runs for 32 blocks

Prior to 1970, Cypress Hills was primarily white and middle class; as minority and less well-to-do residents moved in, the new residents had difficulty maintaining the larger houses, many of which were divided up into small, sub-standard units. The once thriving business district declined, leaving numerous stores empty and vulnerable to arson. Scattered among the boarded-up brownstones and littered vacant lots are well-maintained elegant houses with fluted columns framing their doorways. Some of the area's historic houses have been

restored by CHLDC and local residents; others desperately need renovation. These contrasts reflect a once prosperous community, fallen into economic decay.

Over the past 13 years, CHLDC has worked diligently to stem that decline. It has eliminated vacant stores, preserved the old churches and 19th century cemeteries, and restored the historic housing stock that make the community unique, while, at the same time, working to meet critical human needs. Indeed, today, it is the engine

driving a vast number of revitalization efforts that have begun to turn the community around. As Executive Director Michelle Neugebauer explains, “When someone has a problem, they come to us.” As a result of CHLDC’s willingness to tackle almost any community problem, it is involved in a wide spectrum of activities, many of them in collaboration with other public or private organizations.

CHLDC’s community development activities include: housing development and renovation, tenant counseling and organizing, arson prevention, mortgage foreclosure prevention, Fulton Street commercial revitalization, advocacy with local banks to reduce red-lining, and a first-time home buyers club. CHLDC’s human development agenda includes: one Beacon school, three after-school centers, a New Visions School (established in 1997), summer youth employment, intergenerational services, family day care providers, a youth council and youth block association, parent leadership training, and family preservation services.

With this variety of offerings, adequate staffing is essential. A total of 62 full-time and part-time staff work at CHLDC — a roster which expands to 78 during the summer, when additional children’s and youth programs are operated. A majority of the staff are current residents or natives of Cypress Hills. Because the community is small,

CYPRESS HILLS:

COMMUNITY AT A GLANCE

Ethnically Diverse. Prior to 1970, Cypress Hills was primarily white and middle class. Today, it is an ethnically-diverse neighborhood of 37,428 residents – 63 percent Hispanic; 20 percent African American; 11 percent white and six percent other.

Economically Fragile. A low- to moderate-income area. Business district cuts through the community, running for 32 blocks along Fulton Street and housing more than 350 businesses. Significant economic decline has left numerous stores empty and vulnerable to arson and other illegal activity.

Troubled Youth. Cypress Hills has the highest juvenile felony rate in New York City.

these personal ties help to resolve many potential conflicts.

CHLDC's annual budget is \$1.6 million. Federal, state or city grants provide 70 percent of the budget; grants from banks, corporations or foundations account for 20 percent; and ten percent accrues from fees. A ten-member board of directors oversees the program. All board members are community residents or local merchants who have a personal stake in Cypress Hills.

MISSION AND GOALS

Fostering Affordable Housing and Healthy Human Relationships

The growing number of empty stores on Fulton Street, many destroyed by arson, prompted the first meeting of a group of concerned residents who wanted to curb the tide of devastation and animosity in their community. "Even from the very beginning, we did not see ourselves as a narrowly defined community development corporation," explained Michelle Neugebauer, who has been CHLDC's executive director for the last 12 years.

Building or restoring affordable housing in Cypress Hills, like restoring human relationships, has been one of CHLDC's central objectives since its earliest days. In the last five years,

protecting the existing housing stock has become an equally urgent task, due to increasing numbers of mortgage foreclosures and buildings gutted by fire. In each instance, CHLDC achieves its mission through collaborative partnerships with other agencies and citizens groups, another way that CHLDC promotes neighborhood unity and citizen participation among its diverse population.

CHLDC has always sought to meet the most urgent needs of its residents. In essence, the needs of the community's citizens drive its mission and activities. For example, in the 1990s, a pressing need for day care, especially for single working mothers, prompted CHLDC to create the Cypress Hills Child Care Corporation. And likewise, as Neugebauer explained, "There's no big theory behind all our activities for kids. We just knew that we had this incredibly large young population that we had to do something about, right from the beginning."

Today, Cypress Hills is one of few neighborhoods in New York that has two Beacon schools (CHLDC runs only one of the two) and a New Visions School, according to Neugebauer. In addition, CHLDC has worked with local citizens and with youth councils to create numerous after-school and summer programs for children of all ages. While youth did not initially play a major role in

program operation, this is slowly changing. For example, this year the youth council is spearheading all the planning for the annual youth retreat.

HISTORY

In 1983, when the founding board of CHLDC met to launch a Cypress Hills revitalization plan, they realized that success depended on forging an alliance between the old guard in the community (mostly white) and the

new residents (mostly Latino and some African Americans). The board planned a “We Love Cypress Hills” day parade, a celebration of unity that has become an important annual event. The need to “pull the community together” continues to be a primary catalyst for agency policy.

Addressing a Tenuous Housing Situation

In 1985, with a staff of one and technical assistance from the Local Initia-

THE CYPRESS HILLS EVOLUTION

PRIORITIES AND PRACTICES: FROM COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND SERVICES TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH

The Early Years. Shifting demographics and growing incidence of arson in the Fulton Street business district prompts the first meeting of a group of residents concerned with property devastation and rising racial and ethnic hostility. Initial mission seeks to be “wide, rather than narrow,” focusing both on building and restoring affordable housing and restoring human relationships. Early financial and staff limitations, however, focus programs and services on the development of low-income housing.

The Middle Years. Attracting necessary partnerships and financial resources for low-income housing development proves to be a slow difficult process. CHLDC commences development of 100+ units of affordable housing with public and private financing. Housing counseling program for residents is launched. Fulton Street Commercial Revitalization Program succeeds in attracting new businesses (including a supermarket), organizing merchants and financing 119 storefront renovations.

Current Years. Due to mortgage foreclosures and ongoing arson, protecting existing housing stock becomes increasingly urgent task. Educational programs and services for youth and families unfold and accelerate. In 1995, CHLDC completes Cypress Heights, the first affordable residential construction in Cypress Hills since the turn of the century. In addition to providing home ownership opportunities to local residents, the 24 two-family homes reclaim a once devastated neighborhood.

tive Support Corporation (LISC), CHLDC mapped all the abandoned housing in Cypress Hills. Although the development of low-income housing had been a priority for CHLDC from its earliest days, attracting key partnerships and critical financial support was a painstakingly slow process, which only began to show results in the last decade. CHLDC has developed a total of 126 units of affordable housing with \$12 million in public and private financing. CHLDC owns and manages 43 units of low-income rental housing, developed in collaboration with New York City's Department of Housing Preservation and Development and LISC. Initially, some CHLDC board members were uncomfortable with their new role as "landlord," a title that carried negative connotations for them.

Since the inception of its housing counseling program in 1986, CHLDC has assisted property owners in securing \$672,910 in subsidized financing to rehabilitate 158 apartments. In 1996 alone, CHLDC counseled 891 tenants and 87 property owners on the housing code, loan and benefit programs and housing court procedures. Tenant organizing is currently taking place in eight of Cypress Hills' most distressed buildings.

In 1995, CHLDC completed Cypress Heights, the first affordable residential construction in Cypress Hills since the turn of the century.

In addition to providing home ownership opportunities to local residents, the 24 two-family homes have reclaimed a once devastated section of the community.

Meeting Business and Community Needs

The Fulton Street Commercial Revitalization Program, which CHLDC has managed for over a decade, has succeeded in attracting new businesses, including a supermarket. It has also spurred physical improvements and the organizing of merchants throughout the business district. CHLDC's matching grant program has resulted in 119 storefront renovations. These grants have in turn leveraged \$1.3 million in private investment.

"Many of our programs have their roots in the felt needs of the community," Neugebauer explained. Consequently, increasing the quantity and quality of educational opportunities for youth has dominated CHLDC's agenda in the last five years. New educational opportunities include:

- **Early Childhood Education Center.** CHLDC formed a coalition that raised \$500,000 to turn an abandoned school building into an early childhood education center and a playground.
- **Cypress Hills\East New York Beacon Center.** In 1993, CHLDC

established a multi-service Beacon Center at I.S. 302, open to the community year-round — evenings and weekends. In 1996, the center provided 2,430 youth and their families with activities that were engaging and often essential. In one room, senior citizens and teenagers rehearse a play with the help of professional actors; in another room, teens tutor their peers in reading and math. Downstairs, a comprehensive health clinic provides free care to the school's enrolled children and, on a sliding scale basis, to all other community residents. The clinic also offers physical exams, vision and hearing screenings, immunizations and treatment for acute and chronic illnesses.

- **New Visions School.** In 1997, CHLDC's plan for a New Visions School won approval from the city's chancellor of education.

Opened in September 1997, the school is governed by a parent-controlled board of directors. It maintains a parent codirector and offers a unique community-oriented, dual-language curriculum designed and planned by the school's board of directors.

- **Cypress Hills Family Day Care Center.** With support from LISC, CHLDC raised \$1 million in grants and loans to build a four-classroom center for 72 children.

- **Parent Organizer.** CHLDC hired a parent organizer to increase parents' involvement in their children's schools, to educate parents about their rights and to train them in effective advocacy strategies.

In addition to improving the community's schools, CHLDC responded positively to the community's demand for conventional banking products and services. Strengthened by an alliance with a neighboring civic association, CHLDC organized a citizens campaign that convinced eight banks to make mortgage loans in the community, increasing overall lending by 14 percent.

CURRENT YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES

Intergenerational Services (IGS): Building Bonds Across Generations

IGS was launched in 1983 during CHLDC's first year and is still thriving today. Students from the local junior and high schools volunteer to visit the homebound elderly and to shop and perform small chores for them. The students, who go out in pairs, develop affectionate relationships with people who may have formerly viewed them with suspicion. Currently, IGS has 85 home visitors, but there is a waiting list

of youth who want to join. “We give kids an effective way of mobilizing their humanity,” explains Youth Director Emily van Ingen. “Also, volunteer work is a terrific job incubator.”

Youth Block Association: Teens Battling Social Ills

To foster youth participation in solving community problems, CHLDC, in collaboration with the East New York Urban Youth Corps, formed a Youth Block Association in 1996. Concentrating on the area near the Beacon School, a youth organizer has recruited two teens from each block. These young people work as teams, identifying and solving neighborhood problems, such as an abandoned building that lures area drug dealers or the lack of safe spaces to play. “It’s turned out to be much more difficult than we expected,” admits Van Ingen. “These are really hard problems to solve.”

SOCIAL NETWORKS

In 1995, when budget cuts severely curtailed the funding for CHLDC’s youth programs, a contingent of Cypress Hills youth testified before the city council to protest the cuts; they also held a protest rally to which members of the press were invited. Although CHLDC was forced to shut down all its after-school programs for

two months during the budget crisis, the protest was ultimately successful and funds were restored.

Cypress Hills has the highest juvenile felony rate in New York City. To promote better understanding between young people and the police, CHLDC’s youth council meets regularly with members of the 75th police precinct and with the deputy inspector of the precinct. Although racial differences make these conversations challenging, the youth council is committed to continuing this dialogue.

VISION FOR THE FUTURE

For the first time since its founding, CHLDC is undergoing a major strategic planning process. In addition to restructuring the agency so that all senior staff no longer report to the executive director, CHLDC will promote collaboration between CHLDC’s many program components. For instance, the youth program desperately needs jobs and job training opportunities. After the restructuring occurs, the community development staff may require contractors to hire at least two Cypress Hills youth to work on CHLDC projects: one non-skilled youth, who will receive apprenticeship training, and one semi-skilled youth, who will gain increased proficiency in a specialized trade.

TABLE 1					
CYPRESS HILLS LOCAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION FOUNDED 1984					
PROGRAMS AND SERVICES OFFERED	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	HOUSING DEVELOPMENT	CIVIC ACTION	YOUTH DEVELOPMENT	FAMILY SERVICE
Summer Youth Employment Program	■			■	
Neighborhood Development Program	■	■			
Neighborhood Homes Program		■			
Fulton Street Commercial Revitalization Program	■			■	
Mini-Mall	■				
Business Improvement District	■		■		
The Good Find/La Buena Compra Thrift Store	■				
Arson Prevention Initiative	■		■		
First Time Buyers Club		■			
Mortgage Foreclosure Action Program		■	■		
Coalition to Rebuild P.S. 76	■		■	■	■
Cypress Hill and City Line Reinvestment Committee	■		■		
Parent Organizer To Work with Local PTAs					■
Cypress Hill Child Care Corporation	■				■
New Visions School			■		■
Youth Council			■	■	
Intergenerational Services				■	■
Three After-School Programs at P.S. 290 and P.S. 7				■	■
School-Based Community Center				■	■
Beacon Family Program				■	■
Parents Against Violence					■

CASE STUDY NO. 2

GERMANTOWN SETTLEMENT

FOUNDED IN 1884

Does my kid have to get into trouble before he can get some help from this community?

— Neighborhood Council Meeting in 1970

If you really want to help us, get our parents jobs.

— Brother-to-Brother Rap Group in 1995

Special thanks to Emanuel Freeman, President of Germantown Settlement, and the staff for supporting our efforts to learn about the program.

live in Germantown) operate out of six facilities. Like many boards and civic groups that comprise the Settlement's network of organizations, its members reflect the predominantly African-American population of the community.

OVERVIEW

Germantown Settlement is a vast multi-service agency that works to revitalize the neighborhood and improve the lives of Greater Germantown residents. Located in northwest Philadelphia, the agency focuses its efforts on 195,000 low- to moderate-income residents. Like the settlement houses of the turn-of-the-century, Germantown Settlement is concerned with all aspects of family and community life, from infancy to old age. A staff of 96 (70 percent of whom

Germantown Settlement touches the lives of 15,000 persons annually with programs in community development (including neighborhood and tenant organizing, housing development, urban horticulture, energy conservation, historic preservation and property management); social development (including family preservation, preventive health care, aging services, crime and delinquency prevention, cultural and recreational opportunities, youth

organizations, civic action and leadership development); and economic development (including employment training and job placement, youth and adult entrepreneurship, and business development).

The Germantown community derives its strength and unique character from its racial, ethnic and economic diversity. Although the average annual income of the community is \$30,000, in some neighborhoods it is only \$9,000. Thus, meticulously restored mansions —

some still occupied by old Quaker families — sit next to boarded-up tenements, and manicured private schools are surrounded by abandoned graffiti-marred factories.

Germantown Settlement's commitment to all its residents and the involvement they can bring is exemplified by the complex composition of its three boards of directors. Germantown Settlement has a 30-member board, responsible for all agency projects, including those of its two subsidiary organizations, the Germantown Community Center and the Greater Germantown Housing Development Corporation (GGHDC). GGHDC is a minority-controlled, nonprofit corporation, which has its own board, appointed by the board of Germantown Settlement. GGHDC has created 650 housing units for low- and moderate-income people and manages 250 additional units. Another nonprofit subsidiary, the Wister Neighborhood Council (WNC), is a grassroots organization formed in 1949 to promote effective resident advocacy in low- and moderate-income neighborhoods in the Germantown community. Now incorporated as a separate entity, WNC appoints its own board, comprised of community residents and block captains. Leadership training has strengthened the Wister Board, which has become an effective watchdog, ensuring that other organizations within the

GERMANTOWN: COMMUNITY AT A GLANCE

Ethnically Diverse.

Germantown's character rests in its ethnic and racial diversity. With 195,000 residents, it is a predominantly African-American community – 80 percent, shared with 17 percent white, two percent Latino and one percent Asian residents.

Economically Fragile. A low- to moderate-income area. While average annual income of the community is \$30,000, in some neighborhoods the average annual income is only \$9,000. As such, restored mansions may sit next to boarded-up tenements.

Student Literacy Rates Low. In the Germantown community, 85 percent of the students read below grade level.

Germantown family are held accountable to community residents.

MISSION AND GOALS

Enhancing the Quality of Life

Although the Germantown community became racially diverse in the 1940s, when African Americans moved into the area, the Settlement continued to serve the needs of the middle-income white community. It was not until 1972, when the current president and chief executive officer, Emanuel Freeman, succeeded in gaining representation on the board of directors, that community development and community organizing became the predominant focus of Settlement activities.

As the board and staff of Germantown Settlement have diversified, the agency's mission has also expanded. Although still committed to "enhancing the quality of life of the residents," the Settlement has become equally committed to ensuring that local citizens become the agents of change. Freeman, who admits that "pulling the community together is no simple task," is convinced that building an infrastructure for citizen initiative "block by block" is as important as building new housing units.

In the 1980s, in response to community outrage at increased gang activity and delinquency, the Settlement vastly expanded the scope and number of its services to youth. Consistent with its earlier commitment to link social services to opportunities for leadership, youth development activities also increased; youth were asked to design and staff youth programs and to sit on community boards. More than 180 young people were hired during the 1980s, a decade of major expansion in youth programming.

The current mission of Germantown Settlement recognizes the equal importance of each of three objectives: community organization, social development and physical development (including improving buildings and the surrounding green spaces). Committed to involving community residents in the process of physical and social renewal, Germantown formed innumerable governing councils to oversee each of its initiatives, making sure that local citizens are partners in community revitalization.

HISTORY

Meeting Pressing Community Needs

Founded in 1884 by the wives of German immigrants who settled outside Philadelphia on land deeded to their families by William Penn, Germantown

Settlement was originally called the Working People's Aid Society. The Society sought to improve the lives of immigrant and urban dwelling residents, with its first initiative being a nursery school and kindergarten for the children of working mothers.

In the 1940s, following the Depression and the closing of numerous factories that had employed local

residents, the Settlement organized neighborhood councils to advocate for better housing and jobs. In the 1950s, Germantown Settlement collaborated with the neighborhood councils on its first public housing and community planning projects. This tradition of partnership between community residents and Germantown Settlement has deep historical roots, which continue to influence policy even today.

GERMANTOWN EVOLUTION

PRIORITIES AND PRACTICES: FROM SOCIAL SERVICES TO COMMUNITY, SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Early Years. Founded in 1884 by German immigrants settling outside Philadelphia. Germantown Settlement calls itself the Working People's Aid Society and aims to improve residents' quality of life. It launches a nursery school/kindergarten for children of working mothers.

The Middle Years. In the 1940s, following the Depression and numerous factory closings, the Settlement organizes neighborhood councils to advocate for better housing and jobs. In the 1950s, it collaborates with neighborhood councils on its first public housing and community planning projects. A tradition of partnership between residents and Germantown Settlement is rooted.

The 1960s herald partnerships with African Americans and young people. The first youth (and first African American) is elected to the board. The Settlement moves to include youth and adults in leadership positions. In the 70s, the Brickyard Youth Council (BYC), a youth-run organization, establishes youth employment programs and organizes first Germantown anti-drug and violence campaigns.

Current Years. In the 1980s, outrage at gang activity and delinquency spurs expansion of youth services. Former commitment to link social services to opportunities for leadership is reaffirmed. Youth design programs and sit on community boards. More than 180 young people are hired, reflecting a decade of major expansion in youth programming. Current mission recognizes three objectives: community organization, social development and physical development, all committed to involving residents in the process of physical and social renewal.

Promoting Resident Leadership and Community Development

In the 1960s, Germantown formed a partnership with Young Afro Americans (YAA); as a result of YAA's activism, the first youth (and the first African American) was elected to the board of directors and another was hired as staff. The partnership with YAA initiated the Settlement's commitment to provide community youth, as well as adults, with opportunities for positions of leadership in the organization. Similarly, the Brickyard Youth Council (BYC), a youth-run organization created in the 1970s, became an effective alternative to gang membership. Launched at the insistence of community residents who angrily told Settlement staff to "do something before my kid gets into trouble," BYC also established successful youth employment programs and organized the first Germantown anti-drug and violence campaigns.

As the number of boarded-up buildings increased — some becoming crack houses — and affluent citizens moved away, Germantown Settlement initiated a collaboration with four other neighborhood organizations to create the Greater Germantown Housing Development Corporation (GGHDC). GGHDC moved to develop an ambitious revitalization plan for new housing, economic

development and tenant organizing. Local city funding, in addition to many federal housing and urban development grants, provided funds for the renovation that began in the 1970s and continues today. As the revitalization continues, GGHDC is also spurring job development by requiring contractors on all its projects to train and hire community residents for construction jobs.

In the 1980s and 1990s, a dramatic increase in school dropouts, violence and delinquency led the board to refocus its attention, once again, on children and youth. A number of new problem-focused programs were launched, such as a day treatment program for delinquent adolescents. Equal efforts were devoted to youth enrichment, development and prevention programs.

In 1994, in response to the increasing rate of school failure in the Germantown community, where 85 percent of students read below grade level, GGHDC provided funds to renovate two classrooms and create a school-based family center at the Pickett Middle School. Much like the New York City Beacons, the family center "offers parents and children what they need to thrive and to bond," the director explained. Open year-round, seven days a week until 10 p.m., the center has just added a health clinic to its array of programs. One parent, a volunteer at the center, summed up its

success. “It feels like we have taken back our school,” she said. “The small things that the family center does, like giving GED classes for parents, are big things in peoples lives.”

CURRENT YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES

Lower Germantown Rebuilding Community Project: Revitalizing Neighborhoods

Five youth have been elected by their neighborhoods to serve as voting members of the 47-person Board of the Lower Germantown Rebuilding Community Project (LGRCP). Funded by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, this ambitious, multi-million dollar effort strives to link neighborhood organizing and planning to housing development, home ownership, economic revival and social service reform. As Project Director Wanda Mial explained, youth participation is integral to the project’s objectives. “Youth bring a unique perspective to the board. They have proven themselves capable of making decisions and solving problems. Older people on the board, who were doubtful at first, are making different assumptions about the capacities of young people now.” If successful, the resident-driven reform methods that LGRCP adopts in five neighborhoods will be used to restruc-

ture the way that services and opportunities are provided to Germantown’s children, youth and families.

Queen Lane Peacemakers Program: Reducing Fear, Boosting Involvement

After a series of violent incidents at a public housing community, ten youth (ages ten to 16) met with Germantown staff to develop a plan of action for the Queen Lane Apartments. Based on the recommendations of the young participants, Germantown hired a youth organizer to develop a youth tenant council, a youth anti-graffiti initiative and a youth town watch. It was agreed that “intergenerational approaches” were essential to reducing the fear and suspicion that exists between young and old at Queen Lane. One youth participant talked about the pride he feels as a peer counselor to younger boys: “They were messing up, just like I was. I show them how to use their energy in a better way.” One result of this redirected energy is a successful graffiti-removal effort at the Pickett Middle School, where four bathrooms are now covered with murals rather than “tagging.”

Youth Organizing: Bonding Positively and Purposefully

The Wister Neighborhood Council, responsible for all community organizing efforts in the Germantown family of agencies, is selecting and training

additional youth organizers to lead innovative programs in each neighborhood. The youth organizers form small, tight-knit groups of teenagers who choose their own club name, rituals, dress code and work projects. "We become a family," one youth explained. "Some of our parents work two jobs, they don't have time for us." The 15 youth in each group continue their affiliation with the club until each of them has returned to school, learned a trade or found a full-time job.

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Job Training and Placement Program

To stem the tide of adolescents who graduate from Germantown High School without job skills, GGHDC recently created an in-school job readiness and intern program for high school seniors. Those who complete the program receive substantial assistance in finding a job. "We use our corporate connections to hook young people into jobs with a future," Stephen Kazanjian, executive director of GGHDC, said. "This is all a part of community development; we need responsible tenants who can support themselves." Thus far, 40 graduates have been placed in jobs.

VISION FOR THE FUTURE

Germantown Settlement is planning a youth economic development venture. According to Emanuel Freeman, a group of young people will serve as incorporating members along with Germantown staff. "We must initiate discussions with several outspoken and aggressive young people, so that we don't end up doing like most people do. That is, design something for youth, then wonder why they do not relate to it." Germantown is exploring several options for youth-run businesses, including a community newspaper, a plastic bag company, a business development supported by the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) or a fresh produce business.

Additionally, anticipating the effects of welfare reform in three years time, Germantown Settlement will continue to pour more resources into its job development programs. "We have begun to use people in our community to clean our building and do our billing. We have to begin worrying now about the chronically unemployed in our community who have been depending on welfare," said Kazanjian. "Without a pay check, families will fall apart and businesses in our community will suffer too."

TABLE 2					
GERMANTOWN SETTLEMENT FOUNDED 1884					
PROGRAMS AND SERVICES OFFERED	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	HOUSING DEVELOPMENT	CIVIC ACTION	YOUTH DEVELOPMENT	FAMILY SERVICE
Lower Germantown Rebuilding Community Project		■	■		
Germantown Community Collaborative Board			■		
Public Private Systems Initiative	■	■	■		
City Wide Peer Counseling Program				■	■
Day Treatment for Judicated Youth				■	
Services to Children in Their Own Home				■	■
Family Preservation/Prevention Program					■
Afrocentric Summer Day Camp				■	
Support Community Outreach Program			■	■	
Phil A Job	■			■	
Prevention Program				■	■
Youth Economic Development	■		■	■	
Family 2 Family Foster Care Reform			■		■
Central Germantown Family Center	■		■	■	■
Greater Germantown Housing Development Corp.	■	■			
Wister Neighborhood Council			■		
Prevention Planning Committee			■		■
Living in Neighborhood Kinship	■	■	■		
Job Training/Job Placement (GGHDC)	■	■		■	
Business Incubator	■				

CASE STUDY NO. 3

PHIPPS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

FOUNDED IN 1972

First and foremost, I think it's essential for my staff to listen to youth and their families, so that we can bring the resources to the community that they truly need and want.

— Andrew Hyde, Associate Director

Special thanks to Andrew Hyde, Associate Director of Phipps CDC, for coordinating a rich and informative site visit.

three, with a staff of over 100; Cratona Park West has a staff of about 25; and the Plazas, which is the smallest, has a staff of five.

OVERVIEW

From the beginning, the Phipps Community Development Corporation (Phipps CDC) has had a single resounding message: “To promote enduring communities.” Founded in 1972 at the Bronx’s Lambert Houses, Phipps CDC is a nonprofit family support and educational affiliate of Phipps Houses. Its services are primarily available in the three communities in which Phipps Houses have built housing: West Farms and Cratona Park West — both in the Bronx, and the Plazas in Manhattan. Phipps CDC’s West Farms is the largest of the

The main site, West Farms, reflects a community of young immigrants. Serving a population of about 14,000 residents, it covers 27 city blocks, and is bounded by the Bronx Zoo, the Bronx River, the Cross Bronx Expressway and Southern Boulevard. Once predominantly African American, the community has been dramatically altered. As a result of immigration, West Farms is now about 70 percent Hispanic and 25 percent African American. Almost half of the population was born outside the continental United States. As of 1990, more than a third of the population was under 18 years old.

The resulting community is dynamic but troubled. Indeed, West Farms suffers from many of the same conditions that afflict most low-income, urban communities. The large

number of immigrants has created a language barrier, with 20 percent of residents over the age of five speaking little or no English. This issue is compounded by the residents' lack of education; only 43 percent of the adults in the community have high school diplomas and only eight percent have completed college.

WEST FARMS: COMMUNITY AT A GLANCE

A Changed Community. Once 75 percent African American, today the West Farms community is 70 percent Hispanic, 25 percent African American and 5 percent white.

Vast Immigrant Population. Almost 50 percent of the current population born outside the continental U.S. – 15 percent foreign born and 30 percent from territories outside of the 50 states – usually Puerto Rico.

Looming Illiteracy. Large number of immigrants has created a persistent language barrier. Twenty percent of residents over the age of five speak little or no English. Only 43 percent of adults have high school diplomas.

Economic Despair. The lack of education and language difficulties has created a domino effect, resulting in sparse employment. Forty-nine percent of residents live in households below the poverty line. In the 1990 census, majority of households reported annual incomes of less than \$10,000; 25 percent of households earned less than \$5,000 a year.

These factors create a domino effect, resulting in extremely limited employment opportunities. According to the 1990 census, only 38 percent of the residents aged 16 or older had jobs. In addition, 60 percent of these adults are women who traditionally have lower wages and economic security than do men. At West Farms, barely 30 percent of the women are employed. As a result, almost half of the residents live in households below the poverty line. In the 1990 census, the majority of households reported annual incomes of less than \$10,000; 25 percent of households earned less than \$5,000 a year.

Amid the poverty, however, is a rich display of history. West Farms is bordered on the north by the world famous Bronx Zoo. A cemetery in the community has graves dating back to the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish American War and World War I. Also located in the community is Beck Memorial Church, a 180-year-old stone church, and a newly renovated public library, providing a wealth of information and supports.

Phipps CDC has had a major impact in turning this community around. About one quarter of the residents in the neighborhood reside in housing constructed by Phipps Houses. Lambert Houses, built in the early 1970s, is Phipps' major housing property in the West Farms community. Lambert is a mid-rise, six-story building with over 700 units. In the last five years, the rate of new home ownership has risen, resulting in about 120 additional units, with another 35 units currently under construction.

Linking these numerous residents to essential services and supports is a critical undertaking. In 1994, Phipps CDC opened an office in its West Farms Beacon School at I.S. 200. An influential move, the Beacon School now serves as a cornerstone to the community. It offers a safe haven for both adults and children after school, during evenings and on weekends and provides an array of services. These services include youth leadership training, family counseling, recreation and cultural enrichment. In addition, preventive services focus on family preservation. Working out of the Beacon, "action teams" of young people and adults lead intergenerational projects ranging from neighborhood cleanups to health screenings. Reflecting the most urgent needs of the community, however, literacy and education are emphasized in all Beacon programming.

Phipps CDC has played a pivotal role in convincing the Center for Employment Training (CET), San Jose, California — one of the most respected training entities in the country — to locate a facility in the community. Currently, they have training curricula available for building maintenance, medical assistants, and shipping and handling. Phipps CDC has secured 20 slots with CET through their School-to-Work Program.

MISSION AND GOALS

Enduring Communities: Supports and Services for Family and Children

Phipps CDC was created to provide family, social and educational support services on site to Phipps Houses residents and their communities. This purpose was perfectly in line with the organization's mission of promoting enduring communities. "Our major drive is to bring to this community the resources it deserves," says Drew Hyde, Associate Executive Director of Phipps CDC. Given the particular needs of the community, as with many community-based organizations, the original mission of the organization has evolved and developed over time.

Since its inception, Phipps CDC, has placed young people high on its priority list. The evolution of Phipps CDC's

mission can be witnessed in the progression of its youth programming. The original goal was to provide resources for the young children living in Phipps Houses and the surrounding community. Over time, the community and Phipps CDC's staff realized that recreation opportunities and services for young children (ages 5 to 12) were inadequate. The 1980 murders of two young people in the community, however, became the true rallying point for

intensifying Phipps CDC's dedication to young people, especially older youth.

In 1992, Phipps CDC became a part of the Comprehensive Community Revitalization Program (CCRP). A major effort aimed at South Bronx communities, CCRP is a national demonstration project involving five well-established South Bronx community development corporations that facilitate and implement integrated

THE PHIPPS CDC EVOLUTION

PRIORITIES AND PRACTICES: FROM FAMILY SUPPORTS TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The Early Years. Early philosophy emphasizes the provision of family, social and educational support services on site to Phipps Houses residents as an innate part of its mission, "to promote enduring communities." Priority services include youth programming (then virtually non-existent in the housing complex and the Bronx) for young children, ages 5 to 12. An after-school program, summer camp and recreational activities headline the list of offerings.

The Middle Years. The 1980 murders of two community youth kindles discussions about the inadequacy of recreational activities in developing and protecting the community's children, especially older youth. A youth-initiated organization, Youth Hope, is formed, reflecting concern about the neighborhood and growing violence. These youth focus on addressing the needs of young people in the community; ultimately, they write the scenario for the West Farms Beacon.

Current Years. A commitment to improving the overall community and lives of West Farms residents propels a shift in programming and activities. Phipps CDC becomes a part of the Comprehensive Community Revitalization Program (CCRP) involving five South Bronx community development corporations in implementing strategies to transform their neighborhoods. Linked to this effort, Phipps is designated as one of New York State's Neighborhood-Based Alliance (NBA) sites and develops a five-year strategic plan for the community's development. These two commitments now determine the organization's future direction.

strategies aimed at transforming their neighborhoods. In 1993, Phipps was also designated as one of New York State's Neighborhood-Based Alliance (NBA) sites. As a requirement of CCRP, the community developed a five-year strategic plan. In the developmental process, Phipps held a series of town meetings, conferring with 200 to 300 residents to verify and approve plans for the community's development. These two commitments and affiliations are now determining the organization's future direction.

HISTORY

In 1861, Henry Phipps, a lifelong friend of Andrew Carnegie, invested wisely in his friend's business. In 1901, the Carnegie Corporation was purchased by J.P. Morgan and became U.S. Steel. Mr. Phipps retired, affluent beyond his expectations, and devoted his life to philanthropy. In 1905, with a donation of \$1 million, Mr. Phipps founded Phipps Houses, which has become one of the oldest and largest nonprofit housing entities for low- and moderate-income people in New York City.

Bringing Human Services to an Ignored Community

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Phipps Houses was asked to undertake large-scale urban renewal initiatives in

the Bellevue South area of Manhattan and the West Farms area of the Bronx. Through these efforts, the Henry Phipps Plazas, located in Manhattan, and Lambert Houses, located in the Bronx, were built. In 1972, Phipps Community Development Corporation, the human services affiliate, was added to the Phipps Houses corporate structure. The Phipps CDC was created to provide family, social and educational support services on site to Phipps Houses residents in keeping with the organization's mission of promoting enduring communities.

The program's focus on youth coincided with the creation of Phipps CDC. Phipps CDC was initiated at Lambert Houses. Drew Hyde explained that "when the housing was built in the early 1970s, there were no resources for children in the Bronx, and that is how Phipps CDC got started. Phipps CDC provided an after-school program, summer camp and recreational activities."

Fashioning a Continuum of Youth Services

Around 1979-80, according to Mr. Hyde, the community and the staff of Phipps CDC realized the need for a continuum of care for the young people in the community. "We needed to start to deal with the older kids in the neighborhood as well, because the after-school programs only targeted

kids aged 5 to 12.” After the 1980 murders of two youths, an organization called Young Hope was formed. A youth-initiated organization, the group was made up of community youth that were concerned about the neighborhood and the growing violence and crime. This group worked with Phipps CDC’s staff, acquired a meeting space at Phipps CDC, painted a mural commemorating the two youths that were murdered, and worked on addressing the needs of young people in the community. In 1993, it was the young people who wrote the scenario for the West Farms Beacon.

CURRENT YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES

Beacon After-School Program: Youth Helping Children

Essentially, the after-school program functions as two programs in one, since the Beacon’s young staff benefit as much from the program as the younger participants. Beacon staff is comprised entirely of young people, both college and high school students, ages 14 to 25. Eddie Calderon-Mendez, Director of the Beacon, declared, “They really run the Beacon. We do really, really extensive staff training and development.” The Beacon’s youth staff do everything from leading recreation, sports and gym programs to teaching

literacy activities. “They are like camp counselors year-round,” according to Calderon-Mendez.

Literacy Peers

The Beacon School currently employs 15 young people, ages 16 to 22, to provide literacy and educational activities. These young staff receive extensive, ongoing training in literacy models, classroom management, whole language approaches, project-based learning and a variety of other instructional tools. Afterward, they are able to impart educational and literacy services to younger students, ages 5 to 12, who attend the after-school programs. Through their participation in the Literacy Peers employment and training program at the Beacon, the teenaged staff have improved their own literacy skills, including reading, writing and oral skills, and enhanced their employability.

Summer Camp

The Phipps Beacon School annually offers a thematic-driven, literacy-based summer day camp program. Offered for children ages 5 to 12, the children are sub-divided into groups by age. The camp follows a theme for the entire six-week program. The camp employs numerous young people — many of whom are staff of the Beacon After-School Program — to work as camp counselors.

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Phipps CDC's dedication to building social networks in the community is evident in its programming. By addressing the problems of the community on a holistic basis, Phipps CDC is enhancing the capability of the community to become empowered and self-sufficient. The young people in the community are learning to develop essential interpersonal skills through intensive on-the-job training, while providing a much needed service for the younger children in the community.

Phipps has also provided an avenue for the young people in the community to advocate for their neighborhood. In the summer of 1995, a group of young people took back a local park from the drug dealers. Drew Hyde recounted that, "Young people were given the challenge to set the tone for the neighborhood. They responded by taking back the park. One youth, who is now working in the Beacon, organized a team, secured funding and put

together programs there for young people and the elderly."

VISION FOR THE FUTURE

Through Phipps CDC's participation in the CCRP and NBA initiatives, the community has detailed a map and vision for the future. Through the communities quality-of-life physical plan and their five-year strategic plan, Phipps CDC, in conjunction with the community, has literally mapped out their physical and economic agenda for years to come. The quality-of-life physical plan articulates specific long-range and short-term goals for the community and its development, touching on many of the areas of concern that the community has identified. These include housing to replace numerous vacant lots; inviting places for the community's children to play; more jobs and economic opportunity; safer streets; and, in general, the creation of a more attractive and healthy place to live.

TABLE 3					
PHIPPS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION FOUNDED 1972					
PROGRAMS AND SERVICES OFFERED	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	HOUSING DEVELOPMENT	CIVIC ACTION	YOUTH DEVELOPMENT	FAMILY SERVICE
Zooway	■			■	
Literacy Peers	■			■	
Youth Outreach			■	■	
Youth Inc.			■	■	
Saturday Reading Institute				■	
Family Services					■
Phipps Beacon School	■			■	■
Family Literacy					■
Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youngsters	■			■	■
After-School Education	■			■	
Elementary Day School Collaboration				■	■
Peer Leadership and Conflict Resolution Program				■	
Hansbery Environmental Education Park			■	■	
Youth Fair Chance			■	■	
Youth Fair Project			■	■	
Classroom Inc. Banking Program				■	
Quality-of-Life Physical Plan	■	■	■	■	■

APPENDIX

WORKING MEETING PARTICIPANTS

Ford Foundation and International Youth Foundation

COMMUNITY AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT: COMPLEMENTARY OR COMPETING PRIORITIES FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS?

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