POPULAR GOVERNMENT

Winter/Spring 1996 • Vol. 61, No. 1

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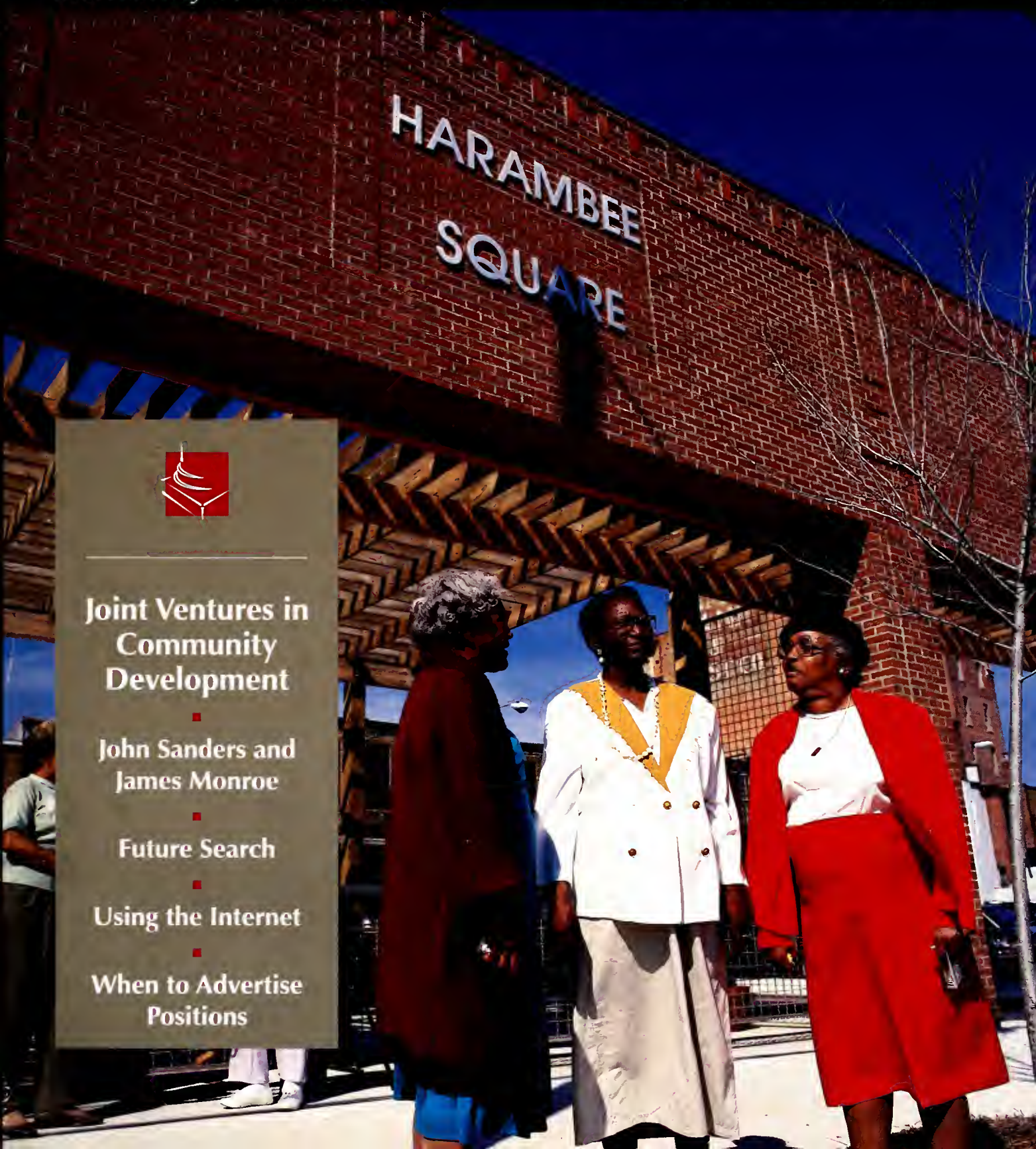

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Popular Government (ISSN 0032-4515) is published four times a year (summer, fall, winter, spring) by the Institute of Government, CB# 3330 Knapp Building, UNC-CH, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3330. Subscription: $20.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at Chapel Hill, NC, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Please send change of address to Institute of Government, CB# 3330 Knapp Building, UNC-CH, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3330. ♾ This publication is printed on permanent, acid-free paper in compliance with the North Carolina General Statutes. ♻ Printed on recycled paper with soy-based ink. Printed in the United States of America.

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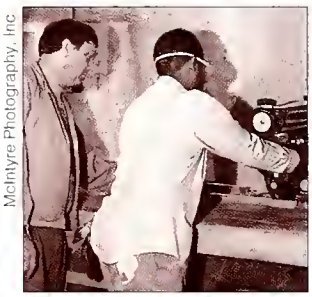
POPULAR GOVERNMENT

Winter/Spring 1996 Volume 61, Number 3

INSTITUTE of GOVERNMENT The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Feature Articles



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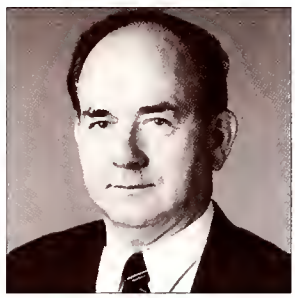

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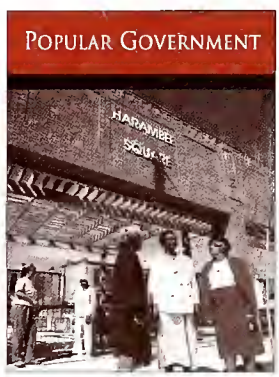


On the cover These residents of Harambee Square, an exemplary neighborhood revitalization effort in Rocky Mount, N.C., live in affordable housing units that are an integral part of the attractive complex. A joint project of the city and a community-based development organization, Harambee Square also includes retail stores, a cultural arts center, and various support services. Photo by Bob Donnan.

In order to place *Popular Government* on a timely seasonal schedule, this issue is called the Winter/Spring 1996 issue. All subscribers will receive the full complement of four issues under their present annual subscriptions. The next issue will be Summer 1996.

Thinking Globally, Acting Locally

Community-Based Development Organizations and Local Governments Transform Troubled Neighborhoods

Anita R. Brown-Graham

The author is an Institute of Government faculty member who specializes in housing and community development and civil liability of public officials and local governments. She has recently been named the Floyd B. McKissick Resident Scholar in Community Development.

A stubborn cycle of poverty pervades many neighborhoods in America today, leaving them disproportionately burdened with deteriorated housing, joblessness, welfare dependency, high crime and school drop-out rates, impaired health, and disinvestment of capital. For decades the public sector, particularly the federal government, has developed and funded programs aimed at restoring economic and social vigor to such communities. Residents of these distressed communities have also initiated and otherwise participated in revitalization efforts. Over the past thirty years, particularly the last fifteen, much of the local community-initiated revitalization effort has come from private, nonprofit community-based development organizations (CBDOs).[1] With a mandate best described by the slogan, "Think Globally, Act Locally," these CBDOs have emerged as a formidable response by community stakeholders to specific problems of neighborhood inequalities and livability.[2]

Notwithstanding the recent increase in the number and sophistication of CBDOs and a willingness of many units of government to enter into partnerships with them to transform troubled neighborhoods, there has been surprisingly little evaluation of their quantitative and qualitative successes. The need to rely heavily on limited anecdotal evidence has allowed exaggerations to be made on the part of both their supporters and detractors. At one extreme CBDOs have been characterized as inefficient, ineffective, and fraught with internal tensions. Others have proclaimed them as the answer to all the problems of distressed communities. Neither appears to be a legitimate characterization. Nor is it any more fair to hail these organizations as successes based on the accomplishments of one or two, than it is to condemn them all based on the failures of one or two.

This article explores several of the issues important to governments and CBDOs that are trying to determine whether and how they might mutually benefit from partnerships with each other. First, it reviews the general characteristics of community-based development organizations and the major types of activities they sponsor. It then describes some of the problematic issues confronting these organizations. Finally, it sug-

Top and center photographs courtesy Charlotte-Mecklenburg Housing Partnership

Before and After: In transforming these run-down homes in Charlotte's Genesis Park neighborhood, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Housing Partnership helped transform the troubled neighborhood as well.

gests a few possible responses to those problem areas through partnerships between CBDOs and governments. Much of the information is drawn from secondary data analysis of North Carolina CBDOs' responses to a national survey,[3] other national survey results, interviews with North Carolina CBDO staff and board members, and interviews with state and local public officials involved in community development.

The Emergence of North Carolina's Community-Based Development OrganMcIntyre Photography, Inc.izations

As with its sister states, North Carolina has experienced a dramatic increase in the number, size, and sophistication of community-based development organizations in the past fifteen years. The increasing presence and successes of these CBDOs present challenging issues for governments, which are being asked by the public to evaluate their own records on making low- and moderate-income communities better places

Trainees attend a weatherization and rehabbing class through the Northeastern Community Development Corporation.

to live. Part of that evaluation must now necessarily include an assessment of how CBDOs can help governments meet their responsibility to develop the physical, economic, and social infrastructures of distressed communities.

The demand for an evaluation of past government efforts at providing affordable housing and community development comes after a decade in which the state of North Carolina and its local governments have actually increased those efforts. In addition to the state funds now available, many local governments are spending locally raised revenue for housing, some spending substantial amounts. However, this increased support is countered by shrinking federal assistance for housing and community development and ongoing deterioration in poor neighborhoods. The state and local governments alone cannot close the ever-increasing gap between the needs of these neighborhoods and the resources available. Moreover, the revitalization of poor neighborhoods may require a strategy that governments, acting alone, are not well suited to provide.

Some governments in North Carolina have concluded that the government cannot sustain low- and moderate-income communities without the assistance of the communities themselves. While government may provide the brick and mortar, it is unable to build communities in the comprehensive manner that is the trademark of the nonprofit community development movement. Recognizing this limitation, many local governments have entered into very successful joint ventures with CBDOs, but many others remain hesitant to try.

What and Where Are These Community-Based Development Organizations?

There are at least 100 community-based development organizations in North Carolina.[4] They are disproportionately concentrated in the more urban areas of the state, but the fastest growing group are rural organizations. They are typically corporations chartered under Chapter 55A of the North Carolina General Statutes, the nonprofit corporation law. They are usually covered by Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, so their receipts are tax exempt and contributions to them are tax deductible for the donor. Those covered by Section 501(c)(3) must restrict their political advocacy, may not engage in election campaigns, and may not distribute profits to shareholders.

CBDOs reflect and must contend with some common trends. Over the last fifteen years there has been a significant decrease in federal funds for CBDOs' largest program area, housing; so their funding has necessarily become more complex as it has expanded to include state and local governments, national and statewide intermediary organizations, charitable foundations, and banks. Internally, they must constantly balance sometimes contradictory values: business efficiency versus community empowerment, technical and financial dependence on outside sources versus organizational autonomy, and overall neighborhood improvement versus the empowerment of individual community members.[5]

Because they are community based, that is, founded by and grounded in the communities they serve, CBDOs are considered more likely to understand and be responsive to the unique needs of the particular community each one serves. This results in greater community support, and ultimately, a higher potential for project success. As explained by Andrew Cuomo, assistant housing and urban development secretary for community planning and development, "You need an approach that is close to the community, gets the community residents to the table and gets them vested in the solution, because unless the community buys into the approach, it's not going to work."[6]

These organizations' comprehensive approach to community development is based on the belief that the problems of distressed neighborhoods are interrelated, and so their development demands more than mere physical improvement. To be successful, community development must include a balancing of brick-and-mortar projects with economic and social development activities that improve the overall quality of life for the community's residents. By defining themselves by community rather than by function, community-based development organizations are able to cut across service areas to solve a variety of community problems. This is often referred to as *holistic development* and is best illustrated by the following example.

A community-based development organization, Project Homestead, has developed a Family Responsibility and Economic Empowerment program that brings together public and private resources to assist thirty residents of Greensboro's public housing authority. The program aims to place these public housing residents and their families in homes of their own. The city of Greensboro, the North Carolina Housing Finance Agency, and local area lenders are providing mortgage financing. Local area lenders are providing

the construction financing, and Project Homestead is constructing or rehabilitating the homes. Project Homestead is also preparing program participants for homeownership through intensive counseling in family budgeting, home maintenance, and other aspects of successful homeownership.

But, as the program's title indicates, Project Homestead intends to do more than promote homeownership. To accomplish its goal of economic empowerment, the organization obtained a commitment from Guilford Mills, a local employer, to hire program participants. Project Homestead also obtained a commitment from the Guilford Technical Community College to provide job training for program participants. To further the goal of encouraging family responsibility, the Guilford County Department of Social Services agreed to assign social workers to program participants. The social workers assist participants in gaining access to supportive services, such as individual and family counseling and daycare.

This type of comprehensive approach to troubled neighborhoods and their residents is the signature of community-based development organizations. There are few other hard-and-fast rules or generalizations that can be made about CBDOs. They come in a variety of denominations and within those denominations the differences continue. Although many of them are referred to as community development corporations, others are designated as nonprofit development organizations, community housing development organizations, neighborhood housing services, local development corporations, and neighborhood improvement associations.[7] Many, particularly community development corporations, serve a very limited geographic area comprising a single neighborhood or small cluster of neighborhoods, with residents and other neighborhood stakeholders occupying the majority of seats on their governing boards. Others define their community service area as an entire city, metropolitan area, or region. The latter group typically has private industry and the local government more significantly represented on their boards.

As reflected in Table 1, almost all North Carolina CBDOs are involved in housing development and other related housing activities. Most are also involved to some degree in commercial real estate development and management, business enterprise development, community organizing, job training and placement activities, child care services, health care services, anticrime activity, and/or other human services delivery.

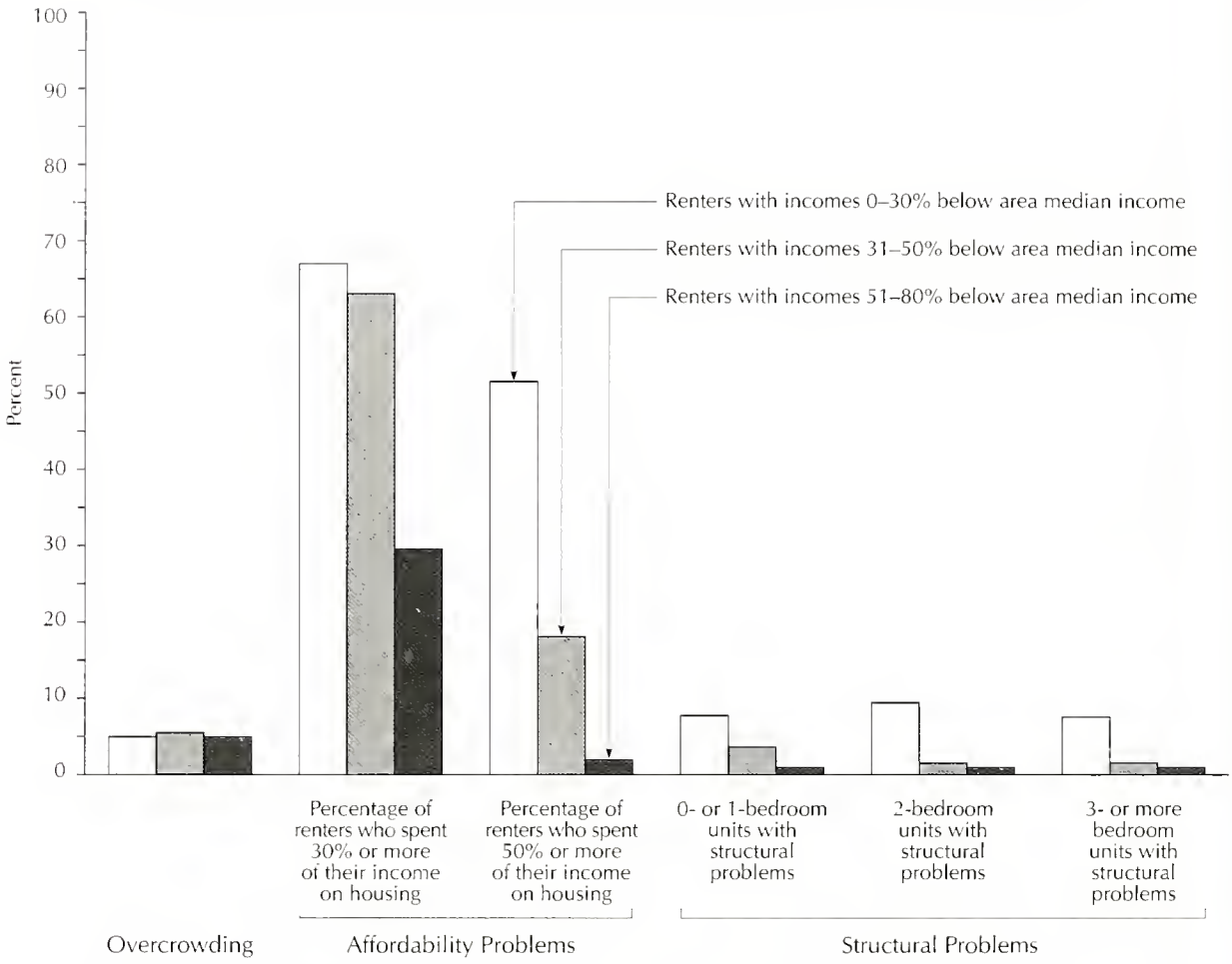
Table 1
What North Carolina's CBDOs Do

Activity	Percentage of Organizations Engaged in Activity
Housing Development	
Owner/new construction	43
Rental/rehabilitation	40
Rental/new construction	34
Owner/rehabilitation	31
Weatherization repair (rental and owner)	25
Housing Related Organizing/Community Building	
Homeowner counseling	72
CRA advocacy	47
Tenant counseling	41
Housing for homeless	16
Other Social Development/Community Building	
Community organizing	75
Job training placement	50
Other youth programs	28
Other	28
Senior citizens	25
Child care	22
Emergency food assistance	22
Teen pregnancy	19
Arts/culture	13
Anticrime	9
Antidrugs program	9
Health care	9
Business Enterprise Development	
Provide business planning assistance	34
Provide entrepreneur training	28
Administration of a revolving loan fund	25
Provide marketing assistance	19
Owner and operator	16
Equity investor (owner/not operator)	13
Provide accounting assistance	13
Other	9
Service and/or package loans for other agencies	9
Organizing/involvement in merchants'/ manufacturers' associations	6
Commercial/Industrial Real Estate Development	
Rehabilitation of office/retail buildings	22
New office/retail construction	6
New industrial buildings	3
Office/retail management	3

Source: Compiled by the Institute of Government based on data obtained by the National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED), Washington, D.C. (based on a sample of 33 CBDOs).

Community development corporations are most likely to engage in the largest number of activities. In contrast, organizations with a broader service area are more likely to focus on just housing development or

Figure 1
Low-Income Renter Households with Specific Housing Problems, by Income Group, 1990



Source: State of North Carolina, *1994–1998 Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy*, submitted by the N.C. Housing Finance Agency, Dec. 15, 1993, to the U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development.

economic development and closely related human service delivery activities.

Despite the differences in organization and scope, the bottom-line philosophy of neighborhood-based development through a holistic approach is much the same among these CBDOs. As a group, they have become a major force in the 1990s for revitalizing distressed neighborhoods.

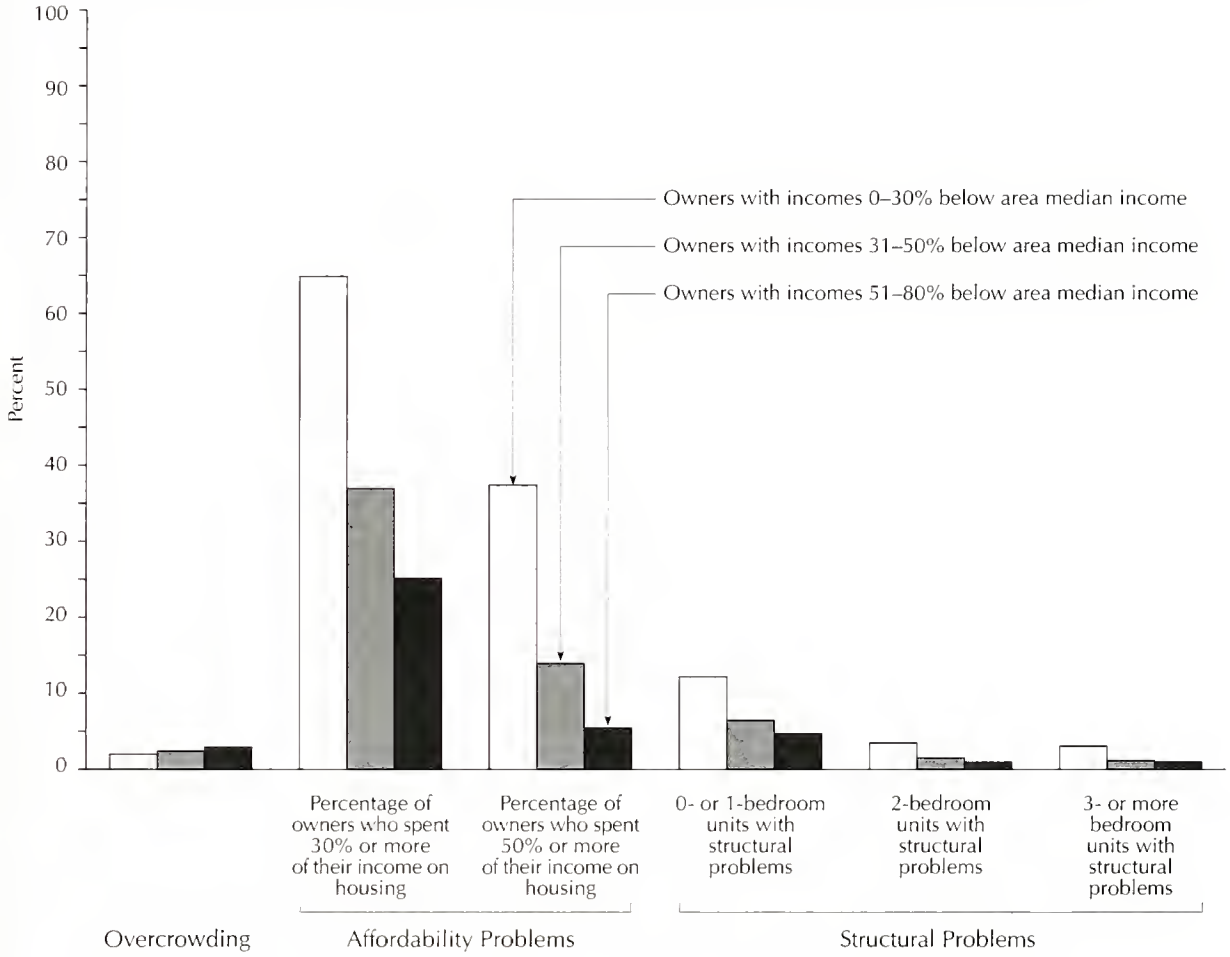
Activities of Community-Based Development Organizations

Housing

The lack of affordable housing nationwide continues to be a serious and growing problem. North Carolina is no exception. As indicated by Figures 1 and 2, while overcrowding and physically inadequate housing due to incomplete plumbing and kitchen facilities are still problems, high-rent burdens or owner costs are now the primary housing problem confronting very low income families in North Carolina. While low-cost dwelling units are disappearing from the housing stock, the number of households with poverty-level incomes continues to rise. Moreover, while the median household income in the state rose by 83.7 percent between 1980 and 1990, the median rent and owner cost rose by 110.4 and 95.1 percent respectively.[8] In 1990 there were 172,900 renters in North Carolina with incomes 30 percent below their area median income. Sixty-seven percent, or 116,000 of them, spent 30 percent or more of their income on housing. Of that number 88,600 were actually spending 50 percent or more of their income on housing.[9]

Affordable housing production for low- and moder-

Figure 2
Low-Income Owner Households with Specific Housing Problems, by Income Group, 1990



Source: State of North Carolina, *1994–1998 Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy*, submitted by the N.C. Housing Finance Agency, Dec. 15, 1993, to the U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development.

ate-income households is the point of entry into community development for most CBDOs.[10] Although most soon branch out into other activities, the vast majority continue to engage in housing production and related activity. The term "housing production" is used loosely here. It includes the creation of new units, substantial rehabilitation of units that are in such disrepair that they are no longer considered part of the housing stock, less-substantial rehabilitation to preserve housing beginning to fall into disrepair, and other light rehabilitation.

Some of the housing production projects by North Carolina's CBDOs are rental projects but most, such as Gateway Community Development Corporation's Spring Meadows project, seek to encourage homeownership. Spring Meadows is a cluster of single-family homes, which was supported in part by the city of Henderson's grant of $230,000 for infrastructure. The infrastructure, which is managed by the city, includes new water lines, streets, curb and gutter systems, and underground electrical lines. The funds came from Henderson's federally funded Community Development Block Grant.

Activities related to housing production include weatherization assistance, home repair programs, and home purchasing counseling programs. Given the emphasis on homeownership, it is not surprising that home purchasing counseling is a significant activity for many CBDOs. Over 300 families have participated in the Monroe Union Community Development Corporation's home counseling program. This CBDO's motto is, "doing what it takes no matter how long it takes," and they live up to it. The program assists participants with improving their credit rating, learning to budget, saving for a downpayment, and provides any other services necessary to prepare participants

Affordable Housing at Its Best: The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Housing Partnership

In 1992 Genesis Park had the highest violent crime rate among Charlotte's central city's seventy-four neighborhoods. Of thirty-seven houses on one street, thirty were sites of illegal drug activity. In that same year the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Housing Partnership (CMHP) and the police department moved into the neighborhood and those numbers soon began to change.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Housing Partnership is a broad-based, private, nonprofit housing developer and finance corporation formed in 1988 to create affordable housing for low- and moderate-income families in the city of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. The Genesis Park project most powerfully illustrates that even the most troubled neighborhoods can be reclaimed. With CMHP spending more than $2 million in Genesis Park to purchase seventy-nine duplexes and convert them to single-family homes and the police department establishing a satellite station in the neighborhood as part of its community policing program, the neighborhood experienced a phenomenal 74 percent decrease in crime from 1993 to 1994.

Much of CMHP's success in Genesis Park and elsewhere is attributable to the support it receives from the city of Charlotte. CMHP uses the city's Innovative Housing Fund and the federal Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds it receives from the city to rehabilitate the houses. In addition, the city uses its CDBG funds to provide sidewalks, curbs, gutters, and other needed infrastructure. CMHP also receives funds from the city to provide 20 percent or more in second mortgages to supplement the CMHP loan consortium for first mortgages.

The other partners in the Genesis Park project include the Greenville Homeowners Association (surrounding neighbors), Charlotte Genesis Inc. (formed by members of a local church), neighborhood churches, Habitat for Humanity, and area lenders. They all, in turn, share the credit for Genesis Park's success with its twenty-five new homeowners. With the help of CMHP's PATHWAYS II program, which provides post-homeownership support, Genesis Park's new homeowners have begun the process of building a sense of community by creating an active neighborhood association. As noted by United States Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros after a visit to Genesis Park, "This is the future. It is in some ways the evolution of some of the best ideas we've seen over the last decade" (Ames Alexander, "Cisneros a Witness to Housing Hopes Manifested," *Charlotte Observer*, April 29, 1995). —*Kim Pearson*

Kim Pearson earned her B.A. in sociology at the University of California–Los Angeles in 1991. She is currently a student in the Master of Public Administration Program at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

for homeownership. Some of the families that successfully complete the program end up buying homes from the CBDO; others do not. The more important outcome for this CBDO is that the participants are well prepared to become homeowners. According to board member and Monroe city council member Phil Bazemore, "No single achievement will contribute more to improving the quality of life and instilling the pride of good citizenship among people than homeownership." The success of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Housing Partnership described in the sidebar, "Affordable Housing at Its Best: The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Housing Partnership," indicates that Bazemore might be right.

Economic Development

Economic development is the process by which individuals and organizations generate new investment activity and jobs in a targeted area. CBDOs' economic development activities generally fall into two categories: business enterprise development and commercial revitalization. Business enterprise development includes activity by the organization itself, such as owning and operating a business enterprise; being an equity investor in a business; administering revolving loan funds to businesses; servicing or packaging loans for other organizations; organizing or actively participating in a merchants' or manufacturers' association;

ants must commit to hiring low-income area residents within two years of opening.

The job creation and placement activities of the Hayti CDC and W/NHCDC are dependent on the availability of an adequately skilled workforce capable of taking advantage of new employment opportunities. So preparing people for work is often an important economic development activity for CBDOs. With the help of an $96,000 Entrepreneurial Empowerment Grant from the North Carolina Department of Commerce (which was awarded to Camden County), Camden County and the Northeastern Community Development Corporation have joined forces to build a training center and warehouse for a community cooperative. It is estimated that the training center will provide general job skill building and specific craft training to approximately 300 unemployed or underemployed persons. In addition, fifty new full-time jobs will be created during the next two years due to the sales expansion of the cooperative.

Even outside observers recognize that a pressing issue facing distressed communities is the lack of both commercial activity and establishments providing products as basic as groceries. The retail and service businesses that do exist in these communities often offer a limited range of low-quality goods sold at higher prices than what is available in other communities. The lack of supermarkets is particularly important, relatively small scale, are important activities for some community-based development organizations.[11]

University Village shopping center in Charlotte's University Park neighborhood is one CBDO's response to a neighborhood's lack of commercial activity. Funded in part by a $900,000 loan from the city of Charlotte in 1994, the $3.5 million, 15,000-square-foot shopping center will house a Food Lion grocery store, Revco drugstore, Subway deli, post office, and barbershop. It is expected to triple the taxes generated by the dilapidated shopping center that formerly stood in the site.

"Harambee Square: RMECDC and the City of Rocky Mount," page 10, describes another example of a North Carolina CBDO that has worked successfully with local and state government to rehabilitate commercial real estate.

Social Development

The poverty-stricken neighborhoods served by community-based development organizations tend to have higher high school drop-out rates, higher unemployment, more teenage pregnancies, higher numbers of female heads of households, and higher rates of criminal activity when compared with other neighborhoods in the same city or town.[12] The realities of, and perceptions regarding, the pervasiveness of these

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and providing their support services, such as business planning, accounting, or marketing assistance.

Durham's Hayti Community Development Corporation's (Hayti CDC) QuickSilver fast-food restaurant illustrates the type of business enterprise that a community-based development organization might own and operate. Hayti used a grant from the North Carolina Rural Economic Development Center to leverage local funds from the city of Durham. With projected sales of $600,000 during its first year, it is estimated that the restaurant will generate $36,000 in sales taxes, create twenty-six jobs, and pay $1,500 in property taxes.

The Wilmington/New Hanover Community Development Corporation (W/NHCDC), like many CBDOs, provides support services to new businesses through its 18,000-square-foot Wilmington Business Center. W/NHCDC placed a $100,000 loan from the city of Wilmington into a revolving loan fund for its Business Center tenants—light manufacturing companies and service providers. The CBDO also provides its tenants with nonfinancial support services, such as bookkeeping and marketing. In return, tenants must commit to hiring low-income area residents within two years of opening.

The job creation and placement activities of the Hayti CDC and W/NHCDC are dependent on the availability of an adequately skilled workforce capable of taking advantage of new employment opportunities. So preparing people for work is often an important economic development activity for CBDOs. With the help of an $896,000 Entrepreneurial Empowerment Grant from the North Carolina Department of Commerce (which was awarded to Camden County), Camden County and the Northeastern Community Development Corporation have joined forces to build a training center and warehouse for a community cooperative. It is estimated that the training center will provide general job skill building and specific craft training to approximately 300 unemployed or underemployed persons. In addition, fifty new full-time jobs will be created during the next two years due to the sales expansion of the cooperative.

Even outside observers recognize that a pressing issue facing distressed communities is the lack of both commercial activity and establishments providing products as basic as groceries. The retail and service businesses that do exist in these communities often offer a limited range of low-quality goods sold at higher prices than what is available in other communities. The lack of supermarkets is particularly important because of the high percentage of their income that poor households must spend on food. Consequently, rehabilitation and new construction of commercial real estate, although usually carried out on a relatively small scale, are important activities for some community-based development organizations.[11]


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Crafts classes are among the training programs provided through the Northeastern Community Development Corporation.

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Harambee Square: RMECDC and the City of Rocky Mount

Bob Donnan

Beyond the railroad tracks that divide Edgecombe and Nash Counties lies Rocky Mount/Edgecombe Community Development Corporation (RMECDC), an enterprise that is cherished by many Rocky Mount residents. Created in November 1988 in the living room of now-president and chief executive officer Joyce Dickens, RMECDC came to life as a response by a local group of Rocky Mount citizens to the rapid deterioration of certain neighborhoods in the city. RMECDC's founders' goal was to build a strong economic base for the Edgecombe County area. Despite the odds, this community-based development organization is increasing target community residents' income by creating jobs and business ownership opportunities; producing affordable homeownership; and by facilitating community empowerment, self-sufficiency, and cultural revitalization.

One of RMECDC's most successful ventures is Harambee Square Project, the product of a successful partnership between the city of Rocky Mount and RMECDC. The city acquired the property and leased the site for the Harambee Square Project to RMECDC for fifty-five years at an annual cost of one dollar. The estimated value of the ground lease is $350,000. In addition, $250,000 from the city's Community Development Block Grant was used to produce affordable housing in Harambee Square. The city further invested more than $200,000 in infrastructure improvements, including a parking lot, sidewalks, and a pedestrian alleyway, and dedicated 5,000 square feet of the parking lot as an open-space courtyard.

Harambee Square consists of 11,800 square feet of commercial, retail, and service space, as well as twenty-four apartments for the elderly. Building it created seventeen construction jobs for local residents. Moreover, the commercial, retail, and office space has already created sixteen full-time and fifteen part-time jobs in the area. The ground floor houses a community empowerment center, which will bring together nonprofits such as Habitat for Humanity, Inc., the Nash Edgecombe Economic Development Corporation, Eastern Carolina Legal Services, the local housing counsel, as well as a job training assessment center, a business development center, and a "retail incubator," which provides support services for the for-profit entities in Harambee Square. Current retail shops include a women's clothing store, beauty salon, gift shop, arts and crafts store, and T-shirt manufacturer. The RMECDC has also attracted Centura Bank to Harambee Square; there is only one other bank branch on the Edgecombe County side of Rocky Mount. In addition, the Harambee Square Project includes a public arts component, which will build a sense of community by sponsoring cultural events.

Other partners essential to the creation of Harambee Square include the North Carolina Housing Finance Agency, North Carolina Arts Council, North Carolina Community Development Initiative, Inc., North Carolina Rural Economic Development Center, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Centura Bank, Edgecombe County, North Carolina Department of Commerce, North Carolina Association of Community Development Corporations, Cummins Engine Foundation, and Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation.

After a tour of Harambee Square in August 1995, North Carolina's lieutenant governor, Dennis Wicker, assessed the partnership between RMECDC and the city of Rocky Mount as ". . . the kind of partnership between private enterprise and government that can make good things happen. . . . [T]hings that will make a difference" (Andrea M. Cashion, "Lt. Governor Says Harambee Project Does Make Difference," *Rocky Mount Telegram*, Aug. 31, 1995). —*Kim Pearson*

conditions adversely affect a distressed neighborhood's ability to attract the private enterprises needed to generate well-paying jobs and increase residents' quality of life. Thus CBDOs are sensitive to the need to change both the realities and perceptions with an intervention strategy that substantially strengthens residents' ability to shape their own lives. The strategy CBDOs have adopted is known as "community building."

Community building encompasses (1) activities that increase residents' access to services and opportunities and (2) community organizing. Increasing residents' access to services and opportunities is accomplished by direct delivery of human services or by tapping into local networks that facilitate referrals of community residents to preexisting services or employment and training opportunities. For example, the East Winston Community Development Corporation (EWCDC) administers, as part of Forsyth County's Opportunities for Families Fund program, a community-based demonstration program that provides teenage mothers with information on and referrals to various public and nonprofit social and employment services. The program, known as the Consumer Involvement Office (CIO), aims to move these mothers from a cycle of dependency to self-sufficiency. The program offers tutoring and mentoring, as well as social support workshops. The program also provides on-site child care and, when necessary, transports participants to various human services agencies.

As compared with programs such as East Winston CDC's CIO, community organizing generally consists of a more direct effort to bring residents together around one or more very specific issues.[13] The objective may be advocacy or collective action. One example of advocacy is Bertie, Martin, Washington Community Development Corporation's parent program, which prepares parents to advocate on behalf of their children by educating them about the legal rights of schoolchildren. On the other hand, collective action is often accomplished through organizing a resident organization, such as a neighborhood watch whose mandate is to tackle neighborhood crime.

Whether the organization aims to increase access to services or to organize residents, or both, the process is as important as the outcome because it builds connections among residents where formerly there had been little connection. These connections have been described as "the glue that holds communities together"; it is a glue that many mistakenly assume naturally exists in all neighborhoods.

Measuring CBDOs' Effectiveness and Efficiency

Effectiveness

Given the diversity of activities and the breadth of CBDOs' missions, defining and developing a standardized measure of success has proved a difficult task. But in order to justify and leverage the financing they already receive, community-based development organizations must be able to demonstrate their effectiveness. The research that has attempted to measure the effectiveness of community-based organizations has looked to factors such as the impact of the project on the neighborhood served[14] and the degree to which the CBDO successfully completes or implements the projects it undertakes.[15] Both are factors that a state or local government might find important when considering a partnership with a community-based development organization.

Studies of CBDOs' impact on neighborhoods have found their efforts are moderately to highly effective. Those aspects of neighborhoods most likely to show substantial and durable upgrading are improvements in the quality of residential and commercial space.[16] It appears that commercial real estate development is most likely to have a substantial effect on neighborhood improvement.[17]

Less is known about the outcomes of social development activity than about housing and economic development. However, some very positive evidence is beginning to emerge about the effectiveness of this type of activity in strengthening the social fabric of the communities served.[18] At least one study indicates that these community-building activities create the type of information networks that already exist informally in other communities. These networks serve the important function of linking poor residents with employment and training opportunities.[19] Another study indicates that community-building activities generally engage previously inactive residents and other community stakeholders in community affairs, especially in communities of color.[20]

The studies measuring CBDOs' success in implementing specific projects typically look to the rate at which the organizations meet stated performance goals. In the 1970s it appeared, at least from those organizations studied, that community development organizations met or exceeded their housing and economic development goals at fairly low rates.[21] By the 1980s the rates were considerably higher, but dis-

parities in the rates, depending on the type of activity being studied, began to appear. So, for example, CBDOs were highly effective at housing rehabilitation activity, but considerably less so at commercial real estate and business enterprise development.[22] Studies in the 1990s continue to show that housing remains the least financially risky type of activity. But the rates of effectiveness for commercial development projects and business enterprise development have risen notably.[23] The strong record in housing is perhaps because the groups have been active in housing for the longest period, are likely to consider it of major importance, and are adept at measuring their success in this area. Moreover, CBDOs tend to develop the capacity to produce housing units fairly rapidly.[24]

Efficiency

A legitimate assessment of the cost efficiency of a CBDO project requires (1) measuring each unit of output, such as jobs created; (2) determining the full cost of each unit; and (3) comparing that cost to those of other organizations producing the same units of output. This kind of assessment is problematic for several reasons. First, CBDOs generally do not keep records on the apportionment of staff time and other overhead devoted to a particular project. Second, comparisons with other organizations are valid only if the other organizations are producing units under the same environmental conditions as the CBDO. Given the disparities among neighborhoods, comparisons are difficult to make. At least one study, though, has attempted to compare the efficiency of CBDOs with local governments in providing housing rehabilitation assistance. It found significant variation in the efficiency ratings within both groups, but both groups had the same general range of administrative costs for rehabilitating dwellings.[25]

Neither the study comparing the efficiency of local governments with CBDOs nor the studies on CBDO effectiveness are based on North Carolina organizations. So there is still a need for local assessment. The above-mentioned studies are intended to provide a starting point for that local assessment.

McIntyre Photography, Inc

Bonnie Sawyer, shown here with three of her children, is a basketmaker at a community cooperative in Camden County.

Internal Characteristics That Affect Success

The organizational characteristics that most influence the amount of housing output, economic development accomplishments, and success of social development programs are (1) the size of the CBDO, (2) the importance that the organization attaches to a particular activity, (3) experience, (4) leadership stability, and (5) a clearly defined strategy.[26] Other factors are listed in the sidebar on page 15. On the other hand, the two characteristics most likely to contribute to project failure are poor or inadequate planning and inadequate organizational capacity.[27] Poor or inadequate planning includes underestimating costs or overestimating market demands, while inadequate organizational capacity includes weak management or a lack of technical skills among staff.[28]

External Characteristics That Affect Success

The following are external factors associated with project success and failure. They represent possible areas for partnership between a CBDO and its local government.

Unstable Levels of Funding

Organizations that receive higher levels of funding have a significantly higher annual housing production.[29] Similarly, the amount and quality of economic

CBDO Funding Demographics

Despite significant cutbacks in recent years, the **federal government** remains the most frequently relied upon source of funding.

The largest source of federal funding is actually the indirect subsidy provided by the **Low Income Tax Credit Program,** which provides a tax credit to corporations that invest in low-income housing. It is estimated that the Low Income Tax Credit Program supports, at least in part, 94 percent of present low-income housing construction across the country.[1]

Only local governments can apply for **Community Development Block Grants** (CDBG), so whatever CDBG funds CBDOs get, they receive through their local governments. North Carolina received $75.5 million in CDBG funds in 1995, of which it is estimated that 15 percent passed through local governments to CBDOs.

The federal **HOME Investment Partnership Program,** which is like an affordable housing block grant program to state and local governments, mandates that at least 15 percent of a state's receipts must be set aside for nonprofit community housing development organizations. North Carolina received $25 million in HOME funds in 1995.

The **North Carolina Housing Trust Fund,** administered by the North Carolina Finance Agency, was funded by the General Assembly at $4 million for 1995. The Trust Fund sponsored the following programs, for which CBDOs may apply: (1) the Self-Help Housing Fund that offers no-interest loans to assist housing organizations that operate owner-built housing programs; (2) the Catalyst Home Ownership Program that encourages nonprofits to develop new single-family homes; (3) the Catalyst Rental Program that encourages nonprofits to build rental housing for low-income households; (4) the Special Needs Housing Program funded for the production or rehabilitation of emergency, transitional and permanent housing for households with special needs; and (5) the Rental Production Program for the production of rental housing for households below 60 percent of median income. The North Carolina General Assembly did not provide funding for the Trust Fund for 1996, however.

Municipalities may fund low-income housing directly through revenues, including local taxes and the sale of municipal bonds.[2] For example, in 1986 Durham city voters approved $6 million in general obligation bonds to fund an affordable housing program. In 1990 the Durham city voters approved an additional $15 million and Durham county voters approved $2 million in general obligation bonds to further the affordable housing program. In addition, the city of Durham is one of a few local governments that provides its CBDOs with direct operating subsidies.

Some CBDOs also receive **derivative funding** from state and national intermediaries. For example, the North Carolina Community Development Initiative, Inc. provides financial support to mature, high-performing community development organizations.

Charitable organizations, such as the Ford Foundation, Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, Inc., and Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, have become steady, while modest, sources of support for community-based development organizations.

Banks are fast becoming an important source of contributions. More stringent enforcement of the Community Reinvestment Act has banks scrambling to develop a market presence in low- and moderate-income neighborhoods. Community-based development organizations have been happy to welcome them to the neighborhood.

1. Rochelle L. Stanfield, "Block by Block," *The National Journal* 27, no. 27 (July 8, 1995): 1763.

2. Cities have been authorized by the General Assembly to provide, and have provided, direct incentives to specific industrial or commercial projects. However, there is some question regarding the constitutionality of these incentive programs. *See* Stanley v. Department of Conservation and Development, 284 N.C. 15, 199 S.E.2d 641 (1973); Mitchell v. North Carolina Industrial Development Financing Authority, 273 N.C. 137, 159 S.E.2d 745 (1968).

Table 2
Financing North Carolina's CBDOs

Funding Source	Percentage of CBDOs Receiving More Than $50,000 from Source
Federal Programs	
Community Development Block Grant	47
HOME	44
Hope I, II, III	6
HUD Sec. 202 Elderly/Disabled Housing	9
McKinney Act (Homeless)	3
Office of Community Service /Discretionary Program	9
Farmers Home/Sec. 502, Sec. 515	3
Farmers Home/Rural Business Enterpr. Program	3
Small Business Administration/Microloan Demonstration Project	6
Small Business Administration 404	6
Other	19
Intermediaries (national and state)	19
Banks	47
Foundations	47
Corporations	9
State government	53
Local government	38
Religious institutions	16
Other	3

Source: Compiled by the Institute of Government based on data obtained by the National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED), Washington, D.C. (based on a sample of 33 CBDOs).

and social development that an organization may undertake is limited by its level of funding. In effect, the relationship is reciprocal. When CBDOs demonstrate their accomplishments, they gain credibility with prospective funders.

Without a steady source of income, these organizations tend to face chronic shortfalls of operating revenues needed to finance ongoing operating and predevelopment costs.[30] The importance of predevelopment funding for engineering and architecture costs, site control, and feasibility analysis cannot be overstated. Nonprofits that lack this funding are more likely to confront marketability, feasibility, and financing problems that ultimately increase predevelopment costs in their housing and economic development activities.[31] Planning and needs assessment are, of course, as important to the eventual success of social development programs as they are in other program areas.

Undercapitalization also results in understaffing. The high pressures associated with these projects coupled with the inability to specialize because staff is spread so thin results in high rates of burnout and turnover. This, in turn, results in fluctuations in what CBDOs can accomplish and prevents these organizations from benefiting from the learning curve.

These problems point to a need for more stable funding to support operating costs and predevelopment activity. They also call for an increase in the technical assistance resources available to CBDOs. Some of those resources already exist in the public sector, in universities and community colleges and on the staff of many other state and local government agencies. Other resources exist in the nonprofit sector in statewide intermediary organizations like the North Carolina Low Income Housing Coalition, the North Carolina Association of Community Development Associations, and the North Carolina Community Development Initiative, Inc., as well as many local intermediaries, such as the Durham Affordable Housing Coalition. As the issue of housing and community development becomes increasingly local rather than national, all of the actors—statewide and local intermediaries and state and local governments—must play a more important role in building the capacity of CBDOs if they are to thrive and work effectively within their unique demographic, economic, and political environments.

Multiple Sources of Financing

The ability of community-based development organizations to amass multiple sources of financing for their projects demonstrates their creativity. It also may result in deeper subsidies that allow CBDOs to provide housing for very low income households. This kind of financing also helps the organizations provide integrated programs, consistent with their comprehensive approach to community development, without the narrow restrictions on activity that often accompany a single funding source. But such financing takes time, increases costs, and in housing induces a bias toward larger projects that have lower per-unit costs. Initially, these hidden costs are high. However, it appears that once the necessary deal-making expertise is acquired, the costs incurred for successive projects decline. This suggests that partners with nonprofit organizations need to be willing to assume some of the cost of this learning curve. Another option is for partners to fund intermediaries that can serve as a home base and that will share their expertise with smaller, less-experienced organizations.

Substantial funders of North Carolina CBDOs are

listed in Table 2. For more information on trends in and sources of funding, see the sidebar, "CBDO Funding Demographics," page 13.

Other Factors That Significantly Affect a CBDO's Success

Internal Characteristics

Executive director who is familiar with the community development process, effective at raising funds, able to generate trust in and support for projects by the board of directors and the community, and competent at managing others

Key staff member with project development skills

Staff that understands the financial economics of projects

Track record of accomplishments in development and related neighborhood work

Relationships with Others

Reputation as a viable community-supported organization

Good relationship with its local government, including both elected officials and staff

Access to competent technical assistance in specific areas in which the organization lacks expertise

Source: Adapted from Neil Mayer, *Neighborhood Organizations and Community Development* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1984).

Regulatory Burdens

It would be misleading to suggest that increased financing is the only, or even most effective, assistance that CBDOs could receive from the public sector. As Pat Garrett, the executive director of the Charlotte-Mecklenberg Housing Partnership, put it, "It's not just about money. The challenge for nonprofits is to figure out the other things that a local government can do to make the venture successful."

Regulatory barriers appear to be particularly problematic for those CBDOs that produce affordable housing. All housing developers, whether nonprofit or for-profit, face regulations including those pertaining to zoning, building codes, and environmental protection. These land-use regulations seek to protect the public welfare and safety, a goal with which few could argue. However, they also affect the price of housing. Because these costs ultimately are passed on to the buyer, they can become significant barriers to providing affordable housing. In many instances the need to protect the public welfare and safety is worth the additional cost of housing but not always. As suggested by The 1991 Presidential Advisory Commission on Regulatory Barriers to Affordable Housing, state or local governments should be flexible enough when appropriate to allow tradeoffs between the goals that support their land-use regulations and the goals of producing and maintaining affordable housing. The ordinances most frequently cited in the commission's report as barriers to affordable housing production were those that ban or severely limit multifamily dwellings (frequently the most affordable type of housing) and those that mandate minimum setback and lot sizes as well as maximum densities (number of houses allowed in a neighborhood).

Governmental regulations may also act as barriers to the economic development of distressed communities. Suggestions for overcoming these self-inflicted regulatory costs have included charging a single governmental entity for the cost of assembling parcels of land; subsidizing environmental cleanup; and streamlining all aspects of building, including zoning, permitting, conducting inspections, and other approvals.[32] Other suggestions are included in Table 3. Given the evolving nature of this area of the law, government officials should be careful to consult with legal counsel before agreeing to provide direct economic incentives to businesses to locate in distressed neighborhoods.

Creating Effective Partnerships between Local Governments and CBDOs

An effective partnership between a local government and a CBDO will require a commitment by both to the partnership and a clear vision of the community's needs; a willingness to bring in a range of experts including bankers, foundations, corporations, and outside technical assistance; a clear division of roles, responsibilities, and accountability; and the ability of the CBDO to raise the needed operating, predevelopment, and development funds.[33] In addition, partnership efforts should probably start small; it generally takes time for a CBDO and a government to develop the degree of trust and mutual respect necessary for an effective working relationship.[34]

Table 3
Partnership Possibilities

Problem	Effect	Solution
Multiple sources of financing	Increases transaction costs Slows down process due to complexity Induces bias toward larger projects to spread costs	Increase funding to home base intermediary organizations that provide technical assistance
Undercapitalization	Results in lack of operating and predevelopment funds Stifles organizational capacity (inability to engage in high-volume projects; high staff turnover) Engenders inadequate planning	Provide funding specifically for operating and predevelopment costs and increasing technical capacity through personnel training, etc.
High cost of producing affordable housing	Prevents organizations from producing housing for very low income households	Review regulations that increase the cost of housing to determine whether necessary
Difficulty attracting and sustaining business enterprise in low-income neighborhoods	Results in a low economic base and joblessness	Provide CBDOs with technical assistance, e.g., conducting feasibility and marketability studies to determine which businesses are most likely to succeed in the respective community Coordinate job training activity in the community to meet the particular needs of that business community
Difficulty attracting private entities for commercial real estate revitalization	Results in companies often needing considerable encouragement to locate in distressed communities	Provide income and property tax credits (state) Provide tax-exempt industrial revenue bonds (county) Provide CBDOs with technical assistance, e.g., conducting feasibility studies, developing strategic plans, negotiating and assisting companies interested in locating in distressed neighborhoods (county and city) Extend public services and facilities to distressed neighborhoods (city and county)
Complexity of social problems	Impedes ability to be truly comprehensive in approach	Contribute personnel and resources of preexisting social service agencies

Conclusion

Unlike the 1960s when federally funded community action programs operated without the blessing of, and often in conflict with, local governments, today local governments are potentially the most critical partners for community-based development organizations. Given the evidence regarding the activities and impact of community-based development organizations in North Carolina, the question local governments must ask is whether their record is promising enough to warrant further expenditure of public funds and other means of support to expand their capacity.

To answer the question, each governmental unit

Other Resources

For more information on community-based development organizations in your area, contact the following groups:

North Carolina Association of Community Development Corporations
224 South Dawson Street
Raleigh, NC 27611
(919) 856-2157

North Carolina Department of Commerce Division of Community Assistance
P.O. Box 12600
Raleigh, NC 27605
(919) 733-2850

North Carolina Low Income Housing Coalition
3901 Barrett Drive, Suite 200
Raleigh, NC 27609
(919) 881-0707

North Carolina Community Development Initiative, Inc.
P.O. Box 98148
Raleigh, NC 27624
(919) 467-5959

North Carolina Housing Finance Agency
P.O. Box 28066
Raleigh, NC 27611-8066
(919) 781-6115

North Carolina Rural Economic Development Center
1300 St. Mary's Street, Suite 500
Raleigh, NC 27605
(919) 715-2725

must conduct its own independent assessment of the organizations existing within its jurisdiction and determine the advisability of entering into partnerships with them to provide services to low- and moderate-income neighborhoods. Local governments should neither make nor accept gross and unsubstantiated generalizations regarding CBDOs' technical competence. Nor should they have unrealistic expectations of the capabilities of their local community-based development organizations. These organizations tackle some of society's toughest problems and often only after other approaches have failed. By themselves, even the best CBDOs cannot counterbalance the effects of macroeconomic forces, the demographics of suburbanization, and the high level of disinvestment in some neighborhoods. But in partnership with their local governments and others, many North Carolina community-based development organizations are rising to meet this challenge.

Notes

1. The predecessors of today's community-based development organizations were created in the 1960s as a result of (1) the War on Poverty's focus on community issues through federal funding under the Equal Employment Opportunity Act's Special Impact Program and (2) the response of urban community leaders to civil disorder. Over time, these organizations' adversarial tactics have been replaced by efforts to make improvements in distressed neighborhoods. *See* Robert Zdenek, "Community Development Corporations," in *Beyond the Market and the State: New Directions in Community Development*, ed. Severyn T. Bryun and James Meehan (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).

2. Some of these CBDOs have delivered considerable improvements. Perhaps the most well known of these organizations is the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation (Restoration), founded in 1966, and generally considered the grandfather of CBDOs. By its twenty-fifth anniversary, Restoration had produced 2,224 new or rehabilitated apartments; provided $9.5 million in developmental loans to local businesses; held equity investments in a local supermarket, a manufacturing company, and a bank; developed more than 300,000 square feet of retail and office space; rendered employment assistance through four different programs; opened a family health center; and managed a cultural center. Donald E. Williams, Jr., "The Nonprofit Corporation and Community Development in Bedford-Stuyvesant," *Washington and Lee Law Review* 42 (Fall 1985): 1234, 1272–73. Patrice Miles, "Restoration: A Model CDC," *Black Enterprise* 23, no. 3 (October 1992): 24.

3. The author analyzed the responses of North Carolina CBDOs to a national survey administered by the National Congress for Community Economic Development in 1995.

4. This number was derived from (1) reviewing the mailing lists of a number of statewide intermediary organizations and (2) assessing the organizations that responded to the National Congress for Community Economic Development's survey.

5. Herbert J. Rubin, "Renewing Hope in the Inner City: Conversations with Community-based Development Practitioners," *Administration and Society* 27, no. 1 (May 1995): 127–160.

6. Rochelle L. Stanfield, "Block by Block," *The National Journal* 27, no. 27 (July 8, 1995): 1763.

7. For purposes of this article, "community-based development organizations" do not include nonprofit organizations created to construct a single development, coalitions of CBDOs, or public housing organizations.

8. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, telephone conversation with staff, January 1996.

9. Edward B. Lazere, *In Short Supply: The Affordable Housing Gap* (Washington, D.C.: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 1995).

10. It is estimated that, even without including units produced by the indirect federal subsidy of the low-income tax credit, community-based development organizations are responsible for producing 13 percent of the nation's recent federally subsidized housing stock [Christopher Walker, "Nonprofit Housing Development: Status, Trends, and Prospects," *Housing Policy Debate* 4, no. 3 (1993): 369–414]. There is no estimate of the overall percentage of affordable housing stock produced by CBDOs. But in areas of the country where CBDOs are most entrenched, the numbers are impressive. For example, estimates indicate that during the 1980s, these organizations accounted for approximately 90 percent of the affordable housing produced in Boston [Avis C. Vidal, "Reintegrating Disadvantaged Communities into the Fabric of Urban Life," *Housing Policy Debate* 6, no. 1 (1995): 169–230].

11. Vidal, "Reintegrating Disadvantaged Communities," 169–230.

12. William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

13. Vidal, "Reintegrating Disadvantaged Communities," 169–230.

14. Neighborhood impact has been defined by indicators such as (1) substantial improvements to other residential properties not receiving direct assistance from the CBDO that are sparked by the organization's housing activity; (2) decreases in the number of blocks with litter and other improvements to the general appearance of the neighborhood; (3) increases in community pride; (4) the expansion of business activities or the creation of jobs; and (5) increases in the level of interest and activity of neighborhood bankers, private developers, and local government. *See* Avis C. Vidal, *Rebuilding Communities: A National Study of Urban Community Development Corporations* (New York: Community Development Research Center, 1992).

15. Other factors that researchers have tried to measure are direct results that projects produced, such as the number of houses rehabilitated or jobs created; the leveraging of resources in the form of both additional funding sources and self-help efforts by neighborhood residents; the targeting of benefits to the current neighborhood residents and business people, especially those of most limited means; and the contribution of a specific project to the CBDO's overall strategies for revitalizing the neighborhood. *See* Neil Mayer, *Neighborhood Organizations and Community Development* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1984).

16. Vidal, *Rebuilding Communities.*

17. Vidal, *Rebuilding Communities.*

18. Mercer L. Sullivan, *More than Housing: How Community Development Corporations Go about Changing Lives and Neighborhoods* (New York: Community Development Research Center, 1993); Bennett Harrison, Marcus Weiss, and John Gant, *Building Bridges: Community Development Corporations and the World of Employment Training* (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1994).

19. Harrison, Weiss, and Gant, *Building Bridges.*

20. Ross J. Gittell and Avis C. Vidal, "Community Development as Strategy: Development Team Efforts in Palm Beach County," draft interim report (New York: Community Development Research Center, 1994).

21. Harvey Garn, Nancy Trevis, and Carl Snead, *Evaluating Community Development Organizations: A Summary Report* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1976).

22. Mayer, *Neighborhood Organizations.*

23. Vidal, *Rebuilding Communities.*

24. Walker, "Nonprofit Housing Development," 369–414.

25. Maynard T. Robison and Gary D. Ferguson, *Neighborhood Housing Services and the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1981).

26. Vidal, *Rebuilding Communities.*

27. Vidal, *Rebuilding Communities.*

28. Vidal, *Rebuilding Communities*; Mayer, *Neighborhood Organizations.*

29. Christopher Walker, *Effective Housing Delivery: Programs, Policies and Institutions* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1995).

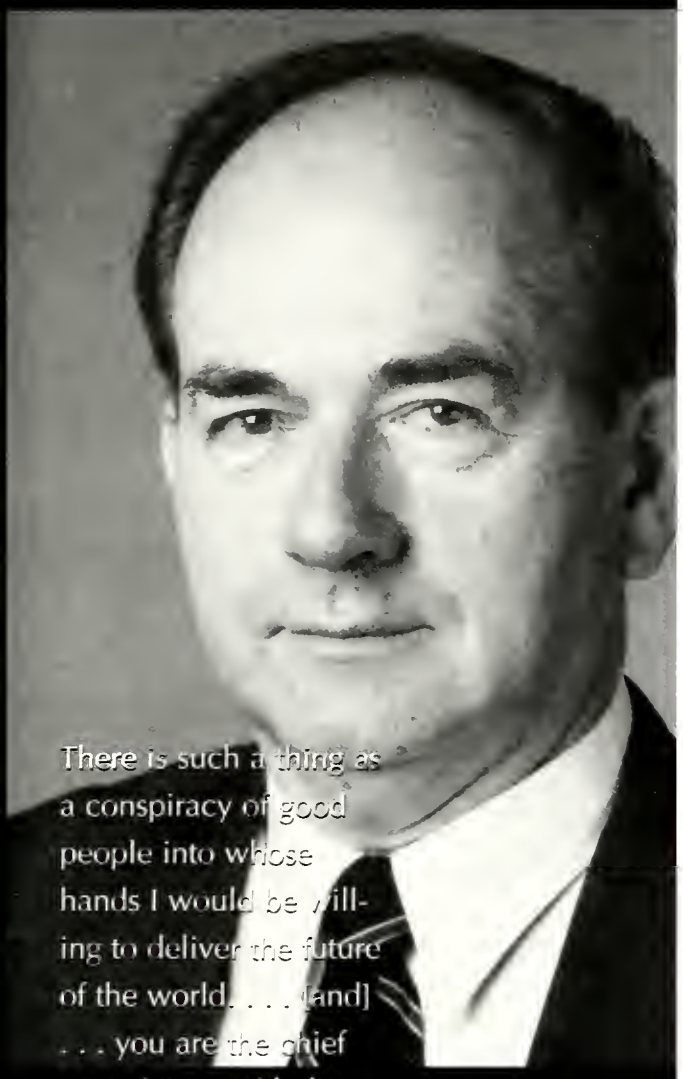
30. The types of funding in shortest supply are the financial subsidies for projects and programs, such as long-term subsidies for low-income housing, predevelopment funds for phases of the project that occur before financing is obtained, and general operating support.

31. Walker, *Effective Housing Delivery*, 363–414.

32. *See* Michael E. Porter, "The Competitive Advantage of the Inner City," *Harvard Business Review* 73, no. 55 (May–June 1995): 67–68.

33. Sue M. Corey, "Keeping the American Dream: Local Governments Are Teaming Up with Non-profit Corporations to Address the Pressing Problem of Providing Housing for Their Citizens," *American City and County* 106, no. 8 (August 1991): 109–15.

34. Mark Lindberg, "Partnerships for Community Problem Solving: Failure and Promise," in *Public Policies for Distressed Communities*, ed. F. Stevens Redburn and Terry F. Buss (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1982).



There is such a thing as a conspiracy of good people into whose hands I would be willing to deliver the future of the world. . . . [and] . . . you are the chief conspirator, with the great gift of drawing good out of others. . . . you always have a coterie of young student government leaders to introduce around, the editors and governors and cabinet members in process of becoming. They are under your influence and glad to be—as I was, John, and am.

Charles Kuralt,
December 1991

John Sanders, Adviser to Leaders Past and Future

Robert P. Joyce

Quick! Beside which eye did President James Monroe have a mole? In school you learned what George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln looked like. But James Monroe? He looked a lot like James Madison, didn't he? Or Patrick Henry? The truth is, you don't have any idea what James Monroe looked like, except that he looked more or less like an English gentleman of those times.

John Lassiter Sanders, alternately director of the Institute of Government, vice president of the university, adviser to governors past and to the young men and women who will be the governors future, knows. He is a legal scholar, never formally trained as an art historian, but he knows.

Today, because of Sanders's breadth of knowledge, an 1829 portrait of Monroe, who was once secretary of state, hangs prominently in the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C. and, in fact, recently hung in the office of Secretary of State George Schultz. Sanders recognized Monroe, even though the antiques dealer selling the portrait had identified it only as that of "An English Gentleman," because painter Chester Harding had included the mole.

Sanders saw what no one else had seen. To a generation of North Carolina public officials, that fact could be no surprise. Those here at the Institute of Government who worked with John Sanders just smiled a knowing smile. Bill Friday got a chuckle. Sanders had done it again, and no one could be quite sure how.

The author is an Institute of Government faculty member whose fields of expertise include higher education.
A version of this article appeared in the November/December 1995 issue of the *Carolina Alumni Review*. Our thanks to the *Review* for its consent to publish this version in *Popular Government*.

Early Intellectual Development

It is true that Four Oaks, N.C. (in Johnston County, just down U.S. 301 from Smithfield) had the largest consolidated high school in the world in the mid 1940s. At least that's what the folks in Four Oaks said back then. But the curriculum leaned more toward subjects related to tobacco growing than to art history, and that's probably not where Sanders gained the erudition necessary to pluck Monroe from obscurity.

It is clear, though, that Sanders took from that little town the best of what it could offer. His father's people had come to Johnston County in the 1750s, and his mother's people arrived just after the American Revolution. Sanders was born in downtown Four Oaks—in those days if you were in Four Oaks, you were in downtown Four Oaks—in 1927 in the house his father had built early in the century. He grew up working in his father's hardware store. The family prospered. One brother succeeded dad in the hardware business and another became a dentist, for instance, but none shared the young Sanders's interest in, or eye for, art and history.

Interest in Architecture

His high school graduation year, 1944, was the last year that high school in North Carolina included only eleven grades, and Sanders was too young for the military. He enrolled instead at State College in Raleigh, planning to turn his interest in art into a career as an architect. Though it didn't turn out that way exactly, a term paper Sanders wrote on the architecture of the North Carolina State Capitol, one of the state's historical treasures, became the cornerstone of an interest that has resulted, a half-century later, in the building's preservation.

But back to James Monroe.

Combining Art and Government

At the end of that year at State, with war still raging in the Pacific, Sanders, then age seventeen, enlisted in the navy. "I've never been one to question Truman's use of the atomic bomb," he says. "Otherwise, I would have been part of the assault on Japan. As it was, the largest ship I boarded in my navy career was a whaleboat on the Susquehanna River."

After the navy Sanders left State College, and the notion of a career in steel and glass, for The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC-CH), where his interest in art merged with his study of history (maybe it was at Carolina that he learned to recognize Monroe). An initial taste of government—election as student body president in 1950—paved the way for the career that led the *Charlotte Observer* in 1994 to label him "North Carolina's Unsung Hero." After three years of law school at UNC-CH, it was time for a break from Chapel Hill, and Sanders accepted a clerkship with Chief Judge John J. Parker of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, in Charlotte. Then came a stint in private law practice with Manning & Fulton (now Manning, Fulton & Skinner) in Raleigh.

Personal Life

Maybe, in fact, it was Sanders's wife, Ann, who taught him to recognize James Monroe.

When Ann Beal married John Sanders, just after he finished law school, she was a staff member of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History. During their early life together, Ann and John would travel for pleasure—throughout Johnston County, in Virginia, to Philadelphia—to study history and architecture. A 1966 photograph from the *Durham Herald* shows the couple with their then-four-year-old daughter, Tracy. In front of them on the coffee table are prints of paintings by Michelangelo.

As the family grew (their three children all are grown now), the couple nourished their interest in history and art. They continued their roaming, in antique shops and junk stores, looking for, and sometimes finding, items of unexpected artistic or historical interest. This time it was maps. The next time it was pottery. One time it was James Monroe.

The First Institute Career

Albert Coates, founder of the Institute of Government, came calling in 1956, summoning Sanders to the Institute. Coates is fondly remembered in Chapel Hill as a forceful character, full of love for The University of North Carolina and the Tar Heel state, boundless in energy, and tireless in advancement of his vision of an Institute of Government. In a memorial tribute to Coates many years later, Sanders himself would characterize it as a vision of a university "corps of able scholar-teacher-writer-advisers" in service to the public officials of the state and its cities and counties.

Unable to persuade his fellow law faculty to take on

this public service role, Coates, in conjunction with his wife, Gladys, launched the Institute as a personal enterprise in 1932; they sacrificed their own resources and devoted almost all of their time to it. In 1942 Coates persuaded the university to embrace the Institute.

When Sanders arrived in 1956, the Institute was undergoing two major transitions. First, the Knapp Building—still the Institute's home—was just opening. Visitors to campus from the east were greeted by the easy Georgian charm of the Institute headquarters. In 1956, when the Institute faculty numbered fourteen, the building seemed spacious. Today, housing a faculty of thirty-eight and a staff of about sixty, the old building is feeling the strain, and plans are under way for major renovation and expansion.

Second, in 1957 the professional staff of the Institute, who had been university employees since 1942, were made regular university faculty, so they would hold regular academic rank and be eligible to earn tenure.

Coates saw Sanders as "one of the ablest students in my Law School classes during my nearly forty years of teaching." He said that a study Sanders prepared while still a law student, on the history and powers of the governor's office, was "so comprehensive and useful that Governor Luther Hodges publicly referred to it as an invaluable service when he took office."

From 1956 to 1961 Sanders proved worthy of Coates's praise:

- He assisted the North Carolina Constitutional Commission that reported a proposed new state constitution to the General Assembly. (No new constitution appeared as a result, but a decade later Sanders was to reprise his role and the General Assembly largely accepted the 1969 work of the North Carolina State Constitutional study commission; the state's current constitution is the result). Through this work Sanders became an authority on the state constitution, a status that continues almost forty years later.
- He handled the principal legal work for a series of commissions on reorganization of state government. In this capacity, among other accomplishments, he drafted the legislation creating the state's first Department of Administration.
- He became the state's leading authority on legislative representation, aiding the work of the General Assembly as it moved away from the days when Camden County had almost as much voice in the legislature as did Mecklenburg.

In 1961 North Carolina took a bold step forward in higher education as a result of the work of the Governor's Commission on Education Beyond the High School, which recommended the creation of the community college system and a process for the expansion of The University of North Carolina from three campuses to six. Sanders took a year's leave from the Institute to lead the staff work for the commission.

The Second Institute Career

Albert Coates turned sixty-five and retired as director of the Institute in 1962. Chancellor William B. Aycock was familiar with Sanders's work on the Commission on Education Beyond the High School and tapped him as director.

Coates had been idiosyncratic in his management style. "The creative chaos of an Albert Coates" was followed, almost by conscious plan, by "the steady administration of a John Sanders," as longtime Institute colleague Milton Heath remembers. Sanders's immediate goal was to set the Institute on a course of long-term stability.

"When I was named director," he recalls, "the only fiscal fact that I knew about the Institute was my own salary. I immediately set out to inform myself and the faculty of the Institute's financial condition." The days of crisis management—a mode that had characterized Coates's style—were over.

Sanders's belief in the work of the Institute rivaled that of Coates. Carolina students from those days (and through much of the 1970s) might remember the Institute primarily for the busloads of crew-cut Highway Patrol cadets who were in training at the Knapp Building and lunching at the Carolina Inn. But Albert Coates's vision was broader from the very beginning, and by the early 1960s the Institute was involved in all aspects of state and local government, as Sanders's work with state government reorganization, constitutional revision, and legislative representation demonstrates. The net Coates had cast was wide; and Sanders was dedicated to excellence in service to that very broad constituency.

Vice President of the University

In 1971 Governor Robert Scott pushed for reorganization of The University of North Carolina. The UNC system had grown to six campuses with the addition of Wilmington, Charlotte, and Asheville to the

old three-campus Consolidated University. The General Assembly had extended to all the other state colleges (such as Western Carolina and Fayetteville State) the designation "university" and was beginning a process to allow those new universities to offer doctoral degrees. The boards of trustees of the UNC system and of the regional universities were in competition with one another and with the State Board of Higher Education. In the fall of 1971 the General Assembly completely reshaped higher education, eliminating the higher education board and bringing all the UNC institutions and all the newly minted regional universities into one University of North Carolina under one board of governors, the system that prevails today.

The first person to address the new board, to explain the law under which it would work, was John Sanders, director of the Institute of Government. Arnold King, a popular longtime UNC administrator, later remembered it: "His performance lasted more than two hours and was a classic illustration of a brilliant legal mind in action."

Transition to New System

Sanders says that the transition to the new structure worked for three reasons. First, half the members of the new UNC Board of Governors came from the board of trustees of the old six-campus university. They already understood multicampus issues. They were experienced in determining which matters they needed to control centrally and which they should delegate to local governing boards at the campus level (or to the chancellors). Second, the selection of William Friday (even then the longtime president of the Consolidated University) as the president of the new system provided continuity and trusted leadership. And third, the economy of the state was in good shape. The General Assembly was able to ensure that the reorganization cost no individual institution money.

As Bill Friday began to staff the new team to administer this greatly expanded university, he turned to John Sanders. The association went way back. When Sanders was president of the student body he had worked with Friday, then dean of students. Like Aycock, Friday was thoroughly familiar with Sanders's work on the state structure for education beyond the high school. More immediately, Sanders had been a critical steadying hand during the special session of the General Assembly in which the university reorganization was passed, shaping coherent legislation in the midst of a fierce political fight. And, most recently, Friday valued Sanders's work as the first chairman of the University Faculty Assembly, one of the first organizations to expand from the old Consolidated University base to the new sixteen-campus base. Sanders had the broad vision Friday needed, and in 1973 Friday named him vice president for planning.

Development of New Affirmative Action Plan

Sanders had one more special competence that Friday needed. He had recently chaired a special committee that had prepared the first affirmative action plan for the campus at Chapel Hill. The desegregation controversy between UNC and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was beginning to burn red hot. HEW was pressuring UNC to develop a plan to eliminate inequities resulting from the old *de jure* (by law) system of segregation in higher education. A federal appeals court ruled that HEW was not putting enough pressure on, and on November 10, 1973, less than two weeks after Sanders came on board, HEW rejected UNC's plan. The development of a new plan became his initial task.

"HEW was pursuing two ultimately contradictory goals," Sanders recalls, "and no one in authority in HEW or the courts acknowledged the contradiction. The first was to eliminate from the current system the vestiges of racial segregation from the former system which was by law segregated. The second was to preserve and enhance the historically black institutions, which met needs that their supporters feared the white institutions could not.

"The black institutions themselves were the single greatest vestige of segregation, and the ruthless response to the 'vestiges' issue would have been to do away with them. That was not considered for three reasons. One, the state needed all the educational institutions it already had. Two, the political reality of the black vote made it not feasible to abolish the institutions. As a related matter, Elizabeth City State and others like it were main contributors to the local payroll. Three, HEW would not have approved such a response. That would have been seen as 'loading the solution on the backs of the victims.'"

The result of Sanders's efforts was *The North Carolina State Plan for the Further Elimination of Racial Duality in the Public Postsecondary Education Systems*, which the Board of Governors adopted in substantially its original form and submitted to HEW. HEW's consideration of this plan was complicated by a seem-

ingly unrelated matter: whether North Carolina should have a School of Veterinary Medicine, and, if so, which campus would house it.

Sanders recalls that at the time that the question of a vet school arose, the Board of Governors had recently been forced to accept, over great initial concerns, the notion of a four-year medical school at East Carolina University. When the board perceived that the development of a vet school was politically inevitable, it wanted to take charge of the course of events rather than react to it, as it had been forced to do in the medical school situation. So Sanders was given the task of studying the vet school issue and preparing a recommendation. The report stands out peculiarly today among his list of scholarly publications on constitutional law and legislative apportionment: *Veterinary Medical Education for North Carolina.*

That report recommended a vet school at North Carolina State University (NCSU), which had the necessary academic strengths and a history of running complex organizations. In any case, Sanders recalls, the Board of Governors could see that the General Assembly was going to put the vet school there, regardless. It was an instance, he says, of an educationally justified decision matching the politically inevitable.

But the vet school, however politically inevitable, was a land mine for the university's relationship with HEW in working out the desegregation plan. Alumni and friends of North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University pointed out that locating the vet school at their campus would be a step in eliminating racial duality, doubtless attracting white students to the historically black institution. Consequently, the Board of Governors' decision to place the vet school in Raleigh was one of several factors that made agreement between UNC and HEW so difficult to achieve. Only in 1981 was the matter resolved, and only then as a consent decree settling a lawsuit in federal court.

And here is the irony: More than $2 million in legal fees later, the terms of that consent decree are remarkably similar to Sanders's 1974 plan.

With the desegregation work in hand, Sanders could turn to his main task: helping the Board of Governors to develop an academic program plan for each of the sixteen institutions of this huge new university. What would be taught where? How would authority be granted for new degree programs? What should be the undergraduate and graduate enrollment levels at the various campuses? The result was a comprehensive study called *Long Range Planning* covering the years 1976 to 1981.

Third Institute Career

When Henry Lewis, Sanders's successor as director of the Institute of Government, announced his retirement in 1978, the chancellor appointed the entire Institute faculty as a search committee for a successor. In tribute to Sanders's outstanding earlier service as director, the faculty recommended that the chancellor name him again. From 1978 to 1992 Sanders served as director of the Institute of Government, with the same devotion to the work of the Institute that had characterized his first tenure, and inspiring the same loyalty and dedication from the faculty who served under him.

"Sanders looked ahead," longtime Institute faculty member Warren Jake Wicker recalls. "His knowledge of the state and its government enabled him to anticipate both public needs and the probable governmental response. His judgments were informed and balanced. He was fair. He listened. He was open to suggestions. He sought to empower his colleagues and supported them to the fullest extent possible."

"His integrity and commitment are the standards by which we will continue to measure ourselves," says Michael R. Smith, who took over as director when Sanders retired in 1992.

When Sanders became director the first time, the Institute faculty numbered nineteen; when he retired from that position in 1992, the number was forty-one. A faculty twice the size translates to something like an administrative burden twice as large, but Sanders found time for duties other than merely running the Institute.

Example: By 1979 there was a serious question about whether the state's community college system should remain under the State Board of Education, whose main business is the public schools. The system had grown on the foundation laid by the work of Sanders and others with the Commission on Education Beyond the High School nearly twenty years earlier, and when the Community College and Technical Institute Planning Commission was established, Sanders was a member.

Example: Governor Hunt appointed him to serve on the Commission on the Future of North Carolina from 1981 to 1982.

Example: He served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Research Triangle Foundation of North Carolina beginning in 1984, as well as on its executive committee.

Example: He served as a member of the board of

directors of The University of North Carolina Press beginning in 1982.

Example: He continues to this day as an adviser, in formal and informal ways, to legislators and executive branch leaders.

And we haven't gotten yet to his work on the campus at Carolina.

The Face of the Campus

Keep in mind James Monroe, but for the moment turn your attention to Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson of Johnston County. Tomlinson entered Carolina as a freshman in 1839, graduated in 1842, and died two years later. His was an unremarkable career as a student, except that he kept a journal of his senior year that provides a unique glimpse into the nature of everyday student life in those times. By 1953 that journal was in the hands of Emma Tomlinson, who just happened to be a cousin of John Sanders. In 1953, while Sanders was in law school, the *North Carolina Historical Review* published Sanders's edited and annotated version of the journal. His work, weaving the journal into the context of the history of the university, is an early clue to his love for UNC, which was to grow with time.

Early History

Most tellingly, the *Historical Review* piece begins with a sketch entitled, "Campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, *ca.* 1841," ranging from Old East and the Old Well to the Eagle Hotel, along Franklin Street and Cameron Avenue. Sanders could not have known then that thirty years later he would be named chairman of the building and grounds committee at UNC–CH, with direct responsibilities relating to those same buildings (except of course the Eagle Hotel).

The chancellor appoints the buildings and grounds committee to advise on locations for new buildings and expansions of existing ones, on selection of architects, and on the external designs produced by the architects. There is probably no person more knowledgeable about the physical development of UNC–Chapel Hill than the one-time would-be architect John Sanders.

The university began, back in 1793, with two great advantages, Sanders says. One was a physical advantage: its location in the woods with room to expand. The other was a human advantage: its orderly planning from the earliest point. As Sanders outlined in an article in the bicentennial issue of the *Carolina Alumni Review*, from the first bricks laid in Old East through the Civil War, all buildings were aligned on coherent north-south and east-west axes. The fifteen buildings constructed between the Civil War and World War I were placed without comprehensive planning but in suitable spots. In 1920, with enrollment poised to boom, the university adopted a comprehensive plan for the areas now called Polk Place and Upper and Lower Quads. This plan imposed not only a scheme for the locations and scale of buildings but also a requirement of stylistic conformity to what Sanders calls "a thoroughly synthetic tradition of 'Colonial' design." That architectural tradition was not broken until the construction of Chase Cafeteria on South Campus in 1965. The 1920 plan was completed with the construction of Dey Hall in 1962.

The years from 1962 through 1990, like the period before World War I, proceeded without a comprehensive plan. "Buildings and road locations were chosen in the light of limited information and often under sharp pressures to get a project under way. Available parking lots often were seen as the best sites for new structures," Sanders recalled in the *Alumni Review*. "[N]o overall plan sought to anticipate, rationalize and try to accommodate all foreseeable competing claims for building sites on a finite campus that was rapidly filling up."

Long-Range Plan

Sanders says that the chief success of the buildings and grounds committee during his tenure as chairman was the initiation and implementation of a long-range plan for the central campus, the *1991 Guide to Physical Development [for] The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*, which sets out policies to guide future construction, including maintaining open space, preserving and respecting the integrity of the historic campus, and emphasizing the primacy of pedestrian use of the campus by pushing a substantial amount of vehicular traffic off campus. Even as it was being finalized, however, the plan was amended, for purposes such as siting the George Watts Hill Alumni Center next to Kenan Stadium in an otherwise protected open space. And the plan has not faced completely smooth sailing, with community opposition to proposals to shift some noncampus traffic off roads crossing the campus and onto roads near the campus edge.

From the first, Sanders says, university officials made decisions that in retrospect seem unfortunate, such as an early decision to sell off university lots

along Franklin Street. And, more often, university officials, "like their fellow mortals," Sanders says, "are entrapped by their times, experience, and knowledge." The early planners could not have foreseen an enrollment of 25,000 students. The early hospital builders could not have foreseen the complex of research facilities now grouped along Manning Drive. Some decisions today will suffer similarly in the scrutiny of successive generations.

The Heart of the Chapel Hill Campus

As influential as Sanders has been on the face of the campus, his main contribution here has been to its heart: the students who study here. Bryan Hassel, a former Carolina student body president, recalls in a 1992 letter one particular instance of Sanders's impact on these students.

"I remember when there were plans for Old East dormitory to become an office building, following the fate of so many of UNC's historic structures. You were there to counsel students on how to preserve the old dorm, and your efforts paid off handsomely for students and for the university. Of course, everyone knows you've got a soft spot for old buildings, and that part of you probably provided some of your motivation to save Old East. But I think the incident shows how vigilantly you looked out for students' interests, and how your watchfulness made a difference at UNC."

Until they gutted the old cafeteria at the Carolina Inn—and the sad day they said they'll never reopen it—John Sanders was a fixture there, having lunch with one or more undergraduates as they talked about home, or politics, or North Carolina government, or antiques, or (to show the depth of Sanders's influence) Gilbert and Sullivan light opera. Sanders sought them out, giving their college years a depth and texture they would otherwise have missed. For these young people, dinner with John and Ann began as an educational experience of mentor to protégé and developed into friendship. These alumni leap at the opportunity to praise this teacher who never taught them a course, this man of great reserve who sought them out and nurtured them. John Sanders

- "instilled in me a sense of place and understanding with regards to the university and its duties to the state and the obligations of those who benefit from the university"—Keith Kapp, class of 1973, Raleigh
- "created a fire in my belly for doing all I can for the Old North State"—David Curtis Smith, class of 1991, Durham
- "is not only the adult who has most influenced my life since I came to Carolina, but also a true friend"—Jim Copland IV, class of 1994, Burlington
- "helped bridge the gap between my classes and the university for me, something which I appreciate very deeply and which I will never forget"—Mike Dickey, class of 1992, Elizabethtown
- "has been mentor and guide to generations of college students, educators and legislators. [He treats] them all the same, with respect. This suggests not only that [he has] been around a long time—a very long time—but also that [he has] a rare sense of duty"—Kevin Bunn, class of 1986, Durham
- "became more than a friend to me. [He] became a father. No words can fully express my thanks."—George Wayne Goodwin, class of 1989, Hamlet

In such informal friendships with students, and in his formal work as the faculty adviser for the Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary Societies, Sanders has brought the university closer to its students.

Guardian of a Grand Old Lady

John Sanders is inseparable from the university: student, faculty member, administrator, adviser. But still there was that year back during World War II, the year that involved a term paper about the old State Capitol Building. Between then and 1971, Sanders, with Ann Beal as an active partner and his love of art and architecture as inspiration, energetically pursued an understanding of the State Capitol that no one else possessed. He spent arduous hours in the state archives, digging out and interpreting what could be found from the early eighteenth century and the passing decades. Traveling at his own expense to Philadelphia, New York, and Scotland, he researched the lives and work of the principal architects and builders of the Capitol.

In its earliest days, the Capitol housed all of state government. By the middle of the twentieth century, most peripheral offices had moved out, leaving principally the governor and the House and Senate. Then in 1963 the legislature moved out to the new Legislative Building, and the governor moved out to allow renovation work to proceed. Governor James Holshouser decided not to move back in. "For a time," Sanders later wrote, "the Secretary of State, of all the original tenants, kept lonely vigil in the Capitol."

In 1971 Governor Robert Scott persuaded the General Assembly to appropriate money for a major renovation. Sanders volunteered as a consultant on the historical accuracy of the renovations and worked closely with the architects. He played a large role in convincing Governor James Hunt, when the renovations were completed, to move his working offices into the old Capitol, to turn it once again into a vital seat of government.

In 1976 Sanders and a group of others founded the State Capitol Foundation, to continue the restoration of the old building beyond the level that the General Assembly was willing to underwrite. Sanders served as president of the foundation for fifteen years and oversaw extensive restoration of existing 1840 legislative furnishings, the re-creation of several historic office areas, the restoration of Thomas Sully's 1818 portrait of George Washington, and many other projects. In 1986 the foundation members surprised Sanders with the creation of a trust fund in his honor for further work with the grand old Capitol.

North Carolina is the richer for his efforts, and the State Capitol is a wonderful old building to visit. And for his efforts John Sanders is the recipient of the highest awards available from the Historic Preservation Society of North Carolina, the American Association for State and Local History, and the North Carolina Chapter of the Victorian Society in America.

Benefactor of the University

When people began to think about how the bicentennial of the founding of the university at Chapel Hill might be celebrated, they wondered who knew the most about what had been done at the 150th anniversary. John Sanders would be an excellent guess.

He knew that the 150th had featured myriad publications, and he encouraged the chancellor to create such a permanent legacy for the Chapel Hill campus in association with the bicentennial. In part from that nudging came the new edition of William Powell's illustrated history of the campus; William Snider's one-volume history, *Light on the Hill*; and the soon-to-be-published *University in the Twentieth Century*, by Edward Holley (all published by the University of North Carolina Press).

On the bicentennial planning committee, Sanders encouraged the acquisition of ceremonial regalia of various sorts, physical emblems that could be handed down from leader to leader, from generation to generation, within the university. He suggested that UNC–Chapel Hill should have a staff, to be carried by the faculty marshall on the highest ceremonial occasions. The committee authorized him to proceed on that notion, and he and his wife designed a staff, had it made, and gave it to the university. The crown is a silver rendering of the Old Well. An inscribed silver sleeve covers the top of the shaft. The shaft itself is made from an original 1822 oak timber from Old West, removed in the 1990s renovation. The staff was carried for the first time, at the head of the faculty procession, in the 1993 bicentennial celebration in Kenan Stadium that featured the speech by President Clinton.

A second gift from the Sanderses to the university is a cornerstone for Old East. At a corner on Cameron Avenue, one face reads *1793* (the date of original construction) and the other reads *1993* (the date of the extensive recent renovation).

Another gift is a chancellor's medallion, cast in silver, bearing a high-relief version of the university seal. The collar from which the medallion hangs is a series of silver plates, each inscribed with the name of a former chancellor or reserved for the names of future chancellors.

These gifts in connection with the bicentennial only begin to hint at the Sanderses' generosity, to the university, the state, and the nation. The Ackland Art Museum boasts late-seventeenth-century drawings and a collection of North Carolina pottery donated by Ann; the State Capitol and the Governor's Mansion feature antiques and furnishings the Sanderses have given. The National Portrait Gallery in Washington displays their sculpture of General Andrew Jackson on horseback and their likeness of Edward Everett, who spoke before Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and was well known as a philosopher, U.S. senator, and candidate for vice president of the United States. Their busts of President James Garfield and Daniel Webster are at the White House.

Which brings us back to James Monroe.

Spotting Monroe

One day in 1978 Sanders was browsing in Whitehall Antiques in Chapel Hill. You never know, there might be something especially interesting. His eyes fell on a portrait labeled, "An English Gentleman."

"It's a subdued painting," he says. "Probably if Monroe had been wearing a bright red jacket someone would already have bought it for decorative value."

Courtesy Parke-Bernet Galleries

But no one had, and no one knew who it was. Except John Sanders, of course. Sanders recognized Monroe from engravings and other representations, which he had seen over the years, some with the mole and some without.

Sanders suggested to the store owner that she contact the Monroe Museum in Virginia. She did, but the museum officials dithered. Meanwhile Sanders, in New York on a business trip, visited the Frick Art Reference Library and found a photograph of this very portrait, confirming its identity (down to clearly showing a small damaged spot). The photograph had been made in the late 1920s, but the portrait itself had been lost to the art world.

After long investigation the story came to this: in 1970 a lawyer in New York had placed the portrait, properly identified in the auction catalogue as Monroe, in a lot for auction at a reputable auction house, but at the last minute he withdrew it. A few years later the lawyer's widow offered the portrait at the same auction house, but she wasn't sure who it was and the auction people did not realize it was the same portrait that they had had previously. A wholesale dealer bought it and in 1978 sold it to Whitehall.

Its identity was lost until it fell under the gaze of a university administrator whose view of the world is very broad.

For three days in mid-September, the Institute of Government gathered together eighty people to reevaluate the ways in which the Institute serves North Carolina government and to explore directions for the twenty-first century.

In a process called Future Search, they shared perspectives, examined trends, and compared needs. Focusing on areas of agreement, they drew up a list of eight broad subjects they felt the Institute should address in charting its future, areas such as diversified funding and collaboration with other organizations.

Half of the participants were members of the faculty and staff of the Institute. Half were outside "stakeholders": mayors, county managers, state government officials, and representatives of other university departments. Many volunteered to continue working on specific areas of interest.

Most of the work occurred in small groups that presented their findings to the full body for consideration. Some exercises called for "like" individuals—elected local government officials, for example—to work together. Other exercises brought together groups of diverse individuals. Two out-of-state facilitators guided the process, but the groups managed themselves with discussion leaders, timekeepers, records, reporters, and data managers.

Here are the major steps in the process, standard for any Future Search.

Institute Embarks on a Future Search

Garnet Bass

The author is a freelance writer based in Raleigh, North Carolina.

Institute of Government Director Michael R. Smith has been noticing a few significant changes around the Institute.

- Overburdened faculty members are actively seeking outside collaborations to stretch themselves to serve more clients.
- Tolerance for ambiguity apparently is growing as faculty and staff discuss crucial issues about the Institute's future without a clear idea of where the discussions will lead.
- The faculty are talking about a once-undiscussable issue: the types of services the Institute should provide and whether law should continue to dominate its work.

"I don't want to overstate this, but Future Search has provided the context for a lot of conversations," Smith said.

Future Search was the Institute's three-day, long-range planning retreat held in mid-September. It brought together eighty people—half from the Institute, half from outside ("stakeholders")—for sixteen hours of intense discussion about how the Institute can best serve the needs of North Carolina's state and local governments going into the next century.

Throughout the three days Institute faculty heard that their work was valued, that they should protect the Institute's reputation for objectivity and nonpartisanship, that they should continue most of their pro-

Focus on the past. To create a common sense of history, participants identified important events and developments over three decades (1960s through 1980s). They noted milestones in their personal lives, in the history of the Institute, and in the world at large. Then, working in groups, they identified the trends and patterns from all three areas most relevant to the Institute. From "world" history, for example, they noted tremendous swings in public moods and government activism.

Focus on the present. A whole-group brainstorming process explored *current* trends important to the future of the Institute. These were plotted on a "mind map." Among those emerging as areas of greatest concern were increasing cynicism about government, changing roles among levels of government, and the growing gap between rich and poor in the United States.

grams and activities. They also heard that the Institute—like the governments it serves—faces a new, complex set of challenges that may require fundamental change.

Similar comments had come Smith's way before. "I was hearing from public officials that we needed to do something different," he said. "We were meeting some of their needs but not necessarily their most important needs. They said we needed a different set of services, a different mix."

At the same time, faculty members were asking how they should evaluate requests for their services. What were the Institute's priorities?

Separately and together, the indicators pointed to the need for the Institute—whose faculty includes experts in planning and organizational change—to undertake its first long-range planning process. "It was a starting point for figuring out what we need to accomplish," Smith said. "It's a broad institutional process for thinking about priorities." (For an analysis of the Future Search process, see page 36.)

The retreat did not produce a detailed plan for the Institute's future, but it did provide Smith and others with several years' worth of food for thought and a list of eight issues (see next page) on which to focus their attention. The issues relate both to the services the Institute provides and to how it provides them.

Next, breaking into small groups of "like" stakeholders, participants discussed the trends that affect them in their official capacities, how they are responding, and what they want to do next. For example, stakeholders working in the judicial system noted the need to address public cynicism, the role of technology, the growing diversity of the population, and increasing youth violence.

"Prouds and sorries." Again in groups of like stakeholders, participants voiced what they were proud of and sorry about with regard to their role in or relationship with the Institute. The groups then determined the "proudest prouds" and "sorriest sorries." For example, the Institute's local government faculty said they were proud of the Institute's Legislative Reporting Service and sorry they were not more involved in civic education.

Focus on the future. Mixed groups imagined the Institute of Government as they would like it to be in the year 2010. They dealt with such issues as what programs and services to offer, methods and processes for delivering services, and the resources and people needed to accomplish the vision. They turned their ideas into dramatic skits that were presented to the full group.

After viewing all the skits, the full group identified eight important themes: selecting the most appropriate range and mix of Institute services; undertaking policy studies; considering a return to civic and media education; reviewing the Institute's internal structure; collaborating with other agencies; mastering new technology; marketing its services; and fund-raising for the Institute. Discussion groups then formed around specific questions for more in-depth consideration. The discussion groups reported their recommendations to the full group.

Action planning. Individuals identified the areas they were most interested in and formed groups to devise action plans with timetables. As each group reported its recommendations, others raised questions and passed along information that might prove useful. Many individuals volunteered to join planning teams to carry work forward after the Future Search weekend.

Eight Major Issues

Types of Services

Discussions included general ideas about measuring need and performance, but the crux of the issue relates to the proper mix of services and the type of expertise needed to provide them. Specifically, is the Institute's most important function to provide legal interpretation and advice to government? Or should it pay equal or greater attention to such matters as management, finance, and planning?

Policy Studies

Some Future Search participants advocated a role for the Institute in public policy analysis. Others warned that any venture into advocacy would taint the Institute's reputation for nonpartisanship. Some drew a distinction between evaluation of existing programs and recommendations on new proposals.

Civic and Media Education

The Institute was challenged to revive its media education program and to examine ways to educate the public about what government does and how it works.

Internal Structure

Consideration of the Institute's internal structure took two directions: relieving the faculty of administrative duties to free them to work with clients and developing ways to encourage multidisciplinary collaboration among the faculty.

Collaboration and Cooperation

With the demand for services outstripping the Institute's resources, Future Search participants suggested that the Institute find solutions beyond its own walls. It could become a broker of resources, locating and pulling together expertise as the need arises, they said.

Technology

One working group recommended creation of a faculty-level position dedicated to technology issues. These issues relate to delivery of services by the Institute and its clients.

Marketing

The Institute should continually remind elected and appointed officials of its services, participants said.

The "mind map" below shows the array of important trends mentioned in the brainstorming session.

They also recommended surveys to ensure that the Institute's services fulfill the needs of its clients.

Funding

The Institute will need more money to expand its services, Future Search participants said. They advocated an increase in the General Assembly's appropriation but also encouraged the Institute to consider other sources of additional income. Sources could include higher dues for counties and municipalities, fees for some services currently provided free of charge, foundations, and businesses.

Every recommendation brought its own caution light. Would fund-raising threaten the Institute's academic freedom? Can the Institute free faculty of administrative work without creating a bureaucracy that hampers the ability to respond swiftly to perceived needs? But nothing created as much concern, particularly among the faculty, as the question of whether law should continue to predominate in the Institute's work as it has since the founding in 1931. Currently about three-quarters of the faculty hold law degrees. The question cuts to the heart of the Institute's identity, said one faculty member, and it's the first question being addressed by a planning committee Smith appointed to follow through on the Future Search process. Smith chairs the committee.

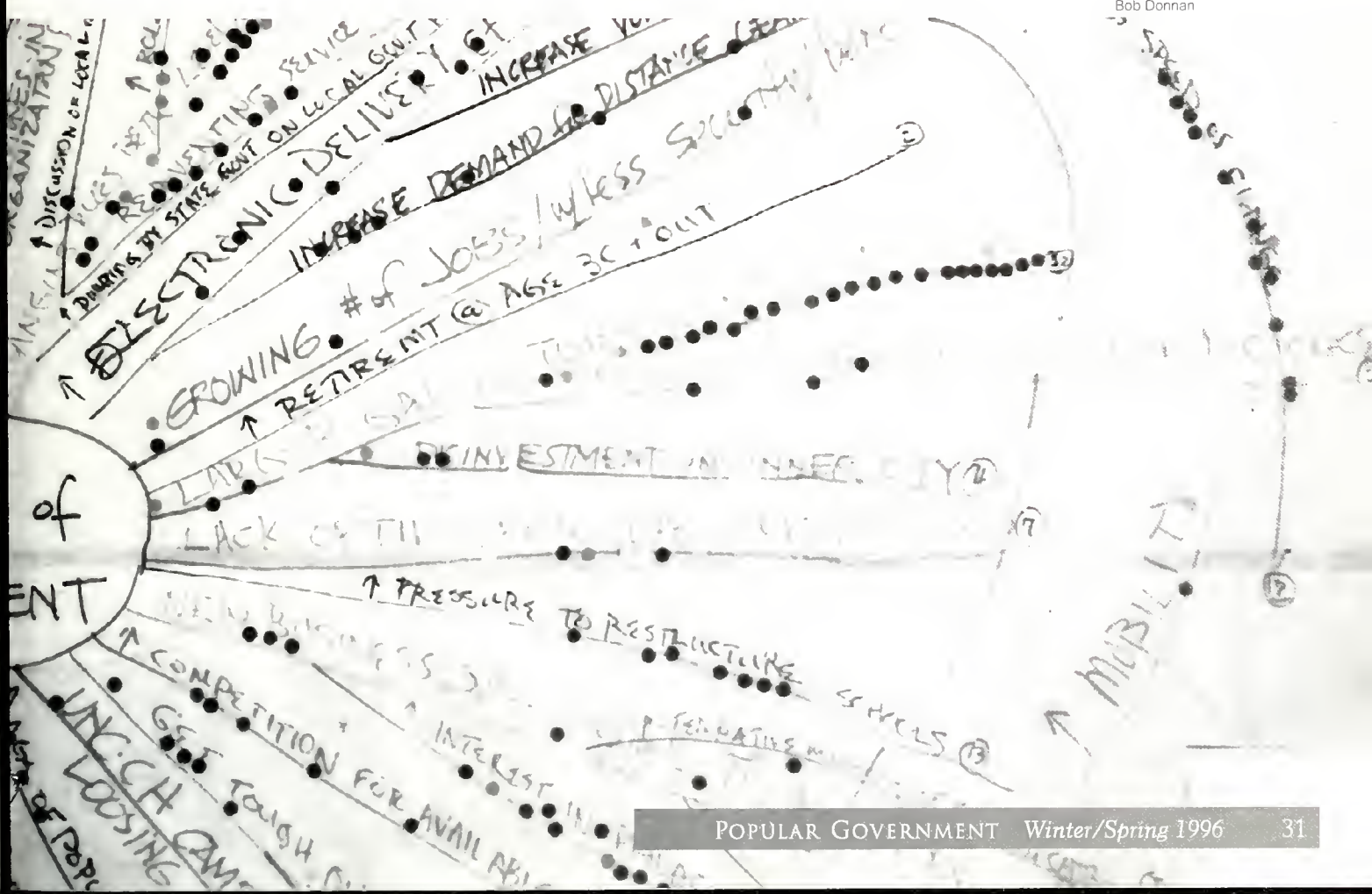
"We need to resolve this first, or we'll just keep coming back to it," he said. "We won't reach a unanimous opinion, but we must reach a point where we can move forward."

To start the process, the committee distributed a questionnaire that challenged faculty members to think through the options and their potential repercussions. After the questionnaires have been completed and shared among the faculty, the committee will call a faculty meeting devoted to the issue.

Meanwhile, Smith can report other progress. A foundation is being established to support private fund-raising, and the Institute has advertised to fill the newly created position of development officer.

Smith hopes to call the Future Search participants back together this summer to seek further guidance. "It's important to remember that this is a process," he said. "The biggest mistake would be to think of that one meeting, even if it lasted three days, as an inoculation that will last indefinitely."

Bob Donnan



The participants reflect on Future

Stephanie Bass

Stephanie Bass, deputy assistant policy adviser to the governor, cut right to the point. "One of the greatest challenges this state is facing is the need to change very rapidly," she said. The logical place for state and local agencies to turn for help is the Institute of Government, she said, but providing the needed assistance will challenge the Institute as well.

For an example, she mentioned proposals for the welfare system. If a time limit is placed on social services, recipients must be tracked throughout their lifetimes. Rather than issuing a monthly check, agencies may need to offer services such as transportation and child care that will help people keep jobs.

Monitoring the new welfare system also will require change. "If the goal is to get a person a job and have them stay in that job, that's different from, 'How many clients did you process this week and how many checks did you cut?' " Bass said. "That's a very different management challenge for state government.

"So we're going to need help that in some ways is like but in some ways is different from what we've had before. We will continue to need legal advice about what we can do and can't do, or what kind of changes in the law might be necessary to accomplish what we want to do. But we also need help developing information systems—finding technological solutions to some of these problems."

Responding to governments' needs may tax the Institute, she said. Can it maintain its traditional services and develop new training curricula fast enough? Should it change its role to that of broker and seek out partners who can offer training or other services?

For all, she said, "The question is: Do any of our systems have the capacity to change this rapidly and this fundamentally?"

Institute of Government photos by Ray Hockaday

Future Search generated numerous ideas about possible directions for the Institute. Several weeks after the event, seven participants reflected on some of the major issues and their implications for the Institute's future.

Frayda Bluestein

With the need for services expanding and resources shrinking, what's a responsible Institute of Government to do? One answer from Future Search: Collaborate.

Frayda Bluestein, an attorney on the Institute's local government faculty, said that's exactly the right approach. "Collaboration with outside organizations is another way we can leverage our ability and what we have," she said. "We shouldn't assume that if something's going to be done, we've got to do it."

Models for collaboration lie close at hand. "A huge amount of collaboration goes on within the Institute," she said. "We do seek each other out, get each other's input when we know

Jack Vogt

As a longtime proponent of long-range planning for the Institute, faculty member A. John "Jack" Vogt left the Future Search retreat pleased that participants could reach consensus on several issues and surprised by how far some of the ideas were developed. The most notable example, he said, was civic education.

"Thursday through Saturday, civic education, relationships with press and media and the citizenry at large kept resurfacing as an issue for clients and faculty," Vogt said. "Then the committee on Saturday morning identified specific tasks to be done, like reissuing Gordon Whitaker's book on local government for middle school students. . . . They're ready to go if other priorities allow it."

Experience has taught Vogt the value of the proposals.

If the Institute can help educate the news media, it "will allow state and local government to do their jobs better," he said. "Not in the sense of issuing propaganda, but in getting more accurate information to the public. What we heard from participants was the need for better informed citizenry and how this would help them do their jobs."

Direct citizen education also has a place, he said. "A better educated citizenry is of immense value to state and local government," he said. "That's the rationale to get into this."

somebody is working on something or has a certain expertise." While this has occurred primarily within divisions, such as local government or the courts, she already sees efforts to broaden internal collaborations by keeping faculty members better informed about one another's work.

Bluestein could also point to a successful track record with outside collaborations. When a state agency needed data analysis on a construction contracting question, she teamed up with Michael Munger, a professor in the department of political science. "The project was somewhat related to my field [contracts and purchasing] but not entirely," she said. "Without his help, I couldn't have done it."

Similarly, when she was teaching a course on privatization of services, she brought in a Charlotte city official to help. She provided the legal expertise. He contributed practical experience.

Increasingly, she said, questions need to be addressed from more than one viewpoint. "Almost every major issue that government faces has some legal component, and it has some administration component," she said. "So I don't see that one increases or the other decreases, but I do see an increasing need for interdisciplinary work or at least to be collaborative in understanding what the problem is. And I think we could do that a lot better than we do."

Richard Stevens

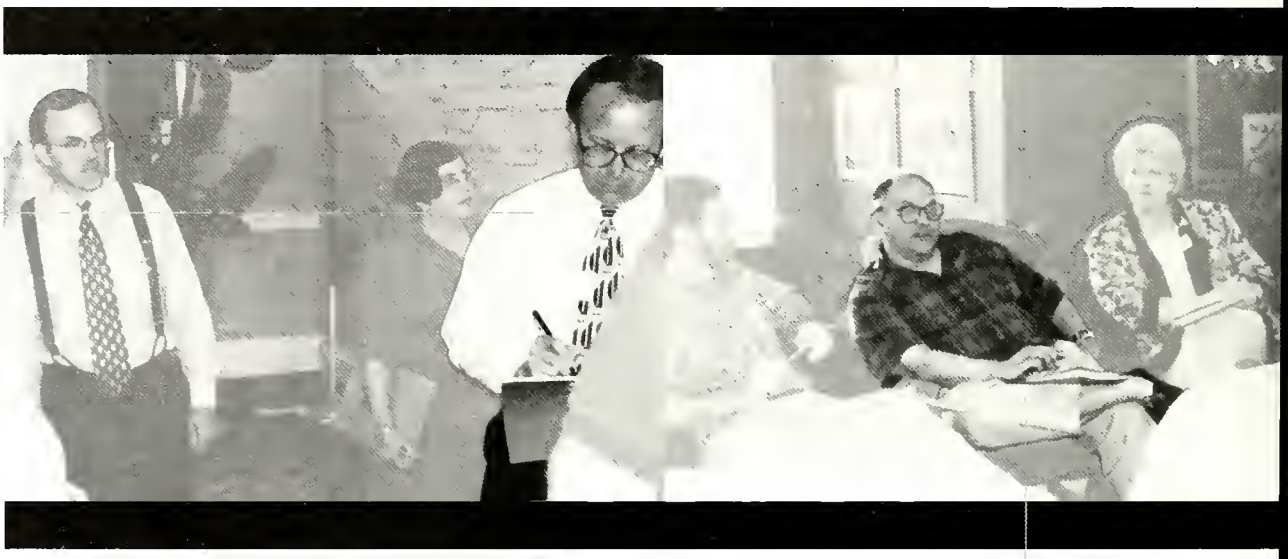
As the Institute of Government positions itself to help the state and local governments meet new challenges, Wake County manager Richard Stevens sees no reason to talk about eliminating existing services. Instead, he advocates expanding the funding base to add rather than replace programs.

"I don't think the Institute has yet tapped the capacities of foundations and grants," he said.

The challenges facing government are too great to talk of reducing training and support services, he said. New block grant programs are likely to turn over some federal programs to state and local governments, but with less money to get the job done, he said. Then there's the move to privatize other services. And the increasing public cynicism toward government.

"The kinds of things that hit business in the eighties are hitting government strong in the nineties," Stevens said. "And a lot of folks in management positions are not trained to deal with them. The Institute has been helping, but it needs to do more. Local government management has become very complex."

Expanding the Institute will complement other developments at the university, he said. "Chapel Hill has a new, dynamic, and visionary chancellor who is committed to public service," Stevens said. "The Institute's mission fits very neatly into his vision of public service across North Carolina."



Jim Drennan

James C. Drennan returned to the Institute of Government legal faculty last fall after serving two years as director of the state Administrative Office of the Courts. He brought with him a new perspective on the work of the Institute.

"I had a lot of responsibility for contact with the legislature so I saw in a way that I really hadn't appreciated here the importance of good program evaluations," he said. "The legislative process depends on that."

He also learned how little time managers in government have to read the reams of material moving through their mailboxes. It impressed on him "the absolutely critical need to package things well, to write succinctly and clearly," he said. "And it's increasingly important that what we do be relevant to the work of our government officials. We have to stay in touch with issues on their minds the most."

He listens to debates over the best mix of services at the Institute with greater understanding of the wide-ranging skills public administrators need. Whatever solution is reached, Drennan will measure it this way:

"People who assume government responsibility take on a heavy load. There are lots of competing demands on them. They are never going to make everybody happy. . . . What the Institute has to do over time is to enable those folks who take on what is a very difficult, challenging, sometimes thankless, job, to enable those folks to have as many of the skills as we possibly can provide to them so that, at a minimum, when they make somebody mad, they do it with a high level of confidence."

Ed Kitchen

For J. Edward Kitchen, Greensboro's acting city manager, the Institute of Government's most important contribution to effective governance in North Carolina can be summed up in one word: objectivity.

Objectivity will become even more important in the years ahead as political pressures complicate decisions, he said. "The win-lose model that exists in the political arena leads to an exaggeration of positions," he said. "The Institute has always been an anchor for objective decision-making and thoroughly examining an issue. It keeps you from straying too far from the facts of the situation and the balanced interests that have to be taken into account."

As political pressures on local government have increased, he said, so too has coverage by the news media. Kitchen said he hopes the Institute will respond. "It's important for the Institute to play some role in facilitating as balanced and as professional a coverage of local government activities and issues as possible," he said.

Meanwhile, he expects to continue to rely on the Institute for advice on matters ranging from purchasing procedures to zoning issues, conflicts of interest, and personnel decisions.

"When professional and elected officials get into really thorny situations," he said, "my colleagues at least tend to call the Institute and get the staff's opinion. We know it will not only be neutral and objective, but absolutely thorough. Usually, they've dealt with the issue before and know the answer. If not, they do their research before providing you with an answer. . . . You don't always get the answer you'd like to hear, but you always know you'll get an answer based on a thorough analysis of the facts and the law and it's balanced in its approach to things."

Lyons Gray

State Rep. Lyons Gray of Winston-Salem thinks the Institute of Government should market itself better.

"The Institute does good work for everybody it touches, but it doesn't touch enough people," he said. "I worry that it's known in Raleigh only as the publisher of *Popular Government* and the *Daily Bulletin*."

His own insight came about almost by accident. "I found myself after the last election being the senior co-chair on the finance committee," he said. "I had never been on the finance committee. I'd always been on appropriations. Don [Charles D.] Liner, over at the Institute, is an expert in state taxation so he came over and gave a presentation to the finance committee on what it's all about, which allowed me, a neophyte in that area, to quickly become more knowledgeable than I was. But I didn't know about Don until the legislative staff said, 'Let's get Don Liner.' "

Gray said the Institute should mail information about its services to new and returning members of the legislature after every election. "We had many new members this year, and I dare say they may have heard of the Institute but have no idea of the work it does or the support it can offer," he said.

The state would benefit from broader use of the Institute's faculty, he said. "My sense is that it has a breadth of knowledge and historical perspective on many issues that some of us that are new to public policy have never thought about," Gray said. "We tend to manage by crisis in government. There's a fish kill in the river. What are we doing to do? There's a reduction in money for Medicaid. How do we solve it? We don't have time to apply any vision or historical perspective to the problem. The Institute can and does provide both."

An Analysis of Future Search by Kurt Jenne

From the outset, Kurt Jenne was certain to be the most thorough critic of the Institute of Government's Future Search planning process. Jenne, a member of the Institute's faculty, has guided many communities through long-range planning using other models. He recently received training in the Future Search techniques developed by Marvin R. Weisbord and co-led the N.C. Department of Human Resources through a planning retreat. After the Institute's planning sessions in September, Jenne talked about his impressions of the process in general and the Institute's retreat in particular. A condensation of Jenne's remarks follows.

Institute of Government photo by Ray Hoeckley

PG: What are your overall thoughts about Future Search as a planning tool?

Jenne: I'm still learning the process and its underlying theory. I have some skepticism about parts, but there are also some critical strengths to this particular process.

The strengths are, first, that it depends on getting the whole system in the room at one time. Neither comprehensive nor strategic planning [two other methods] does that. The idea is that if you're missing part of the system and you're making plans, you may be missing a critical linkage over which you may or may not have control.

Second, Future Search has a specific system to enable groups to "think globally, act locally." It builds a common sense about the context in which planning is taking place.

Third, as the name implies, it has a future focus that really avoids dwelling on recriminations and regrets about what has gone on and what is going on. It really does try to focus on finding the common ground that everyone in the room can move on—together or separately—in a way that doesn't conflict with one another.

And fourth, it's a self-managed process. It's set up to allow leadership to arise from one or more people in the room. The facilitators have a critical function, but it's a process function, keeping the group on time and on task.

PG: There was no homework or data collection involved. That seemed different.

Jenne: Both comprehensive and strategic planning are data-laden. In my years as a planner and in working with planning, I've always found that massive data collection can be more confusing than helpful. It's almost an act of desperation—if you collect enough data, the answer will reveal itself. The idea for Future Search is that if you have all of the stakeholders in the room, you have the data you need. They carry it in their heads.

In addition, both comprehensive and strategic planning are top-down. They may be participatory, but still it's usually a small steering committee that collects the data, identifies major issues, and sets priorities. Future Search creates common ground for all participants in the room, with all involved in making decisions along the way. In fact, the decisions don't come until late in the process. The first part concentrates on building the group.

Also, this is something Future Search shares with strategic planning but is a little different from comprehensive planning: The bulk of the work comes after the process. Those three days set the conditions necessary for detailed planning to move on.

PG: You said you were skeptical about some aspects.

Jenne: I'm becoming convinced of the soundness of the concept, but I have not had an opportunity to observe end-results, say, three years later. I have observed two [Future Search retreats] and both times was less than satisfied with the certainty or specificity of the product at the end of the third day. They seemed a little loose. I'm afraid they won't get followed up on, but that's dependent in part on people's enthusiasm.

PG: Is there anything else?

Jenne: It has taken a long time to accept the skits in the "ideal future" section. My concern is that the skits begin to overshadow the substance of what gets done. Each group becomes determined that it's not going to be outdone, so everybody puts a lot of effort into the dramatization itself. They may put more time in the skit than in the ideas that underlie it.

I'm not sure there's a way to solve that problem because there is credibility in using skits. It frees people to say things they wouldn't otherwise. You can test out wild and crazy ideas. They do release creativity . . . to envision an ideal future, not necessarily a realistic one.

A lesser point is that the skit makes it easy to overemphasize the role of technology. It's almost an escape from touching on other issues that may not be solved as easily.

PG: Let's turn to the Institute's Future Search retreat. How did you feel at the end of the process?

Jenne: I was kind of dissatisfied with what came out at the end. The list of consensus issues did not seem exciting, except for civic education, which I've always been interested in.

Some of our more linear faculty members asked why didn't we just cut to the chase and make a list right away. But the fact is, we couldn't have made the list right away. The first day and a half are spent, first, understanding each other and where the others are coming from, and second, finding that common ground on which they can agree, that they can be enthusiastic about and move forward on. Without those preconditions, there's no way you can make that list. More has gone on in that first day and a half than is apparent.

What really excited me about the process was that I had never before seen every single faculty member in a room talking seriously about what we do for any length of time, much less for sixteen hours. That has not happened in the fifteen years I've been here.

Second, the process unfroze this faculty. There were undiscussable issues discussed at that Future Search conference, such as how many lawyers, how many people in finance, how many management people are needed on the faculty. It's been an underlying issue as long as I've been here, but it has not been discussed. Well, it got discussed there, and it upset a lot of people. It's been brought up in faculty meetings. That's good. It's better to have it discussed if it's there than have everybody dancing around pretending it's not. . . .

Another thing that happened. We have done focus group after focus group for the last ten years. We bring clients in and they tell us what they think we want to hear. They say, "You're doing a great job." We knew we couldn't be that great. With this, people felt freed up for maybe the first time to say, "OK, I guess maybe you guys can take this." I think it was more honest feedback from clients and other stakeholders than we have ever had, and the results will help us.

PG: So how would you sum it up?

Jenne: Instrumentally, what happened over the three days was that we brought this group together and created a better understanding between us and our clients. It was phenomenal. I heard people keep saying, "I didn't know you did that." They got a better understanding about what we do, and for us, of what they do.

So despite my being underwhelmed by the list we came up with, what happened was really important. I'd do it again just for that.

Kurt Jenne and two other Institute faculty members, Roger Schwarz and Michael Williamson, have been trained to lead a Future Search process. Agencies interested in exploring whether it is the right tool for them may call Jenne directly at (919) 966-4259.

Special Series: Local Government on the Internet

Part Three: Local Government Home Pages

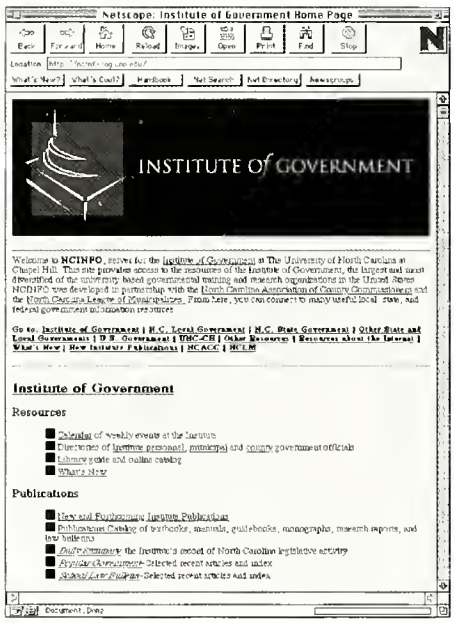
Patricia A. Langelier

Part One of this special series (see the Summer 1995 issue of Popular Government*) explained some basics about the Internet—what you can get, how to get on, and how to get around—and included a glossary of basic Internet terminology. It also introduced many readers to NCINFO, a comprehensive site for North Carolina state and local government resources on the Internet (***http://ncinfo.iog.unc.edu*** and on the gopher at* ***ncinfo.iog.unc.edu****). It is a joint project of the Institute of Government, the North Carolina League of Municipalities, and the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners.*

In Part Two (Fall 1995) we took a closer look at an Internet feature known as electronic mailing lists (or listservs), explaining how to participate in them and describing some mailing lists set up by the Institute to facilitate communication among local government officials.

Part Three explains how local governments are using World Wide Web home pages on the Internet to improve communication among elected officials and agency personnel, to provide government information and services, to promote economic development, and to encourage citizen participation in public affairs.

[Any of the articles in this special series can be accessed on NCINFO. To purchase a copy of one of these earlier issues of Popular Government *or to obtain a photocopy of a particular article, contact the Institute's Publications Sales Office at (919) 966-4119.]*



NCINFO home page

At their best, new technologies make it possible for local governments to provide new services to their constituents or traditional services in new ways, saving staff time and money. Voice mail, touch-tone phone and automated voice response systems, electronic bulletin board systems, video conferences, kiosks, and the Internet are among the information technologies being adopted to enhance government services to citizens. In this article we focus on the use of home pages on the Internet by local governments in North Carolina and highlight some of the ways these online services are being provided to constituents. We'll show you where to find these resources and describe the information and services being provided. We'll include advice from local government officials who have created online services and share what they have learned from their experiences. To learn about what other communities are doing with technology, see "Local Government Home Pages," page 40.

The use of technology should enhance the delivery of services to citizens and improve the internal operations of a local government unit, but units should evaluate those applications from the standpoint of service, efficiency, and cost, while considering the training, equipment, and computer support requirements. It's impossible to know all of the effects that information technologies will have on the workplace, but it's clear that local area networks (LAN) and connection to the Internet will affect the way an institution works, both organizationally and operationally.

Access to the Internet

While the number of people using the Internet continues to grow rapidly worldwide, no estimates are available for the number of North Carolinians connected to it. A computer and modem or local area network connection to the Internet are required for access to a local government's home page. (See "Problems and Limitations of the Web," page 44.) Thus these home pages and other Internet resources are accessible to anyone with an individual Internet account or a membership in a commercial online service such as America Online, CompuServe, or Prodigy; and to individuals at a community college, university, or public library with access to the Internet.

The author is the Institute of Government librarian and former project manager for NCINFO.

Creating Belmont's Home Page

This fall the city of Belmont completed a home page on the Web. We are the first city in our county to so. The project was initiated by our mayor, who saw the potential benefits of an Internet presence after a commercial Web-site designer demonstrated its capabilities.

We looked into having a commercial server produce our page, but we found their prices to be quite high (up to $3,000) with very little product delivered. I have a great deal of experience with desktop publishing and some experience with the Internet. After searching on the Web one night, I discovered HotDog Web Editor and HTML Easy Pro. These evaluation copies were easy to download and install. They are fairly easy to learn and provide point-and-click interfaces to Web publishing. I was able to produce Web pages in a matter of hours.

We originally intended to use the Institute of Government's Web page program but were informed that the program was going to be discontinued. Dr. Lee Mandell, of the North Carolina League of Municipalities (NCLM), pointed us in the direction of the State Information Processing Services (SIPS). After paying a reasonable setup charge and a monthly fee of only $25, we established a DNS and uploaded our files to the hard drive in Raleigh. Andy Gilbert and the others at SIPS were extremely helpful. We like using SIPS, because we are able to dial in to their computer twenty-four hours a day and update our information—a very important advantage.

I currently manage the site. We update it weekly as fast as we are able to code the information in HTML. As a full-time planner, I do not have as much time to dedicate to the project as I would like, but so little effort is required, I have found that it takes less than five minutes to convert a word-processing document and upload. Right now I am working with the North Carolina Downtown Development Association about setting up a home page for that group and in assisting other downtown organizations in establishing their sites.

So far our site contains a brief history of Belmont, key phone numbers and contact people for city service providers, and planning information. We have maps of our area, an events schedule, and a commentary about our use of neo-traditional or new urban planning tools in our newly revised Regulating Ordinance.

We feel that the site is vitally important to the economic development of our city. There is nothing more impressive to a high-tech firm looking to locate in your area than to be given your URL as a location for additional information. Success breeds success. With our focus on our downtown revitalization project, we hope to attract businesses that thrive in the downtown areas.

We spend about $30 per month for Internet access and $25 per month for hard disk space; this will mean a total annual investment of approximately $660. Compare this to the cost of running a half-page display ad in your local paper for one day and you will see the difference. This is not to say that a city can eliminate print media. The Web page must be done in addition to traditional forms of advertising. Eventually we may all be on the Internet, but that is at least ten years down the road.

Our page has been accessed more than one hundred times in the past three weeks from as far away as New Zealand. As we continue to link and network to other Web pages, we expect this to increase in the coming months. A number of our visitors call and e-mail us for additional information about our city. Our home page has allowed us to play with the "big boys" like Charlotte and Raleigh. (Only about thirty other cities in North Carolina have home pages, so we are among a select few.)

This project has not been without its problems. We are fortunate to have an excellent computer setup, but this has hindered us because we have tried to develop pages that are more detailed than the average user can load into his or her machine. After ironing out these initial problems, we feel that our site is very aesthetically pleasing and well laid out.

I have some suggestions to offer future Web publishers. First, do a flow chart of your pages. Since most good Web sites will have a number of doors to look behind for additional information, it is important to ensure that the user does not get lost or bored. Also beware of too many pictures. It tends to bog down your computer when loading in the page. I have cancelled loading a home page on a number of occasions when it took too long to load the pictures. A picture or two is nice, but don't overdo it.

One mistake I made is that I used a number of Netscape extensions in my coding so I could have special wallpaper and a different format. I found that many other browsers can't read these extensions, so it will render your page unreadable. Sometimes less is more. One sharp graphic in the header is really all that is necessary.

Another suggestion: Put real information on your page. Many critics have argued (and rightfully so) that much of the Web is full of fat: pretty graphics and cool photos but no real hard-core information. As a local government we have the obligation to lead the way in information access. Put specific details about your community, post your new ordinances, and list meeting agendas. In this age of information, you can't put enough on your page.

Remember, the Web will probably be a principal information provider in the next century. The sooner a city gets involved in this the better. With the pressure on local government to open its records and files to the public, a proactive effort to publish it electronically will bode well in the future.

As a final note, we are currently testing a number of Web publishing utilities, including HotDog Pro Web Editor and HTML Assistant. I have also used MS Word Internet Assistant and HoTMetal. I have been told that the new Netscape Navigator Gold 2.0 will have a true point-and-click interface for Web page editing.

—Craig Lewis

[*Editor's Note*: At presstime, Mr. Lewis had left his position as planner for the city of Belmont to become assistant planning director for the town of Cornelius. He can be reached at (704) 892-6031.]

What Is a Home Page?

A home page displays images and text from the Internet on your computer's monitor screen. It is similar to the title page, preface, and table of contents of a book in that it describes the purpose and types of resources it contains and usually indicates the source of the information. The resources may include video clips, animation, sound, text, and images. A home page often displays one or more images, which may be illustrations or photographs, and it usually includes listings of other electronic resources accessible by clicking with a mouse on a highlighted and underlined word or phrase that is coded as a "hypertext" link. When a hypertext link is activated by a click, the World Wide Web software searches for the Internet address underlying the coded word or phrase and makes the document available fairly quickly.

Thus a single home page can provide links to many different documents that may reside on computers anywhere in the world. Documents with hypertext links are created by translating an ordinary electronic document using hypertext markup language (HTML). Examples of HTML software include HoTMetal Pro, HotDog Pro Web Editor, and WebEdit—three of the many packages that simplify the translation of documents into hypertext language.

If it is well designed, the home page will be arranged so that viewers can locate information quickly and easily, just as they could with an attractively designed newsletter or announcement.

Home Pages for Local Governments

In the last year several local governments in North Carolina have developed home pages on the Internet's World Wide Web, including the cities of Belmont, Chapel Hill, Charlotte, Eden, Hickory, and Mocksville; and Anson, Catawba, Davidson, Forsyth, and Orange counties. Although there are home pages on the Internet for twenty-eight cities and twenty counties in North Carolina, most were developed by a service provider and offer only minimal, unofficial information; the cities and counties named above have created their own home pages—making them official representations of the local government.

Local governments are using a vari-

Local Government Home Pages

In North Carolina

Anson County

URL: http://www.state.nc.us/Anson/

Includes information about individual towns in the county, as well as an extensive community profile. Developed and maintained with the assistance of student volunteers from Anson Community College. The college is about to go online with its own home page, and the public school system is developing its own information system for the Web. The county, community college, and school system have plans for more interactive systems including board of commissioners meeting minutes, access to transportation times and locations, school news, and other local information stories. They plan on providing access at free terminals in remote sites in the county.

Belmont

URL: http://www.ci.belmont.nc.us/Belmont/

Includes town history, demographics, area features, and maps; information about local business, city government, a calendar of events; and links to other sites. Belmont's home page is notable for its emphasis on city planning information, and it includes regulating ordinances, strategic plans, and historic preservation information. (See "Creating Belmont's Home Page," page 39.)

Catawba County

URL: http://www.co.catawba.nc.us/

Provides general county government information, a county profile, attractions, and extensive information about its process of reinventing government. The home page provides subject and agency listings of information and services provided by county government and descriptive explanations of the structure, purpose, and services of county departments. The county plans to add current news, press releases, and meeting announcements, commissioners meeting agendas and minutes, and budget information.

Chapel Hill

URL: http://ncinfo.iog.unc.edu/municipal/Chapel_Hill/

An extensive file of information about town policies, programs, services, employment and volunteer opportunities; voter registration; Chapel Hill government, its council, boards, and commissions; and a phone directory of government offices.

Charlotte–Mecklenburg County (Charlotte's Web)

URL: http://www.charweb.org.

Charlotte's Web can be accessed by modem at (704) 336-8013 or by e-mail to Steve Snow at **shsnow@charweb.org.** Snow can be reached by telephone at (704) 336-8533.

Provides information about jobs and business, health care and social services, government, education and libraries, culture and religion, organizations, arts and entertainment, sports and recreation, transportation, and youth activities.

Forsyth County

URL: http://www.co.forsyth.nc.us/

Includes county agency information, job listings, an anonymous FTP server, and pointers to the Institute of Government and regional resources such as Wake Forest University and Bowman Gray/Baptist Hospital.

ety of means to create these online resources. Some are contracting with Internet service providers to create and maintain the home page. [To obtain a list of Internet service providers operating in North Carolina, see "For More Information," at the end of the main article. Both the State Information Processing Services (SIPS) and Interpath, the service provider under contract with the state, offer this service.]

To increase the number of their subscribers, Internet service providers often develop services of interest to the local community. An Internet service provider may work with a local government and a chamber of commerce to put a limited amount of information about the community on the Net for free. This may be especially true of new Internet providers interested in establishing a presence in a community or in areas where there is competition from other providers. By offering to put up a home page for the city or county, the provider can attract local businesses willing to pay to have their company listed in a directory of services that is linked to the community home page. The home page may also generate new subscriptions from citizens interested in locating community information online. By joining with local government and community agencies, the provider can make the project attractive to all parties and enable small, local businesses to enter a global marketplace.

Local governments themselves are also developing and maintaining Web pages on available computers in the local government's offices or in libraries. Chambers of commerce, boards of tourism, and convention bureaus have also created several of the North Carolina city and county home pages. Public officials may decide that they want to maintain an official presence on the Internet that represents local government separately from the business and tourist resources created by others.

Uses of Home Pages

Informing the Public

A common goal for government home page developers is to enhance service delivery to citizens. By making information and resources accessible twenty-four hours a day, usually in the user's home or office, officials use the home page as another, highly convenient way to serve residents. Providing access to the most heavily requested

Mocksville

URL: http://www.sips.state.nc.us:80/Mocksville

Provides an electronic form for inquiries about Mocksville.

Selected Sites outside North Carolina

Annapolis, Maryland Historic Annapolis: The Virtual Tour

URL: http://www.infi.net/capital/tour

This site, developed by *The Capital*, an Annapolis daily newspaper, offers a virtual tour of the city, providing useful information about the city for potential visitors and armchair travelers.

Austin, Texas

URL: http://www.ci.austin.tx.us/

In addition to extensive files of information about city government, Austin's home page provides information about how the city organized to use the Internet to connect people to information, services, and other people, as well as a six-month progress report to the people of Austin, which includes results of citizen surveys.

[Town of] Blacksburg, Virginia

URL: http://www.bnt.com:80/~bburg/

Enables users to search the entire database to find information quickly, apply for jobs, and keep up with city council activities.

Boulder, Colorado

URL: http://bcn.boulder.co.us/government/boulder_city/center.html

Created by the Boulder Community Network, which was initially funded and organized by the University of Colorado, with involvement from the city, community groups, and citizens. Access to the home page is available via public kiosks and dial-up lines. The home page provides information about structure and policies.

Chicago, Illinois

URL: http://www.ci.chi.il.us/

In addition to the usual information, this home page contains extensive information about Chicago's alternative policing strategy, including a map of police districts, a calendar of community police beat meetings, success stories of neighborhood involvement in crime reduction, and details about the Information Collection for Automated Mapping (ICAM) computer system developed to identify crime patterns and solve neighborhood problems.

Palo Alto, California

URL: http://www.city.palo-alto.ca.us/palo/city/toc.html

Includes an extensive telephone directory by subject and agency name.

Seattle, Washington

URL: http://www.pan.ci.seattle.wa.us/

Extensive business and employment information, including public contracting and RFP information.

St. Paul, Minnesota

URL: http://www.stpaul.gov/

City council minutes and agendas are available full-text and are searchable by keyword. The home page offers a map and further information about the city's council wards.

local documents and answers to the most frequently asked questions may reduce phone inquiries, allowing more time for more complex information requests. Posting changes to a refuse schedule due to holidays or providing online guidance on how to complete a permit application may save staff time. A home page would enable local government to spread news quickly about new recreation programs, extended or reduced hours at a public facility, or special events such as a 10K race or a festival. Governments in coastal towns could use the Internet to warn residents about approaching storms and other emergencies.

Local government home pages may contain administrative information such as directories of government officials and advisory board members, tax rates, crime reports, demographic information, school or bus schedules, voter registration information, FAQs (frequently asked questions) about local government, planning documents, city council minutes and agendas, educational resources for students, local job listings, ways to volunteer in the community, or a listing of hospitals and community organizations that serve the area.

For example, the home page for the city of Belmont, North Carolina, contains a brief history of the town, key phone numbers, and people to contact for city service and planning information. It includes maps of the area, an events schedule, and a commentary about the town's use of new urban planning tools in its newly revised Regulating Ordinance. (See the Belmont listing under "Local Government Home Pages," page 40.)

The World Wide Web is a flexible and versatile publishing medium; there are endless possibilities for displaying information in interesting and useful ways. Some local governments enable an Internet "visitor" to take a virtual tour of the community. A virtual tour of Annapolis, Maryland, provides photographic images, maps, and narrative descriptions of landmarks, historic sites, and attractions. Seeing maps and information about popular tourist sites and attractions enables potential visitors to prepare better for their trip.

An annual report to the citizens is another document suitable for the World Wide Web. Fewer printed copies would be needed if Internet access to the report were available. Information provided via the home page can be updated as often as needed without printing or distribution costs. Outdated information can be removed immediately so that citizens always obtain current data. For citizens and others without access to the Internet, local government staff and public libraries can provide a printed copy directly from the Web software.

Searches

In addition, computerized information files can be an easy way for citizens to locate services. Online search tools (to locate a keyword or phrase instantly) available on the Web have eliminated the need for tedious and time-consuming poring over long documents. These tools enhance the value of the material for the public since it's not always clear to citizens which agencies provide which services. For example, Citizen A may be looking for a noise ordinance and not know whom to call. If the home page listed the ordinance by subject and by agency, Citizen A could view or search the entire text of the ordinance. Citizen B may find it burdensome to telephone or visit an agency for information, advice, or copies of relevant material. Catawba County's home page provides a directory of information and services that the county offers to its residents. They can look up *fire hydrant, burning of trash, garbage collection*, and the like to find instructions, phone numbers, and other information on each subject. For another example, the North Carolina Office of State Purchase and Contract conveys current information about the state's contracts for microcomputers and peripherals via the Internet. This service is available only on the Internet because the printed and distributed files, which are outdated quickly, are no longer seen as a cost-effective delivery mechanism. It is another example of an electronic information resource that has proven easier, less expensive, and less time-consuming to produce and keep up-to-date than paper files.

Providing an Electronic Sounding Board

Local governments can encourage public participation in government by enabling citizens to communicate electronically. By providing electronic mail directly from the home page, local governments offer citizens another vehicle for interacting with government. Officials can ask for input on specific issues and options or let citizens communicate what they're interested in and what they like or don't like about government services, including the home page. Home pages can provide online feedback forms or surveys that citizens can simply fill out and transmit without needing to use a separate e-mail program or know an Internet address. Online forms also make it easy for citizens to request additional information about a program or service.

Promoting Tourism, Attracting Industry, and Serving Existing Businesses

Some cities and counties set up home pages to promote tourism and to encourage local and regional business and industrial development. Marketing the community via the Internet is an inexpensive way to rapidly disseminate interesting, current information such as cultural and recreational opportunities. A local government home page could include a guide to museums, parks, and recreation programs. This form of advertising has at least the possibility of

attracting the attention of a worldwide audience of potential tourists and new residents, both individuals and corporations. An ongoing presence on the Internet costs less than a single full-page ad in a major newspaper or periodical and could reach millions more people than any single publication could.

Services for local businesses might include information about enterprise zones, incentive and assistance programs, permits, and loan programs. Local governments can pull together economic development and statistical information from a variety of local, state, and federal sources already on the Internet and provide it on the home page in an easy-to-read format. Home pages developed by other local organizations and neighboring jurisdictions can be linked to the local government's home page, making it an integrated information resource for the region.

Advantage West, formerly known as the Western North Carolina Regional Economic Development Commission, created a Web site to provide information for prospective visitors and to promote business and investment opportunities. The site displays information about existing businesses, industry, including film production, agribusiness, arts and crafts, and tourist attractions. A calendar of events in the region is also available, updated daily, listing activities in the twenty-two-county Western North Carolina region.

Providing Government Services

Government services can actually be delivered via the home page. The Annapolis, Maryland, home page allows citizens to print forms to request event permits, parking permits, and job applications. Plans are under way there to allow citizens to pay a water bill or parking fine interactively. Residents can also search and read city council bills and resolutions.

Home pages frequently point to other Internet resources that may be relevant for a community or would contribute to a more complete understanding of the extent of local resources. Links to local colleges and universities, museums, social and political organizations, state or national parks, or other attractions are often included, and regional resources are often highlighted. State and federal legislative information is also a valuable resource to point to on a local government home page.

Opening up Public Libraries

Local public library online catalogs frequently are accessible from the home page of local governments. Often these catalogs will indicate whether an item is available for borrowing, saving time and trips to the library for citizens and government officials alike. Public libraries with home pages often point to collections of Internet resources that are associated with libraries, and they provide links to other public and academic research libraries across the country. For example, the home page for the Public Library of Charlotte and Mecklenburg contains links to outstanding general reference resources on the Internet and to resources relating to business, education, entertainment and recreation, government, health and medicine, humanities, news, science, and social sciences.

The online directory developed by the Association of Bay Area Governments in California lists exemplary city and county home pages in the United States. It provides links to notable city and county pages in the section of the home page called "Examples of Local Government Uses of the Internet," available on the Internet at **http://www.abag.ca.gov/abag/local_gov/examples.html**.

How to Develop Internet Services

Among those most likely to be interested in developing an Internet presence are library staff, the public information officer, city or county clerk, and management information systems staff. Identifying interested, motivated individuals for the project will be a key factor in success. Given adequate training, staff can independently maintain documents that are linked to the home page. Other possible partners include community organizations such as historical societies and chambers of commerce. Collaboration is one way to share the work of developing and maintaining information resources for the home page.

Getting on the Web

A local government that wants to develop a home page will first need to decide whether it will create and maintain the home page or contract with an Internet service provider. For an annual fee plus labor costs, providers can create and maintain attractive home pages for a local government and provide space on their servers. To do the job itself, a local government must arrange for Internet access and acquire a high-speed computer and server software for the Web server. Setting up a home page is not too complicated, especially for local governments that are already connected to the Internet, but it takes some time and know-how to maintain the server and Internet connection. Whether it is created and maintained in-house or by contract with a commercial provider, the home page will require continual updating.

The Internet simply provides one more way to reach residents and others who may become interested in a community. It is not likely to replace anything local government is currently doing; indeed, it will be another set of tasks to complete. Preparing accurate and complete information and responding to user inquiries take time. Some local governments use volunteers to supplement staff effort on the home

Glossary

Note: This glossary covers only terms introduced in Part Three that may be unfamiliar to some readers. See Part One (Summer 1995) for basic terms.

DNS (domain name system) – A service that translates the name of a computer into the address that computers use on the Internet. For example, the Institute of Government's named address is **ncinfo.iog.unc.edu**; its IP address is 152.2.182.41.

Domain – refers to the part of an email address that follows the @ character. It usually includes the name of a computer and the type of organization responsible for that computer. In WWW addresses, it may also indicate a geographic location. For example, the address **http://ncinfo.iog.unc.edu** indicates that the computer, NCINFO, is at an educational institution (edu). Other domains include "mil" for military organizations, "com" for commercial organizations, "net" for networks, "gov" for U.S. government civilian sites, and "org" for non-profit organizations. The address **http://www.ncga.state.nc.us** shows a geographic domain (US) and a sub-domain (NC).

Kiosk – an ATM-like machine that can be programmed to provide information and services.

Pointers – highlighted names or terms that provide links to other documents anywhere on the Internet.

Public domain software – Software that can be distributed freely without payment to or permission from the program developer.

Shareware – Software that can be distributed on a trial basis. Payment to the program developer is expected if a user intends to keep and use the program.

page. Charlotte's Web's online services are a model of successful collaboration of government staff and volunteer effort in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. Anson County contracted with the local community college to prepare, assemble, and update the material for its home page. According to Steve Carpenter, Anson County manager, that decision has several advantages: "Not only are we getting the job done locally, and supporting other local projects with our funding, but the college students get to do something that can easily lead to a career. . . . I think our idea to contract with the college is a great way to get home pages written. First off, it's not that hard. Second, it builds skills in your community. The pages may not have all the flash and glitter at first that the professionally done ones do, but they will get fancier as time goes by."

Problems and Limitations of the Web

Conducting business on the Internet is not without its problems. Security is one of them. Web browser software is still not capable of ensuring safe transmission of sensitive information over the Internet. Until that is resolved, the Internet should not be used for financial transactions or other communications in which privacy is required (for example, sensitive personnel matters). Another issue is cost. The current average monthly fee to access the Internet may seem reasonable only to people who expect to make moderate to heavy use of the Internet and can afford to do so. It has been noted frequently that the new information technologies may well increase the gaps in U.S. society between rich and poor. That need not be so, but it is a concern. AT&T has begun to offer Internet services to residential customers. As competition from existing and new Internet access providers increases, access fees should become low enough to attract more subscribers. The lack of local access phone numbers in many areas of the state is another factor delaying widespread adoption. For many North Carolinians, connecting to the Internet requires a long distance call, especially in rural areas. When it becomes possible to connect to the Internet with a local phone call in all areas of the state, residents may be more willing to explore the Internet.

Although the number of households with a personal computer is rising, local governments should expect only a small percentage of their citizens to obtain local government information from home computers at this time. If local governments are willing and able to subsidize public Internet access in schools and public libraries, local residents can begin to explore the information resources of the Internet, learning about local government, its programs, and services.

Another factor delaying widespread acceptance and use of the Internet is the lack of computer literacy among the general population. This will remain true until computers become an essential tool for more workers and opportunities to learn computer skills are made available through more schools, community colleges, and public libraries.

Conclusion

For these reasons the Internet cannot be expected to replace other methods of delivering services to citizens any time soon. Local governments that decide to create a presence on the Internet are likely to do so for economic development reasons—to reach beyond the immediate area to market the community and to provide information to prospective businesses and visitors. Steve Carpenter says, "It is still too early for me to tell if our investment is a good one for the community as a whole. My hope is that by accelerating the communities' use of the system, we can sneak into the fast lane of economic development. My vision is that information is a utility, like water and gas, and is necessary to attract "new technology"-type businesses. I hope by pushing us into the next generation we can attract some of these businesses and prosper in the community."

mation available online. To subscribe to the GOVPUB discussion list, send e-mail to

LISTSERV@VM1.NODAK.EDU

In the message, type

SUBSCRIBE GOVPUB <*your name*>

NCINFO

URL: http://ncinfo.iog.unc.edu

For information, contact the project manager, Terry Kale: by phone at (919) 962-0592 or by e-mail at

kale.iog@mhs.unc.edu

Provides links to all North Carolina city and county home pages and provides a link to the home pages of local governments in other states. Features the text of earlier articles in this special series, "Local Government on the Internet."

The Piper Letter

URL: http://piperinfo.com/piper/

Introduced in December 1995 by Dana Noonan of GOVPUB, *The Piper Letter* provides guidance on practical, technical, and policy issues relating to Internet publishing by state, local, and federal government agencies. It includes articles on

Yahoo

For pointers to World Wide Web resources for creating home pages on the Internet:

URL: http://www.yahoo.com/Computers_and_Internet/Internet/World_Wide_Web/Authoring

For pointers to World Wide Web page design and layout resources on the Internet:

URL: http://www.yahoo.com/Computers_and_Internet/Internet/World_Wide_Web/Page_Design_Layout

http://pubs.iworld.com/iw-online/

NetGuide (Manhasset, N.Y.: CMP Publications, Inc.) Aimed at the general consumer. Also on the Internet at URL: http://techweb.cmp.com/techweb/ng/current/

Online User (Wilton, Conn.: Online, Inc.) A how-to magazine about electronic information resources for corporate, media, finance, law, and government managers. Available free to qualified subscribers (1-800-248-8466, ext. 515).

Suggested Reading

Aronson, Larry. *HTML Manual of Style.* Emeryville, Calif.: Ziff-Davis Press, 1994. $20.

Engst, Tonya and Adam. *Create Your Own Home Page.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Hayden, 1995. $25.

Fox, David, and Troy Downing. *HTML Web Publisher's Construction Kit,* Corte Madera, Calif.: The Waite Group Press, 1995. $36.95.

LeMay, Laura. *Teach Yourself More Web Publishing with HTML in a Week.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Sams Publishing, 1995. $29.99.

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Stevens, Larry. "A Guide to Interactive Government," *Governing* 9 (October 1995): 67–76.

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There clearly are other uses besides attracting new industry. Commercial firms themselves use Web sites to share information among employees, market their products and distribute information to customers without incurring printing and postage costs, and advise customers through e-mail rather than by phone. Any of these functional possibilities might also be useful to local governments eventually.

In Part Four we'll explain how to evaluate the usefulness and reliability of Internet sites and how to include them in footnotes and bibliographies.

For More Information

State Information Processing Services (SIPS)

Call (919) 981-5555 for a list of Internet service providers operating in North Carolina.

GOVPUB

GOVPUB is a discussion-type mailing list devoted to practical and policy issues related to providing local and state government information on the Internet. This mailing list, managed by Dana Noonan, creator of *The Piper Letter* (see below), is intended for agency professional and technical staff involved in making public information available online. To subscribe to the GOVPUB discussion list, send e-mail to

LISTSERV@VM1.NODAK.EDU

In the message, type

SUBSCRIBE GOVPUB *<your name>*

NCINFO

URL: http://ncinfo.iog.unc.edu

For information, contact the project manager, Terry Kale: by phone at (919) 962-0592 or by e-mail at

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http://www.webcom/~piper/subscrib.html

Web Developers Virtual Library

URL: http://WWW.Stars.com/

Contains a library of Internet resources for Web developers.

Yahoo

For pointers to World Wide Web resources for creating home pages on the Internet:

URL: http://www.yahoo.com/
Computers_and_Internet/Internet/
World_Wide_Web/Authoring

For pointers to World Wide Web page design and layout resources on the Internet:

URL: http://www.yahoo.com/
Computers_and_Internet/Internet/
World_Wide_Web/Page_Design_Layout

Keeping up with Technology

Magazines

Government Technology (Sacramento, Calif.: GT Publications, Inc.) Information technology solutions for the public sector. Also on the Internet at URL:

http://www.govtech.net/

InfoWorld (San Mateo, Calif.: InfoWorld Publishing) For computer professionals in business environments.

Internet World (Westport, Conn.: Meckler Publishing Corp.) Aimed at the general consumer. Also on the Internet at URL:

http://pubs.iworld.com/iw-online/

NetGuide (Manhasset, N.Y.: CMP Publications, Inc.) Aimed at the general consumer. Also on the Internet at URL:

http://techweb.cmp.com/techweb/ng/current/

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Questions I Am Frequently Asked: Do We Have to Advertise This Position?

Stephen Allred

A manager or department head in a North Carolina governmental agency needs to fill a position. He or she may already have someone in mind or might like to restrict consideration to current employees. The question then arises: Do we have to advertise this position?

The short answer is that it depends on where that manager or department head works. The rules vary depending on whether the agency with the opening is covered by the State Personnel Act (Chapter 126 of the North Carolina General Statutes; hereafter G.S.), and on whether it has adopted personnel rules that require advertising positions.

For agencies covered by the State Personnel Act (state departments and county health departments, social services departments, and mental health departments), the answer to the question is clearly yes. G.S. 96-29 requires state agencies to list their job openings with the Employment Security Commission (ESC), and it bars them from filling positions until at least twenty-one days after the listing has been filed with ESC. Further, the North Carolina Administrative Code regulations implementing the State Personnel Act require advertising.[1]

For municipalities, community colleges, councils of government, and county agencies not covered by the State Personnel Act, the answer depends on local policy. Many of these public entities have adopted ordinances or policies that require advertising. If they have done so, they must follow those requirements or run the risk of a legal challenge for failure to abide by their own policies. Many North Carolina public employers have no such ordinance or policy, however, and thus they are free to fill positions without advertising them.

Even if an agency has the freedom to fill a position without advertising, there are two important considerations that must be weighed before deciding to proceed that way. The first consideration has to do with the effect that failing to advertise will have on the racial and gender makeup of the workforce. Simply stated, if an agency fills positions solely by word-of-mouth referral and never advertises its job openings, the effect may well be to perpetuate discriminatory hiring patterns. In a case decided by the federal circuit court that includes North Carolina in its jurisdiction, *Thomas v. Washington County School Board*,[2] the practice of hiring relatives of employees and only posting notices of job opportunities on the office bulletin board without advertising elsewhere was held to violate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The rule that emerges from this case is that although it is permissible to hire occasionally without advertising, doing so repeatedly may increase the likelihood of legal challenge if the hiring pattern that results is racially skewed.

Of course, if an agency does advertise, care must be taken to ensure that the ad does not indicate a bias against a protected group. In one recent North Carolina case,[3] the employer placed an advertisement seeking "young, energetic persons"—wording that, coupled with statements made by the hiring official indicating age bias, convinced the court that the employer violated the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. The result, based in large part on this unfortunate advertisement, was a damage award of $25,000 to the plaintiffs.

The second consideration has to do with the quality of the applicant pool. If an employer fails to advertise and instead relies only on word-of-mouth referral, chances are that the applicant pool will not be as good as would otherwise be the case. Although it takes longer to fill a position by advertising and sorting through the greater number of applicants generated by that ad, it is also likely that the quality of the finalists will be significantly higher. It is also important to realize that citizens may simply expect their governments to advertise out of fairness and a sense of conducting their business in the open.

So, do we have to advertise? The answer is that you may or may not, but in the final analysis it's probably a good idea to do so even if it is not required. Not only will the agency avoid the risk of violating federal civil rights laws, it will generate a better-qualified group of applicants.

Notes

1. N.C. Admin. Code tit. 25, subchap. 1H, § .0602 (Aug. 3, 1992).
2. Thomas v. Washington County Sch. Bd., 915 F.2d 922 (4th Cir. 1990).
3. EEOC v. Marion Motel Associates, d/b/a Park Inn International, 763 F. Supp. 1334 (W.D.N.C. 1991).

The author is an Institute of Government faculty member who specializes in employment law.

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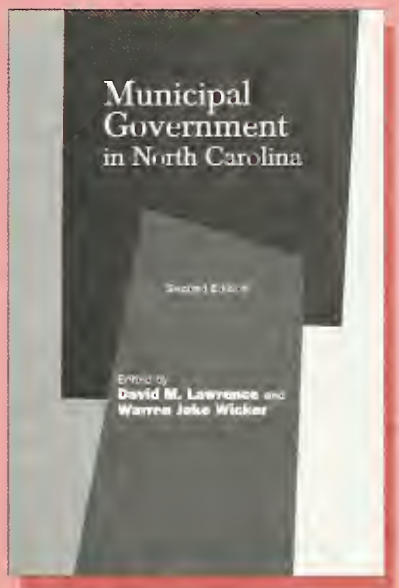

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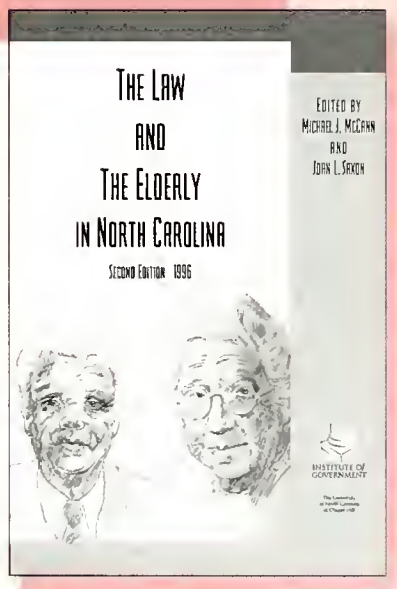

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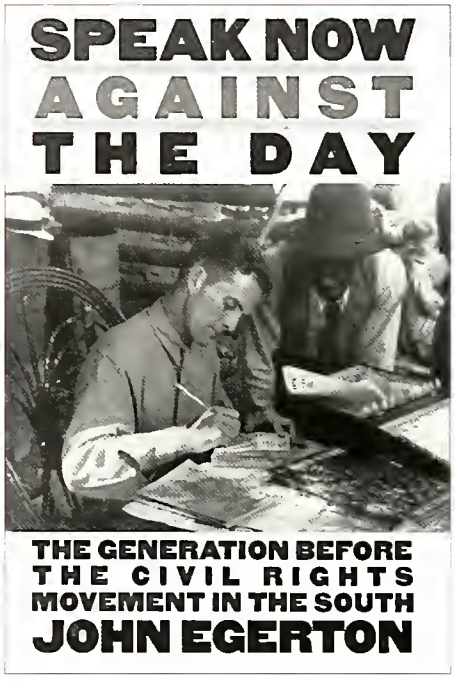
Books Noted

Southern Roots

Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation before the Civil Rights Movement in the South, by John Egerton. The University of North Carolina Press, 1995. 627 pages. $18.95.

Thomas H. Thornburg



I must admit that my consciousness of public events began at best with the first Apollo moon walk (I was born in 1962); all history before that exists for me only in books or stories related by others. My lack of firsthand knowledge does not, however, prevent me from recommending a book about the South before the brink of the civil rights movement: John Egerton's *Speak Now Against the Day* is informative both for those who have memories of the time and for readers, like me, who seek to understand the era. The book's length may be forbidding to many but rewarding to those who persevere.

Speak Now Against the Day is an excellent place to learn about southern history between the Great Depression and the mid 1950s, as well as the history of race relations in the United States. Reading this book would be a wonderful way for government officials to try to understand where the South has been politically and culturally. Egerton explores the roots of, and provides insight into, the issues that state and local government officials continue to face today. The book helps explain not just the civil rights issues of today but the mixed bitterness and hope of southern black-white relations—the product of shared history and lives.

Speak Now Against the Day has received sparkling reviews in a number of national and regional publications, including the *New York Times Book Review*, the *Washington Post Book World*, and the Raleigh *News and Observer*. It won the 1995 Robert F. Kennedy Book Award and a 1995 Ambassador Book Award in American Studies.

Egerton's account of this historic period makes the reader feel present at the events he describes but with the benefit of the author's extremely sharp hindsight and reflection. Egerton explains the relevance and historic coherence of events that someone living through them could not express. He tells, on a grand scale, the story of the South between the Great Depression and the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 momentous decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which mandated school desegregation, ruling that the "separate but equal" doctrine had no place in public education. Egerton modestly presents his book as an "imperfect representation of what the historians call the recent or modern or contemporary South," though it would seem there is still a volume to come, covering the mid 1950s through to today, to make this a true "contemporary" history.

The crux of Egerton's narrative is race relations—specifically, the quest for desegregation—and he describes incisively the groundwork laid during this period for the later civil rights movement, its perils, and its successes. The author covers many aspects of life in the South from the late 1920s through the mid 1950s, and he carefully interweaves events and characters to give some overall sense of the larger historical context of the South's problems and challenges. He discusses various civil rights organizations and leaders, life on the farm and in southern cities, university and academic leaders, local and state politicians, federal government officials, writers of fiction, artists and musicians, journalists, as well as the interplay of President Roosevelt and President Truman and southern members of Congress to shape government in and out of the South.

Egerton creates a rich tapestry of the political and cultural actors who would frame the southern struggle for civil rights, presenting a comprehensive scorecard of events and players. Here are some of the actors Egerton follows closely throughout the period:

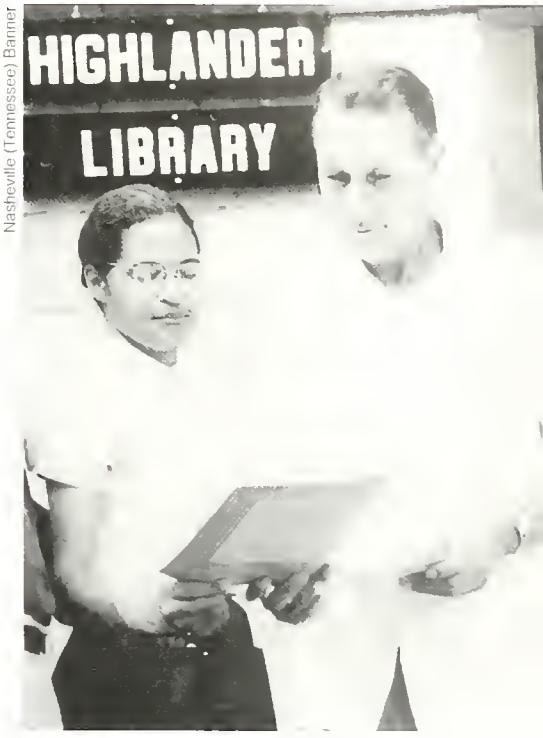
W. E. B. DuBois, the noted civil rights leader and a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Myles Horton, a Tennessee social activist who founded the Highlander Folk School in 1932 near Monteagle, Tennessee—Highlander became one of the South's leading centers for civil rights education; Charles Johnson, a native Virginian who became a strong contributor to the Urban League and "the entrepreneur of the Harlem Renaissance" in literature; James Weldon Johnson, a native Floridian and the leading staff officer of the NAACP for much of this period; Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, who was recognized during this period for his legal work for opponents of segregation and as the backbone of the

NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Lucy Randolph Mason, a dynamic southern labor organizer and civil rights leader; H. L. Mencken, a Baltimore journalist who was the United States's preeminent social/cultural critic of the 1920s and who nurtured the careers of many southern writers; Waties Waring, the South Carolina judge who alienated his native Charleston in 1947 by ruling that the state's efforts to bar blacks from the Democratic primary were unconstitutional; Walter White, a key spokesman for the NAACP and civil rights throughout the period; and Aubrey Williams, an Alabaman who was a driving force in New Deal programs such as the Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration and an outspoken liberal public official. Egerton also highlights the work of countless members of the United States Congress, state government officials, journalists, and many others. The author has a particular penchant for describing the contribution made by the writers of this era.

Organizations were as important as individuals in these formative years of the South's civil rights struggle. Egerton examines with particular care the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council, the NAACP, and the Highlander Folk School. As Egerton presents these individuals and organizations in action, the reader gets an acute sense of the drama of history—of many people acting simultaneously and often unwittingly to create historic events. As Egerton says: "Nothing takes place in a vacuum; every unfolding development has a context, and eventually, it all connects. Some things may simply happen willy-nilly, but what makes them meaningful or insignificant is the chain of circumstances to which they are linked in time and space."

For example, there is a wonderful discussion of Shelby, North Carolina, journalist W. J. Cash, his landmark book *The Mind of the South* (published in 1941), and its impact on the South and beyond. Of his first reading of the book in 1960, Egerton writes: "The impact of Cash's book on me was about the same as if someone had rolled a hand grenade under my bed. In the very first pages, his voice seized my attention: '. . . the South is another land . . . there are many Souths . . . there is also one South . . . far from being modernized, in many ways it has actually always marched away, as to this day it continues to do from the present toward the past. . . .'" Egerton notes that his reaction was not unique; *The Mind of the South* "would become the best-known and most influential book of nonfiction ever written about the South, never to be out of print in the first fifty years of its existence."

Egerton enriches our appreciation of *The Mind of the South* by explaining Cash's place in his community and his relation to other southern authors. For instance, the reader learns that Cash was buried in the Sunset Cemetery in Shelby, near Thomas Dixon, a North Carolinian famous for his racism. Dixon wrote, in addition to twenty-eight other novels, *The Clansman*, which became the basis of D. W. Griffith's film, *The Birth of a Nation*. The proximate interment of these two men sparks controversy even today. While Dixon was inducted years ago into the Cleveland County Museum hall of fame for his contributions to the local community, journalists noted last summer that Cash once again failed to be inducted, due mostly to the Shelby community's indifference to his accomplishments [see Joe DePriest, "Native's Legacy Can't Change Mind of Shelby," *Herald-Sun* (Durham), Aug. 13, 1995, B7]. Cash attained lasting international attention outside Shelby for his writing yet never made much of an impression in his hometown.



Nashville (Tennessee) Banner

Rosa Parks and Myles Horton at the Highlander Folk School in 1957.

North Carolinians and North Carolina communities appear frequently in *Speak Now Against the Day*. Early on, for example, Egerton describes the emergence of a progressive academic consciousness at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, as embodied by sociologist Howard Odum, UNC Press director William T. Couch, and others. He follows the peculiar blend of intellectual and cultural activism that distinguished the Chapel Hill campus and the academics who attempted to heighten awareness about the South, its people, and its problems.

Frank Porter Graham's life as UNC–CH president, leader in southern civil rights organizations, and United States senator is presented within the context of events throughout the South. While Graham's personal story may be more completely recounted in other books, I doubt that it is told elsewhere with the same sense of relation to other actors and events that Egerton provides. The reader learns about Graham's widely re-

spected position as a leading light among other liberal southern university and political leaders. Graham was perhaps a natural to lead southern integration, given his willingness to advocate for rights of workers, black and white, as well as a new national course in race relations.

Egerton also describes attempts to desegregate the Chapel Hill campus, considered one of the most prestigious universities in the South during the period, with progressive administrative leadership. He chronicles the university's rejection of Durham native Pauli Murray's application for admission to graduate school in 1939 because she was black and university president Frank Porter Graham's remarkable correspondence with Murray about that rejection. He also discusses the university's eventual desegregation in 1951, when a federal appeals court ordered the admission of four blacks, including Floyd B. McKissick, who went on to practice law in Durham and to become a national civil rights leader.

Egerton discusses extensively a December 1942 gathering of Southern black leaders—educators, religious officials, journalists, businessmen, and civic leaders—at the North Carolina College for Negroes (now North Carolina Central University) to discuss and create a document that came to be known as the Durham Manifesto. The manifesto was "moderate in tone and balanced in its specific calls for action," representing the hopes and fears of southern black leaders. Many believed that the support of southern white liberals could be earned only by moderate statements. Consequently, an unequivocal call for abolition of segregation was avoided in favor of a general statement opposing segregation and a general call to concentrate on "the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect." Egerton describes the meeting and manifesto as a step toward uniting conservative and liberal activists on the racial desegregation issue and bringing black and white leaders of the movement closer together. Egerton's account reminds us of the sensitive balancing of needs and interests that is an inescapable part of politics and government, then and now.

The book also chronicles the impact of the anti-Communist movement's attack on desegregationists in North Carolina. The reader learns, or is reminded, that Milton Abernethy, the original owner of Chapel Hill's Intimate Bookshop, was accused by a congressional committee of being a Communist in the 1930s, though nothing but intimidation ever came of the accusation. And there is the curious tale of Junius Irving Scales, a UNC–CH graduate and army veteran, who had "the dubious distinction of being the only Southerner ever tried and convicted in a Southern court on any charge having to do with communism." Scales returned to UNC–CH in 1946 after four years in the military and became active in veterans' groups, union organizing, the Communist Party, and fighting for equal rights for blacks. Federal agents arrested Scales in November 1954. He was convicted of joining an organization that "advocated the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence," was sentenced to six years in prison, and was released after a year in prison. Egerton paints an intriguing picture of an upper-class, college-educated liberal idealist who became a prime target of federal agents in search of Soviet spies.

Mostly, however, the book is made up of accounts of events beyond North Carolina. Two stories were especially remarkable, and reading the book would be worthwhile if only to learn about them. One is the story of how ex-GIs conducted an armed revolt and overthrew the corrupt political machine of Athens, Tennessee, on a local election day in August 1946. One contemporary journalist described the clash as "more than mob violence. It was a revolution—a revolution in which the better element of this community threw off a ten-year-old yoke of armed intimidation and corruption."

The other story is the author's account of an incredible struggle that occurred in Georgia after Eugene Talmadge was elected governor without an opponent in November 1946 and then died of cancer a month later. The Georgia constitution provided that the state legislature would choose a successor between "the two persons having the highest number of votes" for the office. Herman Talmadge, the governor-elect's son, had known of his father's illness during the election and had conducted a write-in campaign for himself. Sitting governor Ellis Arnall, barred from running again by a state constitutional nonsuccession clause, vowed to hold office until there was a proper transfer of power. Herman Talmadge claimed the governorship, as did two other candidates; each of the three had received close to 700 write-in votes for the governorship. Still another person, Melvin E. Thompson, who had been elected as Georgia's first lieutenant governor that fall, claimed the office.

The state legislature convened to choose a successor on January 13, 1947. Talmadge was declared the winner and marched on the governor's office at 2:00 A.M. on January 15. Arnall refused to yield the office, a fight broke out, and one of Arnall's supporters suffered a broken jaw. Later that morning Talmadge sent a locksmith and a group of state troopers to the office. They broke into it and changed the locks. That same morning another group of Talmadge supporters took over the empty governor's mansion. Talmadge acted as governor for sixty-seven days while the Georgia Supreme Court pondered the election. Eventually the court ruled that the legislature had acted improperly in declaring Talmadge governor, said that Thompson should serve

as interim governor, and ordered a special election to fill the governorship in 1948.

Egerton places this "battle royal," as he describes it, in the context of other postwar social and political developments in Georgia, the South, and the nation. Spirits of reform and reaction were alive everywhere in the South—almost every state in the region "found itself whipsawed by the ideological and pragmatic scheming and the undisguised chicanery that characterized the clashing factions vying for power." Across the nation, elections turned against the Democratic Party of President Truman, the president's power waned, and both major political parties grew more conservative, as anticommunism was reinvigorated.

Egerton chose his title from a William Faulkner quote:

> We speak now against the day when our Southern people who will resist to the last these inevitable changes in social relations, will, when they have been forced to accept what they at one time might have accepted with dignity and goodwill, will say, "Why didn't someone tell us this before? Tell us this in time?"

The title reflects the author's sense, I think, that *Speak Now Against the Day*, though epic in its depiction of the South, is at its core an account of the efforts of southerners to convince other southerners that it was essential to eliminate racial segregation. It is a story of the trials and travails of those southerners and an assessment of those who would and would not listen. Ultimately, there would not be voluntary social, economic, and political change bringing about desegregation. As Egerton says, "Instead of voluntary acts of enlightened self-interest, it would take lawsuits, court decisions, protest demonstrations, needless casualties, and long years of struggle to establish this new direction and realize a more equitable result." Thus the South came to May 17, 1954, the date the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

At the Institute

Brown-Graham Receives Award

Institute of Government faculty member Anita R. Brown-Graham has been named the 1995–96 Floyd B. McKissick Resident Scholar in Community Development. Brown-Graham is the first scholar to receive this award through the Charles and Shirley Weiss Urban Livability Program, an endowment fund established to stimulate ideas for improving urban livability.

Brown-Graham joined the Institute of Government in July 1994. She serves North Carolina state and local government officials in areas of civil liability, housing, and community development. Brown-Graham serves on a steering committee to develop a statewide plan to promote fair housing. In addition, she worked with the Division of Community Assistance, the N.C. Human Relations Commission, and other state agencies in developing a citizen participation component of the consolidated planning process for community development and housing in North Carolina.

Bob Donnan

Anita R. Brown-Graham

During Brown-Graham's period of residency, she will research the relationship between nonprofits and government in community development, serve as a mentor to the Weiss Fellows—a group of ten graduate students from a wide variety of disciplines who are interested in livability issues—and participate in other Weiss Urban Livability Program events.

Before coming to the Institute, Brown-Graham was an associate at the California firm Diepenbrock, Wulff, Plant, and Hannegan. She is a 1991 graduate of The University of North Carolina School of Law and is a member of the board of directors for both the North Carolina Low Income Housing Coalition and the UNC Law Alumni Association. *—Editors*

Will Owens

Terry Kale

Kale Heads NCINFO, Municipal and County Course

After working with the Institute of Government's Legislative Reporting Service in Raleigh, Terry Kale joined the Institute's Chapel Hill staff in September, where she has a dual role. Kale directs NCINFO, an information resource on the Internet for anyone interested in North Carolina state and local government; and the Institute's

cornerstone course, Municipal and County Administration.

As director of the annual survey course, she will research, analyze, and design new and existing course curricula. Combining her interests and expertise, Kale plans to explore the development of an Information Technology for Local Governments section for the course. Municipal and County Administration, which spans eight months (approximately 150 class hours), is designed to enable local government officials to understand functions outside their own departments. Each year about 100 local government officials participate in this course.

NCINFO is a joint project sponsored by the Institute, the North Carolina League of Municipalities, and the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners. It provides links to city and county home pages, which often include board meeting schedules and minutes, allow users to track legislation through the General Assembly, and provide links to state agencies.

Kale served as assistant editor of the Institute's three legislative summaries—the *Daily Bulletin*, the *Daily Summary*, and the *Weekly Bulletin*—during the last session of the General Assembly. Before joining the Institute, she was an administrative manager in The University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill's School of Public Health, then in its School of Medicine. She holds a master's degree in Public Administration from UNC at Chapel Hill. —*Editors*

Institute Publishes 1994–95 Annual Report

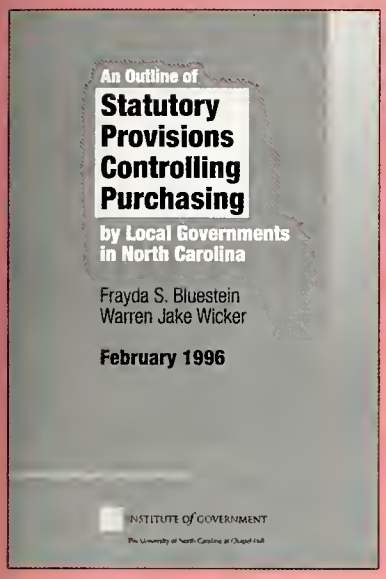
At the end of last year, as an additional measure of public accountability, the Institute of Government published its 1994–95 summary of activities and financial report. The report revealed that, besides extensive consulting with individuals, the Institute faculty conducted more than 200 schools and conferences for 12,000 North Carolinians; wrote two dozen books and eighty articles; published two quarterly journals, *Popular Government* and the *School Law Bulletin*, as well as the *Daily Bulletin* of legislative action and many specialized bulletins. Access to many of these publications and other information for local governments was made available through NCINFO, a new online service sponsored by the Institute, the North Carolina League of Municipalities, and the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners.

The report describes the following items among others: the Institute's extensive building expansion and renovation plans, efforts to diversify the faculty, the "Future Search" that was held to identify new client needs and plan Institute responses (see "Institute Embarks on a Future Search," page 28), and current initiatives such as applying alternative dispute resolution and mediation procedures to government. An expanded management faculty increased the training of facilitators and undertook major projects to help state and local government improve service and measure satisfaction.

The financial segment of the report identified the sources of the $6,411,580 in 1994–95 revenue (state appropriations constituted 62 percent) and the objects of expenditure (personnel costs accounted for 78 percent).

—*Editors*

Off the Press



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February 1996

Frayda S. Bluestein and Warren Jake Wicker

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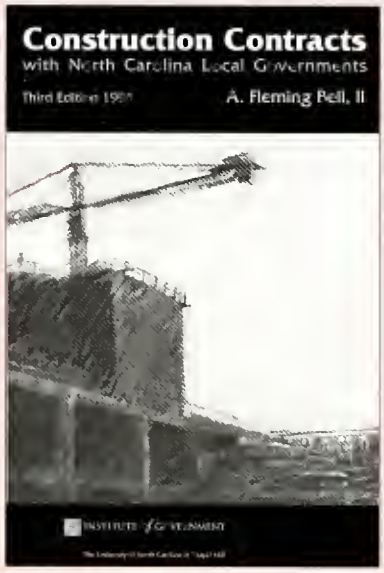

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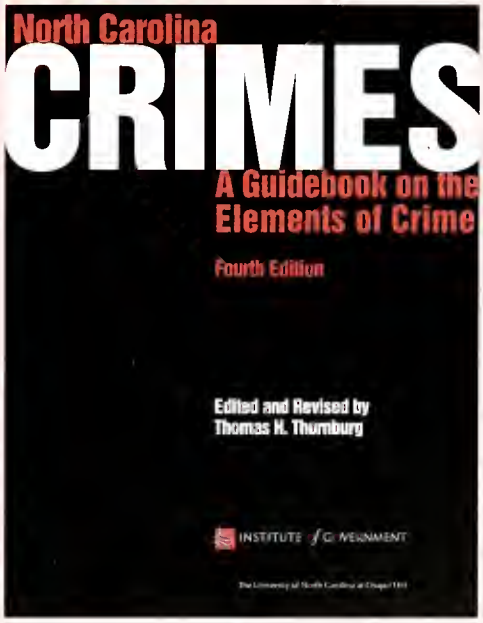

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. . . and at the same time
to preserve the form and spirit of
popular government . . .

—James Madison
The Federalist, No. 10