Youth Development and Community Development
Promises and Challenges of Convergence

Michele Cahill
Youth Development Institute
Fund for the City of New York

with a
Youth and Community Development Case Study

The Forum for Youth Investment

With the support of
The Ford Foundation
Youth Development and Community Development
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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.

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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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 develop-
ment 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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Since 1990, a growing number of efforts in U.S. cities have attempted to intersect youth development and community development. Such work suggests a potential for convergence that could increase the power of both community revitalization and youth development strategies. It also raises a fundamental question for practitioners, researchers, activists and policy makers. How can youth development approaches enhance community development and, likewise, how can community development strategies promote youth development?

**Evidence of Existing Alliance**

Addressing this question requires identifying current types and indications of experiences that suggest such a convergence. The most prevalent ones are:

- youth development organizations are broadening their missions and their activities to include community building;
- youth participation efforts are increasing in scale, scope of contributions, and degree of responsibility; and
- community development corporations are expanding their involvement with youth and with community institutions that focus on youth, including schools.

Do these experiences signal a pivotal shift in community development and youth development work? Will they strengthen both? Undertaking several explorations will answer these questions and assure an informed judgment.

First, it is essential to describe these emerging experiences. For example,
what are illustrations of the initiatives, strategies, projects, activities and organizational changes that characterize these experiences? What organizational shifts do they demonstrate? How do the origins of the organizations affect their approaches to youth development or community development?

Second, identify the rationale for convergence. Namely, what are the reasons supporting and driving the expansion of this activity and the linking of community and youth development?

Third, review past experiences. What do we already know from past experiences with strategies that unite youth development and community development? What were their origins, strengths and limitations? What obstacles existed to the integration of community and youth development?

Fourth, identify assets and persistent problems. What are organizational and sectoral strengths that could be built upon to foster a convergence? What limitations must be heeded and overcome?

Fifth, and lastly, promote genuine change and sustainability. Consider how youth development approaches actually enhance community development and how community development strategies can promote youth development. Consider how efforts at

**A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT ALLIANCE? ASSESSING THE POWER AND POTENTIAL**

1. **Describe the Emerging Experience.** Delineate examples, their approaches and the organizational changes they seem to reflect.

2. **Identify the Basis for Convergence.** Distinguish the reasons for this activity and the meeting/alliance of youth and community development.

3. **Review Past Experience.** Appraise past experiences with strategies that have linked youth and community development - their origins, strengths, weaknesses and barriers faced.

4. **Identify Assets and Problems.** Outline organizational and sectoral strengths and drawbacks that might affect a convergence between youth and community development.

5. **Push for Change and Sustainability.** Consider how youth and community development actually enhance each other and how to promote viable efforts linking the approaches and strategies.
these linkages can be transformative — adopted not merely as discrete model projects but sustained as thriving movements. Are there emerging principles that can guide strategies for lasting convergence? Ultimately, all these questions require extensive investigation. The following merely offers an initial appraisal.

**AN EMERGING FIELD OF EXPERIENCE**

**Changing Missions, Changing Deeds**

Today, national youth development organizations and intermediaries, as well as local community-based youth development organizations (CBOs), are engaged in efforts to expand their visions and practices to link youth development and community development. Notably, the National Network for Youth, Inc., and the National 4-H have together articulated a concept of “community youth development” as the underpinning of their work. “Community youth development” now serves as both a reconsideration of the work of these organizations and a framework guiding staff and organizational development and program design. The National Network for Youth describes it as a:

holistic, systems- and strengths-based approach to working with young people. [Community youth development] values and respects young people, addresses the whole person rather than one aspect, and involves families, communities and other systems of supports to create healthy youth, strong families and responsible communities (Lane, 1996).

Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) reflects a similar effort. It has joined with community organizations in several cities to increase neighborhood supports for youth development in the Community Change for Youth Development (CCYD) initiative. P/PV describes CCYD as a theory-based community-change initiative that:

... enables communities to create structures that embody a theory — in this case, a theory of what youth must have for healthy development. CCYD’s theory is reflected in its five core concepts: 1) personal support and guidance from caring adults, 2) work as a developmental tool, 3) constructive activities that fill critical gap periods, 4) active youth involvement in program and community activities, and 5) continuity of attention to these four areas from early adolescence to adulthood (P/PV, 1995).

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Building Youth Supports and Opportunities

So, too, much of the involvement by community organizations and community development corporations in youth development focuses on building neighborhoods that promote positive youth development through greater supports and opportunities for children and youth. Through their leadership and active participation in a range of community initiatives, community-based youth organizations are identifying such opportunities and supports as evidence of community viability. Furthermore, they are demonstrating the importance of their roles as vital agents for providing, organizing and/or mediating them.

In New York City, the Beacons school-based community centers represent the largest annual municipal investment of non-categorical funds in youth development. Through Beacons, lead youth development CBOs within the community keep school buildings open for use in the after-school and weekend hours, as well as during the summers. They provide safe spaces where community members can convene and develop projects to improve their neighborhoods.

Overwhelmingly, these Beacon CBOs identify community building as a critical goal alongside youth development. They want the Beacons to serve as an impetus in many areas, including building a climate of safety; increasing the number of adults focused on helping children and youth achieve positive educational and social outcomes; building positive peer groups among youth; strengthening youth leadership through opportunities for participation and decision making; and stimulating and supporting neighborhood improvement. Experience over the past five years has shown that meeting this community-building goal requires CBOs to engage in a variety of strategies that go beyond provision of services. In fact, the Beacons that have been the most effective in mobilizing community support for youth activities, and that have involved the hardest to reach teens (e.g., teen parents, gang-involved youth), have utilized outreach or community-organizing staff (Cahill, 1993).

For many CBOs whose origins are in recreation, individual developmental activities, or child and family services, outreach and organizing reflect a fresh and challenging dimension. At least seven other cities are adapting Beacons as a strategy for increasing community-level supports for youth. For them, a fundamental challenge has been identifying CBOs that have strong youth development capacity

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and the motivation to change in ways that support community building.

**Advancing Active Youth Contribution**

YouthBuild, the most extensive U.S. program to integrate youth development with housing and neighborhood revitalization and employment, is rooted in valuing youth voices. YouthBuild values the contribution of youth in decision making and in community development.

It also exemplifies a youth participation movement that is rapidly expanding in scale, scope of contributions and level of responsibility. Nationwide, through their extensive involvement in community planning, service and action, young people are challenging two deep-seated notions: 1) that during their formative years, young people have little to offer their communities and 2) that young people have minimal attachments to prosocial values, and therefore cannot be trusted with meaningful responsibilities. Youth have demonstrated their willingness to work hard to reclaim parks from deterioration and drug dealing, to staff summer play streets, to tutor peers and younger children, to rehabilitate housing and to register neighbors to vote. Young people have also taken on new roles in community planning, including participation in needs and assets mapping.

The Center for Youth Development and Policy Research at the Academy for Educational Development has developed YouthMapping as a community and youth development strategy that emphasizes young people's unique qualifications in a critical area of community planning. YouthMapping engages youth in canvassing neighborhoods, block by block, gathering information about what is available in their communities for themselves and their peers. The Center states that:

In essence, 'YouthMappers' become local ethnographers — asking and answering questions from a youth-oriented perspective — providing insight into the communities in which they live, the culture of which they are a part, and the other young people with whom they interact (CYD, 1995).  

Notably, in a number of YouthMapping communities, many of the participants are only 11, 12 and 13 years old.

On a smaller scale, in New York City a number of community development corporations (CDCs) have participated in youth-driven community planning, including participation in needs and assets mapping.

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assessments. From these experiences, the CDCs have gone on to expand other roles for youth, including fostering their involvement in environmental reclamation and transportation projects. For example, in Brooklyn, a group of 12 teens who are members of Youth on the Move — a leadership group sponsored by a CBO — surveyed hundreds of young people, ages 9 to 18, in their Red Hook community. They asked them to identify issues which concerned them about their neighborhood. Subsequently, these young leaders analyzed the surveys. They presented the results in community forums and followed up with officials from the public housing authority, the police and the board of education to address policies with negative impacts on youth.

For the CDCs and CBOs involved in this work, youth assessments have been catalysts for organizational change. Many have added young people to community advisory councils and community collaboratives. Several were faced with the troubling fact that they had given inadequate thought to the issues raised in the assessments and the demands that might ensue for changes in fund development and allocation of resources. One CDC even revised a federal environmental grant it was developing to write in new roles and funded positions for youth.

Increasingly, young people are also actively engaged in public policy issues at the local, state and national levels. In St. Charles, Missouri, a youth staff member of Youth in Need and board member of the National Network for Youth led a successful state-wide advocacy campaign to defeat a balanced budget amendment to the Missouri Constitution that would have resulted in large cuts to spending for higher education and social services. In an independent campaign, operated out of her apartment, this advocate and fellow organizers engaged over 2000 young people in the successful effort. Similarly, in Oakland, California, a group of high school students, who are members of various community-based youth organizations, actively recruited voter signatures to get Kids First — an initiative to expand funding for children's services — on the ballot. They saw it through to a winning vote.

Ultimately, youth involvement in public policy is not just an interesting idiosyncratic development. It is a critical element in positive youth development and civic life, affecting both youth and their communities. A primary outgrowth of such engagement is the added diversity of voices informing public policy. In several communities where young people have surveyed their peers about community concerns, there were already existing adult partnerships or collaborations focused on reducing drugs and violence. The youth surveys, however, consistently revealed that teens have very different experiences with drug dealers, gangs
and the police than adults do. In addition, children have different experiences than do teens. In many instances, community safety plans designed by the adult partnerships did not address key risks and threats experienced by teens and children; these were invisible to the adults. The surveys also consistently noted that, across communities, experiences with the police vary dramatically with age. In some instances, policies developed by adult community residents and the police have been counterproductive as they stigmatize all teens and alienate many. By adding the voices of young people to the dialogues about community safety, neighborhood partnerships have been challenged to alter their strategies and address the different experiences in their communities.

Involvement by young people directly in these dialogues has also challenged some adult perceptions of teens as hostile and threatening. Instead, youth are now perceived as offering insights and information that can lead to more effective solutions to community problems. One director of security for a public housing authority stated that he should have asked for the young people's advice a long time ago, but he believed they were up to no good because of the way they dressed.

The impact on young people has been equally strong. In an evaluation of the Red Hook Youth on the Move program, youth community planners reported increased knowledge about how government works, greater understanding of problem-solving methods, more confidence and new skills, such as public speaking. They noted strong commitments to education completion and working for positive community activism. In addition, many teens reported a new or heightened awareness of themselves as leaders and models for children in their neighborhoods after learning of the views and concerns of so many young people (Baker, 1996). Meanwhile, young people in the Oakland effort indicated both strong commitments to continued involvement in public policy dialogues and expansion of career options to include public life.

In reflecting on youth participation in community planning and public policy advocacy, it is important to remember that such involvement is rooted in — and supported by — the community-based organizations that encourage and foster it. Additionally, youth participation is clearly nurtured by staff who help young people sustain their involvement, reflect on their experiences and overcome obstacles. This demands new types of youth-adult partnerships and changes in organizational cultures, including management and decision-making practices.

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A BASIS FOR CONVERGENCE

Shifting Views of Youth

In the United States, there could be no convergence between community development and youth development theories, programs and practices without a recent major shift in thinking about young people and their communities — a shift spurred largely by the articulation of a conceptual framework of youth development.

While youth participation and community-wide supports for positive development make intuitive sense, throughout the 1980s, public policy and much of professional practice in youth work approached youth as individuals needing interventions. And such interventions occurred only if — and when — youth failed or were identified as “at risk” of failing. Communities viewed youth as either “on track” or “at risk,” and became concerned only when they exhibited problems or their behavior posed high costs. Two factors supported a climate for change: evidence from large numbers of evaluations of prevention programs indicating the severe weaknesses of individual, deficit-oriented service intervention approaches and research findings on youth development and resiliency.

First, interventions that engage youth in forming relationships with adults, mastering a skill, and contributing to their well-being and the well-being of their community were found to be highly effective in preventing dropping out of school, substance abuse, juvenile delinquency and teenage pregnancy. These effective strategies also situated services for youth in a community context and built on the existing strengths in neighborhoods, including families and community-based organizations (Dryfoos, 1990).6 Second, research findings on youth resiliency in high-risk environments highlighted the need for social interventions that take a youth development rather than a youth deficit orientation. Indeed, youth development theory views youth as central actors in their lives, and defines youth development as:

...an ongoing process in which all young people are engaged and invested, and through which young people seek ways to meet their basic physical and social needs and to build the competencies and connections they perceive as necessary for survival and success (Pittman & Cahill, 1992).7

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Developmental psychologists have defined these core needs to include safety, a sense of belonging/group membership, a sense of self worth/contributing, a sense of independence/control over one's life, a sense of closeness/relationships, and a sense of competence/mastery. Consensus on competencies defines these as a range of skills, behaviors and capacities that are needed for adult success. For example:

- Wynn et al. (1987) suggest that there are four capacities that adolescents must acquire (and that adults need) to function in society: physical vitality, the ability to sustain caring relationships, resourcefulness and social connectedness.8

- Pittman and O'Brien (1989) suggest that there are five essential areas that define preparation for adulthood: 1) academic education, 2) health, 3) work exposure and experiences, 4) personal growth and development and 5) social responsibility and social awareness.9

Equally important, developmental psychologists have also described how the primary tasks of adolescence — forming an identity and gaining skills — are achieved through relationships that youth form, the experiences that they have and the meaning they draw from these (Connell, 1992).10 Both the definitions of adolescent needs and competencies and the key tasks of adolescence suggest the importance of communities as settings and vehicles for development.

**A Community's Clearcut Impact on Youth**

Community, however ambiguous a term, is unquestionably vital to the growth of young people. It is often defined using philosophical, political, sociological, geographic or economic terms, but there is broad consensus that community usually refers to settings, contexts and social relations. In many cases, community and neighborhood are used interchangeably to refer to a geographic area and its people and resources within it. In community planning, however,

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community often refers to the relationships among places, social relations, and economic and political forces (Cahill, 1996). Ultimately, aspects of community life that affect young people's development include safety, opportunities for positive relationships and a sense of belonging, economic opportunity, adequate physical development and infrastructure (such as housing, transportation, open space and amenities), labor market conditions and schools. Pittman summarized research findings on community context for youth this way:

Whether and how young people meet their basic needs and apply the competencies they develop depends in large part on the strength and direction of influences in their lives. Research and theory suggest that family, peers, school, community groups, religious organizations, places of employment, plus larger social forces such as neighborhood resources and the job market are all important determinants of youth development (Benson, 1990; Bogenschneider et al., 1990; Felman & Elliot, 1990; Ianni, 1989).

As the settings and contexts for young people's development, communities may have very different levels of economic and social resources. They include the collective investment by adults of their time and talents in relationships with youth, and the ability of those relationships to meet adolescents' developmental and material needs. This ability is greatly influenced by specific community conditions, and it is clear that more affluent communities provide a richer array of developmental activities and supports for young people than do communities where many families live in poverty. In 1991 Pittman found that:

Preliminary evidence suggests that the programs in these neighborhoods, while they exist, are fewer, less well-funded and more narrow and prevention-oriented in focus than those in more affluent neighborhoods. The Littel and Wynn (1989) study of two Chicago neighborhoods (affluent "Greenwood" and low-income inner-city "Innerville") found sizable disparities in the availability, diversity and sponsorship of community activities and facilities for youth.

The public schools in the suburban community offer almost seven times as many extracurricular activities for middle school children per week

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12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.
in comparison to the public schools in our inner-city area. When adjusted for differences in population size, the public park districts in Greenwood provide eight times the number of activities offered in Innerville during an average week.\textsuperscript{14}

This is especially problematic because some studies have shown that these opportunities have a positive impact on young people living in poverty:

For young people living in poverty, organized activities and facilities may offset disadvantage by encouraging the development of their skills and abilities and providing access to opportunities that might otherwise not be available (Steinberg et al., 1988).\textsuperscript{15}

Research has also shown that young people's development is shaped by factors of race, class and gender (Camino, 1995).\textsuperscript{16} How expectations are communicated to young people is influenced by both individual experiences and group status. Ultimately, the impact of large scale forces such as racism and economic disinvestment in communities, and the real and perceived powerlessness of adults in a community, affect young people's perceptions of their own competence and efficacy.

\section*{Community Fostered Resiliency}

Accumulated research on resiliency in youth in high-risk environments has also provided a strong rationale for integrating community development and youth development (Jessor, 1977;\textsuperscript{17} Brentro et al., 1990;\textsuperscript{18} Connell, 1992). This research indicates that several factors strengthen the resiliency of young people. These have been summarized and articulated by numerous leading national youth development-focused organizations, including Public/Private Ventures, Search Institute and the Center for Youth Development and Policy Research at the Academy for Educational Development. They have also been summarized and widely disseminated in

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
the substance abuse prevention field by the Western Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities (Benard, 1991). Protective factors include caring relationships with adults, high expectations and clear structures, participation in engaging activities, opportunities for contribution and decision making, and continuity of supports and opportunities. The Search Institute labels these as assets, and has conducted several community studies measuring their presence or absence in young people's lives and the impact of their presence on positive youth development.

The research findings on youth development and resiliency have provided critical evidence in efforts to integrate youth development and community development. Indeed, there is growing recognition that communities can be either contexts of supports and opportunities for positive youth development or negative forces in the lives of young people. As a result, many community-building initiatives and individual community organizations are attempting to expand supports for positive youth development by increasing the presence of these assets, protective factors or resiliency factors in neighborhoods.

**Reflect on Past Experiences**

**The Early Days: From Voluntary Organizations to Settlement Houses**

Successfully integrating youth development and community development and sustaining the linkage requires an examination of past experiences. In the early 1900s, during the Progressive Movement, the founding of voluntary youth-serving organizations and settlement houses reflected a belief in the importance of neighborhood-based developmental supports. P/PV has studied this voluntary sector and reports:

For the most part, these organizations were established to provide experiences, activities and adult relationships that youth would enjoy and grow from, and would voluntarily return to. They saw themselves as not competing with formal institutions like schools or social service agencies, but with providing a much-needed complement: an informal neighborhood-based physical setting where youth could safely gather, have fun and relate to caring adults (Connell).

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Though neighborhood based, many of these youth organizations focused on individual development and character building. In areas of poverty, neighborhood forces were often viewed as threats to young people and youth organizations saw their role as protecting youth and helping them grow up and move on to more affluent communities. It was not until a 1989 evaluation of the Boys and Girls Clubs' "Smart Moves" program reported that the location of a Boys and Girls Club in a public housing site had much more impact on risk-taking behavior than the particular drug-prevention intervention itself that evidence existed about the inherent value of a center offering basic developmental supports to a neighborhood (Pittman). It suggests that this type of voluntary youth organization can be a vital and dynamic source of protective factors for youth.

At the turn of the century, settlement houses were also established in many urban neighborhoods, providing many of the same youth services as the voluntary organizations. Influenced, however, by their Progressive Era philosophies, they often participated in reform movements to improve housing conditions, working conditions of children and youth, and health services in poor neighborhoods. Their programs were usually more family oriented and multigenerational. They emphasized the successful assimilation of youth and adults into urban and, for immigrants, American life. Yet, the absence of any concrete public policies for decent housing and neighborhood development also led settlements to focus their youth work on mobility out of the neighborhood.

Days of Activism and Engagement: The 1960s

Because the 1980s were characterized by a deficit approach to young people and a view of them as plagued by risks and problems, today's dialogue about youth participation and empowerment and community change seems new. Yet, a look at examples from the 1960s suggests the contrary and renders valuable lessons. In fact, the last period of intensive youth participation in community and public life was the 1960s. Young people were deeply involved in the Civil Rights and anti-war movements, and also served in community change efforts throughout urban and rural America. Some of this community organizing activity grew out of social movements, and was supported by government funding. For example, in 1968, changes in regulations governing federal college work-study funds allowed students to work off-

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campus in nonprofit organizations during the school term as well as summers. Students began working in settlement houses, community health projects, housing organizations, Urban Corps and CAP anti-poverty organizations. Within a few years, many of them began organizing free clinics, runaway shelters, tenant organizing projects and other social change-oriented endeavors. Since some of them became involved in community action activities that disturbed existing institutions and political structures, the experience also revealed the sources of some adult resistance to youth participation. Indeed, it emphasizes the need for power-sharing and the creation of genuine youth and adult partnerships where innovation and risk-taking, as well as judgment based on experience, can thrive together.

During the early 1960s, one source of community strategies to increase opportunities for youth was foundation and government-initiated efforts to create demonstration projects. These were influenced by theories of change about the relationships between community viability (especially in offering services and structures of opportunity) and youth development and delinquency prevention. The most famous and far reaching of these strategies was Mobilization for Youth. This National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) and Ford Foundation initiative grew out of settlement house work with young people and desires to stem gang and delinquency activity. From the outset, initiators wanted to move beyond the individual relationship model of influencing youth to enriching the community structure. A 1969 report on the history of Mobilization for Youth stated:

“What it would take,” the Henry Street group decided, was enough money to launch a community-wide program that would make use of “everything we know to help youth and families.”

As one of the groups said later, “We were well aware of the many little and often meaningful experiences, but these were too small. No one had tried to build everything into a project that people needed.” Or, as another leader said in an early interview with the press, “We must be allowed to do everything we know how to do, at one time, in one place.” In other words, he proposed to “saturate” the community with services (White & Radin).22

This was consistent with NIMH goals to develop “an approach to delinquency prevention that required inten-

**Assets and Limitations: Youth Development and Community Development Fields**

**Youth Development Assets**
- infrastructure of existing youth organizations
- vast constituency of young people
- conceptual framework
- flexibility, entrepreneurial style
- leadership/staff with roots in the neighborhood
- networks and intermediaries promoting a working alliance between youth development and community development

**Youth Development Limits**
- vastly underinvested sector
- stable funding from problem-oriented sources with eligibility restrictions
- status and pay accorded to workers taking a treatment rather than developmental approach
- many demands but little emphasis on management

**Community Development Assets**
- safe and affordable housing as basis of meeting children’s and families’ needs
- accessibility to children and families; avenues for providing vital supports and opportunities
- many opportunities for youth participation
- staff and residents who can serve as role models and mentors
- expertise in finance and funds integration

**Community Development Limits**
- chronic view of youth as “problems”
- limited view of youth as resources or assets
- narrow understanding of CDCs as vital players in helping youth build skills
- competing demands from real estate constraints
- propensity to add on services to address problems
sive community involvement and development” (White). However, as the proposal developed, it gained a theoretical underpinning that would move it beyond services, i.e., the Lloyd Ohlin and Richard Cloward opportunity theory articulated in Delinquency and Opportunity in 1960.

The Cloward-Ohlin opportunity doctrine was based on the position that no effort to prevent juvenile delinquency can succeed which does not provide young people with genuine opportunities to behave differently (White).

This theory influenced development of a strategy that addressed the community’s “poor prospects for social and economic advancement” as a central barrier to positive youth development (White).

This was an important linking of broader social problems — economic disinvestment in cities, racial discrimination in jobs and housing, and inequality in schooling — with youth outcomes. It clearly linked delinquency with lack of opportunity instead of either individual pathology or lack of services. This insight led some programs to adopt more activist political change and advocacy strategies, which resulted in increased opposition. Especially in the 1970s, it also led to the establishment in urban areas of independent CBOs with strong orientations to preventing delinquency through increasing services and economic opportunities for youth. Many of these CBOs, which are still providing youth services today, got their first public money through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA); others through the Summer Youth Employment Program or the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). These funds supported a neighborhood orientation for youth organizations, but they also brought with them problems of eligibility, a tendency to focus on deficits and fragmentation. The challenges identified through these experiences remain central to community development and youth development strategies today.

IDENTIFY ASSETS AND LIMITATIONS

Today, the many examples of programs merging youth and community development and the challenges gleaned from past experiences suggest a need to identify organizational

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24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.
and sectoral strengths that could foster this convergence. Equally important, there are limitations that may hamper such an alliance. In the youth development field, an initial list of assets would include:

- an infrastructure of youth organizations that increases the presence of protective or resiliency factors both directly in the supports and opportunities they provide youth and by serving as vehicles of community commitments to youth;
- a constituency of young people who can contribute energy, talent and commitment to community development;
- a conceptual framework that can guide development of strategies;
- an entrepreneurial, flexible style among many organizations, which is responsive to youth and community ideas;
- leadership and staffs in those CBOs that are rooted in their neighborhoods and who more closely resemble the racial, ethnic and cultural make-up of youth and their families than do formal community institutions, such as schools; and
- a growing number of networks and intermediary capacities that promote a vision of youth development and community building and sharing innovative practices in youth participation.

Limitations include:

- a severely underinvested sector relative to need and opportunity; organizations that are stretched programmatically and are financially vulnerable;
- a history of more stable funding coming from problem-oriented, restricted eligibility sources that compete with more holistic and community-building approaches;
- a structure where higher status and pay for youth workers has been associated with treatment approaches rather than primary developmental approaches or youth organizing; and
- high demand for organizations to meet youth needs and offer new opportunities for participation but with a lack of emphasis on — and virtually no funding for — management.

An initial list of assets of the community development field would include:

- safe and affordable housing as the basis of meeting the needs of children, youth and families;
- greater accessibility to children, youth and families and important opportunities to offer a
continuity of supports and opportunities to youth who grow up in community development corporations' housing;

- a wealth of opportunities for creative youth participation in their community development efforts;
- staff and residents who can serve as role models and mentors to neighborhood youth; and
- expertise in finance and integrating funding streams.

Limitations include:

- a persistent view of youth as problems or potential problems;
- limited understanding of youth as assets or resources for community building;
- narrow understanding of CDCs as new avenues for helping youth build social, civic and employment competencies through community planning and community development;
- competing demands from real estate constraints; and
- tendency to add on youth service components to address the problem rather than actively engaging youth or collaborating/partnering with neighborhood youth development organizations.

ISSUES AND CHALLENGES TO CONVERGENCE

Emerging examples of youth and community development convergence and evidence of the alliance's importance indicate great promise. The assets of the youth development and community development fields are significant. But past experiences suggest impediments to convergence, primarily from broader socio-economic issues such as poverty. Limitations in the field, including the separation of the experiences of CBOs and CDCs, make their assets underutilized and less powerful for both youth development and community revitalization. In these contexts, returning to the questions below suggests some directions for each field as they search for effective answers.

- How can youth development approaches enhance community development and community development strategies promote youth development?
- And how can this be transformative and not merely limited to model projects or demonstrations?
Engage CDCs in Understanding Youth Development

Most notably, engaging CDCs in understanding the youth development framework and in grappling with its application to community development is an essential step. Indeed, CDCs need to understand that youth development is not an add-on set of services, but rather a new dimension to community development. The youth development field now has a well-articulated conceptual framework and many materials on best practices and indicators of youth competencies related to these practices. These can be a great resource for CDCs as they consider the convergence of youth development and community development and seek to ensure changes and sustainability.

Disseminate Vibrant Examples of Youth and Community Development Alliances

The most effective catalysts for this change are successful examples. There is a need to widely disseminate information about youth development and community development intersection, and distill their principles of practice. After all, building support and leadership for a convergence of youth development and community development requires an understanding of the possibilities. These examples must be communicated with an explanation of the principles they represent; otherwise, the dissemination strategy will merely sell model programs, not community adaptations of strategies.

Promote Involvement of Youth and Youth Development Organizations

Across the country, a number of community-building efforts have engaged community stakeholders in planning for change. Unfortunately, there has been limited participation from community-based youth organizations or even youth themselves. This often has pushed youth development into a category rather than integrating it as a dimension of community building. Increasing the involvement of youth development organizations (CBOs) and young people as contributors in community-building efforts will ensure that these efforts are more cohesive and thus more likely to succeed.

Expand Funding

Increasing private funding can support convergence by integrating youth participation as a lens for assessing the effectiveness of youth development and community revitalization strategies. Youth development organizations and community development corporations...
must join as allies in advocating for increased public funding for youth participation, including youth service. Likewise, increased CDC support for major youth programs, such as Summer Youth Employment, linked with CDC participation as sponsors and providers of work sites for youth, could launch broader opportunities for youth to contribute to community life.

**Assess Impact on Young People and Their Communities**

The few evaluations that exist of youth participation in community development projects and youth development approaches to community building show promising effects. Further evidence, however, is needed to support sustainability. This can be best attained through research that fully assesses the impact of these efforts on young people and communities.

**Create and Support Dialogue and Alliances**

Past experience has demonstrated that youth development and community development strategies operate in the context of powerful forces such as labor market changes and persistent racism. Integration of youth development and community development strategies could posit these as commanding responses against such forces. But CDCs and CBOs need to acknowledge these issues directly and include conscious strategies to address them. They must create and support dialogues and activities that engage their organizations as allies in addressing the broader social issues that limit positive youth development and community revitalization. Furthermore, they need to form alliances that will support public policies favorable to convergence and oppose public policies that worsen community conditions for youth and families.

In this context, over the next months and years, the dismantling of the income safety net through welfare reform will be a formidable occurrence in many neighborhoods. It will dramatically affect adults, youth and children. CDCs and CBOs need to develop a variety of strategies to address such a major change. These may range from new alliances for public policy advocacy to job creation and youth entrepreneurship. Because of the diversity of the fields, they may not be ideologically consistent. Yet, if leadership in a convergence of these fields emerges, both CDCs and CBOs can mobilize and facilitate community dialogues and actions based on common principles of youth development and community development.

Ultimately, the coming years promise to bring significant challenges to families who have been receiving welfare, as well as the working poor, and to the neighborhoods of res-
Michele Cahill makes a strong case for collaboration among the organizations that traditionally have youth development and community development as their primary focus and, equally important, for a broadening of perspectives and priorities within the organizations. Three case studies of community development corporations (CDCs) that are engaged in bringing young people more directly into the rebuilding of their communities are highlighted in a separate publication in this series by P. Jefferson Armistead and Matthew B. Wexler, *Community Development and Youth Development: The Potential for Convergence*. Accompanying Cahill’s essay is a study of Albuquerque-based Youth Development, Inc. (YDI), an organization whose belief that “we will not have an impact on the problems that our young people are facing unless we access and open doors in the halls of power and unleash economic resources” led it to grow from a gang-prevention program in the 1970s to a complex youth, economic and community development organization that, in 1990, spun off its own CDC.

Evidence for these families. Adolescents in these neighborhoods are likely to be under tremendous stress. And the gains of housing and commercial revitalization are threatened. It is imperative that the youth development and community development fields build on the promise of their intersecting successes to create an alliance that will result in more powerful strategies and contribute to the well-being of America’s communities.
CASE STUDY

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT, INC.

FOUNDED IN 1971

We have come to the full realization that we will not have an impact on the problems that our young people are facing unless we access and open doors in the halls of power and unleash economic resources.

— Chris Baca, President, YDI

For YDI’s youth, development is not about dealing with at-risk youth, it’s about community development that enhances the opportunities for young people to contribute positively to the community and develop to their fullest potential.

— Rudy Chavez, Vice President, YDI

Special thanks to Rudy Chavez, Executive Director, and to all of the staff and youth at YDI for welcoming us to the site.

OVERVIEW

For over 25 years, Youth Development, Inc., (YDI) has been a harbinger in meeting the needs of thousands of at-risk families and youth living in Albuquerque and Central New Mexico. A non-traditional community development organization, YDI began as a juvenile delinquency prevention program in 1968. Since then, it has flourished into a comprehensive youth development organization. Economic and community development are integral to its work. Indeed, community development is so vital to YDI’s long-term vision and mission that — unique among youth organizations — it has developed its own CDC arm.

Incorporated in 1990, Youth Enterprise Services (YES) is a wholly-owned subsidiary of YDI, shepherding economic and housing development ventures. YES has built 240 units of affordable housing in Albuquerque, an area in desperate need of more affordable housing. YES also encourages entrepreneurship in Albuquerque’s poor communities.
Constantly embarking on new initiatives, YDI also provides services through over 30 different programs at 60 sites. The programs range from prevention and intervention services, such as gang intervention, substance abuse prevention, community corrections, health programs, residential shelters, and family and individual counseling, to more developmental activities, such as education and employment programs, recreation and fine arts.

These services are crucial and widely needed. Some 45 percent of the 750,000 people of Albuquerque and Central New Mexico are of Latino and Chicano heritage. In some neighborhoods the figure approaches 80 percent. Many of the youth in these communities are jeopardized by drug trafficking, alcohol, gangs, violence in the home and on the street, unemployment and poor education. Such problems have worsened in recent years; an increasing number of youth are incarcerated and are wounded or killed in drive-by shootings. The number of children being referred to the juvenile justice system soared from 9,000 to 20,000 in four years. Statewide, at least 30,000 children and youth suffer abuse and neglect — a figure which may be greatly underestimated due to poor data collection.

YDI now serves nearly 14,000 youth and families annually through a complement of programs and projects — a level of scale few youth organizations achieve. The organization and its subsidiary YES attribute their success to the commitment of their staff and board. The combined staff, half of whom are under the age of 25, approach 500 in number. Many of the management level staff have been involved with the organization for over 15 years. Former clients are encouraged to return and work for the organization. In fact, more than a tenth of YDI staff are former clients. The organization also promotes from within, creates opportunities for advancement, rewards creativity and emphasizes staff training. YDI allows and encourages staff to make their families a top priority, and many staff avail themselves of this supportive cul-

**ALBUQUERQUE/ CENTRAL NEW MEXICO:**
**COMMUNITY AT A GLANCE**

**Sizable Minority Population.** About 45 percent of the 750,000 people living in Albuquerque and Central New Mexico are of Latino and Chicano heritage. In some neighborhoods this figure nears 80 percent.

**Stressed Juvenile Justice System.** The number of children being referred to the juvenile justice system rose from 9,000 to 20,000 in four years. Statewide, at least 30,000 children and youth suffer abuse and neglect, a figure that may be greatly underestimated due to poor data collection.
ture, rearing their children at work instead of using day care.

YDI's 12-member board of directors is composed of business people, government officials, individuals from the social service sector, educators and young people. Over half of its members have been on the board since its inception, and two seats on the board are reserved for young people. The board has led YDI in its unwavering quest for financial self-sufficiency and sustainability. Currently, the board oversees YDI's $15 million budget, 70 percent of which comes from government funds, 15 percent from private donors and the other 15 percent through innovative YDI enterprises, including YES. YDI's goal is to defray 50 percent of its budget within five years through self-generated ventures.

**MISSION AND GOALS**

**Providing Care that Achieves Full Potential**

Problems do not begin in isolation and therefore cannot be solved in isolation. Over the last 25 years this philosophy has shaped YDI's evolution, making it into a holistic system of services and opportunities. Its mission is to work with the community to create and implement an effective continuum of care designed to help children, youth and families achieve their full potential. Indeed, YDI believes that fundamental economic, political and social conditions must change in Albuquerque's disadvantaged communities if young people's lives are to improve.

As such, YDI approaches its work with the conviction that there is no separation between youth development and community development. It creates economic opportunities and better housing in poor neighborhoods so families can thrive. In addition, it works diligently to influence government policies that are supportive of families and youth. By galvanizing the public, the government, the business community, police and other stakeholders, YDI encourages other players to collaborate in meeting the needs of poor youth and families. Ultimately, YDI seeks to convince the holders of political and economic power that a large underclass of disadvantaged youth will make neither good consumers nor productive citizens.

**HISTORY**

**Fostering Healthy Youth Development**

Youth Development, Inc., was launched by a group of parents in 1968 as a result of the tragic death of Larry Lopez, a young man who overdosed while experimenting with drugs for the first time. Lopez's death was a
rude awakening to the Latino and Chicano communities of Albuquerque and Central New Mexico, causing many adults to realize that young people were being denied healthy and safe development because of drugs and gangs. Five parents formed a task force to create a program that would reach out to youth, offering hope, guidance and opportunities.

In 1971, YDI was incorporated as a juvenile delinquency prevention program with funds from the city of Albuquerque. Since its inception, YDI has not only allowed the needs of the community to shape its direction, but has also involved young people in all phases of the organization's evolution. By the mid 1970s, YDI had sought funding from the Youth Community Conservation Improvement Program to establish job training and development programs, as well as opportunities for economic enterprises. In the late 1970s, YDI set up group homes for runaways and gang members.

As it continued to increase its services and beneficiaries, it became more and more evident that the needs of Albuquerque's youth were interrelated and complex. In order to have a long-term impact, YDI needed to adopt a comprehensive approach. YDI expanded its mandate to include education by working with schools on dropout prevention, establishing a Graduate Equivalency Degree (GED) preparation program and awarding scholarship funds. YDI also began collaborating with the police and the courts to provide more constructive approaches to corrections. As YDI intensified its prevention work with gangs, it established such programs as Mothers Against Gang Violence and Gang Members Against Violence. It also established teen pregnancy prevention programs, HIV/AIDS prevention and awareness programs, and other health-related services.

Such a holistic approach required numerous resources and provided an in-depth look at the daily struggles of youth. Senior staff soon recognized that their capacity to deal with the root causes of youth problems was limited without change in government policies. To increase its allies in the government, YDI moved to mobilize the communities it serves. While the Latino and Chicano communities did not have great economic power, they did have the potential for political power. With young people as the driving force, voter education became a priority of YDI.

Establishing a Strong Foothold in Economic Development

In 1990, YDI made a strategic decision to undertake economic development. Chris Baca explained that “the survival of nonprofits is dependent on their ability to be resourceful and
entrepreneurial.” YDI ventures in private enterprise now serve two purposes that are central to its mission: job creation and revenue for self-reliance. Accordingly, YDI began its first business venture with a painting company, which grew out of its gang intervention graffiti-elimination project. Young people began by painting private homes and later moved into commercial bidding. The success of this enterprise spurred the mayor of Albuquerque to start a massive graffiti-elimination project. YDI was asked to run the apprenticeship program for the city.

The establishment of Youth Enterprise Services (YES) that same year pushed YDI’s economic development plan to a massive scale. With a focus on affordable housing and community revitalization, YES has not only built over 200 units of affordable housing, it has built community. Neighborhood associations are established in all YES entrepreneurial.” YDI ventures in private enterprise now serve two purposes that are central to its mission: job creation and revenue for self-reliance. Accordingly, YDI began its first business venture with a painting company, which grew out of its gang intervention graffiti-elimination project. Young people began by painting private homes and later moved into commercial bidding. The success of this enterprise spurred the mayor of Albuquerque to start a massive graffiti-elimination project. YDI was asked to run the apprenticeship program for the city.

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developments to foster cohesiveness and ownership. Recreation facilities and educational support are set up to ensure that young people have a safe place to play and thrive. And on-site child care allows parents the freedom to work or attend school. YES has also created many entrepreneurial and employment opportunities for young people. Some youth are hired to work at building sites, while others are encouraged to find a niche in the building industry and launch their own businesses. One such business is the “MM Company,” which specializes in cleaning building sites. The credibility the company gained from working at YES has helped attract contracts from other building projects.

YDI’s impeccable record for efficient use of resources and its proven impact has drawn national recognition, making it easier for the organization to raise funds and rapidly diversify. Currently, YDI owns and operates a theater company. Along with generating income, the theater functions as a site for young people to hold performances. The organization has also recently opened a recording studio. Young people are involved in every phase of its daily operations. YDI has also forged relationships with private corporations. With US West (Baby Bell) and Nations Bank, it has developed a scholarship fund to help support students interested in attending community college in Albuquerque. In collaboration with Intel, it has established the START Program (Semiconductor Technology Awareness Recruitment and Training) to identify and prepare middle school student for careers in technology trades.

Opportunities for Youth Involvement in Community

YDI is an organization committed to youth development and involvement in the organization and the community. This commitment is evidenced throughout its programs and initiatives. Informally, YDI sponsors a soccer league for Albuquerque youth that has become a unifying force in the community, providing numerous opportunities for youth and adult interaction and contribution. Young soccer players learn team building and conflict resolution skills that they use in mentoring younger children. Adults and parents actively participate as coaches and referees, fostering community pride and positive reinforcement of intergenerational relationships. At a more formal level, YDI encourages the young people participating in its programs to assume leadership roles within and outside the organization.

Project Achieve, for example, is a leadership program for middle school students that was developed by youth from Project Succeed, a YDI program for 14- to 18-year-olds on the verge of
dropping out of school. Project Succeed students saw the need for a similar program for younger children. They not only helped to conceptualize Project Achieve, but also to write the proposal and secure the funding.

Unity is a support and advocacy group for former and current participants of YDI programs that was established by participants in Project Hope, YDI’s independent living program for youth who are in federally subsidized foster care. Project Hope provides counseling and training to young people while they continue their education and work toward their employment goals. Unity is active in political organizing. The group has been instrumental in sponsoring a college tuition waiver bill for young people who are in the custody of the state and in conducting voter registration drives among their voting-age peers.

The practice of building social networks to broker power and influence government policy is exemplified through the strong political voice that YDI has been able to manifest. Mr. Baca stated that “the most influential political positions in the city and state are held by people who have had a relationship with YDI. The president of the school board was a former staff member, the president of the city council was a former board member, the chairman of the county commission, Senator Protem of the State Senate, was our legal advisor.”

VISION FOR THE FUTURE

Youth Development, Inc., markets itself as an organization that knows the needs of the community and can effectively meet those needs. Its track record clearly bears out its claim. YES is now a major part of the organization’s vision for the future. Within the next five years, YDI plans to complete approximately 1,000 housing units in the Albuquerque and Central New Mexico area. This will allow YDI to place more families in affordable housing and increase economic development and entrepreneurship in the community. Once the affordable housing units are completed, YDI will create entrepreneurial ventures for youth who will provide maintenance and upkeep of the properties.

In the next three to five years, YDI plans to build a retreat and training center in West Albuquerque. The center, to be built on ten acres of donated land adjacent to a future college, will offer training and conferences that promote youth and community development. Eventually, it is hoped that the center will generate revenue for YDI. The organization is also planning to market its vast experience in the development of training modules on the Internet. Lockheed Martin Laboratories will underwrite the software development for this project. YDI also expects to collaborate with the
CASE STUDY: YOUTH DEVELOPMENT, INC.
YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Coca-Cola Foundation to establish a micro-credit program for young people. Credit will be provided to young people interested in managing their own Coca-Cola distribution and routes.

YDI’s overall goal over the next five years is to be able to defray 50 percent of its budget from self-generated ventures. This will allow YDI to direct funds toward projects it feels best address the community’s needs and ensure its future, projects such as the approximately $100,000 a year scholarship fund to encourage young people to further their education. Chavez says that providing the scholarships not only benefits individual young adults, but also helps YDI to build its future leadership and the leadership of the community. This, in the end, is the spirit and vision of YDI.
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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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