DYNAMIC MOSAIC: CALIFORNIA CENTRAL VALLEY PARTNERSHIP'S COLLABORATIVE MULTIETHNIC APPROACH TO ORGANIZING IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

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DYNAMIC MOSAIC: CALIFORNIA CENTRAL VALLEY PARTNERSHIPS COLLABORATIVE MULTIETHNIC APPROACH TO ORGANIZING IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

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What's in focus here is how marginalized, unrecognized and diverse groups of immigrants within a setting of great contradictions can be energized to develop their communities

The setting is the Central Valley of California, the richest agricultural region in the world stretching 450 miles in the heartland of the state. Within this productive region lie 58 incorporated cities of California, with the majority of them ranking among the poorest cities of nearly 500 in the state.

The communities in question are very diverse and made up of refugees, immigrants, migrant farm laborers, low income workers from all over the world. They speak numerous indigenous languages from the state of Oaxaca, Mexico, the mountainous pockets of Laos, countries from other regions such as Armenia in the former Soviet Union, Liberia in West Africa and El Salvador in Central America.

The Central Valley Partnership for Citizenship (CVP), formed by melding community based organizations who had worked independently on various issues facing Central Valley communities, led to numerous creative collaborations. These included the creation of the Civic Action Network, involving 149 emerging immigrant and low income worker organizations, developing a leadership training program for immigrant communities, training youth in research resulting in action and organizing the Tamejavi festival that celebrates the creative contributions immigrants can make to

the Central Valley. How these collaborative efforts were brought about is discussed in the ensuing chapters.

The CVP was designed as a l0 year project which accomplished much in mobilizing communities but fell short of developing into a sustainable organization to continue the creative approaches to community development. The final chapter summarizes the lessons in community organizing and development offered by the CVP experience. The concluding analysis revolves around questions concerning clarity of goals, dependence and sustainability pertaining to community development approaches.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

I grew up in the Yakima Indian reservation community of Wapato in eastern Washington. At the start of WWII, our family, along with all Japanese immigrant families farming in the Yakima valley, became inmates at Heart Mountain, Wyoming, one of the 10 concentration camps that imprisoned anyone of Japanese descent. After our release at war's end, we resettled onto a strawberry share farming camp with the Driscoll company in Madrone, south of San Jose, California. The year I graduated from Live Oak High School in Morgan Hill, we left the Driscoll arrangement and started farming on our own in the nearby hamlet of Coyote (pop 150). I am the oldest of l3 children so our family made up 10% of the place. I went off to UC Berkeley by flagging down a Greyhound bus on US Highway 10l.

After the first l8 years mainly in rural, isolated ethnic enclaves, Berkeley introduced me to world expanding experiences. My first international opportunity came in l954 when I chaired a UC Berkeley delegation to Indonesia to make contact with the student movement there. Two years later I got to know Korea as a US Army correspondent. While there the Soviet Union in 1957 sent up Sputnik. A year after Sputnik and my return from Korea, I began teaching chemistry and biology at San Jose (Ca) High School. America's response to Sputnik was to strengthen science programs starting with the retraining of high school science teachers.

I came to Cornell on such a program but after directing a Cornell student team on a literacy project in the town of Santa Rita de Yoro, Honduras, I chose to stay in Ithaca, New York to study community development in lieu of returning to San Jose, California. As part of the initial group of Cornell graduate students on the Cornell-University of the Philippines College of Agriculture exchange program, I researched ways to gauge village, town and city change in the Philippines. I returned to Cornell in

the fall of 1966.While in the midst of organizing my Philippines data, I got a call to join the faculty at UC Davis so I returned to California in the spring of l967.

During the four decades at Davis I've been involved with community action on the campus, in the community and outer regions. On the UC Davis campus, I helped start up programs in community development, ethnic studies and sustainable agriculture. In the community my students put together such entities as the Davis Farmer's Market, the Davis Food Coop, the Alternative Agriculture Project and the Ecological Agriculture Conference. At one point five community organizations were in the back porch of my home. In 1977 I took a year leave from UC Davis to help start up the National Center for Appropriate Technology in Butte, Montana. As its Associate Director, I connected with regional and local appropriate technology newsletters through out the country as well as the national network of nearly 1000 Community Action Agencies set up out of the War on Poverty program. Involvement in issues of community sustainability and empowerment led to meetings with groups with similar concerns at alternative conferences held in conjunction with UN Conferences on Habitat (Vancouver,1976), Technology(Vienna,1979) and Environment (Rio De Janeiro,1992). In a continual quest for community based solutions, I spent the 1983 year in Milton Keynes, England at the Open University's Alternative Technology Institute and in 1992 assisted the Micronesian Occupational College in Koror, Palau, in the Western Carolines organizing resources on alternative technology and a conference for sustainable agriculture

During alternative summers since 1991, I have been teaching a UC Davis course in partnership with Ryukoku University in Kyoto, Japan. In the process of my course on Community and Everyday Life in Japan, I put California students in touch with Japanese activists working on ways to improve their communities. After the class in Kyoto, I participate in the program at the Asian Rural Institute in Naoshiobara,

Tochigi, an hour's train ride north of Tokyo. There I share what I have been learning and doing with village leaders from throughout the Southern Hemisphere who come to Japan for a year of training in sustainable community development.

What I share with the community workers from Africa, the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia and the Pacific, include insights from my work at UC Davis, NCAT, the Central Valley Partnership and the Rural Development Leadership network(RDLN). The RDLN supports rural leaders of minority background from Afro American towns in the southeast, Spanish speaking communities in the southwest, low income enclaves in Alaska, Appalachia Puerto Rico and Indian reservations throughout the country. A focus of RDLN is a credentialing program that enables the leaders to complete their college degrees. This involves an Institute at UC Davis, work on a community relevant project with a mentor at a college near the home of the rural leader and graduation from Antioch College. As a lead faculty for the RDLN Institute, I have worked with every RDLN Fellow since the inception of the Institute at UC Davis in 1985.

My understanding of the importance of community in our lives goes back to watching my father, trained as a carpenter before immigrating to America, direct the building of an auditorium annex to the Buddhist temple in the Yakima Indian Reservation town of Wapato, Washington. What impressed me most was the energy and cooperative spirit of all the farmers who came to help, month after month. It was that sight that defined the meaning of community: Community means people working together to accomplish what no one person can get done by oneself. This was during the depression and times were hard. Yet it is the vision of this strength and the rewards that come with working together that in the presence of community, regardless of how limited material comforts, one doesn't have to be rich to lead a rich life.

To

Taichi and Ayako Fujimoto

For overcoming numerous challenges

Sharing the joys of family and community

And demonstrating that we need not be rich to lead a rich life

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project owes its completion to many supporters, friends and colleagues who I've had the good fortune to meet, know and work with in places and on issues that relate to what is written here. Unlike most dissertations which are completed to begin a career, this was started after I had become an emeritus member of the faculty at UC Davis. I see flashing before me myriad images of people and places that have shaped and enabled me to do what I've done.

The context and subject of this dissertation is about tapping into the social capital that accumulates and grows among people as they interact with each other. The Central Valley of California with its contrasts in wealth and poverty and the tremendous diversity of its people is an extension of places that have been home to me: This includes an Indian reservation, WWII concentration camps, share farming communities, college towns, villages and cities in Central America, Asia and the Pacific. Also important were organizations, within and outside of each of these places that nurtured possibilities for people and their causes. The organizations I've come to know for their contributions in advancing social justice with their community improvement efforts include the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Global Exchange, Food First, California Institute for Rural Studies, Rural America. The Data Center-all groups on whose boards I have served. To this list add all the dedicated and committed people associated with the Central Valley Partnership for Citizenship(CVP) from the Foundation representatives to the community organizers and activists I've worked with and whose efforts comprise the subject of this dissertation.

There are specific individuals I'd like to cite. Foremost are the people at Cornell, especially the faculty in the Department of Development Sociology such as

Robert Polson and Olaf Larson whose careers originated with the start of Rural Sociology as a field. I especially acknowledge Frank Young and Tom Lyson. Frank is the one who got me started and Tom, some three decades later, restarted me. Frank's creative comparative perspective and Tom's stress on sustainable approaches to development were important influences but what I remember most about both is the good will and care they showed each person. I was one of the fortunate recipients of their largesse. I'm also appreciative of the support given me by Professor Alan Holmberg of Anthropology and Lowell Uhler in Biology. Both were members of my original committee when I embarked on my PhD in the early 60s. Prior to coming to Cornell in 1961, I had been teaching high school Chemistry and Biology in San Jose, California. After the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the call went out to beef up our high school science programs. To further educate American science teachers, special year long programs were set up at Universities all around the country. The Academic Year Institute in Teaching of Biology is what brought me to Cornell.

Lowell Uhler, Alan Holmberg and Tom Lyson, who provided the spark that rejuvenated my dissertation research, have all passed away. Professor Charles Geisler, who joined Tom Lyson on my reconstituted committee, stepped up as Chair. Professor Ron Mize, recommended by Professor Geisler and David Holmberg, Alan Holmberg's son and current chair of Cornell's anthropology department, joined my committee. The support of all these Cornell Faculty has been encouraging and inspiring.

Numerous people, interested or familiar with the CVP, have offered valuable feedback. These include Craig McGarvey, James Irvine Foundation's program officer for the CVP, Mark Miller, director of Community Relations with the AFSC and Jonathan London, founder of Youth in Focus. Others contributing valuable editorial feedback after reading the manuscript in its entirety include Eleanor McAllie Cooper in Tennessee, Eugene Boostrom in Okinawa, Christine Fry in Davis and Gerardo

Sandoval now at Iowa State.

I would like to credit specific entries that originated from discussions, research assignments or joint efforts with various colleagues. .I first heard of the contrasts between grass roots and grass tips organizations cited in Chapter 5 from Don Villarejo during the hours of discussions we had while circuit riding the Valley together during the initial two years of the Partnership. The work on Central Valley place names mentioned in Chapter 3 was researched by Marilu Carter and taken from our publication on "Getting to Know the Central Valley." The section on the challenges and limits to collaboration in the final chapter comes from the joint review with Jonathan London, Director for the Center for the Study of Regional Change, and Jim Richardson, head of the National Rural Funders Collaborative. Gerardo Sandoval researched the uses of information technology by immigrant organizations cited in Chapter 4. Gerardo contributed in many other way as well.. He started working with me while still an undergraduate at UC Davis. He stayed close to the CVP as my assistant throughout his graduate studies in City Planning at UC Berkeley. His work on the GIS maps, familiarity with the organizations and communities involved in both CVP and the Civic Action Network and co-authoring of articles related to the CVP, have been invaluable. At Iowa State , he is now working on issues similar to that taken on by the CVP in California.

Crucial to this undertaking has been the tremendous contributions and sacrifices made by family members past and present: Linda Wilson, Christine Fry, Caedmon, Basho and Esumi Fujimoto. It's been a long, long marathon. The support, encouragement and love of all the people mentioned here made it possible to finally reach the finish line.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFSC American Friends Service Committee

ARI Asian Rural Institute

BCIS Berkeley Center for Information Studies

CAN Civic Action Network

CBO Community Based Organization

CRLAF California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation

CV   Central Valley

CVP   Central Valley Partnership for Citizenship

ESPINO: Escuelas Si, Pintas No (Schools Yes, Jails no)

ILF   Immigrant Leadership Fellows

ILRC   Immigrant Labor Resource Center

JIF   James Irvine Foundation

NRFC   National Rural Funders Collaborative

PICO   Pacific Institute for Community Organizing

PVI   Pan Valley Institute

RDLN   Rural Development Leadership Network

SVOC   Sacramento Valley Organizing Communities

TCE   The California Endowment

PREFACE

The story behind this manuscript is about coming home and finding the world. In the days before mass communications and air travel, speakers went around the country on circuits like the Chautauqua reaching audiences with stories of inspiration. One of the most well received ones was entitled “Acres of Diamonds”. It was delivered by a man named Russell Conwell who reputedly gave the talk some 6000 times. Conwell’s talk was about a man who in his quest for riches, sold his home, left his family in care of a neighbor and embarked on the search for a mystical field holding diamonds. As he described his destination to people he met on his travels, listeners responded by pointing out likely directions. Such exchanges took him though many villages and entire regions to places and stretches of land that is defined today as the area between the Middle East and South Asia. And as he traveled, he found the directions leading right back to his own region.

Though he never reached home again, the new owner discovered diamonds in the very back yard of the land that belonged to the departed seeker of fortune. This is supposedly the story of the discovery of the Golconda diamond field from which came such gems as the Hope, Orloff and the Koh-i-noor which adorns the crown of the House of Windsor .

My search for a dissertation topic and its eventual culmination has some parallels. I originally started my research on community development by going to distant lands. In this case it was the Philippines. My question was about how villages were changing and what markers could reveal what a community was ready for next. I studied every city in the Philippines, all the towns in three different provinces and some forty villages in the province of Laguna. I came up with scales that would suggest a stage of development related to the presence or absence of visible markers

such as post office, telephone directory, specialty shops, branch of an international service club and so on. I returned to Cornell with prodigious amounts of information. This was back in the '60s and data was punched in on IBM cards. As fate would have it, I got a call from UC Davis to come a little earlier than the usual Fall starting date. The department I was asked to join was embarking on a new venture, changing focus and name and urged me to start in the Spring of l967 rather than in the fall. I was in the midst of analyzing the data from the Philippines.

But excited and tempted at the prospect of getting back to California near where my family was farming. , I made the jump. Not only did I jump into a new situation but into a new situation at a tumultuous time. This was the time of a social revolution- engulfing calls for educational reform in the universities, changes in all aspects of popular culture from music to the hippies. But it was also a period of national crisis with the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy. In California the farm workers were on strike and mobilizing, the Civil Rights movement was in full swing nationally, cities were on fire and youth were flocking to places like Haight Asbury, San Francisco and Woodstock. I found myself in the midst of this whirlwind starting new courses in a newly reconstituted department, with new research topics and new and ever increasing demands. My dissertation on community change in the Philippines, despite several summer treks back to Cornell became harder and harder to complete and I finally had to set it aside.

Fast forward to the end of my tenure as an active faculty member at UC Davis. A couple of years after I became emeritus 1994, I joined a meeting convened by representatives of the American Friends Service Committee and the James Irvine Foundation to discuss the possibilities of bringing activist organizations working with immigrants and workers into a partnership. I was invited to be the learning coach and the facilitator for what became the Central Valley Partnership for Citizenship (CVP) .

This was in l996 and the CVP brought together groups involved with issues affecting immigrants, refugees and low income communities throughout the vast and agriculturally wealthy Central Valley of California. In addition to contradictions of wealth and poverty, the visible and the hidden, was the discovery of an amazing diversity of active community organizations and even more diverse ethnic groups from all over the world.

To better identify and understand the people in the Central Valley, it is not enough to ask what country an immigrant or refugee came from-it's more helpful to ask what language people used as they were growing up. California's Central Valley has people from Mexico for whom Spanish is a second language(Zapotecs, Mixtecs, Triqui,Chatinos from Oaxaca), Moslems from Vietnam(the Cham), mountain people from Laos who identify themselves as Lahu,Mien, Hmong,Khmu, but never Laotian. Instead of going all over the world, I found the world right in the Central Valley. Furthermore the activist groups coming together into the CVP were more than being another active community organization. Each had their unique approach to community organizing. These ranged from the style of the Industrial Areas Foundation, the Peace church movement characterized by the work of the American Friends Service Committee, the popular education approach used by Paolo Freire to followers of liberation theologians like Oscar Romero of El Salvador. Thus in the Central Valley Partnership all the major approaches to community organizing were present within the member partners. My search to better understand different approaches to community development and community organizing used in world wide efforts of people working to improve their communities also turned to be all right here, right in my own backyard.

Thus this dissertation is about my backyard, the Central Valley of California where the people of the world appear to be well represented. Furthermore what's also well

represented are the different approaches to community action right within the partners making up the CVP.

It is within the challenging context provided by California's Central Valley region with its contrasts of wealth and poverty and its unique blend of diverse cultures that sets the stage for the posing of this question: What does it take for people of diverse backgrounds, living in a region of great extremes, to work together to improve their lives and their communities?

CHAPTER 1

COLLABORATIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development is about doing. Its action is directed towards changing conditions, improving the quality of life, especially for communities and people who have been historically, structurally, or systematically marginalized. Community development aims to improve the lives of people living in poverty, whether in the Central Valley of California or in Third World countries. However, experts in community development are just as often found among practitioners in the field as among academics, researchers or directors of agencies. This dissertation draws from the insights and experiences of community development practitioners and community based organizations in California's Central Valley. In doing so it builds theory from the ground up, inductively, so that our theoretical knowledge is shaped by what we are learning in real time and space.

Since 1996, the Central Valley Partnership (CVP), a collaborative, multi-ethnic network, has worked to create a more equitable environment for low income workers and immigrants in the Central Valley, a region of immense agricultural importance, diversity, and economic extremes in California. The CVP has engaged in political mobilization, service activities and educational programs to improve the quality of life and civic involvement of marginalized peoples and communities in the Central Valley. The CVP's work provides a fertile ground for exploring development theories and developing new concepts within the community development literature as well as re-shaping policies and programs in similar settings.

The CVP experience brought together ethnically diverse groups of individuals and organizations, created spaces for the sharing of common problems and concerns, and established opportunities for people and groups to work together, collaboratively,

to overcome some of the harsh political, social and economic inequities they face in the course of everyday life in the Central Valley.

The Central Valley Partnership's experience can be understood, in part, by drawing from such theoretical concepts in the community development literature as social capital (DeFilippis, 2001; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995); network analysis (Ahuja, 2000; Capra, 2002; Castells, 2000; Sterling, 2004); theories on collaboration (Booher & Innes, 2002; Healey, 2003a.; Innes & Booher, 2000, 2003); development theory (Axinn & Axinn, 1997; Goran, 1998; Sanders, 1958); multi-cultural understanding (Allensworth & Rochin, 1998; Taylor & Martin, 2000); and theories of community organizing and action (Christenson, 1989; Gittell & Vidal, 1998; London & Young, 2003; Ostrom, 1994; Phifer, List, & Faulkner, 1989).
The mesh of both theoretical and practical strategies within the CVP has created a process which is best described as collaborative community development. This is the main theoretical framework under which this dissertation operates.

Community Development - A Definition

Because it is an evolving and ever changing process occurring in various contexts, defining the term "community development" poses some challenges. James Christenson has defined community development "as a group of people in a locality initiating a social action process (i.e. planned intervention) to change their economic, social, cultural, and/or environmental situation" (Christenson, 1989). He states that the primary goal of community development is to help people improve their social and economic situation. Christenson notes that "community" stems from 'fellowship' in Greek and "development" implies growth and change. Thus community development becomes a dynamic process of making changes to improve a community. It is this definition which serves as a starting point for describing and theorizing about the efforts of the Central Valley Partnership.

Community Development – The Challenge

Theoretical debates around community development are in a constant state of flux (McKnight, 1995; Phifer et al., 1989; Sanders, 1958, 1970; Walsh, 1997) as are the practices derived from them. By developing an inductive theory of community development through collaboration, this dissertation aims to contribute both to theory and applications within the community development field. In addition, it intends to move the conversation beyond what communities need or lack. Instead, it will show what can happen when community development practitioners – and their academic cohorts – focus on what communities already possess. The Central Valley Partnership case study presented here reveals that no matter how marginalized or impoverished communities may be, they have hidden strengths, resources or assets which can be used to effect real change in people's lives. Many of those contributing to the community development literature have been so preoccupied with the problems facing such communities and with bringing in "fixes" from the outside, that they have missed opportunities to learn what makes communities resilient, what enables them to harness their own inner resources and direct the course of development themselves.

Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) comes closest to taking such an approach. But it does not systematically incorporate factors such as culture, ethnicity, networking or political mobilization into its analysis. These are some of the very resources which allowed the Central Valley Partnership to make visible the hidden strengths of immigrant and worker communities in California's Central Valley and to harness them for the good of all.

Practical Questions

In using the Central Valley Partnership as a case study for community development theory and practice, three practical questions are addressed:

(1) How can any semblance of equity be brought about in a region with such wide and glaring extremes in income and wealth?

(2) How can the energy and talents of people, working independently and possessing tremendous ethnic diversity, improve their communities? and

(3) How can activists working from widely different political perspectives and employing different community organizing approaches be brought together to collaborate effectively?

Historical Context and Debates within Community Development

Before tackling these questions in the context of the Central Valley Partnership, it is necessary to review the historical context and debates within the community development field. Over the last six decades, community development theory has gone through major revisions (Figure 1.1).

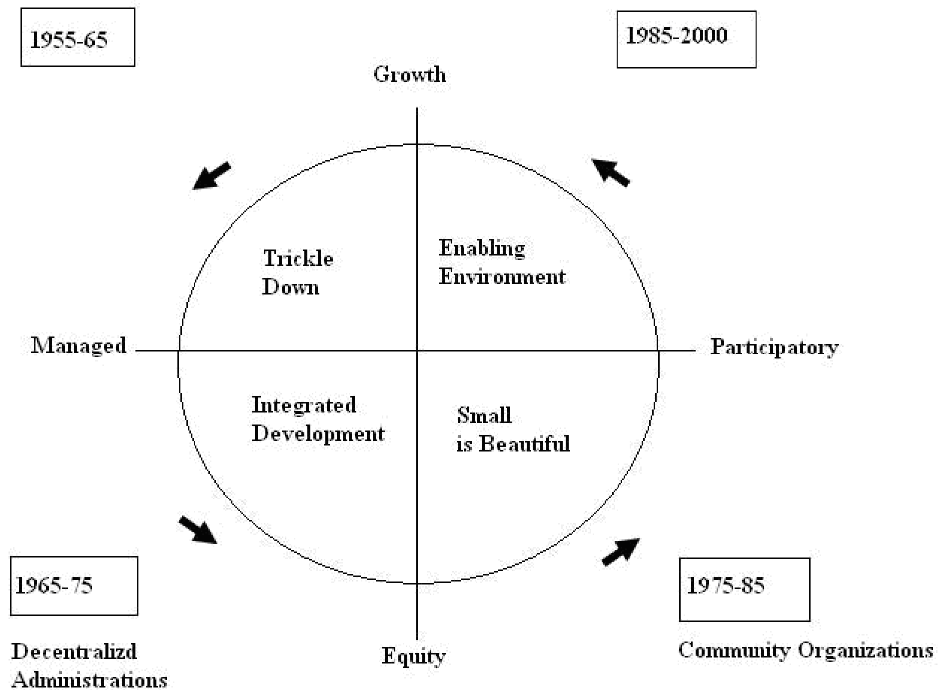

FIGURE 1.1: HALF A CENTURY OF FACTORS THAT CHANGED APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Source: Goran, Hyden in Approaches that Work In Rural Development, 1988

Nevertheless, community development has always centered around two basic questions: (1) what should be done and (2) who will do it?[1]

The first community development projects in the post-World War II era (1946-65) answered these two questions as follows: (1) focus on growth and (2) engage large institutions and governmental agencies (Goran, 1998). The Marshall Plan targeting Greece, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and Western Germany, aimed to stop the spread of communism by initiating economic development projects that would increase growth and gross national products. This top-down effort was extended to less-developed countries throughout the Third World under the Point Four Program, initiated in 1949. The Ford Foundation's programs in India and other developing countries, especially in South Asia, for example, were quintessential "top down" efforts during that era. The emphasis was on large-scale growth and population control managed by experts. The underlying assumption was that poorer communities would benefit through a "trickle down" effect (Richmond, 1998). It was further supposed that such growth would suppress the spread of communism in the Third World (Bell, 1971).

This approach had its limits, however, and during the second phase (1965-75) efforts were made to decentralize the process. The focus was still on growth but with modifications to include citizen participation so as to get that "trickle" to actually make it to the bottom. An example is the U.S. War on Poverty, which directed attention to the local level with federal government funding for major poverty alleviation programs.

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1 *See Fig. 1: Half-Century of Factors that Changed Approaches to Community Development*, which identifies concepts mentioned in this section

The energy crisis of the 1970s, the restructuring of the capitalist mode of production, and growing realization of the negative consequences of industrial agriculture on the quality of life in rural communities again forced a shift in community development theory and practice (Halpern, 1995; O'Connor, 2001). What became clear is that continued emphasis on growth, even with modified decentralization, did not necessarily improve the quality of life for people at the local level.

The appropriate technology and sustainable agriculture movements which followed in the 1970s addressed these concerns and led to an even more profound shift within the community development field. From 1975-1985 the focus moved from reliance on growth and experts to approaches stressing equity and people's involvement in the decision-making process. For example, to deal with the energy shortage, community groups emphasized conservation and alternative sources of energy, rather than encouraging oil companies to search for more oil in environmentally-sensitive locations. Food production that relied on chemical and petroleum inputs, rather than environmentally sound approaches, was increasingly seen as detrimental to long range goals for sustainable and healthy economies and people.

Community development based mainly on the contributions of peasants, villagers, and small town residents, however, revealed limitations as well, painfully so at times. In some communities, for example, emerging local leaders became fatal targets for elites whose grip on power was threatened by participatory approaches to community development (C. Smith, 1990). Former aid workers such as Peace Corps volunteers found upon returning to areas where they had worked, that many household heads were missing. The men who had taken on leadership in village improvement enterprises, such as production, worker and credit unions, had been eliminated.

Interestingly, where local communities and their leaders had ties with intermediary organizations, especially international ones, there was a higher level of safety and more sustained community-building (Thomas & Blake Jr., 1996). In the author's hometown of Davis, California a group still continues its decades long work with the Widows Organization, helping families recover and people rebuild their villages after their male leaders had been killed. The group, the Davis Religious Community for Sanctuary, has helped those who escaped to return to their villages in El Salvador, built schools for elementary and high school age children, and provided college education for those willing to return to villages to teach. The group's members have also supported witnesses at tribunals which have brought perpetrators of the crimes to trial.

In the most recent period (1985-present) there has been increasing recognition of the value of these international connections, particularly between non-governmental organizations (NGO) in developed countries and grassroots groups in developing countries (Becker, 1974). The alternative conferences held in conjunction with major United Nations conferences on habitat, technology, human rights, and women, in addition to World Social Forums, have strengthened such linkages between intermediary groups and community-based organizations.

Models of Community Development Practice

Community development has been shaped not only by large policy initiatives but also by the more subtle yet powerful assumptions and perceptions held by community development practitioners. Supplementing the major debates within community development of the past half century have been three models of community development practice. These three models as elaborated by Cox, et al (1987) are the *social service model, social planning model, and the social action model.*

The ***Social Service*** (Locality Development) model, "presupposes that community change may be pursued optimally through broad participation of a wide spectrum of people at the local community level in goal determination and action" (Cox, Erlich, Rothman, & Tropman, 1987). This is a service based community development approach, through which various people come together to assess needs, and to take action to improve or initiate services intended to improve the quality of life for area residents (Bolton, 1992; McGaughy, 2000). Community-based organizations working within or outside the domain of governance attend to services in health, job placement, literacy, etc. for the benefit of the local community.

The second model is the ***Social Planning*** approach which "emphasizes a technical process of problem-solving with regard to substantive social problems, such as crime, juvenile delinquency, housing, and mental health. Rational, deliberately planned and controlled change has a central place in this model" (Cox et al., 1987, pg.6). This is the typical model taught in planning schools (called regulative planning style), one in which technocratic experts are the key players. Such experts are seen to have institutional knowledge and access to resources, plus some power to solve well-defined problems in a particular community. This type of approach supplements the large infrastructure, trickle-down development programs of the managed central government model practiced in the mid-1950 and 1960's. In some conservative circles, the intervention of experts from above has made the word "planning" nearly synonymous with socialism.

The third model is the ***Social Action approach***, which "presupposes a disadvantaged segment of the population that needs to be organized, perhaps in alliance with others, in order to make adequate demands on the larger community for increased political engagement and confronting the power structure on behalf of immigrants through community organizing.

Table 1.1 compares and contrasts the main characteristics of the three models. As can be seen, the three models assume very different goals. Locality (service) developers see their goal as one of helping the community through improving access or providing services. Social planners see their goal as lending their expertise to solve problems. Social activists see shifting power dynamics as the main goal in improving the community. These aims shape the roles practitioners adopt: catalysts and coordinators for locality development, fact gatherers and analysts for community planning, and activists and advocates for those taking the community action approach.

TABLE 1.1: THREE MODELS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PRACTICE

	Social Service	***Social Planning***	***Social Action***
1. Goal categories of community action	Self-help; community capacity and integration (process goals)	Problem solving with regard to substantive community problems	Shifting power relationships and resources; basic institutional change
2. Assumptions concerning community structure and problem conditions	Community eclipse, anomie, lack of democratic problem solving capacities	Substantial social problems; mental and physical health, housing, recreation	Disadvantaged populations, social injustice, deprivation, inequality

TABLE 1.1 (CONTINUED)

Basic	Broad cross section of people involved in determining and solving their own problems	Fact gathering about problems and decisions on the most rational course of action	Crystallization of issues and organization of people to take action against enemy targets
change strategy	Consensus: communication among community groups and interests; group discussion	Consensus or conflict	Conflict or contests; confrontation, direct action, negotiation
5. Salient practitioner roles	Enabler – catalysts, coordinator, teacher of problem-solving skills and ethical values	Fact gatherer and analysts, problem implementer, facilitator	Activists advocate; agitator, broker, negotiator, partisan
6. Medium of change	Manipulation of small task-oriented groups	Manipulation of formal organizations and of data	Manipulation of mass organizations and political processes
7. Orientation toward power structure	Members of power structure as collaborators in a common venture	Power structure as employers and sponsors	Power structure as external target of action: oppressors to be coerced or overturned

TABLE 1.1 (CONTINUED)

8. Boundary definition of the community client system or constituency	Total geographic community	Total community or community segment (including "functional" community)	Community segment
9. Assumptions regarding interests of community subparts	Common interests or reconcilable differences	Interests reconcilable or in conflict	Conflicting interests which are not easily reconcilable; scarce resources
10. Conception of the client population or constituency	Citizens	Consumers	Victims
11. Conception of client role	Participants in an interact ional problem-solving process	Consumers or recipients	Employers, constituents, members

Source: Cox, Fred; Erlich, John; Rothman, Jack; and Tropman, John. Strategies of Community Organization, Fourth Edition, F.E. Peacock Publishers, Itasca, IL, 1987. p10

Differences in goals and roles also influence practitioners' favored tactics and approaches: process oriented working groups in locality development, data gathering by planners, and community organizing by social activists. How each approach views the power structure can be summarized as follows: locality developers see those in power as potential partners, planners are in the employ of those in power, and social activists see the power structure as the obstacle. More succinctly, these contrasting views can be summarily voiced as follows: "Let's talk things over" (locality development), "Let's get the facts" (planning) and "Let's go get them" (organizing)

A fourth model of community development practice has emerged called Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) (Green & Haines, 2002). The ABCD approach emphasizes identifying and building on resources within a community as opposed to focusing simply on needs and problems (Kretzman & McKnight, 1993; Mattessich & Monsey, 1997; Putnam, 2001). The ABCD approach is useful in looking more holistically at communities, recognizing their challenges but also the inner resources or treatment more in accordance with social justice or democracy" (Cox et al., 1987, pg.6). This model focuses on power relations between community members being served and those private and public interests which control the use of mainstream institutional power.

These three models serve to illustrate the main ideological and theoretical assumptions that distinguish much of the practical work done in community development efforts. The work of the Central Valley Partnership involves a mixture of the three: offering technical assistance and experts, creating projects that provide social services while emphasizing community organizing and building on the assets present in the community. The CVP also recognizes resources or strengths that communities have already developed, even when those assets are not immediately visible to the public eye. The model thus far, however, does not go far enough. It

fails to see, for example, the possibility of harnessing ethnic and social diversity as a resource for community development. Similarly, it ignores social networks as sources of community power. Going beyond the three models the Asset Based Community Development framework is best categorized as using a community collaborative model. The Central Valley Partnership, as will be seen below, used both its diversity and its networks to improve civic participation and community life for its members.

Network Power and Collaborative Development

The concept of social capital is critical toward understanding how community collaboration functions and has been given much attention throughout the community development literature (Bridger & Luloff, 2001) and in sociology (Bourdieu, 1977)**.** Robert Putnam popularized the concept in his study of community life in Italy and showed how strong social and cultural bonding within the northern regions helped those areas progress both socially and economically (Putnam, 1993). "Social capital is characterized as norms of reciprocity and mutual trust. Norms can be reinforced through a variety of processes: forming groups, collaborating within and among groups, developing a united view of a shared future, or engaging in collective action." Robert Putnam describes social capital as referring to "features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995). Hence, from the community collaborative perspective, social capital is about networks of people with mutual interests working together to improve the quality of life in their community

The role of networks was fundamental in the Central Valley Partnership's community development work. Networks allowed the Partnership to harness social capital in the region and use it to strengthen local organizations and communities. To put the CVP's networking experience in context and to understand the importance of

community collaboration, a review of the role networks play in society and within collaborative processes is in order (Innes & Booher, 1999; Innes & Sandoval, 2005).

In his trilogy, *The Information Age*, Castells (1997, 1998, 2000) argues that "networking logic"[2] constitutes the new social morphology of our time. The CVP's community organizing morphology is also a network structure. A network is a decentralized form of social organization comprised of at least two actors with similar interests or concerns (e.g. political, economic, and cultural) which interact and remain in informal contact for mutual assistance or support (Castells). According to Castells, during the present "Information Age," actors create and function in networks that shape the world's key processes of production, experience, power, and culture. That is, the current era of capitalist globalization is sustained by a network structure of capital, finance, production, and governing systems that work in real time and use information technologies to sustain their activities and hegemony. The global firms sustaining economic systems, for example, are organized around global networks of capital, management, and information, which depend on an international division of labor that is also dependent on networks of production and supply.

In an attempt to further outline the contours and implications of the current moment of capitalist globalization, Michael Peter Smith (2001) argues in *Transnational Urbanism* that globalization represents a spatial and cultural phenomenon embedded within capitalism's current stage. Invoking urban geographer Murray Low, Smith states globalization is a restructuring and extension of networks (or flows of money, goods, and people) and their articulation with area or regional spaces at different scales (M. P. Smith, 2001). Hence, the agents of globalization network through a system of markets and information technologies that form a web of

[2] Network Logic is the conceptualization of networking as a social form and process. Networks are used to facilitate communication, create shared meaning, and accomplish tasks in partnership.

communication and interaction. This web of global relationships is manifested in power relations stemming "from above" but also "below," in a political field organized via networks of people working within a logic shaping their embedded political and economic structure. This is as true for a multinational corporation as it is for the more sophisticated community based organizations working in California's Central Valley.

Academia has paid a considerable amount of attention to understanding networks "from above," especially as they relate to dominant economic systems. Networks "from above" are those networks that seek and maintain legitimate institutional power and hence effectively shape political, economic, and social structures to further their own particular structures and to buttress their own political-economic agenda. Networks from below, such as those developed by the Central Valley Partnership, often go unnoticed until their grassroots actions reach a critical mass. But even hidden they constitute an important resource that community development practitioners would do well to note and foster.

While social and economic networks are integral structures within the current Information Age, they are by no means new forms of social structure. There is a vast set of literature dedicated to the constitution, meaning, and function of networks (Cook & Whitmeyer, 1992; Tsuji, 2001). Social network analysis, for example, has existed since at least the 1930's. Social network analysis measures connections between people quantitatively and tries to identify links between actors, or agents, and their strengths (J. P. Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Calaskiewicz, 1996; Wasserman & Faust, 1998). These measurements are often spatially-graphed, displaying web-like maps showing how the various nodes or interactions are connected.

Networks are the new social building blocks of our time. Networks allow for agents' increased flexibility and adaptability, which are critical features in

collaborative efforts within community development. Through the network structure, agents are better able to prosper in a fast-changing social and economic environment (Castells, 2001). The Central Valley Partnership case study presented here allows us to glimpse the development of a grassroots network, a network “from below.” This notion of ‘above’ and ‘below’ pertains to power relations between structures and agents. Structures and agents from ‘above’ accumulate and maintain power, whereas those from ‘below’ seek to mitigate, gain, or overturn power from above. Michael Peter Smith and Luis Guarnizo explain this relationship within the transnational literature by stating that “categorizing transnational actions as coming from ’above‘ and from ’below‘ aims at capturing the dynamics of power relations in the transnational arena. By definition, these categories are contextual and relational” (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). Harking back to Castells’ theorization of globalization and identity, these networks from “below,” have gained a greater ability to influence large structural forces by increasing their knowledge and use of networking logic as a means to construct and mobilize collective identities for political purposes (Castells, 1996). A later chapter will show how the CVP has used such network structures to increase its own social and political capital throughout the Central Valley and hence engage in collaborative community organizing.

Ironically, the networking logic that is currently flooding societies all over the world is nothing new to immigrant groups who have honed most of their adaptive and survival strategies in network-like settings and relationships. Specifically, networks of kinship, friendship, and commonalities of origin have influenced greatly the process of settlement and adaptation of immigrants (Boyd, 1983; Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Massey, 1995; Winters, de Janvry, & Sadoulet, 2001). Within the community development literature, attention has been given to the importance of networks in

forming a sense of cohesion and solidarity within groups, and as a means of forming social capital.

The potential for multiplying social and political capital exponentially through networks of community based organizations can now be glimpsed as a new tool for collaborative community organizing. This can have real political advantages as groups begin to share and learn from one another's organizing strategies. This is one of the main themes which emerged from the CVP's experience and a major reason why community organizations stayed at the table. The opportunity to increase social and political capital in this way is a result of increasing the "network power" of community organizations. It is accomplished by building upon and strengthening community groups' networking abilities and tools. Booher and Innes state, for example, that, "Net*w*ork power is the shared ability of linked agents to alter their environment in ways advantageous to these agents individually and collectively. Network power emerges from communication and collaboration among individuals, public and private agencies, and businesses in a society. Network power emerges as diverse participants in a network focus on a common task and develop shared meanings and common heuristics that guide their action" (Booher & Innes, 2002).

Within a collaborative community development network, agents are encouraged to participate and establish themselves within the nodes, or communication connection points of the organization, In other words, barriers to participation by collective or individual agents are lower within network structures than in other formal (mostly vertical) forms of social organization. Participation in a network, either as an agent within a node or as a node itself, opens more opportunities to express one's voice or to exert one's influence over particular issues. While participation and association within networks might be relatively easy to achieve, the

creation of shared meaning and trust within them is not necessarily a guaranteed outcome.

Castells' theories of networks and information technologies contribute to the theoretical context for considering how information technologies can help grassroots groups organize for social change. One of the main characteristics of the Information Age, according to Castells, is the emergence of identity as a political action tool organized around networks of social change. Identity forms an important uniting factor for grassroots networks working from "below." Cultural identity can serve as the ideological glue that unites agents in struggles to create structural changes. Yet this "power of identity" is difficult to harness in a multi-ethnic environment such as California's Central Valley, with populations originating from around the world.

As the following chapters will detail, ideological, cultural, and historical differences can be surmounted by groups and individuals collaborating via multi-ethnic community organization networks and, fostering a common experience and identity. Differences and hurdles can be overcome by building on people's shared status, for example, as among immigrants in the Central Valley of California. The everyday lives of immigrant, migrant and low wage workers' can serve as the foundation for collaborative work in their communities. Identity and power can be shared, even as peoples' experiences often remain culturally, economically and politically distinct and diverse.

What Collaboration Entails

The Central Valley Partnership is a collaborative multi-ethnic network of community-based organizations. These diverse organizations, each with its own history of political activities, have worked together to increase the social and political capital of immigrants, migrants and low-wage workers in the Central Valley. The potential for collaboration through networking and community development among

those groups were central to the creation and development of the Central Valley Partnership. Networking helped the groups learn to talk to each other and to recognize the similarities in their lives and communities. This in turn, led to new possibilities for collaboration.

In the community development field, both academics and practitioners have acknowledged the increasing role collaborative discourse plays in shaping and influencing action (Innes & Booher, 2003). A generic definition offered by Axinn and Axinn (1997) in *Collaboration in International Rural Development*, states, "Collaboration may be an effort to build on trust and a sense of equity, which enables people with different backgrounds to work together to achieve common goals." For them, essential factors in collaboration include: (1) trust and respect for the competence of individuals and organizations involved; (2) participants having something to offer to the others for which the others have a need; and (3) willingness on all sides to invest time and money in sufficient communication.

Based on their examination of strategies for collaboration in the health field, Tsai-Roussos and Fawcett (2000) explain, "A collaborative partnership is an alliance among people and organizations from multiple sectors, such as schools and businesses, working together to achieve a common purpose." For them, strategies of collaborative partnerships are based on realizations that: (1) the goal cannot be reached by any one individual or group working alone; (2) participants should include a diversity of individuals and groups who represent the concern and/or geographic area or population; and (3) shared interests make consensus among the prospective partners possible.

Many definitions and conceptual frameworks of collaboration have been formulated (Benne & Garrard, 2003; Healey, 2003a., 2003b.; Innes & Booher, 2003; Susskind, McKearnan, & Thomas-Larmer, 1999). What is stressed by all is the

importance of working beyond an individual framework, of having a stake in the outcome of a process, and of maintaining a shared interest among the participants involved. Usually, there is also a notion of involving diverse interests in the collaboration and encouraging those connected to see and seek a common good and to consider this common ground, even while working for individual self-interests (Ahuja, 2000; Fisher, Ury, & Patton, 1991; Healey, 1997; Margerum, 1999).

Another line of thought emerging from the literature on collaborative practice relates to the motivation for groups to join forces. Is it an external threat? Or, is it an internal value, an awareness that cooperation allows people to accomplish certain goals that they might not be able to accomplish alone?

The conflict rationale for collaboration is present in fields such as city planning (Healey, 2003) where conflict between various interests is prevalent. Review of the city planning literature on collaboration leads to several summary observations: First, bringing together stakeholders representing various interests against a common opponent usually reveals that their interests are not oppositional, but have commonalities; Second, traditionally oppositional interests can sometimes benefit by working together; Third, cooperation happens through dialogue and understanding of others' interests; Fourth, people have to have a genuine stake in the outcome, plus the power to influence their constituents; and Fifth, collaboration can benefit from conflict because it provides a sense of urgency and a focus on outcome.

The Central Valley Partnership and an allied organization, the Civic Action Network (CAN), for example, devoted significant energy to collaboration in response to such external threats as: the proposed elimination of Immigration and Naturalization Service (INA) section 245(I); frost damage to the citrus industry that required emergency aid for farm workers; and hate crimes victimizing Central Valley Sikhs,

Moslems, and Arab Americans in the aftermath of September 11. (See Figure 1.2 for a diagram showing the CVP's basis for collaboration).

At other times it was enough to recognize that groups within the Central Valley shared certain structural problems such as inequality, discrimination, access to services, which could be better addressed through cooperation. In the case of the Central Valley Partnership and Civic Action Network, collaboration here meant exchanging stories of people's migration journeys, describing their experiences and struggles in a new land, and articulating their visions and hopes. Such sharing led to special projects, organizational strategies and accomplishments. Successes helped participants gain confidence, new skills, and a higher level of shared meaning and trust, providing the basis for still further collaboration. Working together on issues of mutual interest brought into sharper focus the organizations' interdependence, allowing groups to better serve their communities. (See Table 1.2 for a description of CVP's organizing strategies and the groups which use them).

The strength of the Central Valley Partnership's approach to collaboration came from its members' willingness to learn each others' organizing attempts and combine such strategies in new ways. A community-based organization using popular education such as the Pan Valley Institute, for example, found it could learn a great deal from Partner organizations relying on technological skills such as documentation, informed workshops or community-directed research. Similarly, an organization with a strong conflict- based strategy, such as the Industrial Areas Foundation, discovered it could harness its network power by learning how peace and church organizations tackled some of their organizing situations and vice versa. Once these organizations began to collaborate together in these ways, their overall networking power grew, and

with it their ability to generate social and political capital and to effect change in their communities.

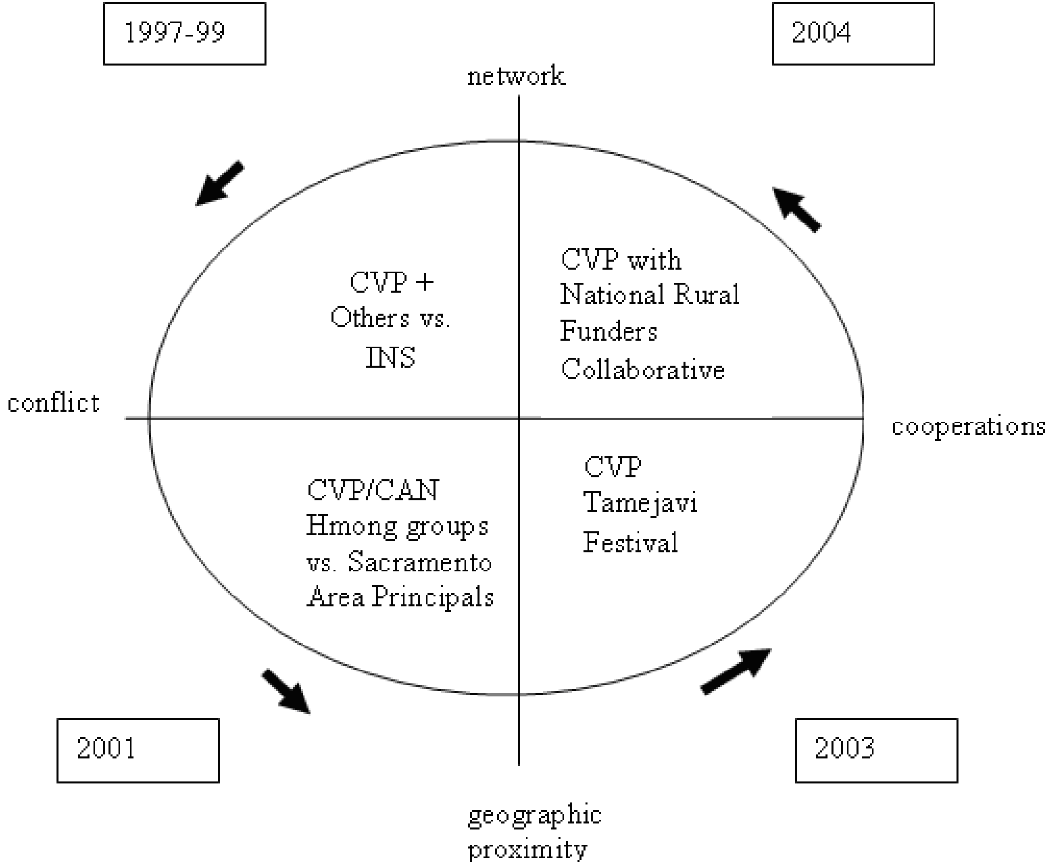

FIGURE 1.2: CVP'S BASIS FOR COLLABORATION

TABLE 1.2: ORGANIZING STRATEGIES WITHIN THE CVP

Strategy	Description	Groups Using Strategy
Change base of Power	Aggressive community organizing but non-violent, placing political pressure on powerful individuals	Sacramento Valley Organizing Community. Pacific Institute for Community Organizing
Farm Workers Organizing	Union started by Cesar Chavez, using non-violence and marches, boycotts and protests to place political pressure	California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation
Peace Church Movement	Based out of the Quaker tradition, organizing for peace and justice	American Friends Service Committee Projecto Campesino REAP
Liberation Theology	Emerged in Latin American as organizing based around working for social justice and questioning inequalities especially around land reform	El Colegio Popular
Popular Education	Popular education means education by the people, with the people, and for the people rooted in people's struggles for improving their life's and communities	Pan Valley Institute
Asset -Based Community Development	Works with existing community resources and focuses on local knowledge and people.	One on one Fresno Leadership Foundation
Faith -Based Organizing	Community organizing based on a spiritual calling and using churches as organizing bases	Catholic Charities SVOC, El Colegio, San Joaquin Valley Organizing Program
Indigenous Organizing	Organizing using indigenous culture and identity as emphasis for empowerment and creating social change	Frente Indigena Oaxaqueno Binacional SJV Coalition for Immigrant Rights
Technology/research/expert knowledge for People	Bringing technological resources to aid community organizing strategies and using participatory action research in organizing purposes	Compumentor, KNXTV, Youth in Focus, Non-profit communications, CIRS,ILRC

Community organizing strategies within the Central Valley Organizations

The multi-ethnic dimension of the Central Valley Partnership's network and collaboration was a critical element in the building of cultural capital. Recent immigrant groups from Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe had various perspectives and world views. The complexities and diversity of these views could be seen within groups coming from one country such as Mexico or Laos. Some immigrants and workers from Mexico did not identify themselves as Mexican and often did not even have Spanish as their primary language. Mexican workers coming from the state of Oaxaca, for example, see themselves as Mixtecs, Zapotecs, Chatino,Trique or members of any of the l2 other indigenous groups from that area. For various groups from Laos, the fact that they are from the country of Laos is secondary to their identity as Hmong, Mien, Khmu or Lahu. Even among migrants sharing a nationalist identity, for example Mexicans, there are great differences in experience depending on whether they came from a rural village in Zacatecas or Michoacan or from Mexico City.

Despite these significant ideological, cultural and historical differences, however, the Partnership found over time that the distinct ethnic groups' stories as immigrants in the Central Valley of California revealed common issues and concerns. Many worked in the same economic sector and experienced similar social, economic, and cultural pressures and marginalization in adapting to their new surroundings and social context. Such contextual experiences created the potential for shared meaning between groups that led them to organize and work together to improve life in their communities.

Methodology

This research is based on a decade of participant observation. As project facilitator for the Central Valley Partnership, I participated in the initial discussion formulating the project, saw the growth of the active partners from the original 6 to its peak of 24, facilitated quarterly meetings of the Partnerships and worked closely with the development of the Civic Action Network during its five active years from 1999 to 2003. This involved being in regular contact with 149 emerging immigrant organizations and 228 projects enhancing civic participation. For collaborations involving the Immigrant Leadership Fellows program, the Tamejavi Festival and the youth led ESPINO, my participation ranged from serving as resource person, speaking at their gatherings and working with specialists brought in for specific program development.

In addition to being in direct contact with all the partners through circuit riding and preparation of agendas for the quarterly meetings, I worked closely with the program officer of the James Irvine Foundation which supported the project financially for eight years. To get the word out on the work of the CVP to policy makers and to leaders of mainstream entities, I organized sessions that featured the work of the Central Valley Partnership for the Great Valley Center's annual conferences. These attracted over 500 leaders from political, community, business and agencies with vested interest in the issues facing the Central Valley.

I also represented the CVP at various conferences speaking or organizing panels about the CVP for funders such as Northwest Areas Foundation, National Rural Funders Collaborative, Coalition of Foundations Concerned with Immigrant and Refugees, and Northern California Foundations. In creating the quarterly meeting agendas I also maintained a depository of all meeting agendas and minutes as a backup to the one maintained by the James Irvine Foundation. My position as project

facilitator was financially supported by the James Irvine Foundation. After their support terminated in 2004, I continued my involvement with the CVP on a reduced compensation for a year and then on a pro bono basis since.

What has been learned through this collaborative process – and its implications for community development theory and practice – forms the basis of this dissertation. Chapters Two and Three will present the social context and cultural diversity of California's Central Valley. This will be followed in Chapters Four through Six with an examination of the Central Valley's Partnership's efforts among immigrant, refugee and worker communities in the heartland of California. Chapter Seven summarizes both the potential and the challenges of promoting collaborative community development.

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CHAPTER 2

VIEW FROM THE FRONT AND THE BACK FOUR PERSPECTIVES ON CALIFORNIA'S CENTRAL VALLEY

The Central Valley of California is a unique region bringing together the world's most agriculturally productive sectors, an ethnically diverse population from around the world, communities experiencing both rapid growth and rapid social and ethnographic changes, and an environmental setting caught in the confluence of all these forces. This chapter examines the Central Valley of California from four perspectives: the communities in the Valley, the people in the Valley, the Valley's environment, and finally the Valley's economic engine, the productivity of its agriculture. These four perspectives are also described and viewed "from the back" as well as "from the front." Going backstage to a place or, in this case, an entire region, helps us to better understand the forces shaping what is on display in the Central Valley and what is going on behind the scenes.

The Central Valley is that portion of California between the Coastal Ranges and the Sierra Nevada Mountains, extending north to Mount Shasta and south to the Tehachapi Mountains (See Figure 2.1). The Central Valley of California is often referred to as the "bread basket of the world"[3]. The borders of the Central Valley are a combination of county boundary lines and physical features. Portions of 19 counties make up the Central Valley floor. Although Sacramento and Sutter Counties lie completely within the Valley floor, the other 17 counties include portions of the Valley and portions of high desert, foothills, or forested mountains.

[3] See for example the National Public Radio program: California's Central Valley. http://www.npr.org/programs/atc/features/2002/nov/central_valley/

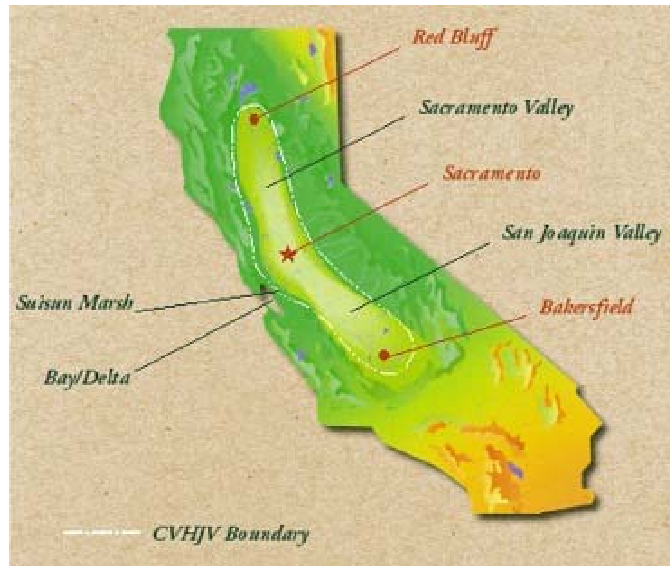

FIGURE 2.1: MAP OF CENTRAL VALLEY

Source: US Dept. of Interior, Bureau of Reclamation

The Central Valley as a Case-Study

The Central Valley represents a unique region not only in California but in the world. It possesses extreme disparities of wealth and resources and tremendous cultural, religious and ethnic diversity. The Valley is also one of the richest, most productive agricultural areas in the world. This mixture of social, cultural, economic and political variables thus creates a mosaic of research opportunities for those interested in advancing community development theory and practice, especially in marginalized rural communities.

Another reason for choosing the Central Valley as a study area relates to the agents involved in community development. Activists in this region have various levels of experience pertaining to community development work. Some have been working on immigrants' rights issues for 30 years, while others are completely new to community development. Their political affiliations and their community organizing tactics are also varied and diverse. The Central Valley Partnership was made possible

by a ten-year financial and technical support grant from the James Irvine Foundation. This rare, long-term funding opportunity provided much needed financial stability to individual community based organization, helped the network evolve and take risks in collaborating.

The Central Valley is also the area where I spent the past 30 years conducting research and participating in community development. Hence, as the CVP evolved into a large network, drawing more participants and involving itself in larger and more complex activism, the potential the Partnership had toward contributing to both community development practice and theory was recognized. The Central Valley Partnership case study thus provides an opportunity for research grounded in practice and experience and a way to visualize the potential multi-ethnic collaborative networks have for both community activists and researchers.

Central Valley Communities

In the 19 counties of the Valley, 58 incorporated cities are on the Central Valley floor[4]. The majority of those cities are located along Highway 99 on the north-south axis of the Valley's 450 mile long plain. The Valley is an extremely diverse area which does not constitute a single community (Umbach, 1998). The Central Valley has two main geographical divisions; the northern section called the Sacramento Valley and the southern one the San Joaquin Valley. Each gain their names from the major rivers that runs through them. The Sacramento River flows southward and the San Joaquin River northward. They meet in the middle region, the Delta situated between Sacramento and Stockton, where the joined waters move out of the Valley towards San Francisco Bay.

[4] The Great Valley Center, ACCESS II Project Summary of Economic Development Proposals, February 23, 2003.

Cities stretch along the Valley floor from Redding in the north to Bakersfield in the South. Incorporated cities range in size from Fresno's 406,900 persons to Tehama's 420[5] (432 – according to the 2000 census). Many Central Valley cities have very small populations and identify strongly with agricultural production (King, 1999). But the relative smallness of Valley populations is deceptive: many communities have experienced rapid population growth in recent years.(Table 2.1) The total population of the Central Valley is estimated to become 7.1million in 2010, an increase of 25% from the 5.7 million counted in the 2000 census.

Population growth[6] increases the land use competition between housing developers, farmers, business people, environmentalists, and agricultural land preservationists. The Central Valley outranks 20 states in population and by the year 2020, projections indicate it will outrank 33 states (Lopez, 1996).

Logos and Signs of Central Valley Communities

City images and symbols are designed to promote a "positive" face for the community. Welcome signs, city logos, and even Main Street itself represent the elements that are promoted as "front stage" in Central Valley cities. City symbols publicize the desirability of a place, the commodities produced there or striking aspects of geography, economy, and location. Sometimes a location can claim its prime identity as a place on the way to a better known destination (e.g., Merced as the "Gateway to Yosemite").

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[5] California Statistical Abstract, Population for Counties and Cities, California Department of Finance, Sept. 1997.

[6] Later a discussion of viewing Central Valley population growth in spatial terms compared to the rest of California will be addressed.

TABLE 2.1: CENTRAL VALLEY CITIES THAT DOUBLED IN POPULATION BETWEEN 1980 & 1990 AND THE INCREASE IN POPULATION IN 2000

City (County)	1980	1990	2000
Avenal(Kings)	4,100	9,800	14,670
Ceres (Stanislaus)	13,300	26,300	34,610
Corcoran(Tulare)	6,500	13,400	14,460
Folsom(Sacramento)	11,000	29,800	51,880
Patterson(Stanislaus)	3,900	8,600	11,610
Parlier(Fresno)	2,900	7,900	11,150
Ripon(San Joaquin)	3,500	7,500	10,150
Suisun City(Solano)	11,100	22,700	26,120
Tracy(San Joaquin)	18,400	33,600	56,930

Source: 1980, 1990, 2000 Census

More often than not, the images and pictorials intended to represent a place or endow it with a sense of identity are selected by those who have power in the community. Their influence is reflected in the images chosen for most town welcome signs. Welcome signs typically showcase local community service clubs and organizations. What's missing are symbols suggesting the presence of diverse social groups that characterize Central Valley communities. Although a section of Highway 99 was named "442nd Infantry Regiment," for example, the sign fails to identify the 442nd as the most decorated unit in U.S. military history. It also fails to convey that the

442nd was composed entirely of Japanese American soldiers, including many whose home towns were in the Central Valley (Figure 2.2).

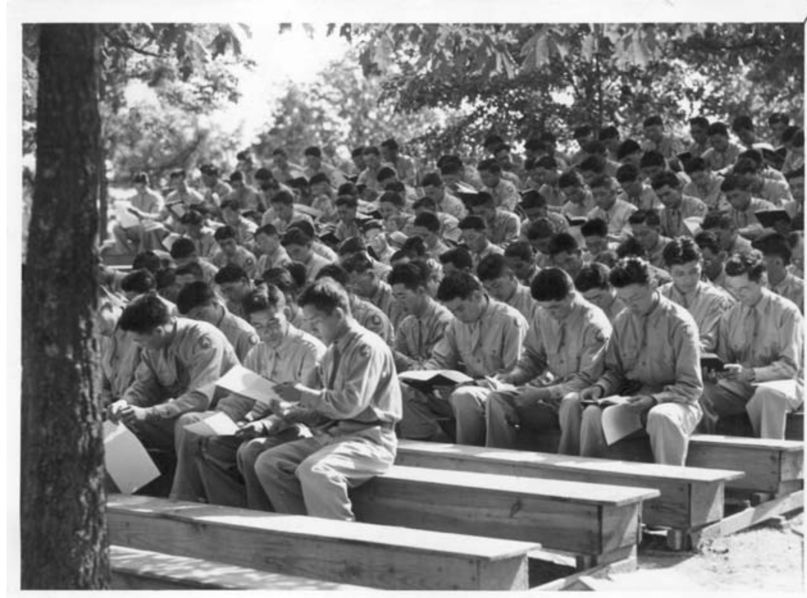

FIGURE 2.2: JAPANESE AMERICAN SOLDIERS AT CAMP SHELBY, MISSISSIPPI, 1943

Source: "The 442nd combat team at Camp Shelby is composed entirely of Americans of Japanese descent who volunteered for services in the armed forces. This unit of approximately 8000 men is undergoing intensive training in all branches of combat duty, and they are looking forward with eagerness to actual services at the front". Photographer: Mace, Charles E. Camp Shelby, Mississippi. July 1943 The Bancroft Library. University of California, Berkeley. Copyright © 2006 The Regents of The University of California.

Thus in terms of cities' welcome signs minority groups remain backstage, out of view. However, in Fresno County the City of Reedley broke with tradition. Reedley's welcome sign includes the logos of the Filipino Association and the

Japanese American Citizens League, a unique demonstration of welcoming to its "front stage" ethnic groups typically rendered invisible or relegated to the back.

The "back" of a community often reveals what is excluded and kept out of the general public's view: worker shacks, migrant labor camps, low-income enclaves, poor white neighborhoods, and segregated ethnic communities. The back areas are distinctive and varied not only in appearance but also in sounds, languages other than English and the music of other cultures. This is particularly pronounced in the *colonias* or Spanish-speaking settlements that predominate in rural unincorporated areas throughout the Valley and much of California.

People of the Central Valley[7]

It is not just the increase in numbers of people in the Central Valley but its diversity that is dramatic. Many people came to the Valley from afar, creating a transnational and world milieu, starting with the rush for California gold in 1849. Today they continue to come. Raj Ramaiya, former Director of the American Friends Service Committee's (AFSC) Rural Economic Alternatives Program, talked about International Friends Day in Stockton. Developed in 1986 by Ramaiya and the AFSC, the annual fair grew out of the early 1980's International Friendship Dinner. The fair now brings together as many as 10,000 people. Ramaiya explained:

> "We have nearly 100 ethnic groups – among these are Cambodian, Scottish, African American, Kenyan, Tahitian, Laotian, Native American, Eastern European, Middle Eastern, Assyrian, Hmong, Basque, Portuguese, Liberian, Mixtec, Guatemalan, Hindi, Vietnamese, Panamanian, Eastern Caribbean, Chilean, Norwegian, and Irish."[8]

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[7] Chapter 3 of this dissertation is entirely devoted to the ethnic diversity of the Central Valley.
[8] In conversation with Raj Ramaiya, August, 1998.

Each year various cultural groups participate in the fair, dramatizing the population changes taking place in Stockton and surrounding areas, changes that offer the greater community a rich variety of cuisine, music, dances, attire, and art forms.

Stockton's increasing cultural diversity is indicative of the growing diversity of the Central Valley as a whole. Five Valley cities - Merced, Fresno, Visalia, Tulare, Stockton, and Modesto - rank among America's top 20 cities in their proportions of nonwhite, foreign-born persons.[9] Sikhs from India's Punjab region produce nearly half of the peaches in the Yuba City area.[10] On Main Street in the city of San Joaquin, Fresno County, a Laundromat beckons in three languages: Spanish, Punjabi, and English(Figure 2.3).

FIGURE 2.3: TRILUNGUAL LAUNDROMAT SIGN

Source: Don Villarejo, California Institution for Rural Studies

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[9] Wasserman, Jim, "Common to Many; Known to Few", *The Fresno Bee*, November 9, 1997.
[10] In Conversation with Professor Thomas Gradziel, University of California, Davis, Department of Pomology, September 3, 1998.

Backstage Among the Central Valley's People

Those in power have characteristically recorded history and current events from their own points of view. Local historians of the Central Valley write about the dominant culture's community founders as "settlers" and "pioneers" while excluding the equally noteworthy contributions of native Californians and other diverse ethnic communities. Mainstream historical accounts and current media coverage typically exclude events recorded only in non-English languages. Although relegated to the media's backstage, events promoting diverse cultural heritage and ethnic associations do enrich the civic culture of the entire Valley. Filipino, Japanese, Mexican and Punjabi hometown associations, for example, connect Valley residents with their sending communities in the Philippines, Japan, Mexico or India. Similarly, ethnic newspapers, television, and radio stations report on upcoming events such as playoffs in the ethnic sports leagues, bilingual and multilingual church services, fairs, festivals, bazaars, and gospel music celebrations. Readers dependent mainly on the main stream press miss out on the *obon* dances at the Japanese Buddhist temples, *quinceneras* in the Mexican communities, parades of the Sikhs, and bullfights organized by the Azorean Portuguese.

The Central Valley's Environmental Setting

The natural landscape of the Central Valley has undergone a vast transformation in the last 200 years. When Europeans began settling in California, they brought with them plants, livestock, and many other species from their own countries including many that were accidentally introduced. The introduced species – clover, star-thistle, yellow-mustard, Johnson grass, wild oats, and foxtails, as well as horses and cows - quickly replaced native plants and animals such as needle grass, bluegrass, grizzly bear and antelope of the Central Valley. An estimated one – eighth

of the plant species now in California have been introduced (S. Johnson, Haslam & Dawson, 1993).

Today the Central Valley provides or accommodates a unique combination of conditions favorable for agricultural production: climate, water, soil, energy, technology, infrastructure, and labor. The resources of the Valley make possible California's $27.8 billion agricultural industry (as of 2003). Largely dependent upon imported water, the productive agricultural economy of a region such as the San Joaquin Valley's Westside depends upon the interaction among communities, people, and environment.

Over the course of the 20th century, engineers dammed rivers, drained lakes, and drained wetlands of the Central Valley, turning former lakebeds and wetlands into land for farming. Some farms now cultivate land once beneath Buena Vista and Tulare Lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. Tulare Lake, once navigated by steamboats, was five-times larger in surface area than Lake Tahoe. A vast system was engineered to transform and redirect the natural course of its water. Today the Valley's water system contains over 1,200 dams, 15 pumping stations, reservoirs, and over 540 miles of aqueducts. It reaches into other western states to divert water into the Central Valley and south to Los Angeles.

Two major northern California dams – Shasta Dam on the Sacramento River and Oroville Dam on the Trinity River – supply water to the Central Valley, including the otherwise-dry Westside of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as too much of Southern California. Shasta Dam, for example, backs up the Sacramento River to store millions of acre-feet of water for regulated release into a 400 – mile long aqueduct. Shasta and the Trinity River are stars of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation system. Oroville Dam is the pride of the Department of Water Resources' California Water Project. These are the premier dams in the Central Valley Project.

Water also is fed through the Delta to the California aqueduct, where it is pumped uphill through a series of lift stations as it flows south to Bakersfield and is then lifted nearly two-fifths of a mile over the Tehachapi Mountains north of Los Angeles. “This heavy lifting makes the state Water Project the single largest user of energy in California[11]” The project uses 2 to 3 percent of all electricity consumed in the state [of California][12]. An article in Harper’s Magazine describes the operation of the system like this: “Huge batteries of federal and state pumps direct such water from every source available through a tumult of islands, levees, and channels before jacking it up into twin aqueducts exporting it to the fields and cities of Central and Southern California” (Graham, 1998).

On the journey to southern California, this precious water can become degraded. Tidal salt water from San Francisco Bay, for example, on occasion has been nearly sucked into the giant Delta aqueducts. Beyond certain limits, salt is toxic to plants and humans. Water in the Central Valley’s system is also contaminated by agricultural activities that rely on nitrates, sulfates, pesticides, selenium in the soil, and fuels. Given industrial agriculture’s manipulation of natural systems, the phrase “natural setting,” applied to the Valley, seems to some to be very inappropriate to its present condition.

Central Valley Environment from the Front and Back

The environmental image of the Central Valley - the setting, landscape, and natural resources - also illustrates a contrast between “front and back.” Many images of the Valley, including city logos and welcome signs, promote it as environmentally attractive and picturesque: flat, well-cultivated landscapes and orchards, a wealth of natural resources, distant mountains framing the Valley, abundantly irrigated fields,

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[11] Public Citizen, Mismanaging the California State Water Project, 2005.
[12] Natural Resources Defense Council, Energy Down the Drain: The Hidden Costs of California’s Water Supply, 2006.

and lush fruit and vegetables. Omitted from these visual images of agricultural abundance are the diverse faces of those who produce this wealth and the impoverished circumstances in which many live.

In addition to the Valley's reliance on cheap labor, such agricultural wealth depends on nonrenewable resources. Some water aquifers have been drained to such an extent that land has sunk. In addition, many acres of arable land have been lost to salinity caused by dissolved salts brought to the surface when arid land is irrigated using practices common throughout the Valley. Some marginal lands brought under cultivation have had their own special problems (e.g. selenium contamination).

If great agricultural wealth represents the visible front of the Central Valley, the costs of producing that wealth remain hidden backstage in the form of poor health and environmental problems. Increased use of petroleum products, chemical fertilizers and pesticides have been linked to a variety of public health problems including cancer and asthma. Chemical fertilizers, as well as additional animal waste, have increased the presence of dissolved nitrates in the Valley's drinking water. Because higher concentrations of nitrates in water are harmful to infants, families who can least afford it, must now buy bottled water for their young children to drink.

Controversy surrounds the identification of cancer clusters among children in part of San Joaquin Valley. In the town of McFarland, "dozens of children suffer from some type of cancer or birth defects. Since the first cases in 1983, until now, the problem continues to be grave and exasperating for parents and cruel to children."[13] Pesticide exposure is a problem throughout the Valley. "In the Central Valley between 1999 and 2003, more than 700 people were sickened in four major pesticide drift incidents. But dozens of other smaller exposures every year draw little notice, says

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[13] Miguel Angel Baez, Central Valley Town Suffers High Cancer Rates, With No Explanation, Pacific News Service, Nov. 16, 2004.

state Senator Dean Florez, whose district produces more crops than most states[14]. In Fresno and Tulare Counties, this possible linking of cancer to the careless use of pesticides prompted family farmers to form California Clean, an organization of growers on the east side of the Valley who have shifted to organic farming.

Environmental Concerns in the Central Valley

While agricultural productivity is applauded on the Central Valley's front stage, the associated patterns of environmental and social degradation are concealed – as much as possible – on the backstage. The use of agricultural chemicals in California is high compared to the rest of the country. Representing just one 20th of all U.S. cropland is in California, California growers purchased one 9th of all agricultural chemicals sold in the US[15].

The consequences of this chemical approach to agriculture include the pollution of drinking water supplies with nitrite ions from chemical fertilizers and possibly the otherwise unexplained appearance of what appear to be unusually high cancer rates among children in certain rural communities. Another consequence has been the harm to migrating waterfowl, which became most visible in the Kesterson wildlife refuge in Merced County. Though some of the links of agricultural chemicals in pesticides, herbicides and fertilizers to cancer and deformities in wildlife are inconclusive to date, enough is known and enough questions and concerns have been raised, to encourage the search for safer, more sustainable methods of agricultural production.

Another environmental concern is the process of irrigation itself, particularly for the semi-arid land that characterizes much of the Westside of the San Joaquin Valley. Historically, most great systems of irrigation eventually break down,

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[14]John Ritter, "In California's Central Valley, pesticide fight heats up" USA Today, 4-12-2005.
[15] Pesticide usage was calculated from the data in the 1992 Census of Agriculture.

according to Karl Wittfogel's *Oriental Despotism* (Wittfogel, 1981). The irrigation process that turns semi-arid or desert land into fertile soil brings salt. This can come in the form of dissolved salts that come with irrigation water or salts that rise to the surface when formerly arid soils get wet and then dry. The accumulation of salts over time eventually renders the land incapable of supporting crops. Land lost to salinity in the Central Valley is a growing cause for concern.

Another feature shaping the Central Valley's landscape is the increasing urbanization of farmland. Between 1982 and 1992, some 221,000 acres of Central Valley farmland were paved over for urban uses (Sorensen, Greene, & Russ, 1997). Paradoxically, this transition towards urbanization is most pronounced in California's -- and the nation's -- leading agricultural county, Fresno. In just two years, 1994 -- 1996, Fresno County lost 8,692 acres of farmland to urbanization (California Department of Conservation., 1998).

As far as anyone can tell, this trend will continue. By the year 2020, California's population is expected to increase from 33 million to more than 50 million people (Baldassare, 2000). Seven million of that additional 17 million are expected to settle in the Central Valley. A report conducted by Forecasting International views this continued urbanization as threatening the agricultural productivity of the Central Valley (Cetron, 2003). The report states that the "loss of farmland has an economic impact that may not be adequately recognized. Though few American taxpayers work on farms, as much as 30 percent of the Central Valley region's economy is directly supported by agriculture" (Cetron, 2003).

The Central Valley's Economy: Agriculture as the Driving Force

The Central Valley's front is its agricultural economy and resultant wealth. During the past half-century, the eight counties comprising the San Joaquin Valley,

the southern region of the Central Valley, have been among the top ten agricultural counties in the country, with Fresno, Tulare, and Kern Counties usually ranking first, second and third, respectively (See Table 2.3).[16] For California, the economic impact of the Valley's agricultural sector is immense. The San Joaquin Valley alone accounts for almost half of the state's value in agricultural production.[17]

In 2003, the agricultural production of California generated $27.8 billion worth of commodities.(Table 2.2) Included in that wealth was Fresno County's agricultural production which totaled $4.05 billion, followed by Tulare County, at $3.29 billion. To highlight the immensity of the Central Valley's agriculture industry, the California Agricultural Statistics Service claims that if ranked separately, Fresno County's agricultural commodity value would rank ahead of more than half the other states in the nation.[18]

TABLE 2.2: CASH RECEIPTS FROM AGRICULTURE

Top 5 Agricultural States in Cash Receipts, 2003

State	Rank	Total Value (Billion Dollars)
California	1	27.8
Texas	2	15.3
Iowa	3	12.6
Nebraska	4	10.6
Kansas	5	9.0

Source: California Agricultural Statistics Service, Agricultural Overview 1994-2003, USDA-NASS, California Agricultural Statistics, 2003.

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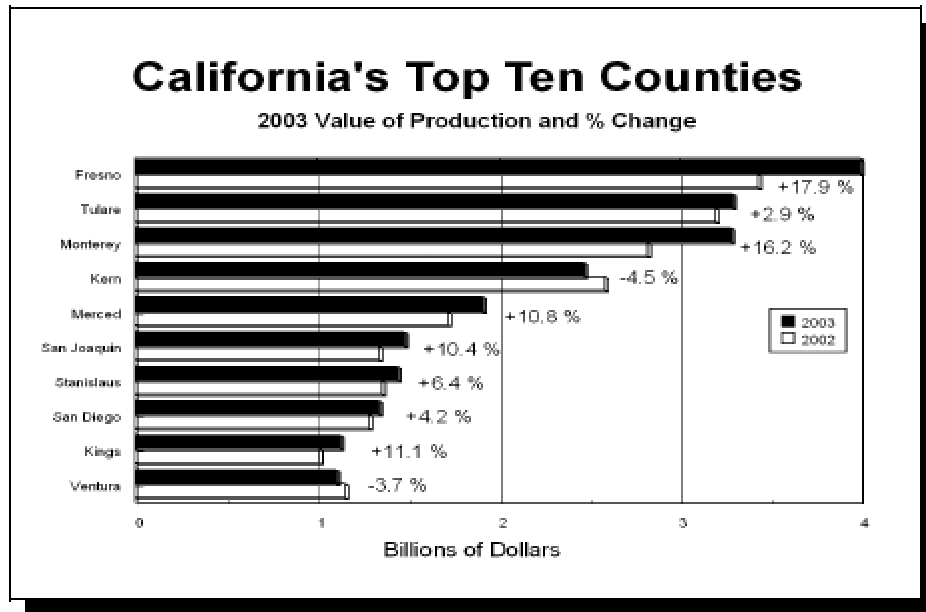
16 CAL. AGRIC. STATISTICS SERV., SUMMARY OF COUNTY AGRICULTURAL COMMISSIONERS' REPORTS: GROSS VALUES BY COMMODITY GROUPS — CALIFORNIA 2002-2003, *at* 1, *available at* ftp://www.nass.usda.gov/pub/nass/ca/AgComm/200308cavtb00.pdf

17 San Joaquin Valley accounts for 47.7% of the state's agricultural value.

18 CAL. AGRIC. STATISTICS SERV., CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURAL OVERVIEW 2 (2003), *available at* ftp://www.nass.usda.gov/pub/nass/ca/AgStats/2003cas-ovw.pdf (last visited Jan. 1, 2005).

TABLE 2.3: TOP TEN CALIFORNIA COUNTIES IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION



Source: Summary of County Agricultural Commissioners' Reports, Gross Values by Commodity Groups, California 2002-2003, September 2004. Prepared by California Agricultural Statistics Service [Sept. 2004]

As the most productive agricultural region in the world, the Central Valley's visibility is tied to its agricultural wealth. The Valley is a major contributor to California's rank as first in the United States. The state had the highest agricultural cash receipts at $27.8 billion for 2003[19]. Within California, seven of the ten top agricultural producing counties lie within the Central Valley[20].(Table 2.3) In the county of Fresno alone, the gross value of agricultural production was over $3.4

[19] See Table 2: Top 5 Agricultural States in Cash Receipts, Agricultural Statistics, 2003.
[20] See Table 3: Agricultural Production of California's Counties, California's Top Ten Counties, Agricultural Commissioners Report, 2003.

billion in 2000[21] and surpassed the $4 billion mark in 2003[22]. The Central Valley is divided into three economic producing areas: San Joaquin Valley, Sacramento Metro Area, and the Northern Sacramento Valley. The San Joaquin Valley accounts for almost half of the state's value in agricultural produce, with 47.7% of state value[23]. The San Joaquin Valley also had over $14 billion of the $16.7 in value of agricultural goods produced in the Central Valley for the year 2000. A look at both the agricultural gross value production per county shows the agricultural dominance the Central Valley maintains over other regions in California.[24](Table 2.4) The strength of the Central Valley's agricultural sectors is sustained by the sheer diversity of the crops harvested from wines, dairy, and poultry to various fruits and vegetables. (Tables 2.5 & 2.6)

[21]See Table 4: San Joaquin Valley, Gross Value of Agricultural Production, Calif. Department of Food & Agriculture, County Agricultural Commissioners' Reports, 2001.
[22] See Table 3: Agricultural Production of California's Counties, California's Top Ten Counties, Agricultural Commissioners Report, 2003.
[23] See Table 4: San Joaquin Valley, Gross Value of Agricultural Production. California Department of Food and Agriculture, County Agricultural Commissioner's Reports, 2001.

[24] See Table 4: Gross Value of Agricultural Production by County, 2002-2003, County Agricultural Commissions Report, 2004.

TABLE 2.4: SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY GROSS VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION 2000 ($1,000)

County	Value	% of State Value	Rank in State
Fresno	$ 3,423,539	11.3%	1
Tulare	$ 3,068,063	10.1%	2
Kern	$ 2,209,928	7.3%	4
Merced	$ 1,538,545	5.1%	5
San Joaquin	$ 1,348,724	4.5%	6
Stanislaus	$ 1,197,302	4.0%	8
Kings	$ 885,062	2.9%	12
Madera	$ 748,972	2.5%	14
San Joaquin Valley	**$14,420,135**	**47.7%**	

Source: Calif. Department of Food & Agriculture, County Agricultural Commissioners' Reports, 2001.

TABLE 2.5: GROSS VALUE OF CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION BY COUNTY

County Rank by Gross Value of Agricultural Production, 2002-2003 1/

County	Rank Without Timber					Rank With Timber					
	2002 ($1,000)		2003 ($1,000)		Percent Change	Timber Value ($1,000)	2002 ($1,000)		2003 ($1,000)		Percent Change
Fresno	3,437,431	(1)	4,052,767	(1)	17.9	2,674	3,440,628	(1)	4,055,441	(1)	17.9
Tulare	3,200,552	(2)	3,294,660	(2)	2.9	1,862	3,201,722	(2)	3,296,522	(2)	3.0
Monterey	2,829,622	(3)	3,288,468	(3)	16.2	4	2,829,626	(3)	3,288,472	(3)	16.2
Kern	2,595,360	(4)	2,477,526	(4)	-4.5	0	2,595,550	(4)	2,477,526	(4)	-4.5
Merced	1,730,720	(5)	1,918,230	(5)	10.8	7	1,730,726	(5)	1,918,237	(5)	10.8
San Joaquin	1,353,918	(7)	1,494,693	(6)	10.4	7	1,353,928	(7)	1,494,700	(6)	10.4
Stanislaus	1,367,971	(6)	1,454,928	(7)	6.4	0	1,367,971	(6)	1,454,928	(7)	6.4
San Diego	1,297,217	(8)	1,351,059	(8)	4.2	167	1,297,239	(8)	1,351,226	(8)	4.2
Kings	1,023,808	(12)	1,136,966	(9)	11.1	0	1,023,808	(12)	1,136,966	(9)	11.1
Ventura	1,161,070	(10)	1,117,567	(10)	-3.7	61	1,161,139	(10)	1,117,628	(10)	-3.7
Imperial	1,198,693	(9)	1,073,472	(11)	-10.4	0	1,198,693	(9)	1,073,472	(11)	-10.4
Riverside	1,063,478	(11)	1,067,367	(12)	0.4	76	1,063,521	(11)	1,067,443	(12)	0.4
Santa Barbara	771,663	(14)	858,017	(13)	11.2	1	771,664	(14)	858,018	(13)	11.2
Madera	778,385	(13)	760,246	(14)	-2.3	538	779,510	(13)	760,784	(14)	-2.4
San Bernardino	631,550	(15)	645,885	(15)	2.3	251	631,561	(15)	646,136	(15)	2.3
San Luis Obispo	483,375	(17)	529,046	(16)	9.4	8	483,382	(17)	529,054	(16)	9.4
Sonoma	564,571	(16)	514,697	(17)	-8.8	7,291	568,054	(16)	521,988	(17)	-8.1
Napa	387,863	(18)	392,929	(18)	1.3	108	387,995	(18)	393,037	(18)	1.3
Santa Cruz	284,808	(25)	366,944	(19)	28.8	4,263	288,882	(25)	371,207	(19)	28.5
Colusa	290,265	(23)	361,573	(20)	24.6	177	290,265	(24)	361,750	(20)	24.6
Butte	287,497	(24)	332,146	(21)	15.5	13,264	305,553	(20)	345,410	(21)	13.0
Los Angeles	275,969	(26)	322,590	(22)	16.9	9	275,979	(26)	322,599	(22)	16.9
Glenn	303,892	(20)	318,032	(23)	4.7	10	304,664	(21)	318,042	(23)	4.4
Orange	344,289	(19)	311,615	(24)	-9.5	20	344,289	(19)	311,635	(24)	-9.5
Yolo	299,780	(21)	304,401	(25)	1.5	0	299,780	(22)	304,401	(25)	1.5
Sutter	291,061	(22)	301,230	(26)	3.5	0	291,061	(23)	301,230	(26)	3.5
Sacramento	275,937	(27)	274,500	(27)	-0.5	29	275,962	(27)	274,529	(27)	-0.5
Santa Clara	255,374	(28)	241,043	(28)	-5.6	70	255,674	(28)	241,113	(29)	-5.7
San Benito	214,841	(29)	238,767	(29)	11.1	0	214,841	(30)	238,767	(30)	11.1
Solano	199,486	(30)	214,123	(30)	7.3	13	199,488	(31)	214,136	(31)	7.3
San Mateo	181,972	(31)	178,039	(31)	-2.2	2,582	183,148	(32)	180,621	(32)	-1.4
Yuba	133,483	(32)	146,493	(32)	9.7	8,097	139,087	(36)	154,590	(35)	11.1
Tehama	126,372	(34)	125,139	(33)	-1.0	17,137	143,708	(35)	142,276	(36)	-1.0
Humboldt	104,691	(36)	119,988	(34)	14.6	142,830	235,245	(29)	262,818	(28)	11.7
Mendocino	126,953	(33)	118,617	(35)	-6.6	40,354	156,432	(34)	158,971	(34)	1.6
Siskiyou	119,021	(35)	114,804	(36)	-3.5	45,481	159,479	(33)	160,285	(33)	0.5
Contra Costa	100,154	(37)	108,568	(37)	8.4	0	100,154	(37)	108,568	(37)	8.4
Modoc	69,988	(38)	68,359	(38)	-2.3	3,984	74,318	(40)	72,343	(40)	-2.7
Placer	66,556	(39)	66,419	(39)	-0.2	6,764	76,279	(39)	73,183	(39)	-4.1
Lake	63,907	(40)	57,921	(40)	-9.4	132	63,919	(41)	58,053	(41)	-9.2
Shasta	52,198	(41)	54,218	(41)	3.9	27,731	91,459	(38)	81,949	(38)	-10.4
Marin	44,477	(42)	48,675	(42)	9.4	0	44,477	(44)	48,675	(43)	9.4
Lassen	43,349	(43)	43,657	(43)	0.7	11,049	61,619	(42)	54,706	(42)	-11.2
Alameda	30,013	(45)	37,342	(44)	24.4	8	30,024	(50)	37,350	(47)	24.4
Del Norte	31,092	(44)	34,777	(45)	11.9	9,113	40,737	(45)	43,890	(44)	7.7
Mono	21,835	(48)	27,339	(46)	25.2	74	21,894	(52)	27,413	(51)	25.2
El Dorado	26,544	(46)	22,698	(47)	-14.5	17,442	45,989	(43)	40,140	(46)	-12.7
Amador	23,680	(47)	22,686	(48)	-4.2	5,705	30,349	(49)	28,391	(49)	-6.5
Tuolumne	20,270	(49)	21,705	(49)	7.1	7,414	34,633	(46)	29,119	(48)	-15.9
Mariposa	19,600	(50)	20,599	(50)	5.1	627	20,444	(53)	21,226	(53)	3.8
Plumas	14,617	(52)	17,748	(51)	21.4	22,800	32,124	(47)	40,548	(45)	26.2
Calaveras	17,716	(51)	15,623	(52)	-11.8	12,650	30,796	(48)	28,273	(50)	-8.2
Inyo	14,240	(53)	13,210	(53)	-7.2	0	14,240	(55)	13,210	(55)	-7.2
Nevada	8,190	(54)	8,041	(54)	-1.8	8,987	19,728	(54)	17,028	(54)	-13.7
Sierra	4,400	(55)	5,678	(55)	29.0	5,265	10,992	(56)	10,943	(56)	-0.4
Trinity 2/	2,320	(56)	2,320	(56)	0.0	20,587	25,633	(51)	22,907	(52)	-10.6
San Francisco	1,645	(57)	1,891	(57)	15.0	0	1,645	(57)	1,891	(57)	15.0
Alpine 2/	0	(58)	0	(58)		8	66	(58)	8	(58)	-87.9
Grand Total	**30,669,729**		**32,518,041**		**6.0**	**447,731**	**31,121,773**		**32,965,772**		**5.9**

1/ Totals vary slightly from totals published by counties due to classification differences between county and State reports. Numbers in parentheses are county rankings.

2/ Reports for Alpine and Trinity counties were not available at publication so 2002 data were used for this report.

Source: County Agricultural Commissioners' Reports and State Board of Equalization, Timber Tax Division.

Source: Summary of County Agricultural Commissioners' Reports, Gross Values by Commodity Groups, California 2002-2003, September 2004. Prepared by California Agricultural Statistical Service.

TABLE 2.6: COUNTY RANK BY TOTAL VALUE OF PRODUCTION AND LEADING COMMODITIES, 2003.

County Rank, Total Value of Production and Leading Commodities, 2003 1/

Rank 2002	Rank 2003	County	Total Value $1,000	Leading Commodities
1	1	Fresno	4,052,767	Grapes, Tomatoes, Cotton, Cattle and Calves, Poultry
2	2	Tulare	3,294,660	Milk, Navel and Valencia Oranges, Grapes, Cattle and Calves, Plums
3	3	Monterey	3,288,468	Head and Romaine Lettuce, Salad Greens, Strawberries, Broccoli, Wine Grapes
4	4	Kern	2,477,526	Grapes, Almonds and By-Products, All Citrus, All Carrots, All Milk
5	5	Merced	1,918,230	Market Milk, Chickens, Almonds, Cattle and Calves, Sweet Potatoes
7	6	San Joaquin	1,494,693	All Milk, All Grapes, Almond Meats, All Tomatoes, All Cherries
6	7	Stanislaus	1,454,928	Market Milk, Almonds, Chickens, Fruit/Vine/Nut Nursery, English Walnuts
8	8	San Diego	1,351,059	Cut Flowers and Foliage Plants, Nursery Woody Ornamentals and Bedding Plants, Avocados, Eggs, Strawberries
12	9	Kings	1,136,966	All Milk, All Cotton, Cattle and Calves, Alfalfa Hay, Pistachios
10	10	Ventura	1,117,567	Strawberries, Nursery Stock, Lemons, Celery, Avocados
9	11	Imperial	1,073,472	Cattle, Alfalfa, Lettuce, Carrots, Onions
11	12	Riverside	1,067,367	Nursery, Milk, Table Grapes, Eggs, Avocados
14	13	Santa Barbara	858,017	Strawberries, Broccoli, Lettuce, Wine Grapes, Avocados
13	14	Madera	760,246	Almonds, All Grapes, Market Milk, Replacement Heifers, Pistachios
15	15	San Bernardino	645,885	Milk, Cattle and Calves (Meat), Replacement Heifers, Eggs, Nursery Indoor Decoratives
17	16	San Luis Obispo	529,046	Wine Grapes, Broccoli, Strawberries, Cattle and Calves, Head Lettuce
16	17	Sonoma	514,697	Wine Grapes, Market Milk, Livestock and Poultry, Cattle and Calves, Ornamental and Misc. Nursery
18	18	Napa	392,929	Wine Grapes, Nursery Products, Cattle and Calves, Livestock Products, Range Pasture
25	19	Santa Cruz	366,944	Strawberries and Raspberries, Nursery Plants, Cut Flowers, Vegetable Crops, Head Lettuce
23	20	Colusa	361,573	Rice, Almond Meats, Processing Tomatoes, Cattle and Calves, Rice Seed
24	21	Butte	332,146	Rice, Almond, English Walnuts, Dried Plums, Nursery Stock
26	22	Los Angeles	322,590	Nursery Plants, Root Vegetables, Dry Onions, Peaches, Indoor Flower and Foliage Plants
20	23	Glenn	318,032	Paddy Rice, Almonds, Dairy Products, Cattle and Calves, Walnuts
19	24	Orange	311,615	Nursery Stock and Cut Flowers, Strawberries, Avocados, Bell and Misc. Peppers, Green Beans
21	25	Yolo	304,401	Processing Tomatoes, Rice, Wine Grapes, Alfalfa Hay, Seed Crops
22	26	Sutter	301,230	Rice and Rice Seed, Peaches, Dried Plums, Walnuts, Tomatoes
27	27	Sacramento	274,500	Wine Grapes, Market Milk, Nursery Products, Bartlett Pears, Poultry
28	28	Santa Clara	241,043	Nursery Crops, Mushrooms, All Peppers, Cut Flowers, Steers and Heifers
29	29	San Benito	238,767	Leaf, Baby and Head Lettuce, Nursery Stock, Wine Grapes, Bell Peppers, Vegetable and Row Crops
30	30	Solano	214,123	Nursery Stock, Cattle and Calves, Processing Tomatoes, Alfalfa, Feeder Lambs
31	31	San Mateo	178,039	Ornamental and Potted Nursery Plants, Mushrooms, Potted and Cut Flowers, Brussels Sprouts
32	32	Yuba	146,493	Rice, Clingstone Peaches, Dried Plums, Walnuts, Cattle and Calves
34	33	Tehama	125,139	English Walnuts, Almonds, Dried Plums, Cattle and Calves, Market Milk
36	34	Humboldt	119,988	Nursery Products, All Milk, Cattle and Calves, Irrigated and Range Pasture, Biomass
33	35	Mendocino	118,617	Wine Grapes, Bartlett Pears, Cattle and Calves, Milk, Irrigated and Range Pasture,
35	36	Siskiyou	114,804	Alfalfa Hay, Nursery Strawberry Plants, Cattle and Calves, Irrigated and Range Pasture, Irish Potatoes
37	37	Contra Costa	108,568	Nursery Bedding Plants, Cattle and Calves, Sweet Corn, Grapes, Vegetable Crops
38	38	Modoc	68,359	Cattle and Calves, Alfalfa and Wild Hay, Irish Potatoes, Vegetable Crops, Onions
39	39	Placer	66,419	Milling Rice, Nursery Products, Cattle and Calves, Livestock and Products, Irrigated and Range Pasture
40	40	Lake	57,921	Wine Grapes, Asian and Bartlett Pears, Nursery Products, Cattle and Calves, English Walnuts
41	41	Shasta	54,218	Cattle and Calves, Alfalfa and Other Hay, Nursery Strawberry Plants, Irrigated and Range Pasture, Nursery Products
42	42	Marin	48,675	Market Milk, Cattle and Calves, Range Pasture, Poultry, Livestock Products
43	43	Lassen	43,657	All Hay, Livestock, Nursery Strawberry Plants and Misc. Field Crops, Pasture, Mint
45	44	Alameda	37,342	Nursery Products and Woody Ornamentals, Wine Grapes, Cattle and Calves, Range Pasture, Alfalfa and Other Hay
44	45	Del Norte	34,777	Nursery Plants and Products, All Milk, Cattle and Calves, Livestock Products, Irrigated Pasture
48	46	Mono	27,339	Carrots, Alfalfa and Other Hay, Cattle and Calves, Irrigated Pasture, Sheep and Lambs
46	47	El Dorado	22,698	Wine Grapes, Apples, Christmas Trees and Cut Greens, Range Pasture, Cattle and Calves
47	48	Amador	22,686	Wine Grapes, Cattle and Calves, Irrigated and Range Pasture, Livestock, Sheep and Lambs
49	49	Tuolumne	21,705	Livestock, Cattle and Calves, Irrigated and Range Pasture, Firewood, Apiary Products
50	50	Mariposa	20,599	Cattle and Calves, Range Pasture, Livestock and Poultry Products, All Poultry, Forest Products
52	51	Plumas	17,748	Cattle and Calves, All Pasture, All Hay, Livestock, Fruit and Nut Crops
51	52	Calaveras	15,623	Cattle and Calves, Irrigated and Range Pasture, All Poultry, Livestock Products, Wine Grapes
53	53	Inyo	13,210	Cattle and Calves, Nursery Turf, Alfalfa and Other Hay, Irrigated and Range Pasture, Apiary Products
54	54	Nevada	8,041	Cattle and Calves, Pasture and Range, Wine Grapes, Nursery Stock, Fruit and Vegetable Crops
55	55	Sierra	5,678	Cattle and Calves, All Pasture, All Hay, Fruit and Nut Crops, Livestock
56	56	Trinity 2/	2,320	Cattle and Calves, Irrigated and Range Pasture, Wine Grapes, Misc. Crops, Grain and Grass Hay
57	57	San Francisco	1,891	Vegetable Crops, Cut Flowers
58	58	Alpine 2/	0	—

1/ Totals vary slightly from those published by counties due to classification differences between county and state reports.
2/ Reports for Alpine and Trinity counties were not available at publication so 2002 data were used for this report.

Source: California Agricultural Statistics Service, Agricultural Overview 1994-2003, USDA NASS, California Agricultural Statistics, 2003.

The Back Side of Economic Prosperity in the Central Valley

The Valley's abundant wealth from agriculture, however, is not equitably redistributed to the workers in the fields of the Central Valley. California agriculture is extremely labor-intensive in comparison with agriculture in other states and depends on a large, flexible, and mobile labor pool.[25] The discrepancy between the industry's high gross income and low-wage labor is maintained as a part of perpetual cycle. J.E. Taylor, a U.C. Davis agricultural economist, explains:

> "The availability of inexpensive and flexible immigrant labor, in turn, discourages farmers and labor contractors from mechanizing and "stretching out" labor demands to provide workers with more stable employment. As a result, California's agricultural prosperity is reflected in the price of land, not labor. "Herein lie the roots of California's new rural poverty" (Taylor & Martin, 2000).

Most of the labor-intensive agricultural work in the Central Valley is performed by recent immigrants who traverse the Valley in pursuit of available seasonal work. Wages earned by the great majority of farm workers are less than $10,000 to $12,000 per year, far below the U.S. Census' $16,000 poverty threshold for a family of four.[26]

Farm workers' low income contributes to stark contrasts between the various cities in California. Among the 480 incorporated cities in California, the range of median family incomes is very wide. The median family income of the richest community is nine times that of the poorest. Huron, in the Central Valley's Fresno

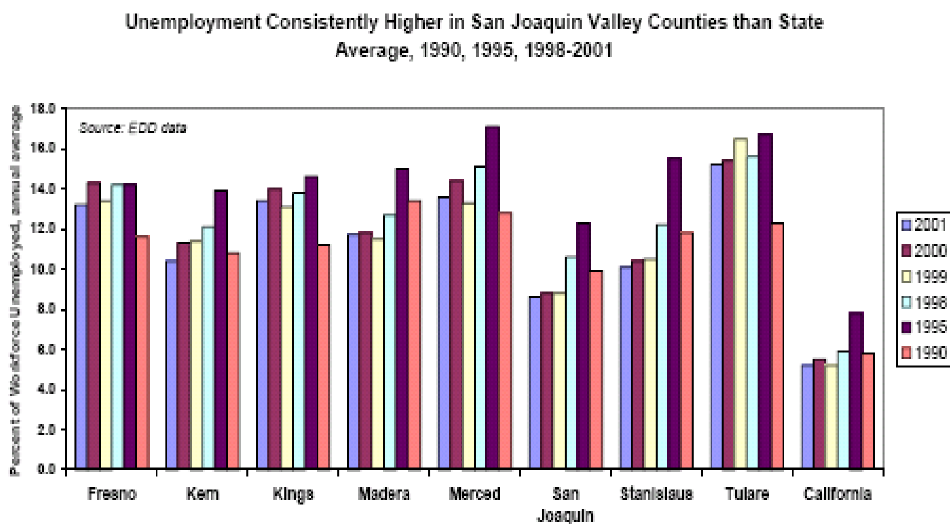
25 PHILIP L. MARTIN, CALIFORNIA'S FARM LABOR MARKET 1, 5, 19 (1989), *available at* http://www.cirsinc.org/pub/pubcat.htm.

26 Rick Mines, speech presented to the Northern California Rural Funders Group (Oct. 14, 2004) (transcript on file with California Institute of Rural Studies).

County, for example, had a median income of $23,939 in 2000.[27] At the other end of the spectrum was Hidden Hills, in Los Angeles County, with a median income in excess of $200,000.[28]

Low family income is but one of the challenges facing communities in the Central Valley. In the context of agricultural wealth — the economic output generated by the agricultural sectors — the Central Valley counties must cope with distressing employment and educational attainments. These problems are prevalent throughout each of the eighteen Central Valley Counties. Table 2.7 displays unemployment figures for Central Valley counties and compares them to California as a whole. Table 2.8 shows the annual unemployment rates in Central Valley counties.

TABLE 2.7: SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES (1990-2001)



Source: Source: Umbach, Kenneth W. San Joaquin Valley: Selected Statistics on Population,

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27 U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, HIDDEN HILLS CITY, CALIFORNIA — FACT SHEET, *available at* http://factfinder.census.gov (last visited Jan. 12, 2005).

28 U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, HURON CITY, CALIFORNIA — FACT SHEET, *available at* http://factfinder.census.gov (last visited Jan. 12, 2005).

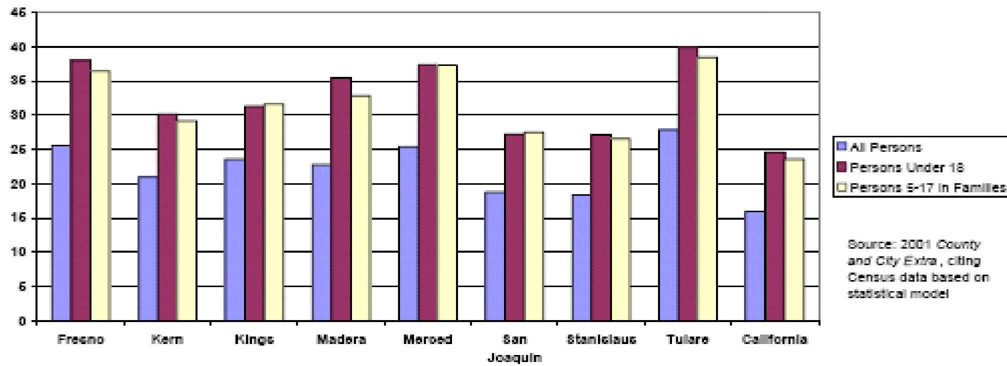
Economy, and Environment, California Research Bureau, CRB 02-010, 2002.

TABLE 2.8: CENTRAL VALLEY ANNUAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES (1995-2001)

	Unemployment Rate, Annual Averages				
	2001	2000	1999	1998	1995
Fresno	13.2	14.3	13.4	14.2	14.2
Kern	10.4	11.3	11.4	12.1	13.9
Kings	13.4	14.0	13.1	13.8	14.6
Madera	11.7	11.8	11.5	12.7	15.0
Merced	13.6	14.4	13.3	15.1	17.1
San Joaquin	8.6	8.8	8.8	10.6	12.3
Stanislaus	10.1	10.4	10.5	12.2	15.5
Tulare	15.2	15.4	16.5	15.6	16.7
California	*5.2*	*5.5*	*5.2*	*5.9*	*7.8*

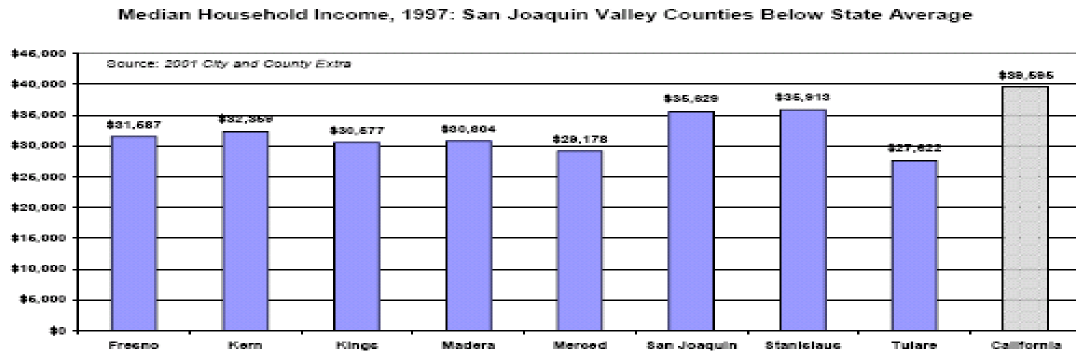
Source: Source: Umbach, Kenneth W. San Joaquin Valley: Selected Statistics on Population, Economy, and Environment, California Research Bureau, CRB 02-010, 2002.

TABLE 2.9: SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY POVERTY LEVELS



Source: Source: Umbach, Kenneth W. San Joaquin Valley: Selected Statistics on Population, Economy, and Environment, California Research Bureau, CRB 02-010, 2002.

TABLE 2.10: SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME



Source: Source: Umbach, Kenneth W. San Joaquin Valley: Selected Statistics on Population, Economy, and Environment, California Research Bureau, CRB 02-010, 2002.

One clear example of the front and back disparity is shown by Colusa County. That Sacramento Valley County is a premier rice-producing region. (It is also a major destination for ornithologists observing birds migrating on the Pacific Flyway.) However Colusa County has a l7.6% unemployment rate, the highest in the entire Central Valley.[29] Additionally disturbing are Fresno and Tulare Counties, which, though ranked first and second in agricultural production in the entire country, have consistent double-digit unemployment rates.[30]

For the counties of the richest agricultural area in the U.S.A, the San Joaquin Valley shows stark poverty figures. Tables 2.9 and 2.10 presents poverty levels and median household incomes in San Joaquin Valley counties (Munroe, Anguiano & Schniepp, 2001).

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29 CAL. DEP'T OF FIN., CALIFORNIA COUNTY PROFILES (2002), *available at* http://www.dof.ca.gov/html/fs_data/profiles/pf_home.htm (last visited Jan. 5, 2005).

30 *Id.*

Many of the poorest cities in California lie within the Central Valley. In fact, as the Figure 2.4 map shows[31], there is a strong dichotomy between rural and urban areas within California.

The red points on the map are the locations of California's "poorest" cities; the yellow dots show the locations of California's "richest" cities. Superimposing a line connecting the red marks running through mid state traces highway 99, the main transportation artery running through the Central Valley. Of note are the "poverty" cities with median household incomes of less than $17,500. These form a cluster in Fresno County, the number one agricultural producing county in the USA. This map provides a spatial indication of the disparities in income among cities throughout California. Higher income cities are concentrated in the Los Angeles-Orange county parts of Southern California and in the San Francisco Bay Area region. Rural areas of the state, such as the Central Valley, routinely experience higher unemployment, higher poverty levels, and lower household incomes than the state's urban areas.
The geographic patterns of social and economic indicators indicate the spatial distribution of poverty in California (see Figure. 2.5).

[31] This map was produced jointly by Isao Fujimoto and Gerardo Sandoval.

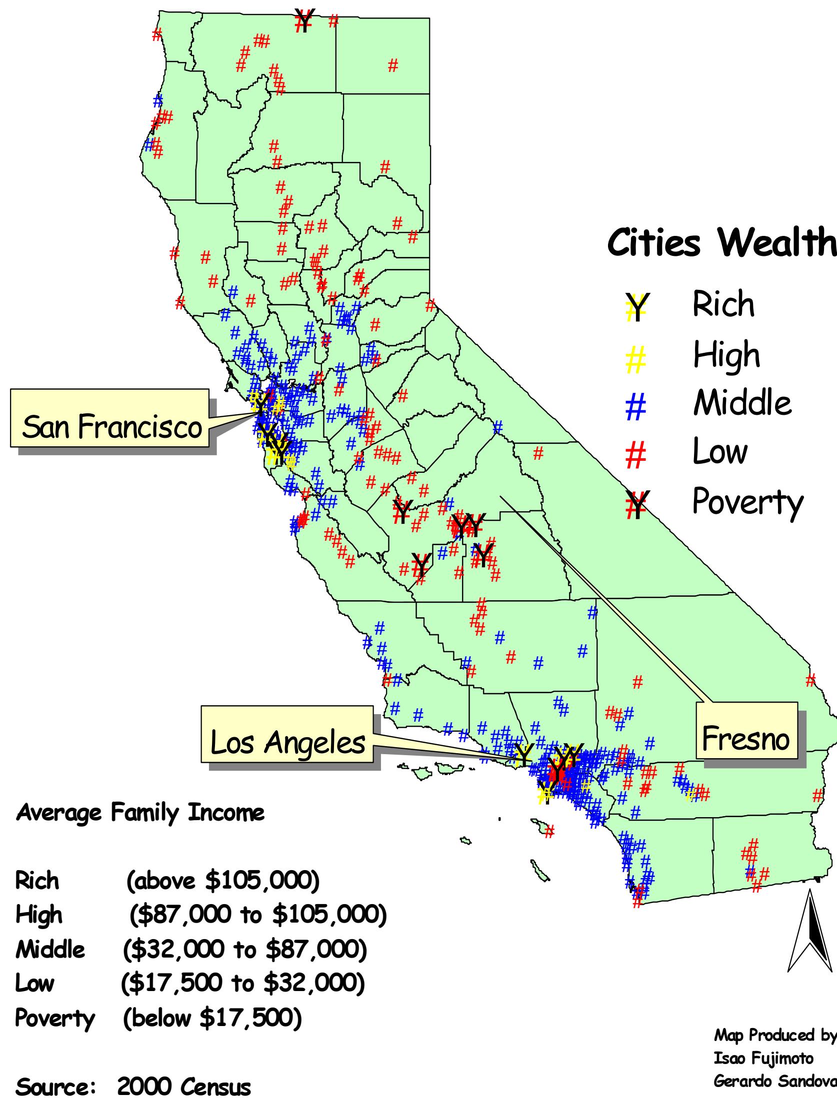

FIGURE 2.4: WEALTH OF CALIFORNIA CITIES

Source: Map created and produced in 2004 by Isao Fujimoto and Gerardo Sandoval, using data from 2000 Census.

Poverty Rates in California

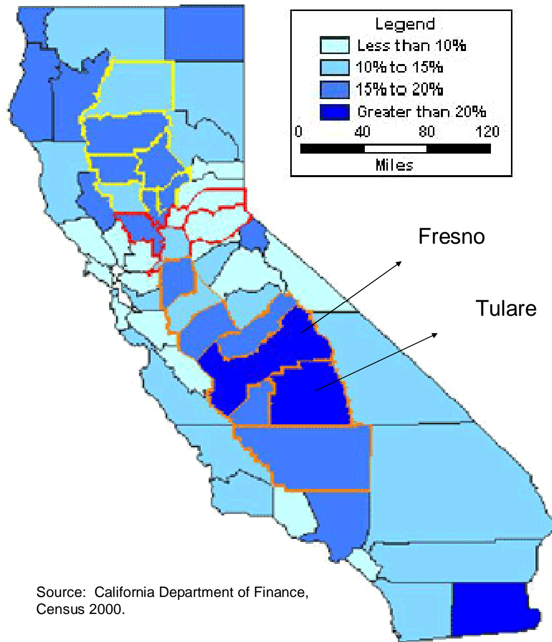

FIGURE 2.5: POVERTY RATES IN CALIFORNIA COUNTIES

Much of the poverty in California is concentrated in the Central Valley, especially in Fresno and Tulare, where the rate is greater than 20%. Most of the migration coming to California actually goes toward urban areas, where arrivals are more educated and can attain better paying jobs (H. P. Johnson, 2000).

Figure 2.6 provides a view of the spatial distribution of per capita incomes throughout the Central Valley. The lighter colors represent lower income areas. Sacramento is the only county with a per capital income comparable to the state level of $32,989.

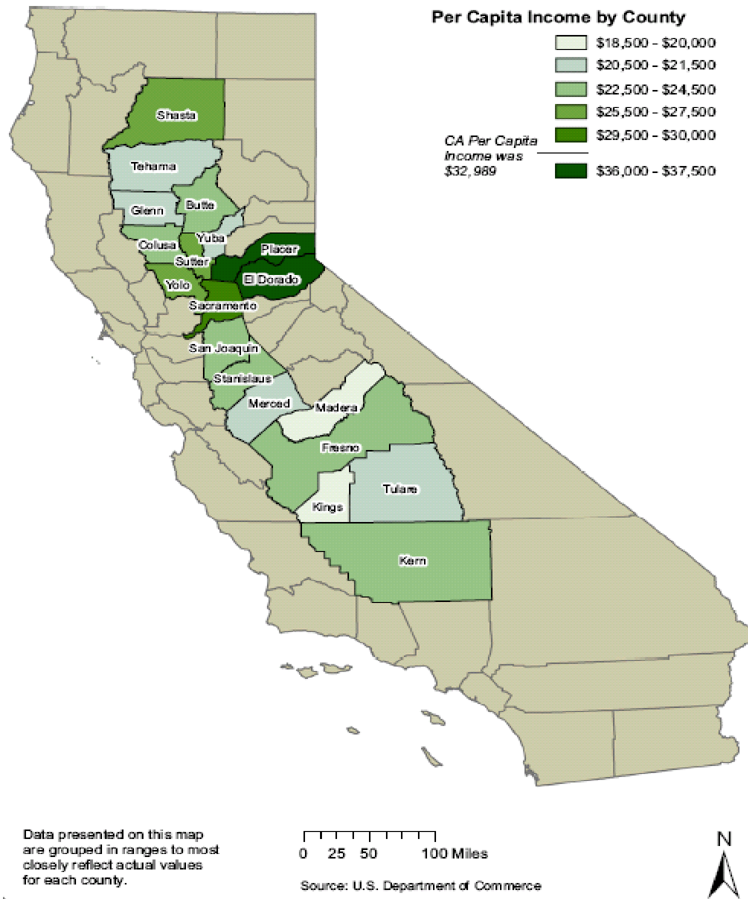

FIGURE 2.6: CENTRAL VALLEY'S COUNTIES' PER CAPITA INCOME IN 20002

Source: Comparative income map produced by the Great Valley Center, 2005.

Figure 2.7 indicates the percentage of persons living in poverty by census tract, showing that in some areas of Fresno County as much as 40% of the population was living in poverty in 1990.

PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS IN POVERTY BY CENSUS TRACT, 1990

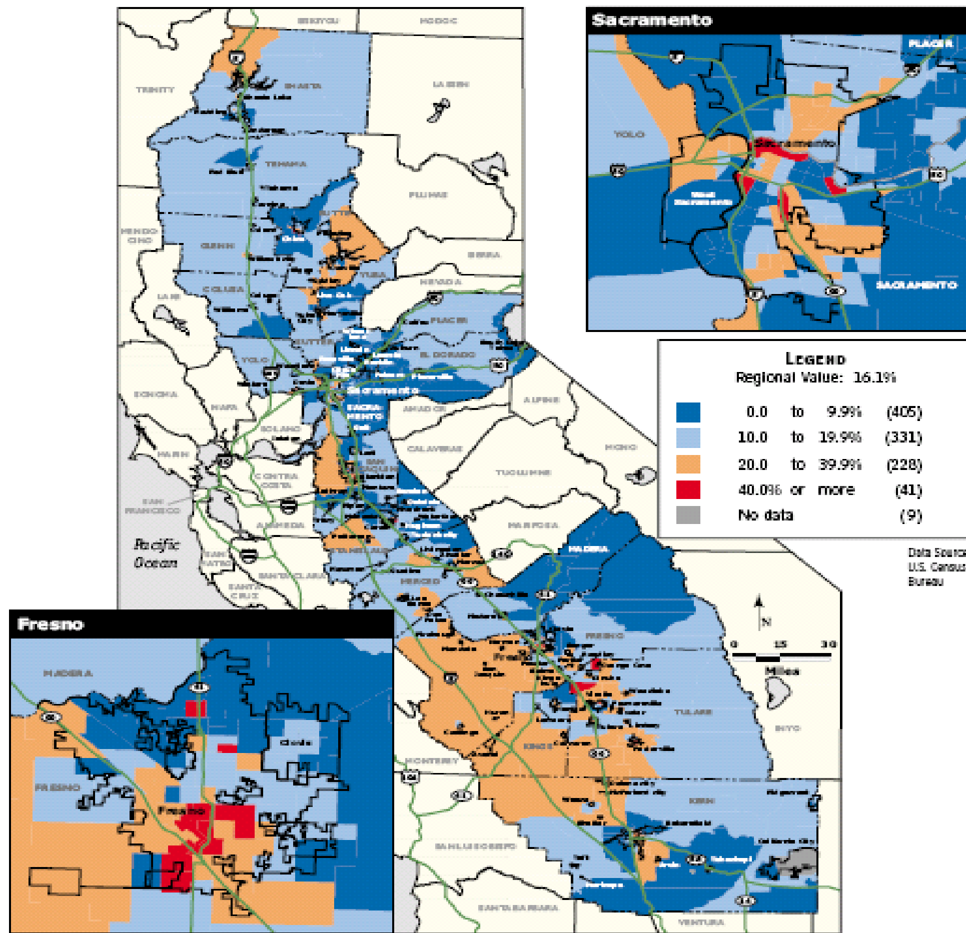

FIGURE 2.7: CENTRAL VALLEY POVERTY BY CENSUS TRACT, 1990

Source: Orfield, Myron. Regional Challenges in California's Central Valley Metropolitan Area, Research Corporation, Minneapolis, MN, 1999.

Central Valley Behind on Educational Measures

Figure 2.8a: California's college graduates and those not completing high school. Figure 2.8b focuses on education indicators showing the percentage of college graduates (concentrated in the coast and urban areas) and the percentage not completing high school (concentrated in the Central Valley and the North East).

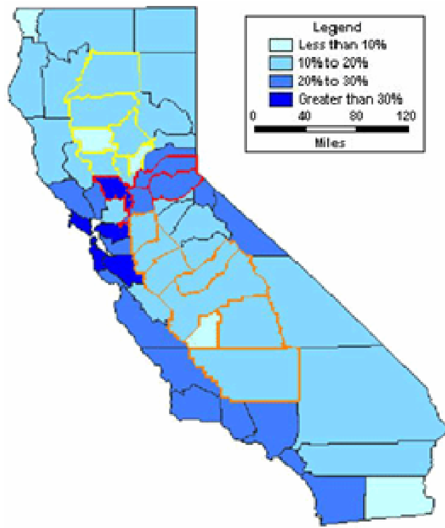

FIGURE 2.8A: PERCENT OF COLLEGE GRADS BY COUNTY

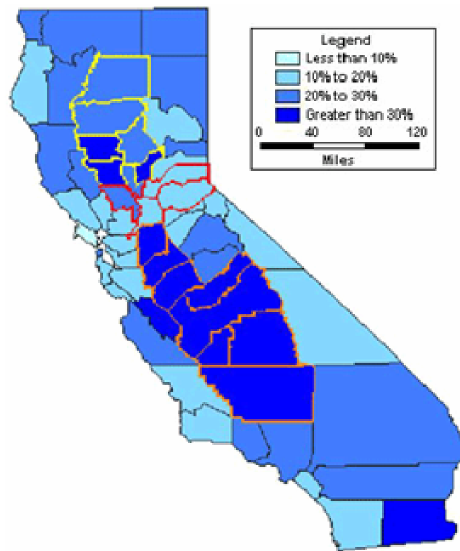

FIGURE 2.8B: PERCENT NOT GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL BY COUNTY

Figure 2.9 shows the percentage of elementary students eligible for free lunch programs. The bluer the mark, the more economically well off the school, the redder the mark, the greater the poverty of the area served by the school. Note areas where 100% of the student body qualifies for free lunch.

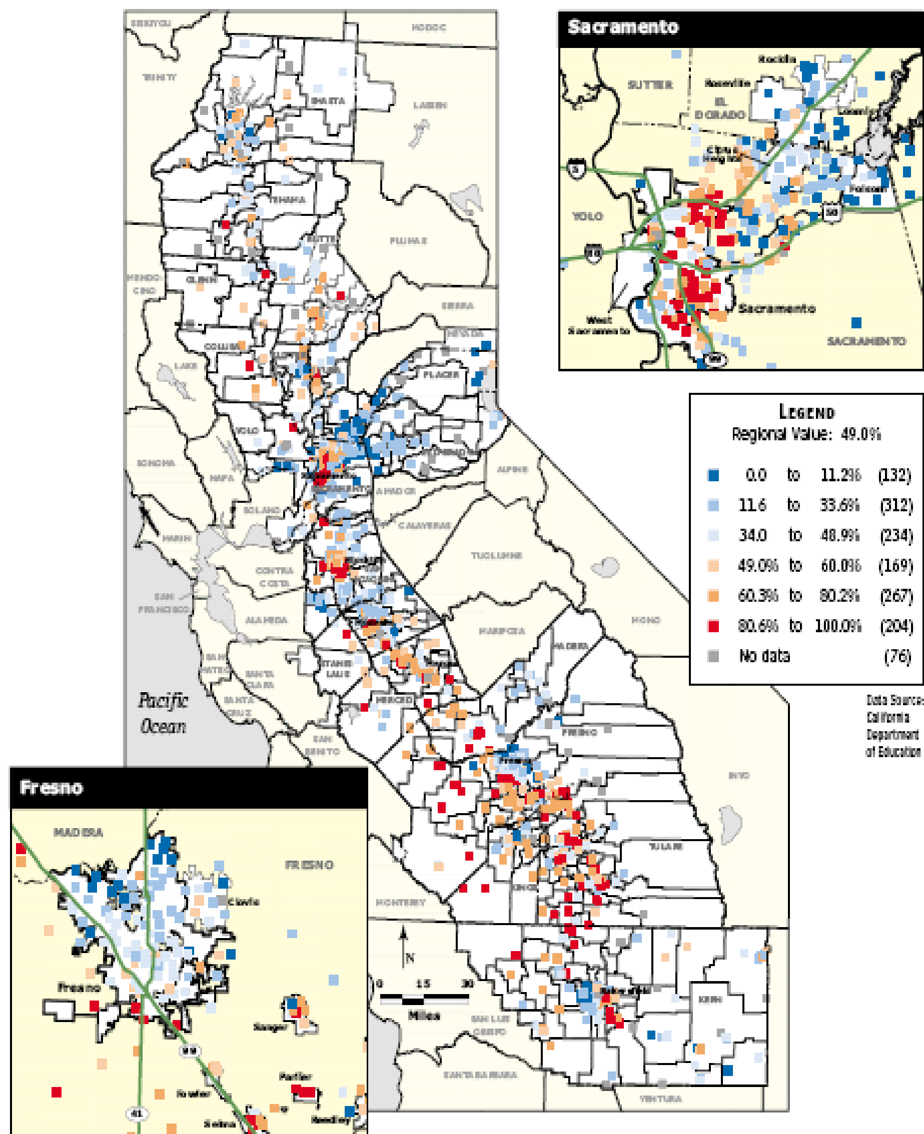

FIGURE 2.9: PERCENT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN ELIGIBLE FOR FREE LUNCH

Source for Elementary school free lunch: Orfield, Myron. Regional Challenges in California's Central Valley Metropolitan Area, Research Corporation, Minneapolis, MN, 1999. Source: Map showing college graduates and % not finishing high school produced by California Department of Finance based on Census 2000

Finally, trends in population growth are especially worth noting. Almost all of the Central Valley counties showed higher rates of population growth during the 1990's. Projected figures for the to 2000-2010 decade show some counties, such as Madera, Merced, and Stanislaus growing by 50% or more, against the 32% projected for California as a whole.

Should current population projections hold true, disparities between the rural and urban areas will likely continue in the future. The California Department of Finance predicts population growth through 2010 in the Central Valley to be among the highest in the state, much of it due to immigration. The Central Valley's need for agricultural workers willing to work at low wages is one factor that accounts for the large number of immigrants and migrant workers there. California's agriculture has depended on the labor of wave after wave of immigrants from various countries. These immigrants and migrant workers built communities as each attracted relatives, friends, and fellow countrymen. The tapestry of cultures woven by the diverse ethnic groups that settled in the Central Valley is the topic of the next chapter.

Fresno County provides a good example of the expected population growth. In 2000, the population in Fresno was 803,401[32] projected to grow to 1,114,654 in 2020 and to1, 658,281 by 2050, The Great Valley Center, a nongovernmental regional organization working on economic, social, and environmental issues in the Valley, projects a 130% growth rate for the Valley by 2025.[33] (Figure 2.10) Thus, the Central Valley is a region which has recently seen, and will probably continue to experience, rapid immigration-based population growth exceeding that of both the Los Angeles and Bay Area regions of California (Baldassare, 2000).

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32 CAL. DEP'T OF FIN., POPULATION PROJECTIONS (2004), *available at* http://www.dof.ca.gov/html/demograp/dru_Publications/Projections/P1.htm (last visited Jan. 12, 2005).

33 *Great Central Valley Population Up 130% by 2050; Larger Than S.F. Bay Area by 2020*, GREAT VALLEY NEWS, Aug. 1, 2004, at 2.

Social indicators and statistics demonstrate serious inequality within the Central Valley, and those inequalities are expected to be maintained or to become even more severe with continued rapid population growth in the Central Valley.

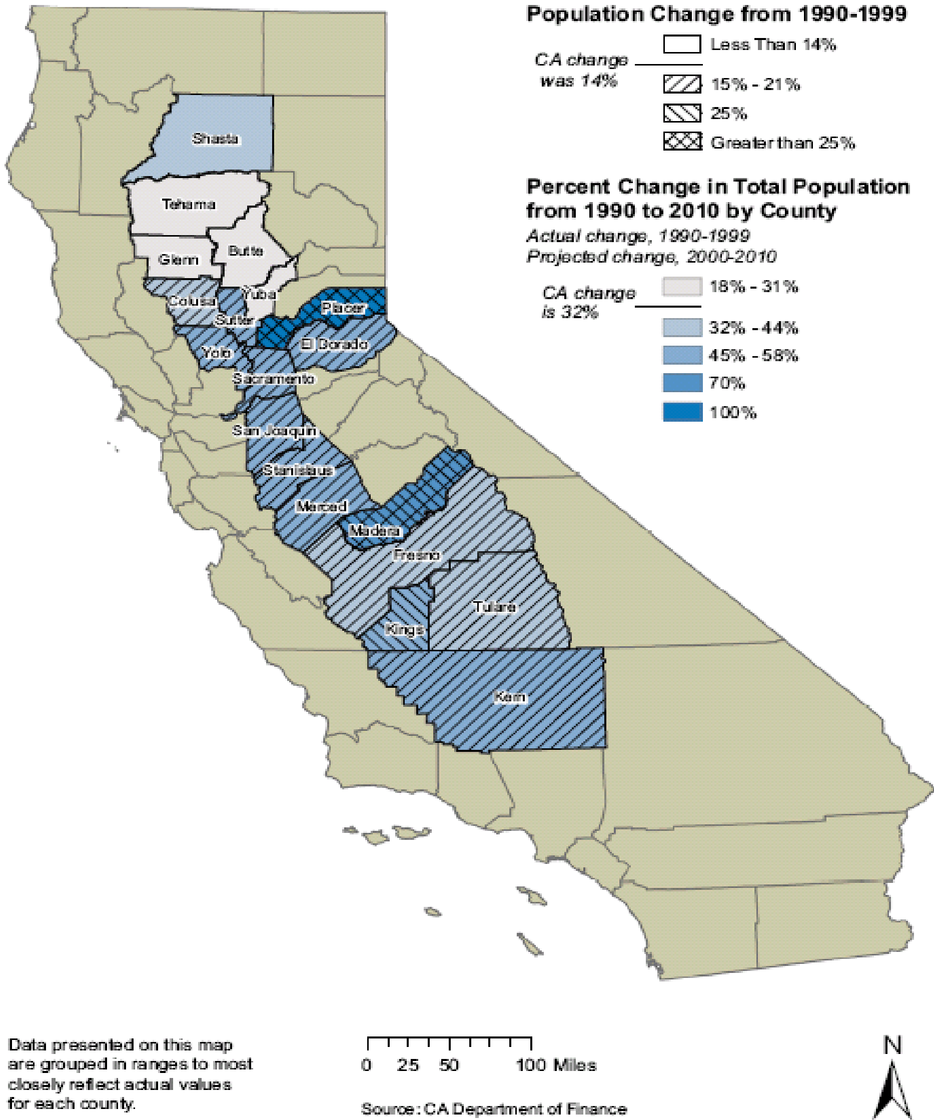

FIGURE 2.10: CENTRAL VALLEY POPULATION CHANGE OVER 20 YEAR PERIOD 1990-2010

Map Produced by the Great Valley Center, 2005

Agricultural Economic Patterns and Trends

Many types of farming methods co-exist in the Central Valley. Farms range in size from large to small and are operated by families, corporate entities and family corporations. Categorization of farms as a family farm or corporate farm depends on who assumes what responsibility rather than on farm size or scale. Three primary responsibilities are involved: ownership and administration, labor, and management. In the traditional New England yeoman type of small-scale operations, the family assumed all three primary responsibilities. In contrast, in large-scale agriculture, these responsibilities become distinct divisions in which the work, the management of operations and the administrative decision making are assumed by different classes or groups of people.

The scale and approach of farming in the Central Valley are such that farming approximates what agricultural geographer Howard Gregor called “plantation agriculture.” According to Gregor, plantation agricultural production involves monoculture for distant markets produced on large tracts of land, dependent on large scale machinery, and employing laborers of ethnic backgrounds often physically distinct from managers or owners (Gregor, 1962).

Whereas smaller scale operations have prevailed on the east side of the San Joaquin Valley, plantation scale agriculture characterizes the Westside. The social impact of such contrasting approaches on the quality of rural life was the subject of Walter Goldschmidt's classic 1947 study of the Central Valley towns of Arvin and Dinuba (Goldschmidt, 1978). Dinuba in Tulare County, a community of small farms on the Valley’s east side was compared with Arvin in Kern County, surrounded by large scale operations. In all matters of community vibrancy such as participation in civic life, diversity of services and opportunities, pride and well being of its citizens, the community of Dinuba fared much more favorably than in Arvin. Questions

regarding agricultural structure and its impact on the quality of life in communities of the Central Valley are still pertinent today. The preceding discussion, charts, and tables suggest that many of the negative features that marked life in 1940s Arvin still persist in many places today.

Beyond the traditional observations that east side farms are smaller scale family operations while larger scale corporate farms dominate the Westside, there is an additional east-west contrast within the southern San Joaquin worth noting. This revolves around the control of water. The Westside is a region in which the federal Central Valley Project and the California water projects operate. The Westside is also the region in which discussions regarding water marketing are taking place[34]. Underlying those discussions is a more basic question: Given the extreme importance of water, to agriculture in the Central Valley and to life in general, who should make key decisions about water use, water pricing and now water sales?

Figure 2.11 shows the water jurisdictions within the San Joaquin Valley. The units which are solid in color differ from those that are marked by diagonal lines in terms of who can vote on issues pertaining to water such as flood control, pollution remediation, prices to charge, etc. In San Joaquin Valley water units, voting eligibility is based either on residence or on property ownership. The residence-based approach allows anyone over l8 years of age and living in the area to vote. In contrast, eligibility based on property restricts voting to those who own land in the area of jurisdiction. Water units, shown in solid colors on the map represent the residential system of voting. Those with diagonal lines through them recognize only land owners as voters.

[34] Business Wire, State Water Project Atlas Sales Begin As California Marks Water Awareness Month, April 30, 2000.

Highway 99 Stockton

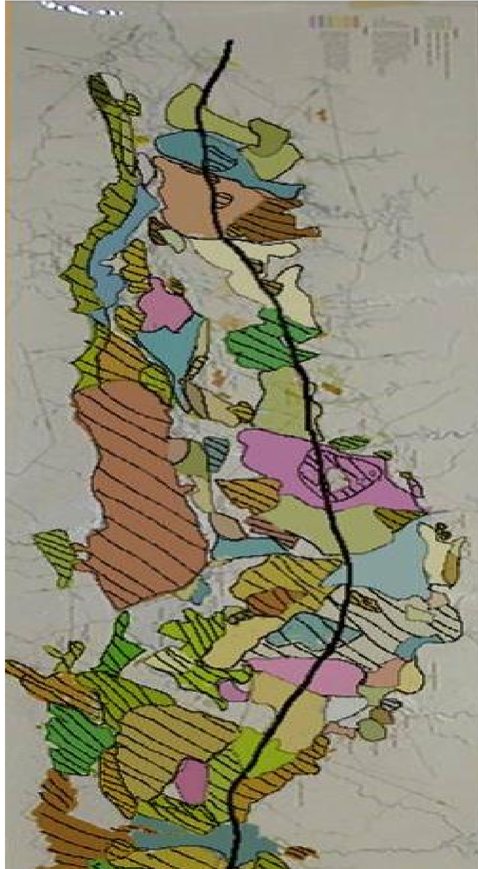

FIGURE 2.11: MAP OF SJV WATER JURISDICTION

Water jurisdictions are differentiated whether voting is by residence or by property ownership. The black line represents Highway 99 with Stockton at the northern end of the map and Bakersfield on the south. Areas with diagonal lines use property ownership as criteria for voting; those that are clear use the residence as the criteria (map by Isao Fujimoto)

The majority of water units in the West side use the property system of voting. This illustrates a structural difference in the control of natural resources between the two sides of the San Joaquin Valley.

Trends Call for Continued Need for Farm Workers

Another trend significant to this discussion about poverty and wealth in the Central Valley is the increase in acreage devoted to fruit, nuts, and vegetable production in California. California today has more land planted to orchards and vineyards than ever before. For example, from 1984 to 1996, the total amount of land devoted to these kinds of production increased by 513,293 acres (Villarejo, 1997). A consequence of this trend is a significant increase in the demand for low wage manual labor.

Structural differences in control of water, dependence on cheap immigrant labor, and the shift in agriculture to crops requiring still more manual labor, make it difficult to imagine reducing the wide disparities in income, education and well-being within the Central Valley. If such contrasts between the well off and the poor are to change, what will it take to bring this about?

The next chapter turns to analyzing a hitherto hidden resource of the Valley: the Valley's people and their cultural wealth and diversity. The Central Valley Partnership suggests that such cultural capital can become a means of increasing the civic participation of those left outside the Valley's agricultural bonanza. In the process, issues such as low wages, inadequate schools, discrimination and public health concerns long hidden behind the scenes begin to move front stage and to receive the public and political scrutiny they deserve.

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CHAPTER 3

UNTAPPED WEALTH:

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL IN CALIFORNIA'S CENTRAL VALLEY

An untapped and powerful resource exists in the Central Valley of California: the social capital residing in the cultural richness of its people. The Central Valley is one of the most ethnically diverse regions in the United States, yet many of its people remain hidden and relatively untapped as civic participants[35]. Generally, as immigrant communities become established, they begin addressing issues that are important to creating better lives for the members of their communities. This has been the migration history of groups adapting to their new host countries. These adaptations might include obtaining equal access to resources, gaining a fuller understanding of their new host society, increasing opportunities for quality education and creating working conditions paying a living wage. In the case of the Central Valley Partnership, participants have discovered that it is often easier to accomplish these goals by working together, despite significant cultural, ethnic, ideological and historical differences.

Explored here is the rich ethnic diversity of the Central Valley, its ever-strengthening cultural and economic capital, and the Valley's potential to harness such capital to create conditions for political change within the region. Such political mobilization of the region's communities would allow the communities themselves to work towards resolving their social and economic concerns, and would bring much-needed national attention to the region. What follows is an overview of the Valley's ethnic diversity, patterns of immigrant settlement, the ethnic contribution to the

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[35] Parsons, James. A Geographer Looks at the San Joaquin Valley, 1987 Sauer Memorial Lecture, UC Berkeley, Dept. of Geography.

Valley's (and California's) agriculture, various barriers to settlement and different strategies ethnic groups have developed to deal with these barriers.

Clues and Indicators of Diversity in the Central Valley

The evidence and indicators of cultural richness in the Central Valley are everywhere: in the abundant variety of spiritual centers and religious sites, the diversity within the agricultural industry, its cuisine, world languages, ethnic media outlets, and its cultural and ethnic festivals. In order to better understand how harnessing cultural capital can enhance political and economic capital throughout Valley communities, it is useful to describe the current ethnographic makeup of the Valley and its historical development. In reviewing these indicators to and clues of diversity, one begins to see a clearer picture of the abundant cultural wealth existing in the Valley and the possibilities for translating this wealth into real economic and political power.

Indicators of diversity encompass linkages that go well beyond the Valley's boundaries. They go beyond state and national boundaries. They are global yet localized. (Smith, 2001) Hometown associations, for example, which connect communities transnationally, link immigrant groups in Central Valley towns with their villages of origin in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa.[36] To go "around the world," today, one only needs to take a trip through California's Central Valley. One can experience there an impressive array of global cultures by visiting and exploring hundreds of ethnically diverse communities, Mapping the locations of these ethnic centers reveals a dramatic mosaic of mosques, temples, Sikh gurdwaras, festivals, and ethnic media outlets reaching audiences in their native languages.[37]

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36 MP SMITH TRANSNATIONAL URBANISM:LOCATING GLOBALIZATION(2001) 170-72.
37Examples of ethnic media resources include the thirty-five media stations offering some or all programming in Spanish. Google web page for New California media for its ethnic media directory

Diversity extends beyond nationality to encompass regional attachments, spiritual orientations, cultural practices, and languages. For example, Sacramento has nine mosques that serve distinct Afghan, Iranian, and Pakistani communities, with worship services in Pushtu, Farsi, and Urdu, as well as Arabic.[38] Diversity exists within ethnic groups as well. The Sikhs are mainly Punjabis, but other Punjabis in the Central Valley are Hindus and Moslems, each with their own religious sites. Similarly, Buddhist temples represent distinct sects, including Zen, Pure Land, and Theravadan. Ethnic places of worship also serve important functions as social centers. For Koreans, Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Khmer, Laotian, and Middle Eastern groups, churches, temples, and mosques are sites for rituals and celebrations within the Central Valley. These places increasingly serve as cross-cultural meeting grounds, bringing together the ethnic community, as well as townspeople in the surrounding areas, providing insight into the untapped cultural capital within the Central Valley's ethnic communities.

By mapping these spiritual and cultural centers, one gains a spatial sense of the diversity in the Valley. The GIS (geographic information system) map in Fig 3.1 shows locations of Mosques, Sikh Gurdwaras and Buddhist temples in the Central Valley. The Buddhists temples are in yellow; the mosques in green and Sikh's Gurdwaras are designated by the color blue.

38 Conversation with leaders of Masjid Annur Mosque, Sacramento (Sept. 2002).

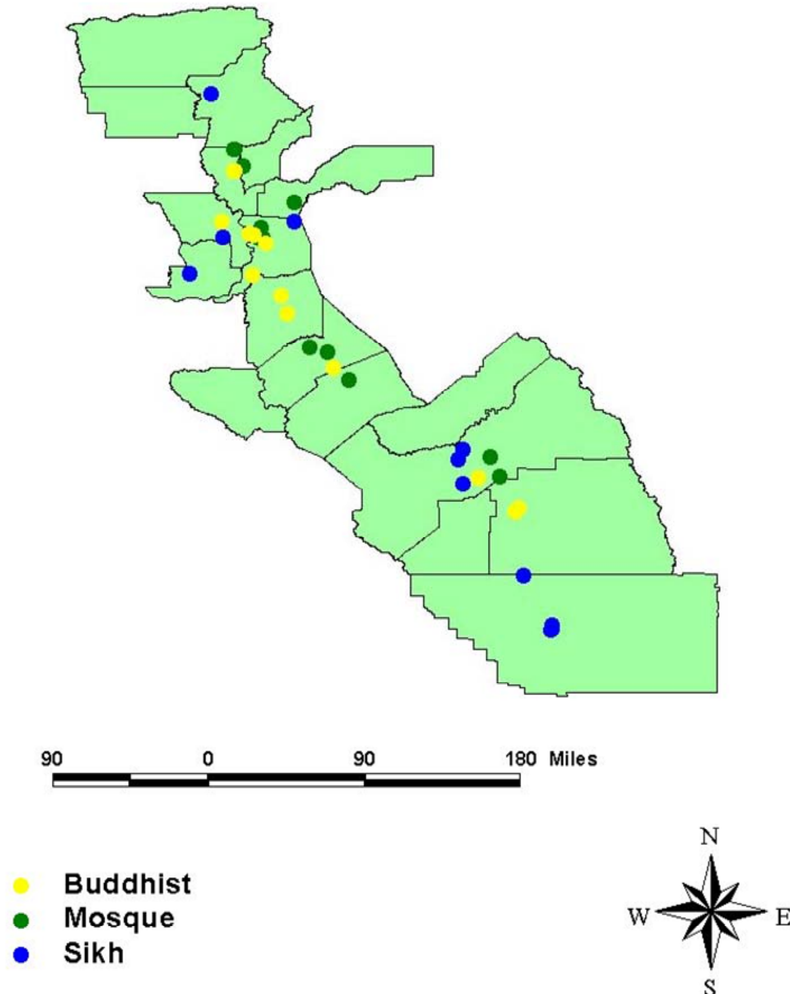

FIGURE 3.1: MOSQUES, BUDDHIST TEMPLES AND SIKH GURDWARAS IN THE CENTRAL

The yellow represents the Japanese Pureland Buddhist Temples. Yet there is even more diversity within the Buddhist Temples as other sects flourish in the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian communities. Adding to the diversity of ethnic

spiritual centers in the Central Valley are an abundance of Portuguese and Latino Catholic and Protestant churches and Greek and Russian Orthodox.

These spiritual centers play important social and cultural roles within the Valley's communities. They are used as places for learning, sharing and community building. Many of these centers have language schools which teach both English and their home language. The Buddhist temples that once offered language instruction and martial arts mainly for the ethnic community now serve a larger audience beyond the ethnic Buddhist families. These places of worship also engage in community building activities, through celebrations and fundraisers such as food festivals and bazaars ..

The concentration of immigrants is particularly pronounced in the southern part of the San Joaquin Valley, the site of America's top farming counties. The Public Policy Institute of California reports that this region has the majority of the Valley's newcomers from other countries. (Bazar, 2004) In more northerly regions of the Valley, population growth comes from other parts of California or other states. The principal draw in all these areas is the demand for workers and the relatively lower cost of living. Whatever the centripetal forces drawing these populations to the Central Valley, it creates a strong regional dynamism propelled by the ethnic diversity representing cultures from around the world.

Additional evidence of diversity extends to the Central Valley's agriculture industry, where producers, as well as workers, evince a decided mix of ethnic identities. The dairy sector, for example, has been the domain of Dutch and Portuguese immigrants, the latter mainly from the Azores. (Graves, 1969) The growth and development of the California dairy industry is a clear example of how cultural capital is transformed to social and financial capital. The ethnic identity of the Portuguese immigrants shows how cultural identity serves as the social glue which

bonds together an ethnic group and may help that group increase their interaction to create credit associations and co-ops.

Another example of cultural bonding is portrayed by the Punjabis who produce half of the clingstone peaches used for canning.[39] Croatians and Sicilians are prominent in the production of table grapes, and Armenians specialize in figs and raisins. Historically, the Japanese were important producers of peaches, nectarines, plums, apricots, and strawberries. (Masumoto, 1996) Farmers of Japanese descent, however, decreased greatly in numbers after 2nd and 3rd generations gained further education and left the agricultural sector. Southeast Asian refugees began taking the place of Japanese farmers. (Illic, 1992) In Fresno County alone, there are 800 Laotian and Hmong families running small-scale farm operations[40]. Those farmers are growing, besides mainstream crops, vegetable varieties from their Southeast Asian homelands[41]. They serve the needs of their own ethnic communities as well as the internationalization of California cuisine. (Fujimoto & Carter, 1998)

Various ethnic groups have established themselves in areas throughout the Central Valley, making the Valley a patchwork of ethnic enclaves. Armenians established communities in Fresno and Fowler; Russians and Croatians in Sacramento and West Sacramento[42]. After the Vietnam War ended in 1975, many refugees from Southeast Asia found their way to Stockton, Merced and Fresno[43]. Today's Valley residents include Mexican, Lao, Mien, Lahu, Russian-Armenian, Sikh, Cambodian, Vietnamese, Thai and Taiwanese.

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39 Conversation with Professor Thomas M. Gradziel, Department of Pomology, University of California, Davis (Sept. 3, 1998).
[40] Fujimoto,I & Carter,M Getting to Know the Central Valley, California Institute for Rural Studies, Davis, CA, Sept. 1998.
[41] *ibid..*
[42] *ibid.*
[43] *ibid*

About 30,000 Hmong live in Fresno County[44]. In 1982, about 830 Southeast Asian families – Hmong, Lao, Mien, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Thai - operated small family farms totaling 3,579 acres in Fresno County (Illic, 1992). Since then, a number have moved on to other endeavors. Some moved to Minnesota and Wisconsin; some saved money to buy "mom-and-pop" stores or restaurants.[45] However, the Southeast Asians' production has already had an impact[46]. Restaurateurs and consumers buy fresh produce daily from many Asian farmers in the Valley.

The spectacular ethnic cuisine is yet another important indicator of and clue to diversity in the Central Valley. To California classics, like Mexican tamales and enchiladas and crisp Chinese and Japanese vegetables, we now add Vietnamese avocado drinks and pho (rice noodle), seafood soup and Punjabi clay-oven roasted chicken tikka masala.

Another clue to diversity is the presence and use of the ethnic media.(Figure 3.2) According to New America Media, which is headquartered in California, "ethnic media are the primary source of news and information for over half of the state's [California] new ethnic majority" where 17 million of the 35 million people, rely on some kind of ethnic media for their source of information[47]. The presence and role of the ethnic media in the Central Valley underscore the importance and recognition of different world views in that region[48].

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[44] Interview with Peter Vang of the Hmong Educational Leadership Foundation in 2004.
[45] Updates on South Asian farmers provided by Michael Yang, Field Assistant to Richard Molinar, Farm Adviser, University of California Cooperative Extension, Fresno, August 5, 1998.
[46] ibid
[47] See New America Media Web page: http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_custom.html
[48] Ethnic media encompasses diverse languages and various print and electronic media targeting specific ethnic groups.

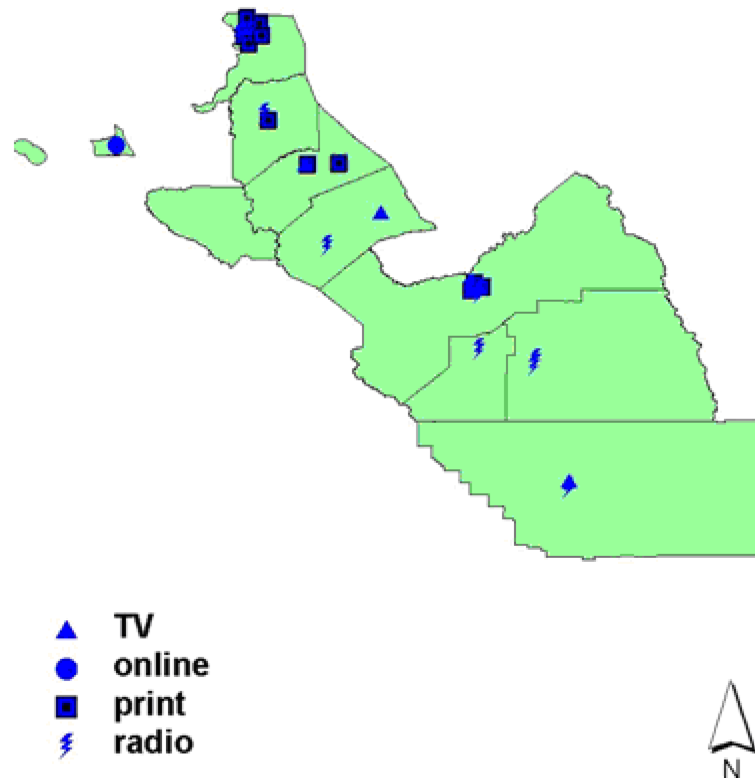

FIGURE 3.2: TYPES OF ETHNIC MEDIA IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALEY

In the Central Valley there are 35 radio stations that have some or all of their programs in Spanish[49]. Such stations include KNXT-TV, a Catholic Spanish-language television station in Fresno which also provides programming in Portuguese and Hmong. *Radio Bilingüe*, another radio station in Fresno broadcasts both in Spanish and in indigenous Mexican languages (such as Mixtec). *Radio Campesino* in Visalia focuses its programs on reaching immigrant farm workers by broadcasting updates to

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issues related to the agricultural fields. The varied perspectives presented by the ethnic media provide a broader portrait of the social realities of California and of the Central Valley than is otherwise readily available in the news media.

Yet another indicator of the diversity of the Central Valley is the region's celebration of ethnic festivals. Recognizing the abundance of these unique events, the California State Department of Tourism once published an ethnic festivals calendar showing the details of various festivals taking place throughout the state. The California Auto Association includes in their monthly magazine a calendar of festivals throughout the state, including ethnic ones such as Obon, which is celebrated by the Japanese Buddhist community throughout California[50]. Obon commemorates the joining of the spirits of the living and the dead with festivities that combine community street dancing and bazaars with exhibits, games and ethnic food delicacies. The California Automobile Association notes for its members more than 30 of these Obon festivals that occur during the summer months of July and August[51].

Though these efforts by mainstream agencies and publications to include ethnic events are increasing, there tends to be an undercount in the total number of ethnic festivals they report. For example, the State Tourist Agency's ethnic festival calendar listed a total of four Portuguese festivals. In contrast, a directory that made up the centerfold of the weekly Portuguese American Chronicle listed 400 Portuguese festivals, 70 in the Central Valley alone[52].

One problem that emerges as a result of having many ethnic and linguistic communities within the Central Valley is difficulty in accounting for each one's existence and numbers. For example, in the 2000 Census in the Valley, a problem arose in counting the population. People from different cultures were undercounted.

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[50] http://www.viamagazine.com/weeklyevents/
[51] http://www.viamagazine.com/events_contents.asp
[52] Portuguese American Chronicle, April 8, 2003

Indeed, towns such as Parlier (population 11,150 in 2000) in Fresno County had 50% of the people not counted at all in the l990 census[53]. This undercounting means that in the Central Valley, with a large immigrant, migrant worker and non-English speaking population, communities may not get the financial support they merit for schools and various public services, because funds are distributed in direct relation to the number of people counted as residents in a community[54]. The Census provides the important data for these allocations. When people are missed in a census count, the community pays a price.

Many factors account for this discrepancy, beginning with the basic instructions given to census counters to “go to a house and knock on the door”[55]. There are two problematic words here: “house” and "door." In various communities, but especially in poor ones, reference to a house or a door may not be meaningful as people may not be in houses nor in places having doors. They may be living in abandoned chicken shelters, tool sheds or camped out in a back yard lot or field. Missing such residents can lead to serious undercounting[56].

The Central Valley Partnership was involved in training local organizations to assist in the 2000 Census to obtain a more accurate count[57]. But often a more diligent search was not enough. When people were found, census takers explained “we couldn’t talk to them, they spoke a different language”[58]. Asking these populations if they spoke English, Spanish or Hmong was not sufficient because there were many other languages that required translation. For example, in one exchange, a request

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[53] These are comments taken from participants in the Central Valley Partnerships’ Census Workshops that occurred in 1999 throughout Valley communities.
[54] www.census.gov see section on California.
[55] These are comments taken from participants in the Central Valley Partnerships’ Census Workshops that occurred in 1999 throughout Valley communities.
[56] *ibid.*
[57] *ibid.*
[58] *ibid.*

came for translators familiar with Cambajol and Mam, Mayan languages used by workers from the highlands of Guatemala[59].

Some census takers learned it is also not enough to ask a person's country of origin, because a large proportion of Central Valley residents identify themselves not by the country they are from, but rather by their particular ethnic, cultural, or linguistic affiliations.[60] The Central Valley is home to thousands of people from Laos, for example but many people from that Southeast Asian country do not consider themselves Laotian. Instead, they identify themselves as Hmong, Mien, Khmu or Lahu, some 3,000 of the latter being concentrated in the Tulare county seat of Visalia[61]. Another example of the wide array of group identifications comes from a multi-ethnic mosque in Sacramento, which includes among its attendants Moslems from Vietnam[62], these are the Cham, descendants of the Champa empire that a millennium ago controlled regions of modern-day Cambodia and southern Vietnam.

The Central Valley also has a large contingent of workers from Mexico for whom Spanish is at best a second language as some speak little or no Spanish. Among such workers are Mixtecs and Zapotecs from the state of Oaxaca in Mexico's south bordering on Guatemala. Oaxaca is home to l6 different indigenous groups, among which are Chatino, Mixed and Triqui who are also working in the fields of California.

This abundant diversity and the cultural wealth it represents has not been recognized nor celebrated by most of mainstream California. Indeed, such diversity has often been seen as a threat to California's economic and social health as is evident from the trail of anti-minority legislation and demonstrations that have regularly

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[59] Conversation with Gunner Nielson of Projecto Campesino in Visalia, CA, in 1999.
[60] These are comments taken from participants in the Central Valley Partnerships' Census Workshops that occurred in 1990 throughout Valley communities.
[61] Fujimoto, Isao and Carter, Marilu, Getting to Know the Central Valley, California Institute for Rural Studies, Davis, CA, Sept. 1998.
[62] Fujimoto's field observations visiting cultural centers in the Valley in 2002.

appeared on California's political landscape. Proposition 187, which proposed to eliminate social services, health care and education for undocumented immigrants is one example. Another was Proposition 227, the anti-bilingual education initiative, which passed 61% to 39% in California[63].

FIGURE 3.3: HISTORICAL ROOTS OF CALIFORNIA'S DIVERSITY

Historical Roots of California's Diversity (Figure 3.3)

Diversity, of course, is nothing new in California. The tumultuous history of Native Americans in California is a case in point. In 1769, when the Spanish began to

[63] "Prop 227 challenged in lawsuit" The San Francisco Chronicle, June 4, 1998, A1

colonize Alta California, more than 60 Native American tribes resided there.[64] (Figure 3.3)An estimated 100,000 Native Americans, speaking some 30 different languages, lived in the Central Valley prior to the arrival of the Spanish[65]. Today, many of their Native American descendents are still active members of 103 federally recognized California tribal groups.[66] Of California's 103 diverse native groups, nine live in the Central Valley, although changing court decisions as to which tribes are to be recognized by the federal government makes neatly numbered categories impossible[67]. Classifications of these social groups vary widely, depending upon shifting definitions of bands, sociopolitical units, tribal associations, complex political alliances, and language families.(Forbes, 1982) Some of the early cultural legacies of California are evident from traces of many languages that endure in California's place names[68]

Patterns of Settlement

The ethnic enclaves that make the Central Valley a patchwork of ethnic niches, neighborhoods and communities are teeming with family, social and cultural networks that provide support for immigrant adaptation. Historically, California's Central Valley has long attracted a great diversity of ethnic groups. For example, there are

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[64] In conversation with Steven J. Crum, Associate Professor, Native American Studies, University of California, Davis, CA, August 5, 1998.
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] In conversation with Brian Golding, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Tribal Operations Office, Sacramento, CA, July 30, 1998.
[67] What tribes get recognized or not relate to controversies surrounding the push for Indian casinos. In conversation with Jack Forbes,, January 2007.
[68] For instance, just north of the Central Valley, Shasta County retains its name from the native Shatasla, Sastise, or Tschasta Nation. In the southern part of the Valley, the name, Tulare, originates from an Aztec word. The Spanish imported the word to refer to nearby tullin, tollin, or tule, the cattail leaves that resemble swords. The city of Chowchilla is the Spanish corruption of the Yokut or Miwok word, Chauciles. Similarly, Colusa comes from the Patwin word Coru, Colussas, or Colus. Tehama is corrupted from the Wintun word Tehama, just as Yuba City is from the Maidu word Yubu, Yupu, or Jubu. From their Alta California heritage, many Valley place names retain their Spanish language designations: Fresno, Modesto, Sacramento, and San Joaquin. Acampo signifies pasture; Avenal (oat field), Dos Palos (two sticks), Escalon (stair-steps), Los Banos (the baths), Madera (wood or lumber), Manteca (lard) and Merced (grace). Hence, the ethnic heritage of California is very much engrained within the naming of California cities and important geographical monuments

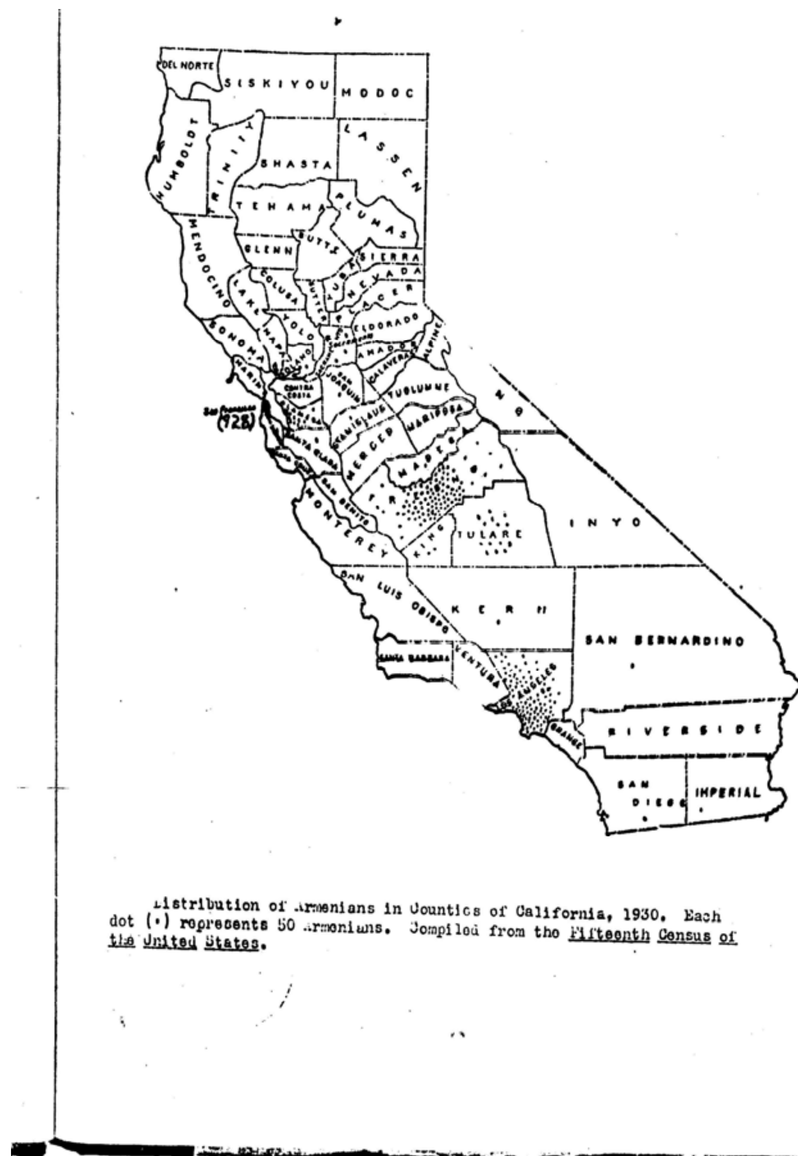
established communities of Sikhs from the Punjab region of India in Yuba City, Filipinos in Stockton, Assyrians in Turlock, Swedes in Kingsburg, Mennonites in Reedley, and Hmong in Merced. Today one fourth of the Central Valley's residents are immigrants[69]. Examining patterns of settlement in the Central Valley illustrates variations in origins and migration strategies as well as the importance of family and social networks. It also points to some of the historical roots of long-standing socio-economic problems facing immigrant groups face in the Central Valley today.

Following the persecution and dispersion of Armenians by the Turks in the beginning of the 20th century, many Armenians immigrated to California. As figure 3.4 shows the presence of Armenian immigrants in California in 1930, they settled mainly in Los Angeles and in Fresno Counties. (Bulbulian, 2000). The Armenians are major contributors to the fig and raisin industry in the state. They introduced their agricultural skills to the region, developed and adapted to local marketing arrangements, and remain a major force in the raisin industry to this day.

The Mennonites are another Central Valley group of European origin. Like the Quakers, Brethren, Hutterites and Amish, the Mennonites are members of a Peace Church. Their religious convictions and their stands on non-violence, anti-war and non-participation in the military have made them targets of persecution. The Mennonites originated in the German-speaking areas of Europe. Although a large contingent was invited to settle in Russia by Catherine the Great, after her demise, the Mennonites were persecuted and driven out of Russia, ending up in Paraguay, from where they immigrated to California. (California Mennonite Historical Society, 1990) Many Mennonites settled in Fresno County, where they also established Fresno

[69] The Great Valley Center, The State of the Great Central Valley: Assessing the Region Via Indicators - The Economy (2005), 1/19/2005.

Pacific College[70]. Maps of the Reedley area of Fresno County, showing the land owned by Mennonites, document their strong presence.



Distribution of Armenians in Counties of California, 1930. Each dot (•) represents 50 Armenians. Compiled from the _Fifteenth Census of the United States_.

FIGURE 3.4: ARMENIANS IN CALIFORNIA: 1930

Azoreans demonstrate a marked proclivity to settle not just among Portuguese speakers, but among Portuguese speakers from the same island in the Azores.

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[70] For more specific info see http://www.fresno.edu/about/community_relations/church_relations.asp

Portuguese from the Azores Islands settled close to other Azoreans in the Valley and closest to their fellow Islanders. Maps of the distribution of Portuguese dairy farms in the Valley illustrate how the establishment of dairies followed the pattern of being near others from the same island (Graves, 1969). Those patterns illustrate how the development of important ethnic networks connects directly to economic development opportunities. Such networks also strengthen cultural roles important to maintaining an active ethnic community. Throughout the San Joaquin Valley, Portuguese communities hold annual religious events known as *festas.* In the town of Gustine, for example, people from as far as Portugal and the Azore Islands arrive to participate in our Lady of Miracle celebrations. Through these and other community events such as Portuguese bullfights (for which there are eight bullrings in California), the Portuguese communities of the Central Valley and elsewhere in California link together (Gregory, 2004).

Like the Azoreans, other ethnic groups display similar patterns of settlement, choosing to live in Valley communities where fellow immigrants from specific villages of origin are concentrated. A study of Mixtecos from the state of Oaxaca, Mexico, shows an array of transnational intercommunity connections between Mixtecos from the same village in Oaxaca to the San Joaquin Valley community where the villagers settled.[71]

Ethnic Contributions to Agriculture in the Central Valley

The Central Valley's cultural diversity has made its social, political, and economic development a vivid mosaic. Ethnic groups have contributed greatly to the agricultural economy of the Central Valley. Social and kinship networks of immigrants have provided immigrants to this country much needed financial

[71] Rusten, David, and Kearney, Michael. A Survey of Oaxacan Village Networks in California Agriculture. California Institute for Rural Studies, Davis, CA, 1994.

resources, information, and economic footholds as they've made the transition to U.S. society. This meshing of cultural and social capital to create economic opportunity is illustrated by the strategies and accomplishments of various ethnic groups in California agriculture.

Figure 3.5, for example, shows the locations of all the major dairies in the U.S. Each dot represents two thousand cows. The greatest concentrations of cows are in Wisconsin and California, the main dairy states.

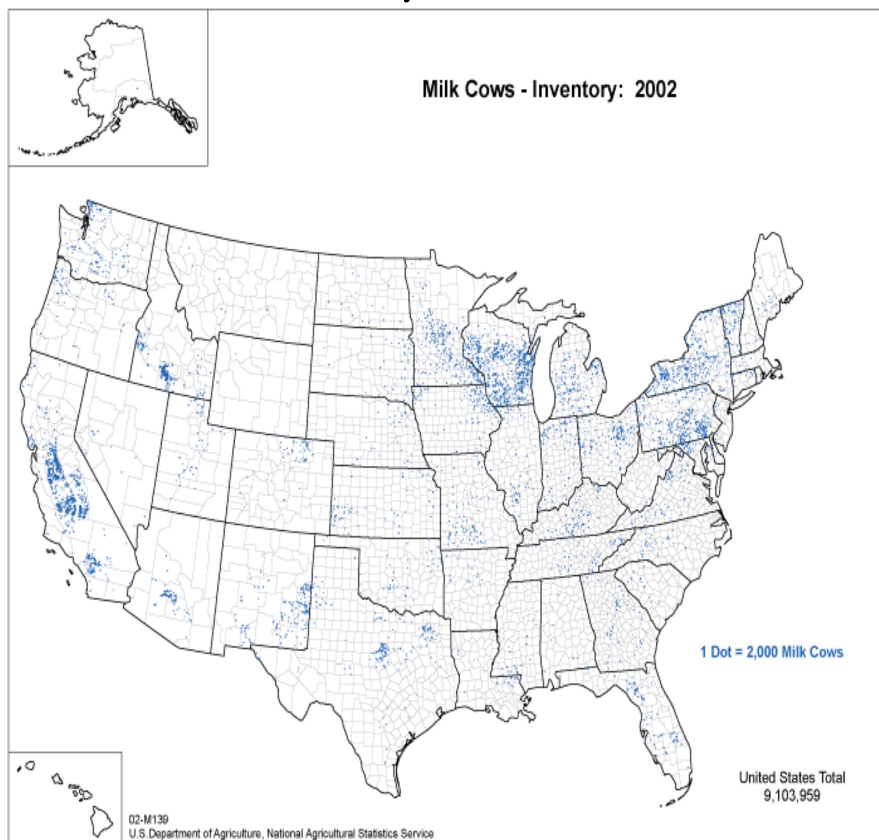

FIGURE 3.5: MAIN DAIRY AREAS IN THE USA

There is a decided ethnic identity to California dairies, given the dominance of Portuguese from the Azores Islands as major owners. The Azores are located in the Atlantic Ocean about 800 miles west of the Iberian Peninsula. On a map showing the dairy farmers around Tulare County and Kings County, every dot shows a Grade A

major dairy[72] and each black dot represents a Portuguese dairy farm. The dots on the map suggest more than the location of a dairy. They also point to the interconnections of Azorean communities throughout these counties. Because the Azoreans have tended to settle in areas where they are surrounded by relatives and friends from the same island, what results are communities bound by ties of language and common points of origin.

This interconnectedness and solidarity is exemplified on the map (figure 3.5) highlighting areas that have a high proportion of people from islands such as Terceira (T), Pico (P) and San Jorge (SJ) in the Azores. Farmers from Terceira are prominent in both Kings and Tulare County. However, within Tulare County there is a pool of dairy farmers predominately from the island of Pico. Further north, on the east side of Merced County are Azoreans from San Jorge while on the west side of the county, in communities such as Gustine, Newman, and Patterson, farmers tracing their lineage to Terceira are in the majority.

The affinities provided by language, common places of origin and relationships suggest a network by which people can support and help each other. Newer immigrants often worked on farms of relatives from the same island or locale before moving on to establish their own farms. Communities such as these are examples of how cultural and social capital can help build economic capital by linking the social and kinship networks within a community and harnessing them to make an industry grow or to gain a foothold and then possibly attain a dominant position within an industry. Such a resource may not be visible to those outside the networks, who may

[72] FDA develops, with the 50 States and Puerto Rico, a model document called the Pasteurized Milk Ordinance (PMO) that is adopted as the Grade "A" milk law in the 50 States and Puerto Rico. See “Grade A Pasteurized Milk Ordinance, US Dept. of Health and Human Services, Food and Drug Administration, 2001, for a detailed explanation of what this ordinance entails.

see the economic capital represented by dairy farms but not the cultural commonalities that provided the essential building blocks to create such economic capital.

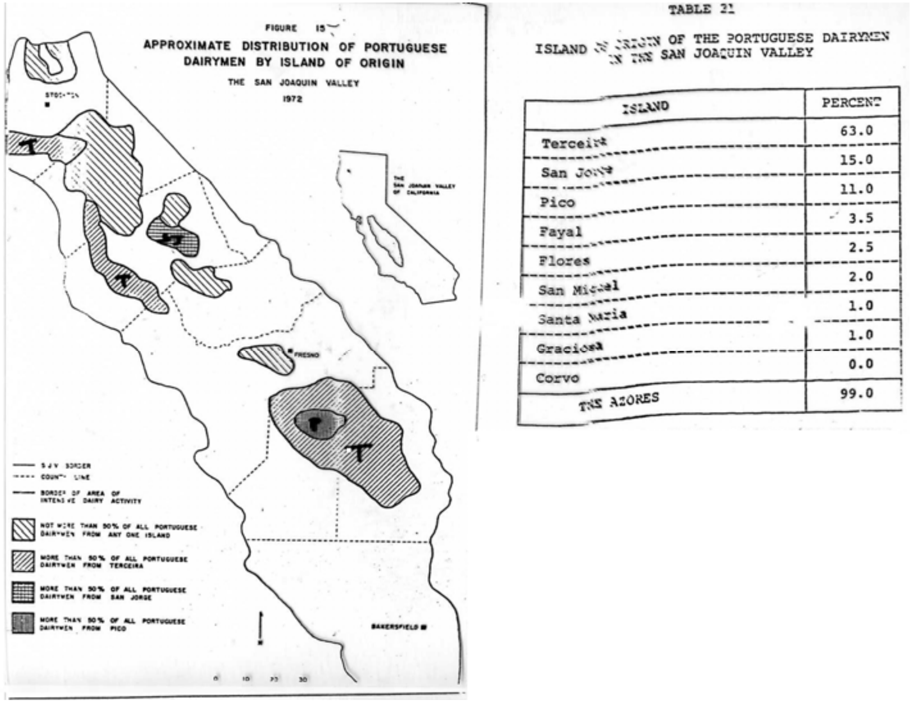

TABLE 21

ISLAND OF ORIGIN OF THE PORTUGUESE DAIRYMEN IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

ISLAND	PERCENT
Terceira	63.0
San Jorge	15.0
Pico	11.0
Fayal	3.5
Flores	2.5
San Miguel	2.0
Santa Maria	1.0
Graciosa	1.0
Corvo	0.0
THE AZORES	99.0

FIGURE 3.6: PORTEGUESE DAIRYMEN BY ISLAND OF ORIGIN IN THE AZORES

The production of California peaches is another example of how cultural affinity is translated by immigrant communities into economic capital. Figure 3.6 shows the national distribution of all peach farms with concentration in Georgia and California. What the public may not realize is that over half of the California cling stone peaches used for canning are produced by Punjabi immigrants from India. The Punjabi speaking farmers settled around Marysville and Yuba City. Punjabi is spoken in parts of Pakistan, Kashmir, and India. Also Punjabis can be Muslim, Hindus or Sikhs. The majority of the Punjabi peach growers in the Sacramento Valley are Sikhs.

Sikhs also work and farm in other parts of the Central Valley, which accounts for the Sikh Gurdwaras up and down the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valley communities.

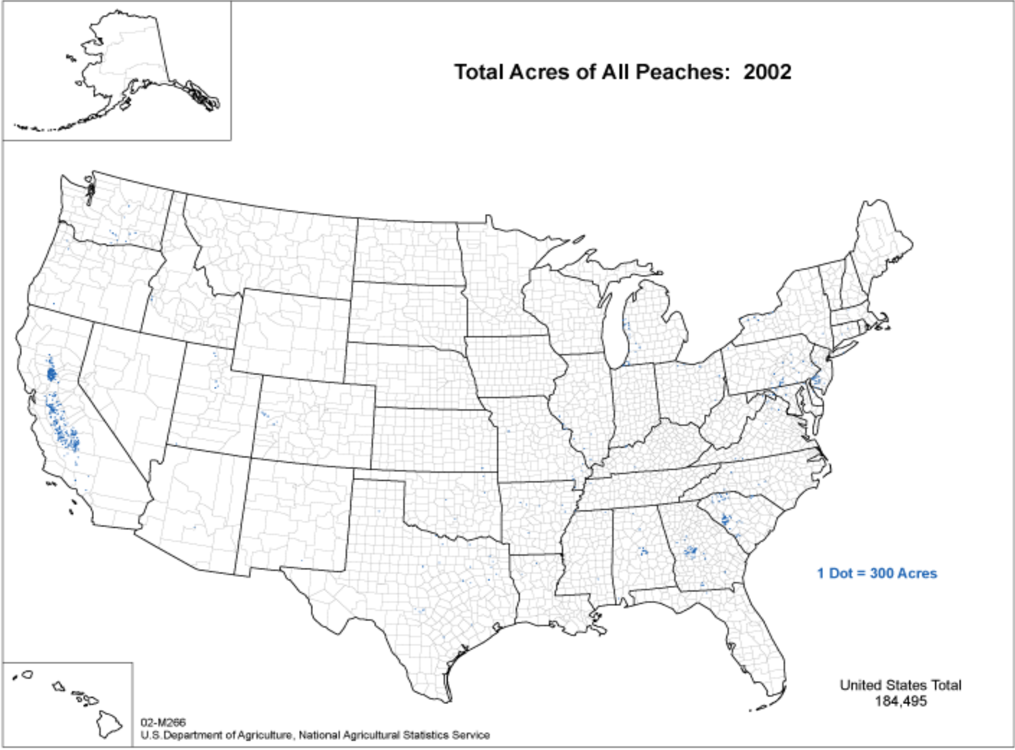

FIGURE 3.7: PEACH PRODUCTION AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES

Farmers from the former Yugoslavia have also made their mark on several regions of California, including the Central Valley. Among the ethnic groups from that region of southern Europe to settle in California were the Dalmatians, Serbians and Croatians. Dalmatians made Watsonville, located along the Central Coast, an apple growing area and Croatians and Serbians contributed prominently to the production of both table grapes and grapes for wine making[73].

[73] Many of the regions large growers of table and wine grapes have family names of Yugoslavian and Sicilian origin: Kovacevich, Guimarra, and de Giorgio.

Kingsburg in Fresno County is yet another example of a rural California town upon which an immigrant group from Europe has left its mark. Kingsburg was 94 percent Swedish in 1924 and its main commodity was watermelon, its production celebrated through the town's annual watermelon festival.[74] Though today residents of Swedish descent only make up about 25% of Kingsburg, the character of the town remains decidedly Swedish.[75] The water tower, visible from Highway 99, is shaped as a tea kettle and decorated with flowers and a handle, spout and cover. The former railroad station is fronted by another Swedish symbol, a large red Dalla horse. Images of these horses are painted before every traffic signal, in lieu of the traditional white painted imprints that spells out: “Ped Xing or Stop”. Metal baskets hang on every street light and numerous buildings in the central part of Kingsburg utilize the “gingerbread” house design reminiscent of Northern Europe.

The spread of the design has been enhanced by a sister city relationship between Kingsburg and its sister city in Sunne, Sweden. Swedish royalty have visited Kingsburg and Swedish businesses were encouraged to open their U.S and California offices in Kingsburg. In the 1980s, five such Swedish companies chose to do so.[76] The one request imposed by Kingsburg was that Swedish businesses have their offices housed in buildings with the gingerbread design. “We promote ourselves as a Swedish town,” says June Hess, generally considered the force behind Little Sweden. “But we’re not cutesy. We’re a real town with farmers in coffee shops discussing their crops.”[77]

Swedish motifs also have been incorporated in other venues. The McDonald's on the highway leading to Kingsburg has at its entrance the logos of all 26 provinces

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[74] Kingsburg Recorder, Bicentennial events this week, Thursday, July 1, 1976.
[75] http://www.cityofkingsburg-ca.gov/ (more specific citation info)
[76] Interview with Kingsburg City Manager during field work in the Spring of 1988.
[77] http://www.americanprofile.com/article/954.html (more specific citation info)

of Sweden. Kingsburg's festival schedule includes gatherings that revolve around Swedish food favorites such as crayfish and the honoring of Sweden's main saints, including St. Lucia.[78] Building beyond the original watermelon festival, Kingsburg is promoting itself as the city of festivals.[79] Other Swedish settlements include Merced, but Kingsburg is unique because it has portrayed its city identity as a Swedish settlement.

Strategies for Overcoming Barriers – The Japanese Immigrant Farm Example

Taking advantage of cultural capital has not been easy for ethnic minority groups in the Central Valley. Many barriers, both formal and informal, hamper the building of economic and political capital by minorities. However, there have been specific instances when minority groups have developed sufficient forms of financial and cultural capital to overcome these barriers. The Alien Land Laws were a substantial barrier, for example, particularly to Japanese immigrant farmers. Passed in l7 states during the first decades of the 20th century, these laws legitimated the practice of preventing "people who did not qualify for citizenship, to lease or buy land." (Nomura, 2005) Since no immigrant from Asia could become a citizen of this country until the passage of the McCarran Act in 1952, the Alien Land Laws specifically sought to eliminate economic competition posed by Japanese immigrants, the main Asian group active in farming at that time. (Fiset & Nomura, 2005)

Farmers of Japanese descent made substantial contributions to California agriculture, despite the Alien Land Laws and other major barriers they faced. During the First World War, for example, Asian farmers in America, primarily those of Japanese descent, responded to the call for food on the home front. In California, they

[78] Interview with Kingsburg city manager during field work in the Spring of 1988.
[79] Interview with Kingsburg city manager during field work in the Spring of 1988.

produced 90% of the celery, asparagus, onions, tomatoes, berries, and cantaloupes, and also accounted for 70% of all floriculture products. (Krebs, 1995)

The prodigious efforts of Japanese immigrant farming in Southern California made Los Angeles County the number one agricultural area in the state pre -World War II. While today, the county is an urban metropolis with 88 incorporated cities, 80 years ago much of Los Angeles County was rural. Today California's main agricultural centers are the Central Valley counties of Fresno, Tulare and Kern, which rank number l, 2 and 3, in value of agriculture products, not just in California but among all counties in the USA.[80]

On the eve of the Second World War, farmers of Japanese descent accounted for half of California's truck crops, which included tomatoes, peas, and carrots. (Uyeunten, 1988) For some commodities, such as strawberries, Japanese immigrant farmers accounted for 90-100 % of California's production. (Wells, 1996) All of this was accomplished despite numerous hurdles, including the laws to reduce or remove Japanese from farming. (Iwata, 1992)

Although the Alien Land Laws created a difficult environment for Japanese immigrant farmers, this first generation of Japanese farmers was highly motivated and had the determination and ingenuity to develop strategies to overcome such explicit prejudicial barriers. Various strategies were devised to survive in farming under hostile circumstances. In order to get around the restrictions of owning their own land, for example, Japanese immigrants found sympathetic townspeople who would rent land for the farmers. Another stratagem was to lease land in the name of their children who were American by virtue of having been born in the U.S.

[80] California Agricultural Statistics Service, Summary of County Agricultural Commissioner's Reports: Gross Values by Commodity Groups – California 2002-2003, 2004.

In eastern Washington's Yakima Valley prior to WWII, 125 Japanese families lived on the Yakima Indian reservation around the towns of Yakima, Wapato and Toppenish. (The Japanese Association of Yakima Valley, 1935) The Yakima Indians rented land to the immigrant farmers who even built a Buddhist temple in the reservation town of Wapato.[81]

In addition to difficulties in finding land to farm, rental fees for the land presented another barrier to settlement for Japanese farmers. Landowners, knowing the desperation of Japanese immigrant farmers, charged premium prices of up to four times the market rate for leases. Credit was another hurdle. Banks hesitated or outright refused to loan money to Japanese farmers who needed funds to purchase seeds, fertilizer, equipment and pay for hired help.[82]

Limited to small acreage of rented land with little security even as "renters", Japanese farmers settled on crops that would generate cash within the year. Crops such as corn or wheat would not do because they required large acreage for profitability; nor would vine or tree crops that required several years of growth before any income could be generated. So the strategic choices for Japanese farmers were horticultural and crops, strawberries and vegetables.

The barriers faced by Japanese immigrants – acreage limits, high rents and inadequate access to credit, - prompted them to search for ways of increasing production. Their solutions resulted in innovative practices that included fertilizing and irrigation. One hundred years ago, much of California's agriculture was dry land farming. In California, the Japanese farmed on 1.5% of the state's farmlands. However, this small amount accounted for about 16% of the irrigated land. (Uyeunten,

[81] These are my recollections growing up on the Yakima Indian reservation where my family farmed.
[82] Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans & Japanese Canadians in the twentieth century edited by Louis Fiset and Gail M. Nomura. Seattle: Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest in association with University of Washington Press, c2005.

1988) Farming practices that included fertilization and irrigation for appropriately chosen marketable crops were important to increasing productivity on smaller parcels of land.

In order to overcome the financial barrier posed when banks did not provide loans to Japanese immigrants, the immigrants also started their own rotating credit associations. (Fujimoto & Shinagawa, 1997) Such associations were formed by groups of people who knew and trusted each other. Those who borrowed from the group first paid more in interest in the spirit of fairness. In place of material guarantees such as cars, homes, or other properties that were limited, personal honor served as collateral. In a community in which people's trust in each other is paramount, personal honor is invaluable. Violation of such trust would mean more than reneging on the loan. It would be tantamount to ostracism from the community.

Such rotating credit associations are also used in other Asian immigrant communities. They are called *tanomoshi* by the Japanese, *hui* by the Chinese, *gae* by the Koreans, *hulagan* by the Filipinos, and *bui* by the Vietnamese. (Fujimoto & Shinagawa, 1997) Today practices such as this have become institutionalized around the world into various forms of micro-lending.

Marketing is another critical aspect for successful farming, and again the Japanese farmers acted strategically to overcome the barriers that would otherwise diminish their economic viability. Their strategy was to emphasize direct marketing approaches. (Wells, 1996) Direct marketing involves putting the producer in direct contact with the consumer. Selling at the farm gate provides a prime example. A fruit and vegetable stand at the farm site is doubly advantageous: the consumers pay a lower price than if they were to go to the grocery store in town, and the farmer gets a better price than they would have obtained by selling to the wholesaler.

During the Great Depression, Los Angeles County had some 400 Japanese-operated fruit stands. By the beginning of WWII, there were 1,000 such fruit stands. (Uyeunten, 1988) Today, direct marketing has expanded to include community-supported agriculture, farmers' markets, U-pick enterprises, and even farm tourism. These strategies link producers and consumers in a network that reduces transportation costs, builds rural-urban connections, and helps small, family farmers stay in business.

Another valuable strategy that enabled Japanese American farmers to remain viable economic actors in California's agricultural industry was their development of co-ops both before WWII and during resettlement following their release from American concentration camps. In addition to the advantage of lowered supply costs made possible by economies of scale through bulk purchases, co-op arrangements also provided farmers some control of the market. An example of such cooperative arrangements can be seen in the history of the Japanese strawberry farmers. Strawberry producers generally enjoyed good profits at the very beginning of the season. But at peak season, when there was an abundance of berries, the price dropped, with farmers always at the mercy of the market.

Agricultural co-ops helped remedy this situation in a number of ways. One Japanese strawberry farmers' cooperative expanded its market opportunities by building a freezer. Instead of having all of its produce sold at whatever price the market offered, a freezer enabled the production of value added products such as frozen strawberries and allowed setting aside berries for jam and ice cream.[83] The formation of cooperatives thus enabled Japanese immigrant farmers to assert a certain level of control over the market. (Wells, 1996) The experience of the Japanese immigrant farmers-from the way they obtained and made the most use of the land, to

[83] Source: Natureripe Strawberry Co-op of which the author's family was a member.

their choices of crops and strategies for enlarging both production and marketing opportunities- allow us to better understand what was involved in building community and in overcoming barriers to settlement, in the Central Valley and throughout California.

Other Ethnic Experiences in California Agriculture

Situations, where communities have failed to thrive can also be instructive Allensworth is one such example. Allensworth was intended to be a community for Blacks from the South to develop a place of their own in California. Colonel Allen Allensworth, a former Chaplain in the US Army, envisioned an agriculturally-based community, surrounded by farm sites and containing an agricultural college.[84] The original community founded in 1908 successfully established a school house, church, and library, and began plans to build the agricultural college. They also established various crops, thus providing community members from the South, who brought with them valuable agricultural skills, a source of much-needed jobs. Although social and cultural capital was certainly present, it was not enough to overcome barriers of racial discrimination, economic hardships and lack of appropriate natural resources (for example, the water in the area had high levels of arsenic). Today, Allensworth still exists, but as a state park, with a mural on one of the walls of a park building serving as the only reminder of Colonel Allensworth's vision of an African American agricultural community.

The Chinese were also important contributors to the development of California. It was their labor that built the levees and railroads and contributed significantly to the agriculture of the region. (Chan, 1986) The Chinese were the farm laborers of the 1880s and 1890s, and without their contributions, California would have faced economic disaster in the agricultural industry. The Chinese contribution to

[84] http://www.parks.ca.gov/. Search for Allensworth State Park for a description of the town.

California’s agriculture was met not with appreciation, however, but with hostility and increased barriers to their adaptation to American society. Limitations included the lack of opportunities to form families due to restrictions preventing the admission of Chinese women into the US. Furthermore,violent anti-Chinese riots made life very dangerous for these immigrant communities. (Pfaelzer, 2007)

Other ethnic groups from Asia which have contributed to California agriculture include Punjabis, Filipinos and Southeast Asians. The role of Punjabis in the peach industry has been mentioned. Filipinos were a dominant presence in the agricultural labor force and in farm worker unionization. (London & Anderson, 1971) The most recent entrants from Asia in Central Valley agriculture are refugees from Southeast Asia. Farmers from Laos and Cambodia are doing what the Japanese were doing 80 years ago.(Goreham, 1997) As cited earlier, the Fresno area has hundreds of Laotian farmers who account for most of the strawberries produced there. Berry fruits such as strawberries have enabled families, such as Japanese immigrants in the past and Laotians today, to make a living. With strawberries, a farm family working intensively on a small 4 to 5 acre parcel of land can make a living wage (Wells, 1996). Such family scale operations, which are part of the experience of numerous ethnic groups, have been crucial ingredients in the development of communities in the Central Valley, and are among the most fundamental methods those communities have used to overcome economic barriers.

Transnational connections - created by the ties between immigrants from common places of origin with their home country and each other - create strong networks that help immigrants, especially in the early stages of their establishment in the U.S., overcome many hindrances to settlement. Mexican immigrants to the Central Valley, for example, have found strength in their regionally-specific transnational connections. As in the case of the Azoreans, people from Mexico have settled all over

the Central Valley while maintaining important ethnic, economic and social networks with their particular places of origin in Mexico.

The map (fig. 3.8) of California's *colonias*, or communities of Latino immigrants, shows the distribution of Spanish speaking people both in urban areas and in small rural enclaves. Contributing to the pattern of community building is the concentration of Mexican immigrants and migrant workers to form not just majorities, but majorities comprised of people from common places of origin. With such concentrations of immigrants from one particular place of origin comes the creation of "hometown associations." Those associations, which have direct links to towns in Mexico, form the bases of transnational communities and help the immigrants maintain strong ties directly to their home areas. (Laguerre, 2000)

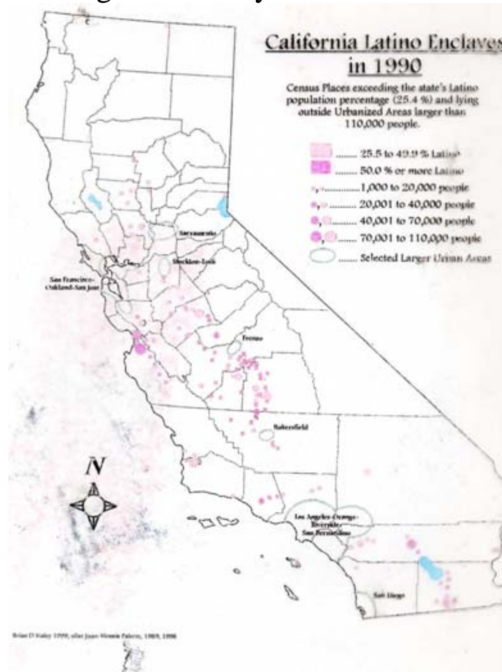

FIGURE 3.8: "COLONIAS": SPANISH SPEAKING ENCLAVES IN CALIFORNIA

Though they may be described as enclaves of poverty from the outside, *colonias*, or communities of Spanish speaking immigrants, often from similar places

of origin, can be seen as vibrant centers for transnational exchanges - of capital, communication, and social support - where groups of people are connected to others, helping each other as well as their respective communities. The transfer of money, in the form of remittances from workers in California to their respective families and communities in their home countries, is critical to the well being of the immigrant and worker families. (Anda, 2000) Remittances are an important factor in the economic development efforts of Mexico. (Portes, Guarnizo, & Haller, 2003) After oil and tourism, remittances from workers abroad now represent Mexico's third highest source of revenue. (Vertovec, 2003)

The improvement of remittances to the development of immigrants' countries of origin merits attention. More and more groups of immigrant workers are forming associations that send money to their home village for projects such as improving the water supply or building a school, clinic, or church. (Castells, 2000) These sources of transnational funding now represent solid contributions to the economic and infrastructure developments in Mexican towns.[85] Remittances also help immigrants here in the US, encouraging a greater sense of civic duty as they try to help out their home communities. That increased civic responsibility is a resource which can be nurtured and transferred towards increasing civic responsibility and participation here in the US. However one downside to monitor is that remittance businesses are located in immigrant neighborhoods and often exploit rather than help those neighborhoods become economically vibrant[86].

In addition to generating economic capital for their families and communities, immigrants are also recognizing the importance of activities designed to strengthen their political capital. Hence, some hometown associations actually take part in direct

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[85] *Ibid.*
[86] See Web page of TIGRA (Transactional Institute for Grassroots Research at: www.Transaction.com

political party activities and even fund politicians who profess to share mutual interests. Some immigrants here in the US are very much involved in politics back in their home countries and stay informed in part through their hometown associations. Such political interest and activities represent untapped resources for political mobilization of immigrant groups in the Central Valley and elsewhere. Many of the challenges facing immigrants and low wage workers in the Central Valley revolve around issues of access, discrimination and civil rights. As the Central Valley Partnership case reveals, immigrant groups often have a better chance of overcoming these barriers when they are able to join together and learn from one another. This is why the passing on of immigrants' stories– whether some time ago in the case of Japanese immigrant farmers, or more recently in the case of Mixtec workers - can become such an important community organizing tool both in the U.S. and abroad.

Further Attacks on Central Valley's Ethnic Communities

Unfortunately, the immigrants who give the region its rich diversity suffer from long-standing problems of confinement to low wage jobs and subjection to discriminatory and predatory practices. One extreme example of the discrimination directed against minorities, with repercussions today for whole new groups of immigrants and ethnic minorities concerns the forced removal of people of Japanese descent during World War II. Of the fifteen temporary assembly centers used to imprison members of that ethnic group, eight were located in the Central Valley. (Iritani & Iritani, 1994) Those camps were associated with the communities of Marysville, Sacramento, Stockton, Turlock, Merced, Pinedale, Fresno, and Tulare. Talk of revival of such tactics to round up minorities of Middle Eastern descent, whose visibility has been heightened in the wake of 9/11, has aroused concern among Sikh, Pakistani, Afghan and other immigrant groups from the Middle East and South Asia. The experience of Japanese Americans during WWII when they were treated

with suspicion because "they looked like the enemy," is eerily similar to what Central Valley Muslims and people of South Asian and Middle-Eastern descent are experiencing now. Dangerous discriminatory reactions came post-9/11 when Sikhs and Arabs were erroneously mistaken as associates of Osama bin Laden because of their attire (turbans) or their physical appearance. In the Central Valley town of Reedley, for example, a Yemeni storekeeper, Abdo Ali Ahmed, was attacked and killed because of his Middle Eastern identity[87].

Current discriminatory reactions to immigrants have historical roots. Anti-immigrant sentiment still persists. For example, former Governor Pete Wilson attempted to win re-election in California by riding a wave of anti-immigrant propositions. One such measure, Proposition 187, denied social services to undocumented immigrants. (Mailman, 1995) It is to counter such political opportunism and negative reactions to immigrant settlements that organizations like the Central Valley Partnership emerged to engage immigrant communities to work constructively towards achieving equality and increased political rights.

Towards Multicultural Understanding

To recognize the contribution of ethnic groups and the cultural capital they bring requires taking the time to get to know people. It is not enough to simply ask individuals where they are from because people see themselves in ways different from the labels given to them from the outside. Indigenous workers from Mexico, as has been noted, when asked who they are will say Mixtec or Zapotec, but not Mexican. The same holds for the Hmong from Laos. They identify themselves as Hmong but not Laotian, which is a separate and unique identity for people associated with the Kingdom of Laos. Though both are from the same country, each retains its own identity.

[87] Washington Post, Oct. 3, 2001

Important distinctions exist within an ethnic group as well. In the case of Japanese Americans, differences exist between generations, each having its own name. The first generation, called *Issei*, are people who emigrated from Japan; the second generation, known as *Nisei,* refers to the generation born in America; and the third generation, the *Sansei*, are the children of the first American born. There are important differences between the three generations in terms of language use, media sources (ethnic sources and/or mainstream English language outlets), social relations, intermarriage, and the dominant values that guide their lives.

The first generation spoke only Japanese and the second generation a mix of both Japanese and English, while members of the third generation generally speak only English. As for media use, the *Issei* relied on ethnic newspapers. The *Nisei*, though well versed in English and mainstream sources, still subscribe to ethnic papers, for the papers provide information useful to their social lives , covering ethnic sports leagues, ethnic social events, church activities, conferences, and obituaries and helping people stay connected. However, many of the *Sansei*, the third generation Japanese in America, do not bother with the ethnic newspapers.

Likewise, the first generation's social circle consists mainly of people within their own ethnic group, preferring the company of people like themselves. The value that guided the Issei generation was to work hard to pave the way for the next generation. The second generation was motivated by the same value to do well, not just to improve oneself but to do so for improving the group's image and acceptance in the larger community. The third generation also values work and education, but considers the benefits to accrue to the individual rather than for the sake of the community. The third generation's outlook is a very individualistic one, more in tune with Western and American values.

Generational differences show also in the intermarriage rates as well. In the first generation interracial marriage did not exist both by cultural choice as well as (until relatively recently) by law: California's anti-miscegenation law made marriage between people of different races illegal until 1967. In the Nisei generation intermarriage occurred about l0% of the time among the older Nisei and for about 20% for the younger second generation. For the Sansei generation, as of 1981, nearly 50% of those married were in interracial marriages. (Montero, 1981)

This example from the Japanese immigrant community shows the complexity and ever-evolving nature of ethnic identifications as an ethnic group transitions into U.S. society. Generational differences within the Japanese community and how that community has changed illustrate the dynamics within a single and initially relatively homogenous ethnic group. The rich complexities are reminders of the importance of digging deeper, beyond surface appearances, to better understand multicultural realities. A multicultural understanding begins by understanding that people and situations cannot be taken at face value.

Political empowerment

Harnessing the hidden energy in the Central Valley involves opening the political system to more active participation by immigrants and people of color. By empowering immigrants and providing the economic and political tools for social change, the Central Valley can begin to take advantage of its rich cultural diversity. Active participation for political empowerment includes participation of ethnic minorities in both formal electoral politics and political participation from a more grassroots organizing perspective. Each is an important form of political participation, and both are needed throughout the Valley. A hint of what might be possible can be seen by examining the experience of the Azorean Portuguese in the Central Valley in

terms of electoral politics and by examining the work of the Central Valley Partnership for a perspective on grassroot organizing.

As discussed earlier, because of their dominance in the dairy industry, Azoreans have a significant presence in the Valley. The cultural capital of Azorean rural community relationships contributes to the building of economic capital by turning their ethnic, social, and kinship networks into business connections and a dedicated labor pool. This in turn has translated into political capital, judging by how the Central Valley is represented in the Congress of the United States. Congressmen representing various parts of the San Joaquin Valley include Bill Thomas (California's 22nd District) in Bakersfield, and George Radanovich (California's 19th District) in the Fresno area. Other Central Valley Congressman, who include Devin Nunes (California 22nd District), Dennis Cardoza (California's 18th District), and Jim Costa (California's 20th District), are all of Azorean Portuguese descent. Until his recent defeat, Richard Pombo, who represented California's 11th District, was another congressman of Portuguese American descent representing the Central Valley.

Understandably, many factors go into the election of a candidate. But political campaign organizers value the role of outreach, networking, and communication linkages to wherever voters reside. Such a network exists for the Azorean Portuguese community of the Central Valley through the dairy farms, the gatherings for the festivals and bullfights, the communications channels provided by the Portuguese language radio stations and the newspapers. The fact that the Valley's presence in Congress is heavily represented by men of Azorean Portuguese descent suggests how the building of economic and cultural capital, with people in the ethnic community working together and looking out for each other, has also contributed to building political capital. When the Portuguese first immigrated to the Central Valley, they did not possess much financial capital. However, building on their ethnic ties and

solidarity, they successfully supported each other socially. This contributed to their economic advancement. This is illustrative of the tie between social and economic capital, eventually translating to political capital, at least for the Azorean Portuguese community.

Today more communities are electing officials from diverse ethnic backgrounds. There is now a network of California mayors of Spanish speaking background, a recognizable number of them from the rural communities of the Central Valley[88]. However, before celebrating what appears to be a positive sign of increasing diversity in civic participation, some pause for caution is in order. In California, more Latino leaders are emerging as elected officials. However, it is one thing to applaud and acknowledge the presence and the visibility of such leaders and another to ask if these newly elected officials will be able to restore or improve community conditions given the limited resources they have to work with. The precedent for this concern relates to the experience of African American leaders who emerged in major urban centers such as Detroit and Cleveland. Mayors like Carl Stokes faced immense hurdles after assuming leadership of cities with increasingly critical problems and diminished revenues. (Fujimoto & Carter, 1998) Such problems grew as businesses, corporations, and those in power in traditional Euro-American enclaves abandoned central urban communities, moving resources, investments, and a needed city tax base to the periphery. (Jackson, 1985) A similar situation exists in the Central Valley, with its extremes of wealth and poverty (see Chapter 4). This is particularly acute in the smaller, rural towns, the main places where leaders of Latino background are attaining leadership positions.

Another form of political empowerment comes through community grassroots organizing. A contemporary example of this is the Central Valley Partnership

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[88] National Association of Latino Elected Officials. For more details see their web page http:naleo.org

(CVP),the subject of these chapters. The CVP also works with another grassroots network, the Civic Action Network (CAN), numbering 149 grassroots organizations tied to emerging immigrant groups throughout the Valley. The two networks each have an extensive network of community organizations which call on each other for help when they organize political events such as marches, protests, news conferences, or other types of grassroots advocacy work. This type of grassroots work has a long history in the Central Valley, with organizations such as Cesar Chavez's United Farm workers Union, American Friends Service Committee and many other groups raising their voices to place political pressure on mainstream institutions.

Grassroots organizations function as important vehicles both for community development and for political advocacy of ethnically diverse populations in the Central Valley. They maintain strong networks of communication and work collaboratively to organize political campaigns and mobilizations specifically targeting mainstream government institutions. Many of their strategies build on the ethnic identities of particular groups, as well as multi-cultural understanding and multi-cultural community organizing.

For example, during the 245i campaign, which challenged a proposed change of immigration provisions that would separate - through exclusion or deportation - documented from the undocumented members within many immigrant families, the CVP used a multi-ethnic approach to develop statewide opposition to this bill. They called upon Latino community organizations, Asian organizations, Anglo organizations, and others involved with immigration issues to help stop the implementation of the proposed changes. Those efforts provide a specific example of how the cultural capital which exists in the Valley was harnessed to create a distinct and powerful political force. Another example of harnessing the cultural capital existing in Central Valley communities is seen in the efforts of undocumented youths

from low-income Spanish-speaking families to challenge the attempt by California colleges and universities to treat them as non-residents subject to much higher tuition fees. Both of these examples are elaborated upon in succeeding chapters

Grassroots organizations including CVP and the Civic Action Network (CAN) have recently engaged some California institutions of higher learning to create research collaboratives that would focus on issues of importance to community based organizations. One such emerging effort involves UC Berkeley's Boalt Hall Center for Social Justice, UC Merced and UC Davis, all working with Central Valley community organizations. Others work closely with institutions such as The Great Valley Center, which serves as a bridge between grassroots groups and formal government. A third type brings together groups to share their cultural capital as vehicles for Valley-wide organizing. One noteworthy example is the Tamejavi Festival organized by the CVP and spearheaded by the Pan Valley Institute. Festivals held in 2004 and 2006 brought together groups such as Otomi, Purapechas, Zapotecs, Mixtec, Hmong, etc, sharing stories, plays, music, and food from their respective group and bringing to light the cultural wealth of the Valley.

This chapter has focused on the cultural and social capital that under girds the communities of the Central Valley region and the potential it has to add to the economic and political capital of some the Valley's poorest and most marginalized communities. How this was attempted through the Central Valley Partnership will be the focus of the chapters ahead.

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CHAPTER FOUR

The Central Valley Partnership for Citizenship (CVP)

> **After his initial tour of the Valley and visits to AFSC (American Friends Service Community) groups, Craig McGarvey of the James Irvine Foundation asked the AFSC's Mark Miller if it would be possible to bring about improvements for the Valley's poorer people. Miller replied : " That's possible, but we can't do it alone" (Mark Miller Interview December, 2005)**

The Central Valley Partnership was founded in 1996 as a learning collaborative of independent community-based organizations (CBOs) sharing common concerns and working to improve people's lives and communities. The CVP focused its efforts on working with immigrants, migrants and low wage workers. Partners (or community based organizations) were brought together by the James Irvine Foundation to encourage the building of civil society[89] and social capital among the Valley's immigrants and foreign-born workers.

The CVP can trace its origins to two key persons and a small network of community activists in California's Central Valley. In 1995, Craig McGarvey, Program Officer for the James Irvine Foundation, met with Mark Miller of the American Friends Service Committee to familiarize himself with issues in the Central Valley of California. Like many other foundations, the Irvine Foundation's support had been concentrated in the populous cities along the coast of California, notably San

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89 "Civil Society" is the institutional sector not encompassing government or business sectors. These can include churches or community-based organizations, which are closely linked to social capital. According to Putnam, these "social networks have value." ROBERT D. PUTNAM, BOWLING ALONE: THE COLLAPSE AND REVIVAL OF AMERICAN COMMUNITY 18 (2000).

Diego, Los Angeles and San Francisco. After his tour of the Central Valley, McGarvey thought that the foundation's resources could be put to better use in an area that faced many challenges and had been long neglected by the foundation world.

Miller was head of the Community Resources Section of the Pacific Mountain Regional Office of the AFSC at that time. AFSC had been working with farm workers and low income communities in the Central Valley for over fifty years, particularly around Visalia in Tulare County and Stockton in San Joaquin County. Proyecto Campecino had worked closely on farm worker issues, supporting the emergence of the United Farm Workers following AFSC's work since the 1940s to improve the situation of family farmers in the area. The AFSC had a long history of supporting projects that involved community organizing and had a pulse on the social issues affecting the Central Valley. An AFSC project in Stockton called REAP (Rural Economic Alternatives Program) had organized the Stockton farmers market and helped the Cambodian refugee community take control over its members' own housing situation. (White, 1994). REAP had also established an international festival that celebrated the cultures of the many ethnic groups living in Stockton and surrounding communities.

Starting the Central Valley Partnership

A number of reasons were behind the start of the CVP. McGarvey recognized an opportunity for the foundation to spread its work to the interior of California and into the Central Valley in particular. The Central Valley was a region of many contradictions, with tremendous wealth in its agricultural production, yet also stifling poverty. Although various rural organizations were doing good work, they were not coordinating their efforts nor were they in regular contact with each other. McGarvey regarded those groups as solid organizations, serving a critical and neglected population. He also saw a potential for creating a network among those community

groups. After his initial tour of the Valley and his visit to AFSC related groups, McGarvey asked Mark Miller if it would be possible to bring about improvements for the Valley's poorer people. Miller replied "That's possible but we can't do it alone."[90]

At about the same time, McGarvey had received an inquiry from two Irvine grantees working on naturalization issues in the Valley: the Immigrant Legal Resources Center and the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation. Both indicated they wanted to collaborate more closely. Thus, McGarvey recommended that the three groups, along with other community based organizations in the Valley, be encouraged and supported in working together collaboratively. The James Irvine Foundation Board of Directors accepted his recommendations and the Central Valley Partnership for Citizenship was launched.

The first organizations that came together into the Central Valley Partnership were the AFSC-affiliated Rural Economic Alternatives Program (REAP) and Proyecto Campesino plus three groups that had previously received support from the Foundation: the Immigrant Labor Resource Center, the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation and El Colegio Popular (CT learning) of Fresno.

Once the CVP was established, other organizations were added. They entered into the Partnership in a variety of ways. Some became known through the founding groups (e.g., Pan Valley Institute and the Relational Culture Institute). Others surfaced through presentations made by their directors at the CVP meetings (e.g., Youth in Focus, One by One). Still others were invited to join after being involved in CVP grant projects (e.g., Frente Indigena Oaxaqueña Binacional). Beginning with an initial group of six organizations in 1996, the Partnership had 22 member organizations at its peak in 2003. Now in 2008, no longer financially supported by the Foundation, it has l2 active organizations.

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[90] Interview December, 2005

Who makes up the CVP (see Figure 4.1)

Groups were selected for membership in the Partnership on the basis of several criteria, both formal and informal. From the beginning, the CVP looked for organizations that were focused on community organizing and would complement the work being done by others. Another consideration for inclusion was a group's commitment to collaborative work, especially in support of immigrant communities. A third criterion for CVP membership was a willingness to work together for social justice. These same criteria were kept in mind later when funding organizations through the Civic Action Network (CAN), a five year joint James Irvine Foundation-CVP endeavor to identify, support and organize emerging or new grass roots groups to become more active in their communities. The CVP's theory of social and political change focused on forming multi-ethnic networks of community action groups in and among immigrant, refugee and worker communities, employing collaborative strategies, for purposes of promoting civic participation in the Valley.

CVP members have always included organizations of varied capacities and resources. Their foci and strengths ranged from legal assistance, community advocacy and participatory research to media documentation and literacy training. Some of the organizations already had long histories of involvement in working with low income and immigrant groups throughout the Valley. Other organizations were arose during the course of the Partnership.. The previously mentioned American Friends Service Committee, had supported family farmers,[91] farm workers, and social justice issues for over a half-century in California's San Joaquin Valley. Their current programs in Stockton, Fresno, and Visalia have expanded to include building cross-cultural relations between immigrant women from different countries and establishing a radio

91 A family farmer is a person who works, manages, and administers his or her own farming operation.

station that reaches migrant farm workers for whom radio is the main source of information.

Another CVP member, the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, provides legal services and representation for migrant farm workers and their families. It also runs naturalization workshops and programs to improve access to services for rural health and housing. Frente Indígena Oaxaqueña Binacional (FIOB) is a transnational coalition of organizations, communities, and individuals working on issues affecting indigenous groups in the Central Valley and in rural areas of Mexico. FIOB's members include Mixteco-, Zapoteco-, and Triqui-speaking workers who relocated from Oaxaca, a state in southern Mexico, to the fields of the Central Valley. The California Institute for Rural Studies, based in Davis, California, conducts policy-influencing research on issues such as farm worker labor, health, and safety (Taylor & Martin, 2000). The importance of such attention to immigrant workers becomes apparent when considering that 95% of the farm workers are immigrants or migratory workers from other countries, 91% from Mexico.[92]

Youth in Focus, another CVP participant, concentrates its work among young people in its community efforts. The organization provides participatory research training for youth of immigrant and minority backgrounds in various Central Valley communities. This nonprofit intermediary organization fosters the development of youth, organizations, and communities by supporting youth-led research, evaluation, and planning. Youth in Focus has developed a manual for conducting youth-led participatory research. (London & Young, 2003) The research conducted by Youth in Focus has surprised and caught the attention of local Districts. For example, high school students in Sacramento and Davis surveyed the effects of discrimination, both real and perceived, on minority students. Research on the Davis school experience was

92 Rick Mines, California Institute for Rural Studies, *personal interview*

brought to the attention of parents, teachers, and the school board. Coverage of the findings in the local papers prompted follow-up action. Those efforts sought to increase multicultural awareness and promote proactive steps to ensure that all students were treated fairly and encouraged to succeed, regardless of their ethnic, racial, or socioeconomic background.

The CVP began with a broad vision: to harness the energy of the groups into a collaborative, multi-ethnic network focused around the needs of the immigrant communities in the Central Valley. The long-term goal of CVP has been to empower worker, immigrant and refugee communities and help them move into the mainstream life of the Central Valley.

Collaborative efforts, however, do not arise automatically, and can be a challenge to initiate and sustain. Some organizations in the Central Valley Partnership, for example, considered their organizing tactics to be the only way to victory, and would downplay the approaches used by other groups. Others believed certain issues, such as farm workers, to be their "domain," and resented efforts by others to encroach on their territory. At other times, collaboration was thwarted by inter-ethnic strife, a condition that is easily exacerbated by limited resources and much competition.

Overcoming ego, turf claims, prejudice and misunderstanding requires persistence, patience and action directed at mutual concerns. The Central Valley Partnership found the key to ameliorating this inter-ethnic strife and competition for resources was to keep the participants moving and working towards a shared goal where their common interests were evident. Opportunities to meet, discuss, network and act together, as will be seen in the next section, enabled the CVP to begin acting as a unified force.

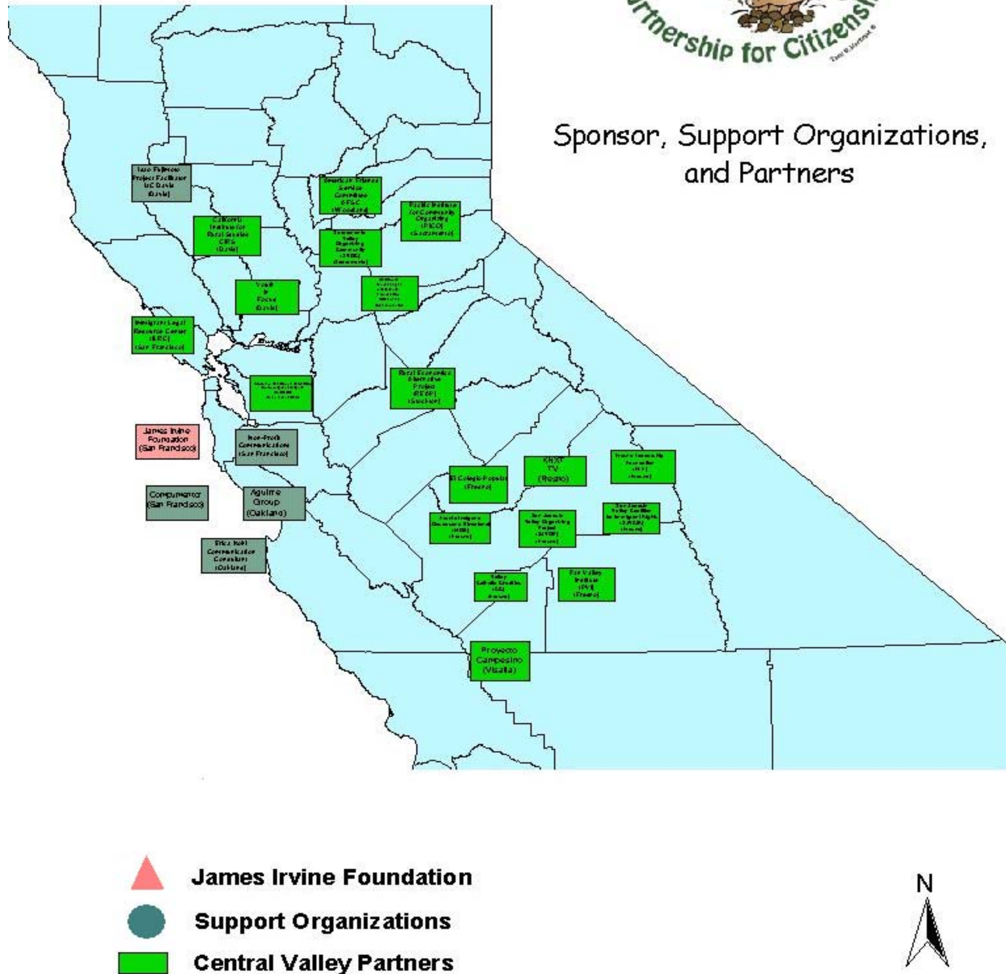

FIGURE 4.1: ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CENTRAL VALLEY PARTNERSHIP

Evolution of the CVP

In its first two to three years the Central Valley Partnership's main focus was on building relationships. Building a sense of trust was essential to harnessing the collaborative efforts of member partners. It was critical to dispelling tensions among groups that had a history of competing with each other, for funding, recognition and/or

territory. When funders were present, as happened at some CVP meetings, this sense of competition could easily flare up and serve as a distraction and impediment.

An issue of common concern that led Partners to begin working together was a threat from the outside. That threat was a proposed change to a provision of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) code referred to as 245i. This provision enabled immigrant worker families, often made up of some members in the U.S. legally and others without documents, to stay together. A proposal in Congress to abolish that provision prompted a number of the Partners to start sharing their expertise and strategies so as to take joint action.

As the Partnership evolved, external threats were not as needed to motivate members to work together. Some opportunities for joint action, for example, arose from the work of CVP committees for education and for cultural enhancement. The education committee's deliberations on ways to celebrate the Valley's diverse cultures and deal with the discrimination experienced by children of immigrants in the schools, for instance, led to the creation of ESPINO (Escuelas Si, Pintas No – Schools Yes, Jails No). ESPINO, in turn, supported young people in Central Valley towns in carrying out action research aimed at advancing their own education.

In 1999 the James Irvine Foundation and the CVP also organized a program to provide grants to emerging immigrant groups to promote their civic participation in the Central Valley. Small grants provided these groups an opportunity to work on common issues such as citizenship, voter registration, cultural identity and community economic development. It also led to the formation of the Civic Action Network (CAN) so that grantees could begin to exchange ideas, cultural understanding and build collaborative relationships with each other. This, in turn, led to the creation of the Tamejavi Festival.

Recognition of the need to develop leaders in the immigrant, refugee and worker communities also led to the establishment of an Immigrant Leadership Fellows program. These proactive collaborative efforts - the Civic Action Network, ESPINO, the Tamejavi Festival , the Immigrant Leadership Fellows Program, and continuing social justice work around immigrant rights - will be discussed in succeeding chapters.

Strategic Factors in the CVP's Evolution

The evolution of the CVP sheds light on the strategic factors needed to build and sustain a multi-ethnic collaborative network. Initially, members focused on organizing immigrant worker communities to respond to perceived threats. This started simply, with volunteers passing out informational leaflets about INS provision 245i at flea markets, churches, ethnic stores and other places frequented by low income immigrant workers and their families. Ongoing outreach efforts then developed into mobilizing the ethnic media to disseminate information. Mobilization of immigrants from all over California for Immigrant Day at the state Legislature and for an Immigrant Summit called further attention to the issue. At these events, representatives of immigrant organizations met in small groups with State Assembly and Senate representatives from all political parties. Finally, CVP member organizations sent delegations of immigrant families to visit members of Congress. Behind all of those visible efforts were the involvement, cooperation and collaborative work of numerous organizations and their various organizing strategies.

Technical Support and Consultants

Operating across a large geographic territory that stretched 450 miles, the Central Valley Partnership recognized early on that information technology and creative media were essential to building and maintaining the Partnership.. Therefore various technical support groups were invited to join the Partnership. One such group,

Nonprofit Communications[93], taught Partner groups the use of camcorders to record activities. Another was Compumentor, which provided technical assistance on the use of the Internet and troubleshooting for problems in the use of information technology. Similarly, the California Institute for Rural Studies (CIRS) provided research services for Partner organizations. KNXTV and NPC gave member organizations access to outlets, products, advice and documentation useful for community organizing. Finally, Aguirre Corporation became involved in the Partnership as an evaluator and later shifted to providing training and technical assistance in self-evaluation methods for Partner organizations.

Funding

Funding, of course, was critical to the establishment of the CVP and instrumental in carrying out its activities. Without funding the Partners would not have come together. Recognizing that funding provided the key initial incentive for participation, the Irvine Foundation used funding as a means to bring various groups together in pursuit of the larger goal of community change in the Valley. The foundation required that grant proposals and renewals specifically address how each organization would collaborate on different projects with other CVP member partners. In this way, funding served as the stick as well as the carrot for sustaining the Central Valley Partnership and encouraging its growth.

Funding was also instrumental in expanding the CVP's outreach. The CVP served as the sub-grantor for the Civic Action Network. Between 1999 and 2003 The James Irvine foundation provided the Central Valley Partnership with funds to be used for CAN grants. During that five year period, the CVP identified and supported civic participation projects for 149 emerging organizations throughout the Central Valley.

[93] See "Turning Toward the Other California: Engaging Communities in California Heartland" video created from stories gathered by partners to provide an overview of CVP activity.

Quarterly Meetings

Networking was a consistent key strategy in building the CVP, whether done on a one-by-one basis via circuit riders, through quarterly meetings of the Partnership or, later, through Internet listserves and other forms of information technology. The idea was to energize people by connecting them across geographic, ethnic and issue interests and lines.

The CVP partners came together every three months for a day and a half long meeting. The quarterly meetings were essential in building relationships within the Partnership. As members of a learning collaborative, the CVP partners used the meetings to learn about each other's work and the communities and people with whom each worked. This learning was facilitated and enhanced by rotating meeting places as well as sharing hosting responsibilities. A review of the sites and hosts for CVP meetings during its first five years shows that eleven different groups hosted the Partnership in six different cities as follows:

James Irvine Foundation, San Francisco (twice)

El Colegio, Fresno (4 times)

REAP, Stockton (4 times)

SVOC, Sacramento (thrice))

Proyecto Campesino,Visalia(thrice)

Catholic Charities, Bakersfield (twice)

NCCIR, San Francisco (once)

CRLAF, Sacramento (once)

Fresno Leadership Foundation, Fresno (once)

AFSC, San Francisco (once)

As the CVP became more settled and the Partners more familiar with different parts of the Central Valley, a more centrally accessible meeting site was established, first at a Union hall in Modesto and later at a church in Ceres.

The agenda for quarterly meetings took a format that included a "check-in period" so people could get to know each other on a personal basis as well as through the organizations they represented. Check-in was followed by key updates and a review of topics to be discussed. Selected topics were covered in a variety of ways including: presentations by invited guests, by panels of Partners and by local people involved in the issues. Hosts added a session to inform partner organizations about their area, the people involved and the issues requiring attention.

There was great variety and much of value to be learned from the presentations of the hosting organization. The California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, for example, informed the CVP about the resources and expertise of their sister legal advocacy group, the CRLA, by arranging a presentation of a panel of lawyers who ran special programs in such areas as civil rights, agricultural labor, immigration and challenges faced by indigenous workers from Mexico. The Northern California Coalition on Immigrant Rights, hosting a CVP meeting in San Francisco, chartered a bus to take the Partnership on a tour revealing the "Immigrant Legacy of San Francisco." The Sacramento Valley Organizing Communities had Partners sit in on a community organizing meeting with several churches working to establish affordable housing.

As the Partnership grew, Partners brought to the meetings staff members and community members reflective of the places they worked, this caused the CVP to pay attention to the language capabilities and preferences of participants. Among the languages used within partner organizations were Mixtec, Hmong, Laotian, Khmu, Spanish, Khmer, and Lahu. Other than English, the languages most used or

represented at the meetings were Spanish and Hmong. The solution for inclusion without interruption was to implement simultaneous translation devices and to have interpreters - hired specifically or recruited from bilingual members present at the meeting - translate English-Spanish and English-Hmong. This was done for the benefit of all, so that when non English speakers had something to say, English speakers could don the translation devices to hear what was being said and vice versa.

Along with recognizing and drawing benefits from the ethnic and linguistic diversity within the Partnership, other demographic changes also contributed to enlarging the cultural learning that came occurred in the meetings. At the beginning, most of the organizational representatives were mainly men. However, as organizations sent women and youth to represent them, the changes in gender and age contributed a richer diversity to Partnership meetings. This diversity was a natural outgrowth of certain programs involving specific populations such as ESPINO, which revolved around youth and the Tamejavi festival which brought together women and men from a host of different ethnic communities.

Storytelling as a Communications Strategy

For group meetings, content-focused presentations in the form of talks and lectures are often used on the assumption that this is the most expedient way to get across information. Such presentations may be expedient, but are not necessarily very effective or attention holding. Especially with non-academic audiences a more varied, down to earth and personalized approach can better hold attention and involve the audience. In the course of involving people of varying ages, ethnicities, educational levels, and command of English, the CVP has learned ways to keep the agenda and presenters varied, utilizing storytelling more than lectures and constantly watching the energy level of the people gathered.

Storytelling has been gaining increased academic attention, especially where conflicting or controversial issues are involved (Ahuja, 2000; Sandercock, 2003; Schwarz, 1997; Throgmorton, 2003). Stories including humor, real-life events and descriptions of hurdles overcome can play very important roles in getting people to respond or work together successfully. Storytelling was used by the CVP in a variety of ways, ranging from the Civic Action Network and the creation of the Tamejavi festival to getting continued support from the James Irvine Foundation Board of Directors. In the latter case, Craig McGarvey, Irvine's Program officer for the CVP project, engaged Jim Bracken of Nonprofit Communications and various Partner organizations within the CVP to collect stories about what their groups had been doing. Those stories were captured with camcorders and graphically organized in a video presented at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the James Irvine Foundation. This turned out to be a very convincing way to tell the story of the challenges facing different immigrant organizations in the Central Valley, and it provided a stimulus and rationale for continued support by the Foundation.

A similar video presentation of stories from the Civic Action Network convinced representatives of the Rockerfeller Foundation to give their backing to continuation of the Tamejavi cultural festival. At various conferences related to California's Central Valley immigrant and refugee issues, presentations in the form of dynamic stories, more than data presented in a mundane manner, turned out to be attention-holding ways to convey the CVP's mission and its accomplishments. Other gatherings where stories about the CVP were presented included conferences organized by Great Valley Center, National Rural Funders Collaborative, Grantmakers Concerned about Immigrants and Refugees, Northwest Areas Foundation, and Neighborhoods, USA.

Circuit Riding

The agenda setting mechanism for quarterly meetings went through a number of permutations. Initially, the agenda was set by Craig McGarvey with the assistance of an Irvine Foundation staff person. This task was then turned over to me. As the CVP's learning coach and project facilitator, I developed a committee system that included regularly gathering input from all member organizations. Their input was sent out and finalized by a group that included a representative of the foundation, the CVP organization hosting the meeting, and volunteers from interested Partner groups.

Obtaining input for the agenda initially involved calling and then directly contacting each Partner by a circuit riding process carried out with Don Villarejo from the California Institute of Rural Studies (CIRS). Circuit riding was instituted for several reasons. When the Central Valley Partnership began many members did not use and/or did not have access to the Internet for email. So in the three month intervals between CVP Partnership meetings, ways to build and strengthen the network were sought. A direct personal approach was deemed productive. The direct contact gave Villarejo from CIRS excellent opportunities to find out what research was needed and to get groups thinking about common areas in which research could help. Through this process we gleaned topics that could be passed on to the agenda committee in addition to getting a sense of each organization's strengths and struggles.

Circuit riding was generally done over a 3 or 4 day period the month following the quarterly meeting. Villarejo and I planned our visits to organizations clustered around three main cities: San Francisco (ILRC, AFSC, NCCIR, Compumentor and Non Profit Communications); Sacramento & Stockton (CRLAF, SVOC, PICO, REAP, PACT) and Fresno (El Colegio, One by One, Catholic Charities, RCI, Frente, KNXTV, SJV Coalition on Immigrant Rights, PVI). The Fresno area visits also included meetings with two more organizations further south: Proyecto Campesino in

Visalia and O La Raza in Porterville. These personal contacts with every member organization in the Partnership helped build relationships and trust and enabled member organizations to understand better how their struggles and issues were connected to those of other Partners and the Central Valley as a whole.

The Use of Information Technology as an Organizing Tool

> "The CVP covers a huge geographic area, from Sacramento to Bakersfield, and there are 20 organizations within that and there are another 200 CAN organizations that are also tapped into the partnership. So the biggest obstacle was communications, because even though we all wanted these organizations to move forward and work on projects that they had in common, there wasn't any way for them to really maintain the logistics of a network of that size."
>
> -*Compumentor IT Technician to the CVP 2003*

A major constraint and challenge to the organizing efforts of the CVP was the size of the Central Valley itself. Given the 450 mile distance between the Tehachapis in the south to Mt. Shasta in the north end of the Central Valley and the distances between member organizations, information technologies played a vital role in the organizing efforts of the Partnership. Information Technologies were put to use in the CVP in three ways: list serve; web page; and computer-service regarding IT use. The latter was especially crucial in the initial years as Partners had very different levels of skills and sophistication regarding computer and internet use.

The CVP's list serve became the communication tool used most often in the network. About 75 people were connected to each other during its peak years of use. Users were from all of the CVP partner organizations, consultants to the CVP and selected close friends of the CVP. In 2003, for example, there was an average of five e-mails per day [94](many others read the messages without adding their own), with

[94] At the time of this analysis in 2003.

daily volume depending on the then-current organizing efforts in the Valley. Most of the e-mails were internal organizational issues or related to campaigns involving the CVP. The list serve also proved useful in communicating press releases and announcements issued regarding events being organized.

The list serve was particularly useful in organizing political campaigns. As a member of the CVP's Technology Committee said in an interview:

> Every time there is a campaign, like the driver's licenses for undocumented workers, it has been a major campaign and lots of e-mails have gone out about that. And also getting in-state tuition for undocumented students who graduated high school in California; all of those press releases, they helped to organize conferences and marches.

At their quarterly meetings CVP member organizations reviewed issues affecting Central Valley communities and decided which campaigns to mount and how to direct their energies. One campaign focused on AB 60, a bill in the California State Assembly eventually signed by ex-Governor Gray Davis.[95] That bill gave undocumented workers the right to obtain driver's licenses. The CVP was very much involved in organizing a grassroots campaign to pressure local politicians around the Valley to support the bill. They mobilized constituents throughout the Valley to march and place political pressure on the governor. While it would be naive to give all the credit to the CVP for getting the "driver's license" bill passed, the campaign showed that the CVP had the necessary constituents and professional resources to place pressure on important mainstream political institutions. As an Internet technology consultant to the CVP noted:

> "The CVP has lots of separate organizations, and they work together when it makes sense and when they need each other's support on a certain issue. And

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[95] AB 60 was subsequently rescinded by newly elected Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger]

for a lot of this organizing, around amnesty and driver's licenses and other issues, partners came together that otherwise would not have worked together; like California Rural Legal Assistance, Immigrant Legal Resource Center, which is basically a law firm, and Sacramento Valley Organizing Community; they never worked together in the past, never. But they all have really big networks of community groups, and so because they met each other through this CVP, they were able to mobilize more events, issues, press releases, and get more people involved across these lines.-- Erick Recinos, Compumentor technician to the CVP

Another example showing the use of the Internet by CVP members involves the first-time election of a Hmong to a Central Valley school board. There were 21 e-mail exchanges on the CVP listserve regarding that victory in one day. Here are some selections:

'Hello friends,

Dr. XXXX has won the election. We as the community should be very proud, especially all the campaign committee members, XXXX, the Hmong women group & their husbands, parents, leaders, teachers, students, the community, Hmong & non-Hmong businesses, the voters and individuals who have contributed their efforts and time to support the whole campaign process. We did it. Congratulations, Dr. XXXX.

http://www.fresnobee.com/local/story/5090120p-6096644c.html

"Dr. XXXX, an associate professor of education at California State University, Fresno, becomes the first Hmong board member in the ethnically diverse

district. He also is the first Hmong elected to office in Fresno County and only the second elected in California". The Fresno Bee.

Thank you for all of your support.'

The CVP list serve also provided access for direct calls to action. An example is this e-mail from Frente Indigena Oaxaquena Binacional, a group working with transnational indigenous workers from Mexico:

'Dear immigrant rights activists --

The state director of the Frente Indigena Oaxaqueña Binacional [one of the CVP groups*], was arrested yesterday on trumped-up charges. The Frente in Fresno has made an appeal for people to send faxes to the governor of Oaxaca, demanding his release. Would it be possible for you to send such a letter? Here's the text. The fax number for the governor's office is XXXXXXXX.*

They're also asking that cc's of the letter be sent to the following fax numbers, for the [Mexican] consulate in Los Angeles… to Oaxaca's state general secretary, XXXX-XXXX, and to the state coordinator for migrant affairs XXXXXXXXX. A copy of the letter should also be faxed to the FIOB office in Fresno, at XXXXXXX.

The importance of the CVP's list serve cannot be underestimated. From the examples given, one can see that it was very much an interactive tool. It was not just used for posting announcements, the common use of many list serves. The high degree of interactivity and free exchange of e-mails, however, sometimes led to or revealed

disagreements between members on various topics. For example, one community organizer posted a message regarding Immigration and Naturalization Service raids on Wal-Mart department stores, stating that the INS had investigated the documented or undocumented status of workers in their stores in the Mid-West. Fearing that they would do the same in the Central Valley, she sent an e-mail via the list serve warning others to be aware of the raids.

A member of a legal organization within the CVP promptly replied that those were isolated incidents; that no reports of such raids had occurred in California, and that they were unlikely to occur in the Central Valley. This attorney cautioned that the earlier email was an over-exaggeration and was unnecessary. He warned that such exaggerations could lead many migrants to quit their jobs for fear of what could occur to them, and that the CVP list serve should not be used in that manner.

This incident illustrates the need for self-regulation that occurs within virtual space. The Partnership provided a supportive atmosphere where users weren't timid regarding their political or ideological stances, allowing members to self-regulate the mutual virtual spaces they shared. To keep the technical systems functioning and virus-free, however, required regular CVP technical assistance.

CVP's other important use of information technology was its website. Although the webpage was not used nearly as frequently as the list serve, most of the CVP members interviewed considered the website to have great potential in helping Partners maintain the network though they rarely used it for day-to-day operations. A member of the CVP's technical committee explained that although the website was not very useful in terms of communicating with grassroots community members, it was integral to collaborative projects:" For all of the campaigns that the CVP groups are working on collaboratively, there are a lot of opportunities for using the web page

to organize, to make things happen They can post fact sheets, petitions and other documents that can be downloaded"

An important reason the website was not used as much as the list serve was because it did not incorporate the network structure of the CVP itself. The list serve worked well because it allowed the CVP members to increase their network power and to intensify their communication linkages. The closest the site came to accomplishing this was the creation of a calendar page. The calendar's purpose was to display all the events that the CVP was engaged in throughout the Central Valley. However, as organizations grew increasingly skeptical about the website's usefulness as an organizing tool, few voluntarily contributed news of events or other postings.

Nevertheless, the website did prove an innovative tool in marketing the Partnership's accomplishments. One video showed, for example, the concrete results of farm workers' organizing in the Valley. Other videos featured CVP activists pressuring the city of Dixon to build "Esperanza," an affordable housing project; the Hmong community getting the police of Stockton to be more responsible and culturally aware of the needs of the Hmong community they are serving;, and the work of the CVP on school reforms in the Valley[96].

An especially helpful online tool would have been to incorporate on-line conferencing. As one Compumentor consultant said: "Getting 20 organizations to one place is very expensive and time consuming. I think that technology can provide some really hands on tools for solutions to make that communication possible in a more effective and efficient manner."

One outcome of the technological efforts within the CVP has been the increased sophistication regarding information technologies among member partner organizations. Some CVP organizations have now developed their own websites and

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[96] http://www.citizenship.net/stories.shtml

encouraged their staff to further their skills in using information technologies. An outstanding example is Youth in Focus which encourages participatory research by youth in the Valley. They are currently developing a new web site that will showcase their basic projects and explain how they organize the youth. They are also trying to develop a Geographic Information System to show where youth projects are located throughout the Valley. Their hope is to create a regional movement of youth organizers throughout the Valley, working on youth research, community organizing and popular education. Their new on-line network has great potential for developing information technology applications that have the capacity to engage youth in manipulating and using information systems to advance their organizing strategies.

To summarize, the Central Valley Partnership has experienced both successes and challenges relating to their usage of information technologies. There is great potential for using such technologies as organizing tools. Yet the availability and learning curves associated with utilizing such technological resources has at times limited the CVP's networking potential and power.

Drawing on the Repertoire of Organizing Strategies within the CVP

Collectively, member organizations brought a wide variety of organizing strategies to the Partnership. These strategies became a resource the whole Partnership could use. In the case of challenging the rescinding of INS provision 245i, collaboration revolved around political mobilization strategies. Partners took on a variety of tasks, as has been mentioned, from getting the word out to immigrant communities to petitioning officials at local, state and national levels.

On a related issue, the CVP's main approach centered around finding and training the people targeted: young college bound students of undocumented immigrant background who ultimately presented their case before the Regents of the University of California. The issue there was that promising immigrant students who

had done very well in California high schools were blocked from furthering their education by being treated as out of state residents subject to high tuition fees. The rationale for categorizing them as non-residents was that the youths did not have proper documents despite having studied in California most of their lives and having graduated from California high schools. Out of state tuition for such students, who were from very poor families, would have effectively eliminated their opportunities to pursue higher education. The testimony of those young people, recruited by the CVP, persuaded the UC Regents to rescind the restrictions.

Still younger youth were encouraged by the Partnership to do community-based research, a strategy that had been used by ESPINO (Acronym for the Spanish words "Escuelas Si, Juntas No) meaning "Schools Yes, Jails No"). Data collected by high school students who researched discrimination experienced by immigrant and minority students were presented to school district leaders in school systems in Davis, Sacramento, Stockton and Modesto Responses to the students' research ranged from acknowledgement of the seriousness of the issue, to organizing informal training for teachers and students, and, in one case, led to the establishment of a regularly offered class on racial and social justice.

What became clear as the Partnership evolved was that most member organizations depended upon one type of organizing strategy more than others in the course of their community development work. Table 4.1 summarizes the types of organizing strategies used and the member organizations associated with them. For example, the Sacramento Valley Organizing Community (SVOC) and the Pacific Institute for Community Organizing (PICO and their branches in Sacramento(SACT), Fresno(FACT) and Stockton(PACT) use the Industrial Areas Foundation approach to organizing. This style of organizing is very aggressive and uses non-violent, social-norm breaking tactics to embarrass and pressure politicians. These stem from Saul

Alinsky's models of organizing as spelled out in his seminal books *Reveille for Radicals* (1969) and *Rules for Radicals* (Alinsky, 1971).

The California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, on the other hand, works closely with the United Farm Workers UFW). The UFW was started by Caesar Chavez using non-violent organizing approaches and relies more on marches, protests and boycotts to place pressure on both agricultural employers and politicians to address working conditions, adequate pay and recognition of civil rights of farm workers. Chavez himself traced his early training and mentoring from Fred Ross, a follower of Alinsky. O La Raza's staffs are former activists with the UFW.

Some Partners, of course, incorporate more than one strategy. El Colegio, for example, works to empower farm workers from Mexico by offering classes on literacy and citizenship. With its office located in the headquarters of the Catholic Diocese of Fresno, El Colegio bases its approach on the practice of Liberation Theology that arose in the 1960's* within the Catholic Church and is identified with priests such as the martyred Oscar Romero of El Salvador. Meanwhile, its literacy program derives from the Popular Education approach of Brazilian Paolo Freire.

Another CVP partner organizing around popular education is the Pan Valley Institute. Pan Valley's popular education programs are modeled after Highlander, founded by Myles Horton in Tennessee. As an affiliate of the American Friends Service Committee, Pan Valley also incorporates the nonviolent social justice activism of Peace Churches shared by denominations such as the Quakers, Mennonites, Amish and Hutterites. SVOC works heavily with churches, incorporating both the approaches of faith based organizing and those of the Industrial Areas Foundation.

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* Liberation Theology originated in 1955 when ELAM [Latin American Episcopal Conference] challenged the Second Vatican Council to take a more social justice orientated position. Liberation Theologians include Aristides (Haiti), Roger McAfee Brown (USA) Heldor Camara (Brazil) Camilo Torres (Columbia) Hans Kung (Germany) and Oscar Romero (El Salvador)

TABLE 4.1: ORGANIZING APPROACHES USED BY CVP GROUPS

Organizing approach	*Description*	*CVP Groups Using Strategy*
Industrial Areas Foundation/Saul Alinsky	Aggressive community organizing placing political pressure on holders of power	Sacramento Valley Organizing Community, Pacific Institute for Community Organizing, FACT,SACT,PACT
United Farm Workers	Farm workers union started by Caesar Chavez, using marches, boycotts and protests	California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, O La Raza
Peace Church	In the Quaker non violent tradition, organizing for peace and justice	American Friends Service Committee Projecto Campesino Rural Economic Alternatives Program
Liberation Theology/Paulo Freire	Emerged in Latin America among Catholic priests questioning inequalities and sensitizing and organizing villagers campaigns for social justice	El Colegio Popular
Highlander/Popular Education	Popular education means education by, with and for the people as a force to aid people's struggles for improving their lives.	Pan Valley Institute
Asset Based Community Development	Starts with assets rather than needs of the community to build local resources and strength	One on One Fresno Leadership Foundation, Relational Cultures Institute

TABLE 4.1 (CONTINUE)

Faith Based Organizing	Community organizing based on a spiritual calling and using churches as organizing bases	Catholic Charities, El Colegio, Popular, SVOC
Indigenous, Cross-ethnic Organizing	Organizing using indigenous culture and ethnic identity for empowerment and creating social change	Frente Indigena Oaxaqueno Binacional, San Joaquin Valley Coalition for Immigrant Rights. Northern California Coalition for Immigrant Rights
Research, Documentation, Computer, Legal expertise	Applying professional skills & resources as tools for community organizing	CIRS,Youth in Focus, KNX-TV,Non-profit communications, ILRC 28

Other examples of organizing strategies important within the CVP are those that focus on ethnic identity and Asset Based Community Development (ABCD). The former are reflected in the approaches of the Frente Indígena Oxaqueña Binacional (FIOB), the San Joaquin Valley Coalition on Immigrant Rights (SJVCIR) and the Northern California Coalition on Immigrant Rights. Each focuses its efforts on the concerns of specific ethnic groups: FIOB focused on indigenous groups such as the Mixtecs, Zapotecs and Triqui from the Mexican state of Oaxaca Mexico; SJVCIR on recently arrived Spanish speaking immigrant workers from Mexico; and NCCIR on needs of immigrants from various countries. They also employ an ABCD approach, identifying and building on the assets and resources of each community. ABCD is used by the Fresno Foundation's One by One organization and by the Relational Cultures Institute, (started by former associates of One by One), developed by John McKnight at Northwestern University .

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CHAPTER 5

THE CIVIC ACTION NETWORK (CAN)

"CAN helped our Hmong community to realize that we are part of something larger and that we have a place in the civic life of our new country" -- Hmong Culture Collection, Clovis, Fresno County

The Civic Action Network (CAN), as mentioned in the last chapter, is a network of grassroots organizations which was created through the Central Valley Partnership's small grant program. The CVP took the innovative approach of focusing on emerging communities' strengths and resources rather than focusing exclusively on their problems or needs. A study of the Civic Action Network thus advances the argument of this dissertation, showing how low income workers and immigrants, though economically impoverished, were able to build their communities by drawing on the resources they already had, identifying their own priorities, and working collaboratively.

The Civic Action Network's goal was to connect some of the most marginal, least engaged, populations in the Central Valley and encourage them to become involved. Supporters of this effort assumed the risk of engaging groups that were deemed "invisible" and extremely difficult to reach. In doing so, CVP organizers began with these questions:

(1) Who and where were such marginal populations?

(2) How could they be found?

(3)What approaches and incentives might draw them out? and

(4) Could such groups be pulled into a more visible, multi-ethnic, collaborative network?

Both Craig McGarvey, the Irvine Foundation program officer, and the CVP understood that basic resources and money would be needed. Given that each Partner

organization had their own agenda and responsibilities, the Foundation also recognized that CAN itself would require additional consultants, facilitators, and technical support. This chapter describes how the CVP helped organize and build the Civic Action Network and the benefits that accrued to both.

The Idea behind the Civic Action Network

In 1999 the Central Valley Partnership, with the support of the James Irvine Foundation, began a new outreach program. The goal was to build a network of grassroots organizations among emerging immigrant, refugee, migrant and low-income communities through the Central Valley. The hope was that such a network could help people on the margins improve their lives and become more active participants in their communities. Small grants of up to $5,000 were awarded to 149 emerging grassroots groups, many of whom were identified and recruited by CVP members. These grantees carried out 228 projects to increase civic involvement in their communities.

CVP and CAN: Grass Tips vs. Grass Roots

The difference between organizations in the Central Valley Partnership and groups brought into the Civic Action Network is like the difference between grass tips and grass roots. CAN groups were very different from the CVP organizations. CAN groups were small, newly emerging, barely visible “grassroots” organizations, whereas the CVP groups could be better characterized as “grass tips” organizations, each with an office, paid staff, and board of directors. The grassroots groups had leaders and members working out of a member’s home, all on volunteer time. Grass tips groups had Internet access and experience with grant writing. Most grassroots groups did not have computers and only a rudimentary knowledge of the foundation world or of funding sources. As a result, they had extremely limited funding and

external resources. The minimal funding they received through the CVP grants thus proved to be extremely useful for their emergence and continued existence.

The CVP's first challenge was to find these immigrant organizations. By their very nature, newly emerging groups were hidden, at the back of the back, beneath all conventional "radar." Such organizations, for example, were unlikely to be listed in the yellow pages of the telephone directory or in any city directory. Often English was not the first language of the designated leader or contact persons. Just getting the word out about the availability of the grants required a creative approach involving the identification of immigrant gathering places (e.g., churches, flea markets and ethnic markets) and the use of ethnic media.

In addition to its special efforts to reach ethnically diverse immigrant and community groups, the CVP also strived to make the application process as inclusive as possible. The application process was designed to be very flexible and somewhat informal. Proposals written in languages other than English were accepted and even handwritten proposals were considered.

The CVP also defined "civic participation" broadly, acknowledging that the concept could take many forms. The key to an acceptable proposal was that it demonstrated an attempt to increase civic participation and community organizing. Immigrant and community groups addressed this goal in many different ways. Some prioritized language and culture preservation. Others focused on developing the basic skills and knowledge needed to move towards naturalization and citizenship. Groups with longer histories in the United States focused on improving access to institutions like schools, health services, and public safety. Summarized below are the categories under which proposals were considered for financial support.

Types of CAN Projects[97]

Education/Community Learning (ECL): efforts to improve communication among immigrant parents, school staff, and school boards; collaborative efforts to develop innovative community projects that contribute to education and community learning for children or adults.

Economic Development (ED): projects that prepare immigrants to enter and successfully advance in the work force, including projects focusing on workers' rights, raising wages, skills development, creation of worker organizations, or financial plans such as savings programs or credit unions.

More Responsive Institutions (MRI): projects to improve immigrant involvement in the governance of mainstream institutions or otherwise transform these entities to become more responsive to immigrants; institutions include: city and state governments, school districts, libraries, service programs, media, museum and cultural arts programs, civic associations, unions, and other institutions.

Immigrant Rights, Immigrant Organizing (IR, IO): educational campaigns that inform immigrants about their rights and involve them in decision-making processes of immigration-related legislation or issues.

Citizenship (CITZ): projects that support or create naturalization, ESL, and/or citizenship classes.

Immigrant Culture & Self-Expression (ICSE): projects that empower participants and community members, preparing them for civic action and bridging the gap between different cultures through the arts; projects may include traditional ethnic dance, murals, theatre, crafts, and music.

Census (CEN): The year 2000 projects were all related to getting a more accurate count for the Census. Many communities with immigrants and low income

[97] Central Valley Partnership. Civic Action Network at http://www.citizenship.net/can/index.shtml

workers witnessed undercounting in the previous census depriving such places of an equitable receipt of government funds determined by population[98]

Leadership (L) and Youth (Y): Develop leadership among both adults and youth.

Workshops

The receipt of a grant was only a first step. Grantees were expected to participate in a variety of workshops and Partnership activities. A sense of shared purpose arose as grantees gathered to describe their work in poster sessions. These gatherings were followed by workshops on using computers and information technology and related topics.

Workshops also drew specific groups together to focus on themes such as leadership, cultural performance, and immigrant rights. These then led to new groupings, sub-networks and joint actions. Groups working on culture, for example, joined with the highly successful and ambitious Tamejavi Festival. Those who had projects related to youth and education evolved into ESPINO (Escuelas Si,pintas No,- Schools Yes Jails No). Recognition by the CVP of the need to develop leaders led to the Immigrant Leadership Fellows program.

In the process of bringing CAN funded groups together, the CVP also became more aware of the challenges facing these newly emergent groups. One was the lack of space and opportunity for sharing their cultures and experiences as immigrants to the United States and specifically to the Central Valley of California.

The workshops intentionally created strong cross-cultural relationships. Hmong and Mixteco women, for example, overcame huge cultural and language differences to discover many common concerns and to share possible solutions to the problems they faced. These included recognition of problems regarding domestic

[98] See: "We Can Help: Census 2000 Outreach Messages—Video by Non Profit Communications. This was distributed statewide to 180 agencies, English/Spanish/Chinese video tools for rural communities, promoting accurate census count.

violence, communication with children, the need for adequate income, and differences between their traditional health practices and mainstream Western medicine. Their mutual concerns and solutions appear in a booklet they wrote together entitled "Immigrant Women: A Road to the Future," produced by the Pan Valley Institute.

The Tamejevi Festival is another example of the kinds of innovative collaboration and community organizing that emerged from the workshops and in conversation with CVP members. Groups as diverse as the Mariachi Heritage Foundation, Teatro del Alma, Asian Advancement Association, Comite No Nos Vamos, Hmong Youth Foundation, and Khmer Society of Fresno came together with a common interest in immigrant culture and self expression. From different counties throughout the Valley these groups used CAN funds to share their culture's traditions, especially with young people, through performances, music and the arts.

Brought together via the workshops, these groups became part of Civic Action Network and then began to participate in the Tamejavi Festival. Inaugurated in Fresno in April 2002 (Hendricks, 2002), the Tamejavi Festival spread to festivals in Stockton in 2005, Madera in 2006, and Fresno again in 2007. According to the CAN participants and festival organizers, the CVP inspired Tamejavi Festival:

- created a safe environment for cross-cultural learning;
- provided a public venue for cultural expression;
- built pride, recognition, voice, and unity among immigrant, migrant, and refugee communities; and
- inspired new relationships and deepened understanding across cultures.

The Pan Valley Institute (PVI), a member of the Central Valley Partnership, played a major role in organizing the workshops for the Civic Action Network. A partial list of reports from various workshops organized by the Pan Valley Institute provides a glimpse of what went into developing this grassroots network:

“We Count on You to Build Better Communities Workshop” CVP Census Task Force--Hosted by PVI and CIRS, Feb 4-6, 2000 Fresno Pacific University

“Building A Civic Education Network” CVP Civic Participation Grants Program --March 15-17, 2001 Wonder Valley Ranch, Sanger, Ca.

“Building and Maintaining Leadership” 2nd CVP Grants Program Immigrant Participation Workshop. June 7-9, 2001 St Anthony’s Retreat, Three Rivers, Ca

“CAN Orientation for Sustaining & Strengthening the Network” Sept 19-20, 2002 Montecito Sequoia Lodge

“Sustaining the Network” CAN gathering Nov 20-22 Wonder Valley Ranch, Sanger

“Tamejavi Gathering: Building a Learning Community” Oct 25-26, 2003 Wonder Valley Ranch, Sanger

The expectation that grantees would attend workshops underscored the priority CVP gave to community organizing and de-emphasized the notion that the civic participation awards were just about money. A change in how the grants were named over the five year period further reflects this sense of purpose. The first year's program, for example, was called “Small Grants.” To get away from questions about bigger grants or questions about money, emphasis in the second year focused on improving the count of the census. The third year grant cycle was named the “Civic

Participation Grants" program. Finally, in its fourth and fifth year the grant program was re-named the "Civic Action Network" grants program.

The financial support of the James Irvine Foundation, of course, was pivotal in building the Civic Action Network. In addition to supplying funds, the Foundation also provided staff assistance in getting the grant money to the awardees. Many of the grassroots groups lacked 501 3c[99] status and had no ties to organizations that could serve as their fiscal sponsors. In these cases, the foundation agreed to serve as their fiscal sponsor teaching the groups how to keep basic financial records and other necessary organizational skills.

Information technology use by CAN groups

To help keep the CAN groups informed and to increase their networking capabilities, the use of information technology was promoted. The Pan Valley Institute initiated a listserve to connect the various CAN groups. Information technology resources, however, were extremely limited among CAN groups. Those in rural areas were especially in need of basic connectivity. However, many of the newly emergent groups lacked the basic knowledge and skills needed to use computers or, if in possession of computers, lacked basic Internet software. Hence, the Irvine Foundation contracted Compumentor, to provide technical support to CVP and CAN groups "to help them get up and running."

Much of Compumentor technicians' time was spent traveling around the Central Valley to connect the CVP and CAN partners to the Internet. They also taught people how to use computers, basic software, and e-mail.

Devoya Mayo, an ILF fellow assigned to the Pan Valley Institute, the CVP partner working most closely with the CAN groups, confirmed that most of the CAN groups did not have access to computers, and even if they did, they needed a lot of

[99] Refers to the IRS code designating non political/non profit status

help just learning how to use them. But once they did learn, they quickly began to use the computers to organize programs and share information with other CAN groups. She noted: "computers are helpful, but you can not replace face-to-face interaction, especially with these groups that are so culturally different. They have to begin to build trust first, which is hard to do over a computer screen."[100] Among the CAN groups, such building of trust often took place through cultural exchanges, the sharing of ethnic foods, and dialogues about common concerns.

Making use of Maps

The groups that made up the Civic Action Network, the various types of projects they undertook and their locations in the Central Valley can be seen in Figure 5.1.[101]

Each CAN group appears on the GIS map, represented by a colored symbol that denotes the project type. The color represents the ethnicity of the participating group and the number is the project I.D. number, between #l and #228. The symbol is placed on the map in the county where the group works. The number in the symbol indicates in which of the five years the group's first CAN project was done.

This map proved helpful for organizing and outreach purposes. Specifically, the GIS map and associated contact information allowed groups to locate and contact each other and to assemble by geographic area, common language or similarity of project focus. The map also suggested networking possibilities by location, such as bringing together all groups in one county or city as well as suggesting ethnic and linguistic ties for networking. The GIS maps were used in many settings: CVP

[100] Devora Mayo Interview 2003

[101] This map shows the location by county of all 149 groups responsible for 228projects The 53 groups that had more than one project are identified but once for their first project The symbol used includes a number by which a group's name and the year of its first project.can be found by referring to Table 2

quarterly meetings, gatherings of CAN, and workshops reminding participants of the potential for viable future collaboration.

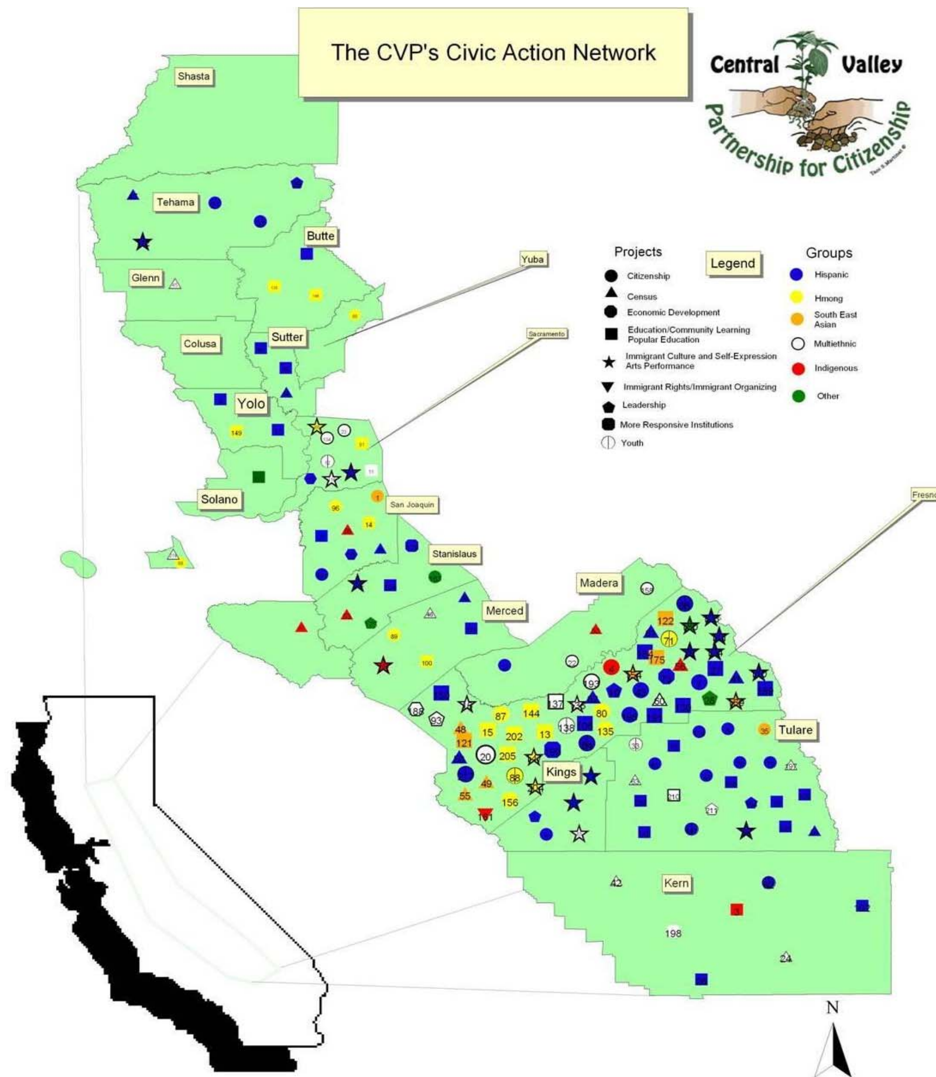


FIGURE 5.1: FIRST PROJECTS BY 149 GROUPS MAKING UP THE CIVIC ACTION NETWORK

Source: Map produced by Gerardo Sandoval and Isao Fujimoto, 2004. Based on data from 5 years of the CAN projects

The maps also proved useful in other ways. They helped the CVP determine which areas in the Valley lacked community organizing groups or needed more attention. For example the maps revealed that in Colusa and Shasta counties, no organization had received a CAN grant for a project. Most counties had less than 10 projects or groups funded, except for Fresno and Tulare, which had the overwhelming majority of projects. On the basis of population, however, some counties such as Butte had few projects but the same proportion of projects to their population as did large counties such as Fresno and Tulare. In contrast, Kern County, which has a large population and is among the richest counties in the country in terms of the monetary value of its agricultural production, but with a large poverty base, had very few projects. Discrepancies visualized in this way alerted the CVP to start directing attention and resources to neglected Valley counties such as Kern in the San Joaquin Valley and Colusa, Glenn and Shasta in the Sacramento Valley. (Table 5.6)

CAN Participants

The CAN grantees were comprised of groups of very diverse ethnicities and backgrounds from across the world. They included people from Central America, South East Asia and Africa. They were Hmong, Khmu, Laotian, and Mien from Laos, Khmer from Cambodia, Portuguese from the Azores Islands, and indigenous groups such as Mixtec, Zapotec and Triqui from the state of Oaxaca in Mexico. As the GIS map in Figure 5.1 shows, the project choices of immigrant community organizations in the Valley groups illustrate the different paths people took towards civic participation.

Analysis of Projects

Over a five year period, a total of 228 projects were completed by 149 organizations.(see Table 5.2 and Table 5.3 for complete list showing ethnic group,

type of projects and county location) Of the 149 groups, 53 got multiple grants and 96 were one time awardees.

TABLE 5.1: NUMBER OF PROJECTS BY YEAR OF GRANT CYCLE

year	# of awardees	cumulative sequence of projects	# of projects by groups for whom was 1st & only grant	# of projects by those in pool of 53 with 2+ grant
1999	34	1-34	21	13
2000	29	35-64	16	13
2002	53	65-116	21	32
2003	59	117-175	18	41
	53	176-228	20	33
			96 projects by 96 groups	**132 projects by 53 groups**

Organizations that received only one CAN grant appear only once on the list. Groups that received 2 or more CAN grants appear on the list as many times as they received a grant. The project number reveals the year in which the project was funded (refer to column 3 in Table 1).

TABLE 5.2: LIST OF ALL 228 PROJECTS ARRANGED BY ORGANIZATIONS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

228 Civic Action Network Groups

LEGEND FOR ETHNICITIES

HISP=Hispanic

Other=Liberian, Portuguese(Azorean),El Salvadorian, Russian

MC=Multicultural

SEA=Southeast Asian (other than Hmong)

INDIG=Indigenous

HMONG=Hmong

LEGEND FOR PROJECTS

Basic

CEN=Census

CITZ=Citizenship

ECL=Education/Community Learning

Assertive

IO=Immigrant Organizing

IR=immigrant Rights

MRI=More Responsive Institution

Internal Development

ED=Economic Development

L=Leadership

Y=Youth

ICSE=Immigrant Culture/ Self Expression

TABLE 5.2 (CONTINUE)

#	Group Name	Ethnicity	Project	Location
64	Alliance for Hispanic Advancement (1)	HISP	ECL	Yuba
117	Alliance for Hispanic Advancement (2)	HISP	ED	Yuba
176	Alliance for Hispanic Advancement (3)	HISP	ED	Yuba
66	Asian Advancement Association (1)	Hmong	ICSE	Sacramento
118	Asian Advancement Association (2)	Hmong	ECL	Sacramento
177	Asian Advancement Association (3)	Hmong	ICSE	Sacramento
35	Asian American Women's Advancement (1)	SEA	CEN	Tulare
67	Asian American Women's Advancement (2)	SEA	ED	Tulare
1	Asian Pacific Self Development & Res (1)	SEA	ED	San Joaquin
36	Asian Pacific Self Development & Res (2)	SEA	CEN	San Joaquin
65	Asian Pacific Self Development & Res (3)	SEA	L	San Joaquin
119	Asian Pacific Self Development & Res (4)	SEA	ECL	San Joaquin
120	Ballet Folklorico Sol (1)	HISP	ICSE	Kings
178	Ballet Folklorico Sol (2)	HISP	ICSE	Kings
179	C.O.P.A.L	HISP	MRI	Stanislaus
127	Comite No Nos Vamos (3)	HISP	IR	Fresno
185	Comite No Nos Vamos (4)	HISP	ECL	Fresno
7	Comite No Nos Vamos(1)	HISP	CITZ	Fresno
73	Comitte de los Pobres	HISP	ED	Fresno
76	Community Services & Employment Trng (1)	HISP	CITZ	Tulare
128	Community Services & Employment Trng (2)	HISP	CITZ	Tulare

TABLE 5.2 (CONTINUE)

40	California Rural Legal Assist	INDIG	CEN	Santa Clara
69	California Rural Legal Assist	Hmong	L	San Francisco
68	California Rural Legal Assistance (1)	HISP	CITZ	Fresno
122	California Rural Legal Assistance (2)	SEA	ECL	Fresno
121	California Rural Legal Assistance (3)	MC	CITZ	Fresno
2	Campesinas Unidas (1)	HISP	CITZ	Madera
37	Campesinas Unidas (2)	HISP	CEN	Madera
181	Cento Bellas Artes (2)	MC	ICSE	Fresno
180	Central California OCA (Org. Chinese American)	Chinese	ICSE	Fresno
123	Centro Bellas Artes (1)	HISP	ICSE	Fresno
124	Centro de Cultura Immigrante	HISP	CITZ	Fresno
5	Chico High School Mecha	HISP	ECL	Butte
125	Chico Hmong Advisory (1)	Hmong	MRI/ECL	Glenn
182	Chico Hmong Advisory (2)	Hmong	MRI/WCL	Butte
6	Citizens for a Better London	HISP	CITZ	Tulare
70	Coal Ron Lyceum	HISP	ICSE	Fresno
71	College of Church of Christ Hmong (1)	Hmong	CITZ	Fresno
126	College of Church of Christ Hmong (2)	Hmong	ICSE	Fresno
72	Comision Honorifica Mexicana Americana (1)	HISP	CITZ	Tulare
183	Comision Honorifica Mexicana Americana (2)	HISP	CITZ/ECL	Tulare
184	Comite Consejero del Educacion	HISP	ECL	Fresno
38	Comite Hagase Contar Planada	HISP	CEN	Merced
74	Comite No Nos Vamos (2)	HISP	ICSE	Fresno

TABLE 5.2 (CONTINUE)

187	Community Services & Employment Trng (3)	HISP	MRI	Tulare
8	Corcoran League of Voters	HISP	L	Kings
39	Council for the Spanish Speaking (1)	HISP	CEN	San Joaquin
129	Council for the Spanish Speaking (2)	HISP	ICSE	San Joaquin
188	Crossroads Neighborhood Team	MC	ED	Fresno
77	CT Learning Inc.	HISP	ECL	Tulare
41	De Colores de Firebaugh	HISP	CEN	Fresno
189	Digital Youth Voice Network	HISP	ECL/ICSE	Fresno
11	Dyer Kelly Elementary School	MC	ECL	Sacramento
42	Ebony Counseling Center	MC	CEN	Kern
130	Educacion Para Nuestros Pueblos (1)	HISP	ECL	Fresno
190	Educacion Para Nuestros Pueblos (2)	HISP	ECL	Fresno
191	Educvision Inc	HISP	ECL	Fresno
75	El Comite Para el Bienestar Earlimart (1)	HISP	ECL	Tulare
131	El Comite Para el Bienestar Earlimart (2)	HISP	ECL	Tulare
186	El Comite Para el Bienestar Earlimart (3)	HISP	ECL	Tulare
43	El Concilio de Fresno Inc (1)	HISP	CEN	Fresno
78	El Concilio de Fresno Inc (2)	HISP	CITZ	Fresno
9	Escuelita Popular	HISP	ECL	Yolo
79	Ethika Foundation	HISP	ED	Sacramento
133	Extended Hands	HISP	ECL	Merced
154	Federation of Lao American Community (1)	SEA	ICSE	Fresno
192	Federation of Lao American Community (2)	SEA	ED/ECL	Fresno
4	FIOB Frente Indigena Oaxaquena Binacional	INDIG	CITZ	Fresno
44	FIOB-Frente Indigena Oaxaquena Binacional	INDIG	CEN	Fresno
193	FIRM, Inc.	MC	ICSE/CITZ/ECL	Fresno

TABLE 5.2 (CONTINUE)

187	Community Services & Employment Trng (3)	HISP	MRI	Tulare
8	Corcoran League of Voters	HISP	L	Kings
39	Council for the Spanish Speaking (1)	HISP	CEN	San Joaquin
129	Council for the Spanish Speaking (2)	HISP	ICSE	San Joaquin
188	Crossroads Neighborhood Team	MC	ED	Fresno
77	CT Learning Inc.	HISP	ECL	Tulare
41	De Colores de Firebaugh	HISP	CEN	Fresno
189	Digital Youth Voice Network	HISP	ECL/ICSE	Fresno
11	Dyer Kelly Elementary School	MC	ECL	Sacramento
42	Ebony Counseling Center	MC	CEN	Kern
130	Educacion Para Nuestros Pueblos (1)	HISP	ECL	Fresno
190	Educacion Para Nuestros Pueblos (2)	HISP	ECL	Fresno
191	Educvision Inc	HISP	ECL	Fresno
75	El Comite Para el Bienestar Earlimart (1)	HISP	ECL	Tulare
131	El Comite Para el Bienestar Earlimart (2)	HISP	ECL	Tulare
10	First Mexican Baptist Church	HISP	L	Fresno
134	Freedom Bound Center (1)	MC	CITZ	Sacramento
194	Freedom Bound Center (2)	MC	MRI/IO/CITZ	Sacramento
195	Fresno Barrios Unidos	HISP	MRI/IO/ECL	Fresno
135	Fresno Center for New Americans	Hmong	CITZ	Fresno
80	Fresno Interfaith Sponsoring Committee	Hmong	CITZ	Fresno
136	Fresno Metro Ministry (1)	MC	ICSE	Fresno
196	Fresno Metro Ministry (2)	MC	ECL	Fresno
137	Fresno Salvadoran Community	Salvadorian	CITZ	Fresno
81	Future Leaders Inc.	HISP	CITZ	Tulare
138	Girl Scouts Golden Valley Community	MC	Y	Fresno
82	Girl Scouts/Joshua Tree Council	HISP	Y	Kern
45	Glenn Economic Dev. Corp	MC	CEN	Glenn
197	Gold Mine	MC	IR/IO/CITZ	Stanislaus
139	Good News Center	HISP	ECL	Tulare
140	Goshen Planning Committee/ C-Set	HISP	ECL	Tulare
12	Hagginwood Collaborative	MC	Y	Sacramento
83	Hanford Carnegie Museum	MC	ICSE	Kings
198	Healthy Families/Health Access Outreach	MC	MRI/IO/ECL	Kern
46	Healthy House-Health Care Trust of Merced	MC	CEN	Merced
84	Hijas de Tonantzin Youth Leadership Acad.	HISP	Y	Fresno
199	Hispanic Youth Leadership	HISP	MRI/IO/YL/ECL	Fresno

TABLE 5.2 (CONTINUE)

85	Hmong American Assn (1)	Hmong	ED	Yuba
142	Hmong American Assn (2)	Hmong	CITZ	Yuba
200	Hmong American Assn (3)	Hmong	ED	Yuba
13	Hmong American Community Inc (1)	Hmong	ECL	Fresno
86	Hmong American Community Inc (2)	Hmong	CITZ	Fresno
143	Hmong American Community Inc (3)	Hmong	ED	Fresno
144	Hmong American Parents Group of Clovis (1)	Hmong	ECL	Fresno
201	Hmong American Parents Group of Clovis (2)	Hmong	IR/ED/CITZ/ECL	Fresno
87	Hmong American Women Association (1)	Hmong	CITZ	Fresno
145	Hmong American Women Association (2)	Hmong	CITZ	Fresno
202	Hmong Community Educ. Task Force	Hmong	MRI/ECL	Fresno
146	Hmong Cultural Center (1)	Hmong	ECL	Glenn
203	Hmong Cultural Center (2)	Hmong	CITZ	Butte
204	Hmong Cultural Collection Inc	Hmong	MRI/IO/ECL/ICSE	Fresno
147	Hmong Cultural Practices	Hmong	ICSE	Fresno
88	Hmong Economic Development Corp.	Hmong	Y	Fresno
205	Hmong Ethnic Assistance Resource Team	Hmong	IO/ECL/CITZ/ICSE	Fresno
89	Hmong Immigrant Women's Club	Hmong	CITZ	Merced
14	Hmong International Culture Association	Hmong	ECL	San Joaquin
90	Hmong International Culture Institute (1)	Hmong	CITZ	San Joaquin
148	Hmong International Culture Institute (2)	Hmong	ICSE	San Joaquin
206	Hmong International Culture Institute (3)	Hmong	ICSE/ECL	San Joaquin
15	Hmong International Culture Reunion	Hmong	ECL	Fresno
91	Hmong Organization for Parents, Educators	Hmong	ECL	Sacramento
207	Hmong Student Coalition	Hmong	ECL	Fresno
149	Hmong Student Inter-Collegiate Co	Hmong	ECL	Yolo
16	Hmong Youth Foundation	Hmong	ICSE	Fresno

TABLE 5.2 (CONTINUE)

141	HOLA ESE High Oppurtunities	HISP	Y	Tulare
47	Home Help for Hispanic Mothers (1)	HISP	CEN	Tehama
92	Home Help for Hispanic Mothers (2)	HISP	L	Tehama
208	Home Help for Hispanic Mothers (3)	HISP	ECL	Tehama
150	Homeless & Poors New Life (1)	HISP	ECL	Fresno
209	Homeless & Poors New Life (2)	MC	ECL	Fresno
210	Imagine U Children's Museum	MC	ECL	Tulare
211	Ivanhoe Community Council	MC	IO/O/L	Tulare
93	Jefferson Area Neighborhood Association	MC	L	Fresno
17	Jovenes y Ecuelas	HISP	ECL	Yolo
48	Khmer Society of Fresno (1)	SEA	CEN	Fresno
94	Khmer Society of Fresno (2)	SEA	ICSE	Fresno
151	Khmer Society of Fresno (3)	SEA	ECL	Fresno
19	La Familia Corp	HISP	ECL	Sutter
152	La Raza Posada	HISP	ICSE	Stanislaus
50	La Raza Unida Foundation	HISP	CEN	Fresno
20	Labor.Community Alliance (1)	MC	CITZ	Fresno
95	Labor Community Alliance (2)	MC	CITZ	Fresno
153	Labor Community Alliance (3)	MC	ECL	Fresno
96	Lao Family Community of Stockton Inc. (1)	Hmong	CITZ	San Joaquin
155	Lao Family Community of Stockton Inc. (2)	Hmong	ICSE	San Joaquin
49	Lao Family of Fresno	SEA	CEN	Fresno
156	Lao Veterans of America Institute	SEA	CITZ	Fresno
21	Lassen View School Bilingual Parents	HISP	CITZ	Tehama
212	Liberian Community Foundation	Liberian	ECL	Solano
98	Los Angeles de Cristo	HISP	ICSE	Kings

TABLE 5.2 (CONTINUE)

22	Madera Coalition for Community (1)	MC	CITZ	Madera
51	Madera Coalition for Community (2)	MC	CEN	Madera
157	Madera Coalition for Community (3)	MC	CITZ	Madera
213	Madera Coalition for Community (4)	MC	ECL	Madera
158	Maderans Making a difference	MC	CITZ	Madera
99	Mariachi Heritage Foundation (1)	HISP	ICSE	Tulare
214	Mariachi Heritage Foundation (2)	HISP	ICSE	Tulare
23	Mayor's Commision on Children's Health	MC	CITZ	Sacramento
100	Merced Lao Family Community (1)	Hmong	ECL	Merced
159	Merced Lao Family Community (2)	Hmong	ED	Merced
101	Migrant Photography Project (1)	HISP	ECL	Tulare
170	Migrant Photography Project (2)	HISP	ICSE	Tulare
215	Migrant Photography Project (3)	HISP	IR	Tulare
52	Mixtecos Unidas De Oaxaca (1)	INDIG	CEN	Madera
160	Mixtecos Unidas De Oaxaca (2)	INDIG	ED	Madera
53	Modesto Youth Center	INDIG	CEN	Stanislaus
24	Mount Elgon Corporation	MC	CITZ	Kern
161	Movimiento de Unidad y Lucha Triqui	Hmong	IR	Fresno
54	National Farm Workers Service Center	HISP	CEN	Tulare
102	North Bakersfield Recreation Foundation	HISP	ECL	Kern
103	Nuestra Vida Nuestra Voz (1)	HISP	ECL	Tulare
162	Nuestra Vida Nuestra Voz (2)	HISP	ICSE	Tulare
216	Nuestra Vida Nuestra Voz (3)	HISP	ECL	Tulare
104	Oak Valley Hospital	HISP	ECL	Stanislaus
55	Opportunity Plus	SEA	CEN	Fresno
217	Orange Cove Community Partnership	HISP	IO/ECL	Fresno

TABLE 5.2 (CONTINUE)

3	Organizacion en California de Lideres (1)	INDIG	ECL	Kern
97	Organizacion en California de Lideres (2)	INDIG	L	Kern
218	Organizacion en California de Lideres (3)	INDIG	CITZ	Kern
25	OTAC Semila News Project	HISP	ECL	San Joaquin
219	Pacific News Service	MC	IO	San Francisco
26	Padres Unidos Para Mejorar (1)	HISP	ECL	Kern
105	Padres Unidos Para Mejorar (2)	HISP	ECL	Kern
18	Parents at School	HISP	ECL	Tulare
106	Por Mi Pueblo	HISP	ECL	Fresno
163	Portuguese Educ Foundation (1)	Azorean	CITZ	Stanislaus
220	Portuguese Educ Foundation (2)	Azorean	CITZ	Stanislaus
164	Proyecto Farmersville (1)	HISP	L	Tulare
221	Proyecto Farmersville (2)	HISP	IR	Tulare
165	Pueblo Dreams (1)	HISP	ICSE	Sacramento
222	Pueblo Dreams (2)	HISP	ECL	Sacramento
56	Radio Bilingue Inc (1)	INDIG	CEN	Fresno
107	Radio Bilingue Inc (2)	INDIG	CITZ	Fresno
108	Real Alternatives for Youth Org (1)	HISP	ECL	Tulare
223	Real Alternatives for Youth Org (2)	HISP	CITZ	Tulare
27	Reedley Social Services (1)	HISP	ECL	Fresno
57	Reedley Social Services (2)	HISP	CEN	Fresno
109	Reedley Social Services (3)	HISP	CITZ	Fresno
58	Richland Campesinos (1)	MC	CEN	Sutter
166	Richland Campesinos (2)	MC	CITZ	Sutter
224	Richland Campesinos (3)	MC	ICSE	Sutter

TABLE 5.2 (CONTINUE)

28	Slavic Education/Services Program	Russian	L	Fresno
169	SNUVIKO	SEA	ICSE	Fresno
29	St. Elizabeth Hospital	HISP	L	Tehama
30	St. Linus Church	HISP	ED	San Joaquin
59	Stockton Community Powwow Committee	INDIG	CEN	San Joaquin
111	Teatro de Alma	HISP	ICSE	Fresno
110	Teatro de La Tierra Inc. (1)	HISP	ICSE	Fresno
132	Teatro de La Tierra Inc. (2)	HISP	ICSE	Fresno
226	Teatro de La Tierra Inc. (3)	HISP	ICSE	Fresno
112	Tehama County Education Foundation	HISP	ICSE	Tehama
31	Tehama County Hispanic Outreach	HISP	CITZ	Tehama
60	The Lowellition/First Presbyterian Church	MC	CEN	Fresno
61	Trabajadores de La Raza/Chicano Youth Ctr	HISP	CEN	Fresno
32	Tulare County Civic Action League (1)	HISP	CITZ	Tulare
113	Tulare County Civic Action League (2)	HISP	CITZ	Tulare
171	Tulare County Civic Action League (3)	HISP	CITZ	Tulare
114	Tulare Kings County Hispanic Cltn (1)	HISP	CITZ	Tulare
172	Tulare Kings County Hispanic Cltn (2)	HISP	ECL	Tulare
227	United Cambodian Families	SEA	IR	San Joaquin
173	Valley Area Living Enabling Resources (1)	Azorean	L	Stanislaus
228	Valley Area Living Enabling Resources (2)	Azorean	MRI	Stanislaus
33	Visalia First Assembly of God (1)	MC	CITZ	Tulare
115	Visalia First Assembly of God (2)	SEA	ECL	Tulare
62	Westside Youth Center	HISP	CEN	Fresno
116	White Hawk Indian Council for Children (1)	HISP	ICSE	Sacramento
174	White Hawk Indian Council for Children (2)	HISP	ICSE	Sacramento
63	Wittman Village Community center Inc.	MC	CEN	Tulare
175	Women Alliance Assn. of Messiah Alliance	SEA	ECL	Fresno
34	Young Latinas for Empowerment	HISP	CITZ	Kings

TABLE 5.3: 228 CAN PROJECTS BY COUNTY, ETHNIC GROUP AND TYPE OF PROJECT

228 PROJECT Town/Ethnicity/Project Distribution

County	Hisp	Hmong	SEA	MC	Other	Indig		CITZ	CEN	ED	ECL	IR	L	MRI	Y	ICSE	IO	Total
Sacramento Valley																		
Butte	1	2					3	1			1			1				3
Solano					1		1				1							1
Glenn		2		1			3		1		1			1				3
Sacramento	5	4		5			14	2		1	4			1	1	5		14
Sutter	1			3			4	1	1		1					1		4
Tehama	7						7	2	1		1		2			1		7
Yolo	2	1					3				3							3
Yuba	3	3					6	1		4	1							6
Subtotal	19	12		9	1		41	7	3	5	13		2	3	1	7		41
San Joaquin Valley																		
Fresno	34	20	11	13	3	4	85	18	12	4	19	3	3	4	3	17	2	85
Kern	4			3		3	10	2		1	4		1	1	1			10
Kings	5			1			6	1					1			4		6
Madera	2		5			2	9	4	3	1	1							9
Merced	4	3		1			8	1	2	1	2					2		8
San Joaquin	5	6	5			1	17	3	3	2	3	1	1			4		17
Stanislaus	3			1	4	1	9	2	1		1	1	1	2		1		9
Tulare	33		3	4			40	12	3	1	14	2	1	1	1	4	1	40
Subtotal	90	29	24	23	7	11	184	43	24	10	44	7	8	8	5	32	3	184
Outside CV																		
San Francisco		1		1			2							1			1	2
Santa Clara						1	1		1									1
Subtotal		1		1		1	3		1					1			1	3
Total	109	42	24	33	8	12	228	50	28	15	57	7	10	12	6	39	4	228

TABLE 5.4: All 228 CAN PROJECTS BY TYPE OF PROJECT

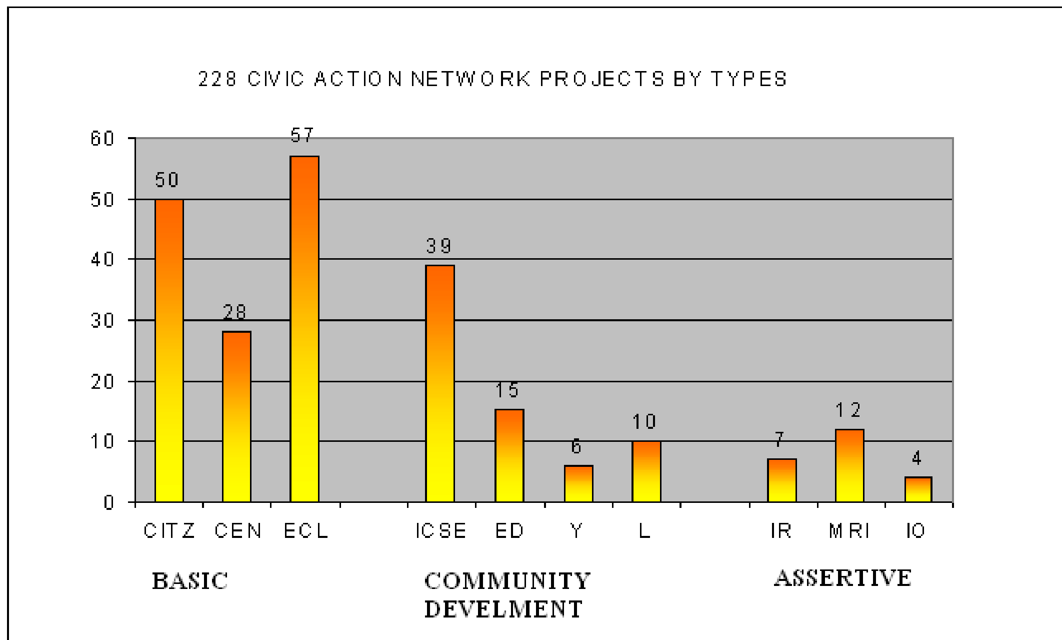


TABLE 5.5: NUMBER OF PROJECTS BY ETHNICITY OF GROUP

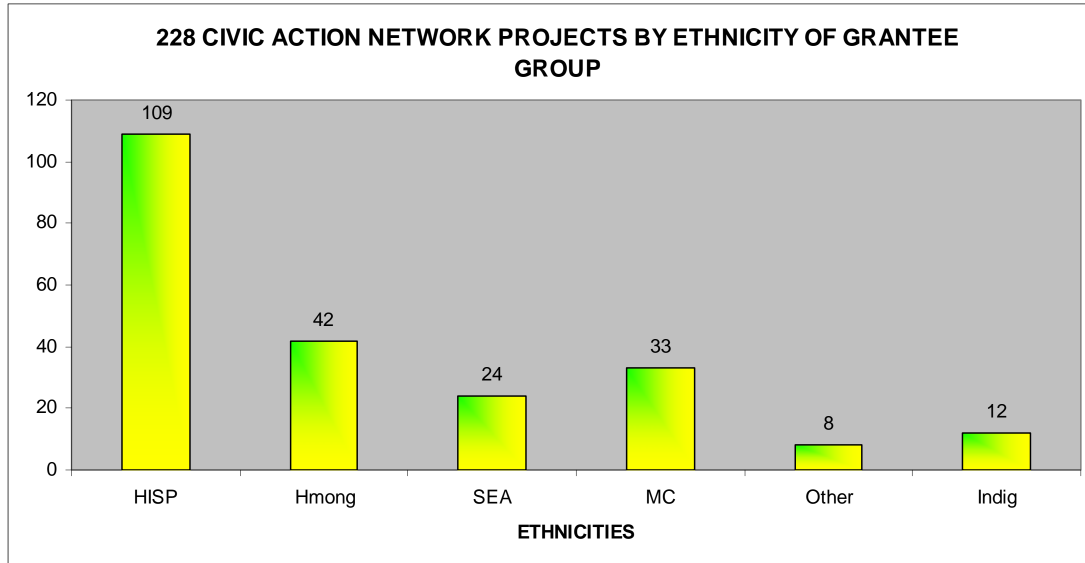
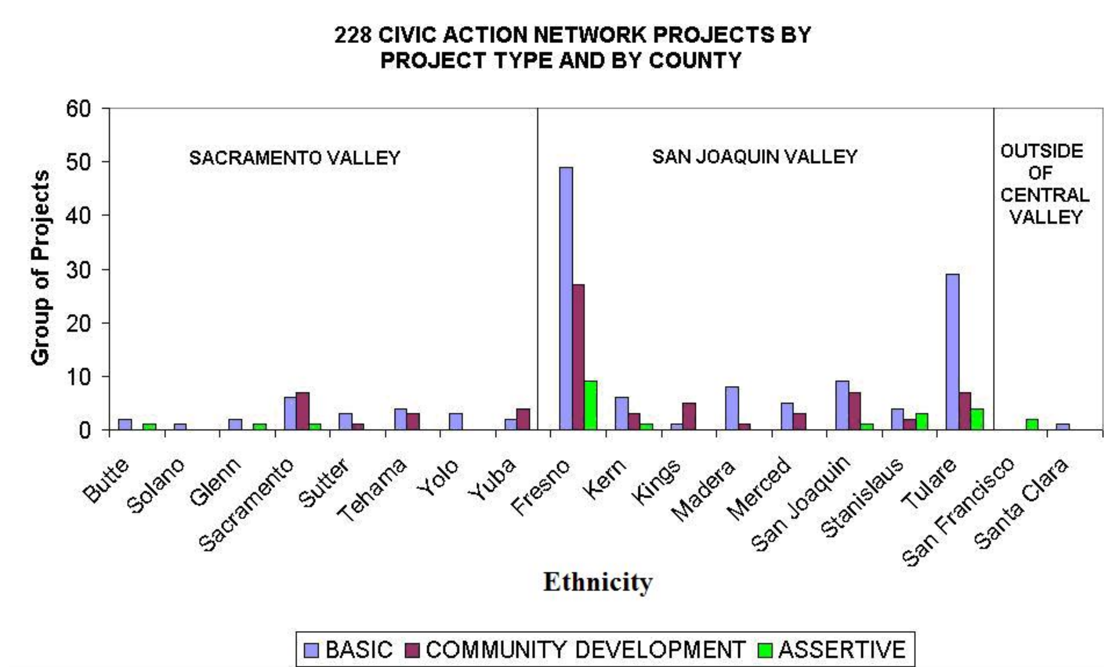


TABLE 5.6: PROJECTS BY COUNTY AND BY THREE MAIN PROJECT TYPES



What the Project Choices Tell Us

Many of the CAN groups entered the grants program seeking funding to conduct popular education (ECL), citizenship or immigrant cultural (ICSE) performance projects.(Table 5.4) Such choices pointed to the importance communities placed on internal development. These projects centered on preserving cultural traditions of the diverse ethnicities involved.(Table 5.5) Participation in the arts, in music, dance and stage performances from the immigrants' native lands, fostered cross generational involvement and strengthened the sense of community, particularly for youth. Taking pride in their cultural traditions and identity is vital to immigrants' sense of themselves as they settle in their new land.

After the first year of the grants, an opportunity arose to engage low income, minority and immigrant communities to ensure a more complete count in the decennial census. This resulted in a call for all second year proposals to focus on projects that would contribute to a more accurate count in the year 2000 census. Past census results had been shown to include serious undercounts in low income minority communities in the Central Valley. Since getting a full count of all people in any given community is critical in ensuring that the community gets the government funding to which it is entitled, the poorer communities were especially badly hurt when undercounted. Getting counted was thus basic to being identified and recognized.

By the third year of the grants programs, which by then was called the Civic Participation program (replacing the Small Grants name), a number of organizations appeared as alumni, having garnered grants in the first or second cycle or both. During the five years of the CAN grants program, 53 organizations among the 149 were in this group with two or more grants. The remaining 96 were one time awardees. The existence of these two entities allows a review of succeeding project choices and what that might tell us.

The project choice pattern suggests insights about community priorities and what changes can follow as a group increases in confidence, contacts and skills. Initially, project choices, as mentioned above, focused on internal development. This allowed immigrant groups to better understand and negotiate the system in which they found themselves. Project choices included popular education projects that would enable adults to increase literacy skills, learn English as a second language or take classes leading towards naturalization and citizenship.

Immigrants' concerns about surviving and adjusting to their new environment include worries about preserving their identity and culture, and how to pass them along to their children. These concerns were reflected in project choices focused on immigrant culture and self-expression through music, dance, drama, and story-telling.

As organizations gained confidence and became more aware of how American government and society work, they became more prepared to engage political issues, asserting their rights and demanding that institutions be more responsive to their needs. Similarly, as they became more politically active, more groups engaged in marches, campaigns, and pressured government institutions to better respond to community needs at the local level. Project choices here focused on immigrant rights and organizing.

Thus, the projects undertaken by CAN groups began to serve as qualitative indicators of each immigrant organization's sense of what it could do best at its current stage of self, group and civic awareness.

The sequence of projects taken on by groups that were participants in two or more cycles were also instructive.(Table 5.7) They reveal an evolution of awareness as to what groups see as important and feasible to do as they adapt to their host communities and society. Their project choices also show the emphasis they placed on maintaining cultural roots and ties, symbolic and actual, to their places of origin.

As groups remain longer in their new country, the need to learn the ways of the new societal system and adapt to it become new priorities. Similarly, as immigrants move toward citizenship, they to want to learn how to exercise their new found rights. They find it increasingly necessary to know their representatives in government offices and to call attention to needed improvements in or for their communities.

During the third year of the CAN grants program, proposals began to shift from projects for internal development to ones more focused on developing immigrant communities and/or influencing the larger, external community. The table of projects undertaken by the 53 groups with multiple grants (funded in at least two different funding cycles) name in sequence the type of projects completed. Though some continued to focus on projects for basic survival and adjustment, others started to direct attention to community economic development (training for better paying jobs), leadership development. Still others became more assertive, focusing on organizing for immigrant rights or pushing agencies and institutions to be more responsive to their communities' needs.

The shift from projects on internal development to ones placing the group in a position of challenge – for rights or for more adequate access to agencies - is also shown by first time grantees that came into the CAN during the fifth year of the granting cycle. This can be attributed to several factors. By the fifth year grant announcement, the CVP's work and the availability of CAN grants had become better known among Central Valley immigrant and community based organization networks. That prompted various activist organizations, already experienced and sophisticated in ways of the political system to submit proposals. Table 5.8 on Project Choices of First time Grantees in the Fifth Can Funding Cycle, shows that 11 of the 20 such first[t] time grantees sought support for assertive projects.

TABLE 5.7: 53 CAN GROUPS THAT RECEIVED 2 OR MORE GRANTS

53 CIVIC ACTION NETWORK GROUPS

Name of Organization	Cycle 1 [1-34]	Cycle 2 [35-64]	Cycle 3 [65-116]	Cycle 4 [117-175	Cycle 5 [176-228]
Alliance for Hispanic Advancement		64 (ECL)		117 (ED)	176 (ED)
Asian Advancement Association			66 (ICSE)	118 (ECL)	177 (ECSE)
Asian American Women's Advancement		35 (CEN)	67 (ED)		
Asian Pacific Self Development & Res	1 (ED)	36 (CEN)	65 (L)	119 (ECL)	
Ballet Folklorico Sol				120 (ICSE)	178 (ICSE)
California Rural Legal Assistance			68 (ECL)	121 (CITZ)	
Campesinas Unidas	2 (CITZ)	37 (CEN)			
Centro Bellas Artes				123 (ICSE)	181 (ICSE)
Chico Hmong Advisory				125 (ECL)	182 (MRI)
College of Church of Christ Hmong			71 (CITZ)	126 (ICSE)	
Comision Honorifica Mexicana Americana			72 (CITZ)		183 (CITZ)
Comite No Nos Vamos	7 (CITZ)		74 (ICSE)	127 (IR)	185 (ECL)
Community Services & Employment Trng			76 (CITZ)	128 (CITZ)	187 (L)
Council for The Spanish Speaking		39 (CEN)		129 (IR)	
Educacion Para Nuestros Pueblos				130 (ECL)	190 (ECL)
El Comite Para el Bienestar Earlimart			75 (ECL)	132 (ECL)	186 (ECL)
El Concilio de Fresno Inc		43 (CEN)	78 (CITZ)		
Federation of Lao American Community				152 (ICSE)	192 (ECL)
FIOB- Frente Indigena Oaxaquena	4 (CITZ)	44 (CEN)			
Freedom Bound Center				134 (CITZ)	194 (MRI/IO)
Fresno Metro Ministry				136 (ICSE)	196 (ECL)
Hmong American Assc			87 (ED)	142 (CITZ)	200 (ED)
Hmong American Community Inc	13 (ECL)		76 (CITZ)	143 (ED)	
Hmong American Parents Group of Clovis				144 (ECL)	201 (IR)
Hmong American Women Association			87 (CITZ)	145 (CITZ)	
Hmong Cultural Center				146 (ECL)	203 (CITZ)
Hmong International Culture Institute	14 (ECL)		90 (CITZ)	148 (ICSE)	206 (ICSE)
Home Help for Hispanic Mothers		42 (CEN)	92 (L)		208 (ECL)
Homeless & Poors New Life				150 (ECL)	209 (ECL)
Khmer Society of Fresno		48 (CEN)	94 (ICSE)	157 (ECL)	
Labor.Community Alliance	20 (CITZ)		95 (ICSE/IR/ECL	153 (ECL)	
Lao Family Community of Stockton Inc.			96 (CITZ)	155 (ICSE)	
Madera Coalition for Community	22 (CITZ)	51 (CEN)		157 (CITZ)	213 (ECL)
Mariachi Heritage Foundation			99 (ICSE)		214 (ICSE)
Merced Lao Family Community			100 (ECL)	159 (ED)	
Migrant Photography Project			101 (ECL)	170 (ICSE)	215 (IR)
Mixtecos Unidas De Oaxaca		52 (CEN)		160 (ED)	
Nuestra Vida Nuestra Voz			103 (ECL)	162 (ICSE)	216 (ECL)
Organizacion en California de Lideres	3 (ECL)		97 (L)		218 (CITZ)
Padres Unidos Para Mejorar	26 (ECL)		105 (ECL)		
Portuguese Educ Foundation of Crt ca				163 (CITZ)	220 (CITZ)
Proyecto Farmersville				164 (L)	221 (IR)
Pueblo Dreams				165 (ICSE)	222 (ECL)
Radio Bilingue Inc		56 (CEN)	107 (CITZ)		
Real Alternatives for Youth Org			108 (ECL)		223 (CITZ)
Reedley Social Services	27 (ECL)	57 (CEN)	109 (CITZ)		
Richland Campesionos		58 (CEN)		166 (CITZ)	224 (ICSE)
Rudo Revolutionary Front				168 (ICSE)	225 (ICSE)
Teatro de La Tierra Inc.			110 (ICSE)	132 (ICSE)	226 (ICSE)
Tulare County Civic Action League	32 (CITZ)			171 (CITZ)	
Tulare Kings County Hispanic Cltn			114 (CITZ)	172 (ECL)	
Valley Area Living Enabling Resourcse				173 (I)	228 (MRI)
Visalia First Assembly of God	33 (CITZ)		115 (ECL)		
White Hawk Indian Council for Children			116 (ICSE)	174 (ICSE)	

This pattern of CAN groups' project choices suggests a sequence groups undergo as they gain experience, develop a sense of themselves and their communities and better understand their possibilities.(Table 5.9) The most common first CAN projects are those that focus on popular education and citizenship. These provide tools in literacy, learning American history needed for passing tests to become naturalized, and learning how the governance system and public agencies work in California. Also important, as revealed by choice of projects, is the emphasis placed by immigrants on preserving their culture and arts, especially on passing them on to their youth. That so many immigrant groups chose the preservation of their cultural traditions as an important group project underscores the enhancement of group identity as an important ingredient towards civic participation

TABLE 5.8: PROJECT TYPES OF FIRST TIME GRANTEES IN THE 5TH YEAR GRANT CYCLE

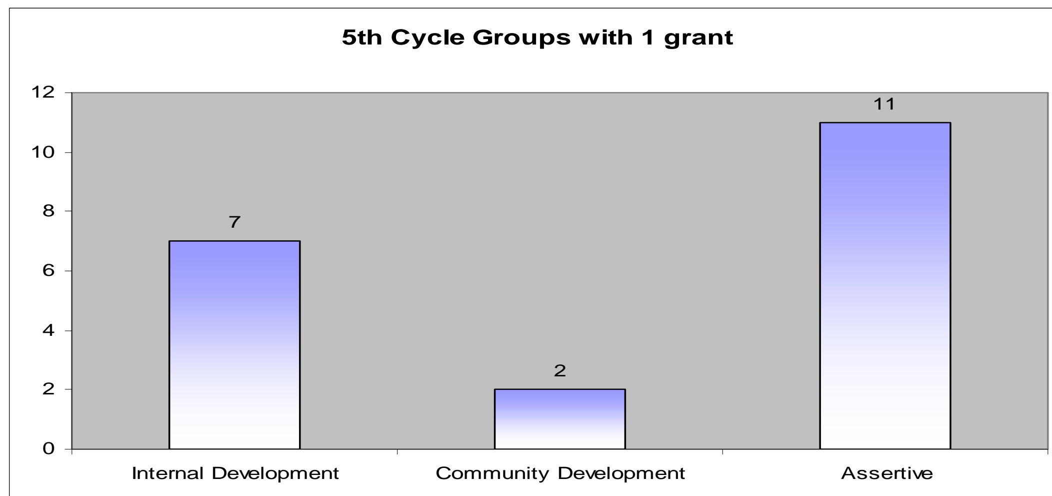
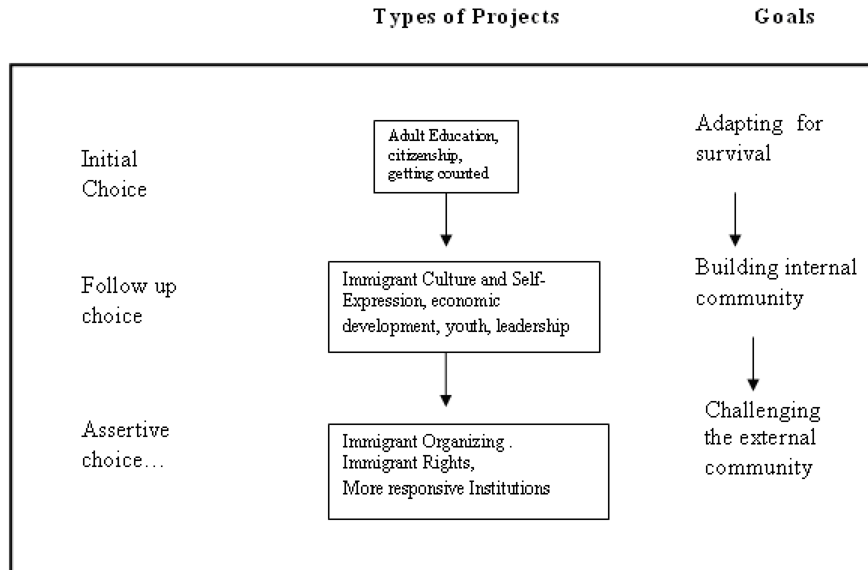


TABLE 5.9: SEQUENCE OF PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN BY 149 CAN GROUPS



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What this also suggests is that projects to promote citizenship and popular education can and perhaps need to build on a foundation of confidence and sense of

worth that merits developing and strengthening. Preserving identity and getting established - learning the language, taking steps towards naturalization - are basic. Projects related to economic development, cultural identity, youth and leadership contribute to developing a sense of community. Developing a sense of self worth and of community contribute to confidence in dealing with external issues. Projects involving assertiveness in dealing with the external world, such as organizing to promote immigrant rights or petitioning institutions to be more responsive, can follow.

Groups taking on such externally focused projects are the ones that have developed internally whether through a series of identity preservation and community building efforts or through other means. Assertive type projects were popular among three fifths of the first time awardees in the fifth year CAN grant cycle. These groups jumped right into projects that challenged the external community. Comparing across years, the fifth year CAN grantees include the greatest number and proportion of groups engaged in projects that involved interacting with the external community, whether among groups coming in for the first time or veterans building on previous granted projects.(Table 5.10 and Table 5.11)

The chart of grants in the fifth year CAN funding cycle reveals a pattern suggesting an association between the kind of project done and the previous experience of an organization. Of the 53 organizations that had project support in two or more cycles, those that got grants in the fifth year show a greater tendency to tackle projects that can be considered assertive (immigrant organizing, more responsive institutions, immigrant rights). Among the 20 groups in the fifth cycle that got a grant for the first time, 12 or 60% identified their projects as dealing with the external community. Of the 96 groups that had only one grant during the 5 years of the CAN project 86 % did internal development projects (popular education, citizenship, cultural preservation, leadership). (Table 5.12)

TABLE 5.10: PROJECTS DONE IN 5th GRANT CYCLE BY GROUPS WITH 2 PLUS GRANTS

	2+ grant groups	Basic	Community Dev.	Assertive
176	Alliance for Hispanic Adv 3		ED	
177	Asian Advancement Association 3		IC	
178	Ballet Folklorico Sol (2)		IC	
181	Cento Bellas Artes (2)		IC	
182	Chico Hmong Advisory (2)			ECL/MRI
183	Comision Honorifica Mexicana Americana 2	CITZ/ECL		
185	Comite No Nos Vamos (4)	ECL		
187	Community Services & Employment Trng 3			MRI
190	Educacion Para Nuestros Pueblos (2)	ECL		
186	El Comite Para el Bienestar Earlimart 3	ECL		
192	Federation of Lao American Community		ECL/ED	
194	Freedom Bound Center 2			CITZ/MRI/IO
196	Fresno Metro Ministry (2)	ECL		
200	Hmong American Assc 3	ECL		

TABLE 5.10 (CONTINUE)

201	Hmong American Parents Group of Clovis (2)			IR/ED/CITZ
203	Hmong Cultural Center (2)		ED	
206	Hmong International Culture Institute 4		ECL/IC	
207	Hmong Student Coalition	ECL		
208	Home Help for Hispanic Mothers 3	ECL		
209	Homeless & Poors New Life (2)	ECL		
213	Madera Coalition for Community 4	ECL		
214	Mariachi Heritage Foundation 2		IC	
215	Migrant Photography Project 3			IR
216	Nuestra Vida Nuestra Voz 3	ECL		
218	Organizacion en California de Lideres 3	CITZ		
220	Portuguese Educ Foundation of Crt ca 2	CITZ		
221	Proyecto Farmersville 2			IR
222	Pueblo Dreams 2	ECL		
223	Real Alternatives for Youth Org 2	CITZ		
224	Richland Campesionos 3		IC	
225	Rudo Revolutionary Front 2		IC	
226	Teatro de La Tierra Inc. (2)		IC	
228	Valley Area Living Enabling Resources 2			MRI

TABLE 5.11: PROJECT TYPES IN THE 5TH CYCLE BY GROUPS AWARDED 2 PLUS GRANTS

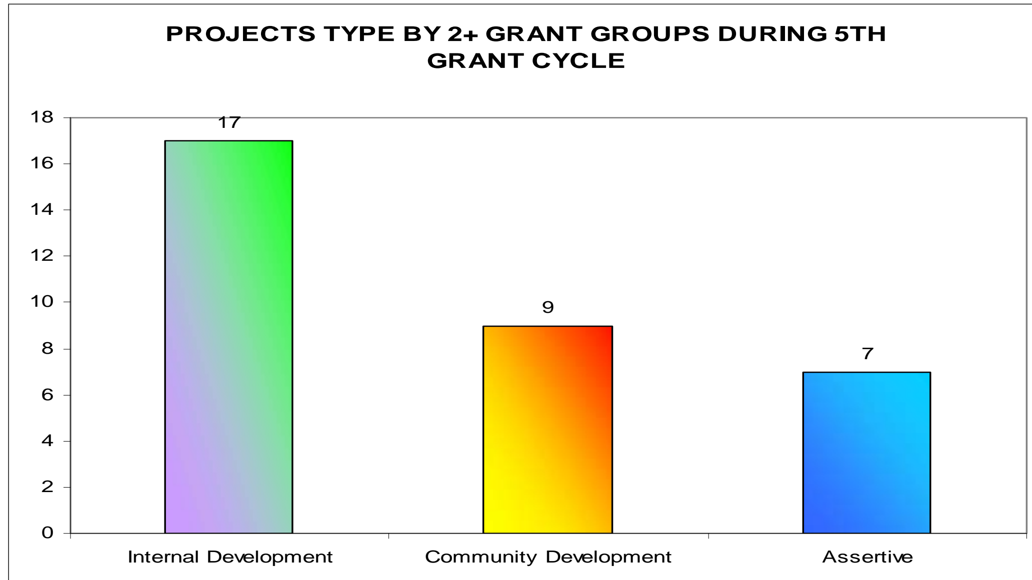

TABLE 5.12: TYPE OF PROJECTS DONE BY 96 GROUPS WITH THEIR ONE GRANT OVER THE 5 YEAR PERIOD OF CAN GRANTS

PROJECT TYPES DONE OVER THE 5 YEARS OF THE CAN PROGRAM BY 96 SINGLE GRANT GROUPS	
Basic Internal Survival	-
Census	16
Citizenship	15
Education/Community Learning	25
Subtotal	**56**
Community Development	-
Leadership	6
Economic Development	4
ICSE	11
Youth	6
Subtotal	**27**
Assertive Action	-
Immigrant Organizing	4
More Responsive Institutions	6
Immigrant Rights	3
Subtotal	**13**
Total	**96**

Whether a group chooses to concentrate on projects that strengthen internal development or projects that involve dealing with the external community depends on factors such as the degree of a group's organizational development, its experiences in community involvement, and its readiness and confidence in asserting rights and pursuing objectives. The CAN experience with l49 groups shows that building civil society need not be limited to campaigns for naturalization or getting involved in the electoral process: the preliminary confidence and community-building stages can provide critical elements for immigrants' civic participation.

Outcomes of CAN

The five years of CAN's development yielded several lessons about the factors that contribute to a collaborative, multi-ethnic approach to community building. First, instead being an end in themselves, grants served as the starting points for building a network. Second, follow up activities proved central to building stronger organizations. By sharing their experiences, groups got in touch with each other and were able to form cross-cutting alliances on the basis of ethnicities, locations and/or focus. Thirdly, the choice of projects provided insights into organizational priorities and the immigrant communities' definition of what was important to their development. Fourth, working together, collaboratively, helped newly emerging groups to accomplish their goals and gain confidence in their own skills and people. Finally, when groups were welcomed into a multiethnic, collaborative network from the outset and given opportunities that helped them to build trust, work out conflicts, and envision a common future, successful collaboration between immigrant communities became possible.

Bringing together various ethnic groups through CAN proved to be both a challenge and opportunity for the Central Valley Partnership. The planning of numerous workshops as well as major projects such as the Tamejavi Festival helped to

promote understanding among the various ethnic groups. However, it was the actual implementation of projects that proved most productive. By working together, groups began to discover common concerns and solutions. This led to interest in continued collaboration.

Comments from CAN participants underscore what they gained through this process:

> **"CAN has provided the opportunity to network with other people and groups that share the same goals and challenges. This networking has been most valuable to us" -- Portuguese Education Foundation of Central California**
>
> **"CAN helped us learn from one another and educate each other about other cultures and resources so we can better our society."**
> **Teatro de la Tierra**
>
> **"We have benefited from learning about some of the challenges and successes experienced by other groups. It was also comforting to know that we were part of a larger network doing this important work in our community" -- Madera Coalition for Community Justice**

One of CAN's main functions was to connect people and help them to gain, through their new network power, increased resources for becoming active in their communities. A survey of CAN groups conducted by the California Institute for Rural Studies and the Pan Valley Institute to help gauge the level of networking within the fifth year CAN-funded groups provided insights into the relationship between the CVP and CAN. Among the 30 respondents from the 53 groups supported in the 5th cycle,

various advantages were cited as valued outcomes. An overriding benefit identified by the participating CAN groups was sharing information, especially comparing experiences on their projects. CAN groups also cited as a benefit of participating in the network, the network's help in finding other funding opportunities, providing technical assistance in grant writing and understanding various community organizing strategies. Responding grassroots organizations also expressed their desire to network, share information, increase funding opportunities, and serve as a joint clearinghouse for experts and resources. This experience and need for collaboration – and the forms it takes – is the focus of the next chapter.

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Smith, M.P (2001). *Transnational urbanism: locating globalization*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.

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Videos produced by Non Profit communications (Bracken, James 48 Baker St. San Francisco 94117. jimbracken@nonprofitcomm.org) mentioned in this and related chapters include the following

- **Turning toward the Other California: Engaging Communities in California's Heartland** - An overview of CVP efforts to seed leadership and engagement by Central Valley immigrants and refugees, so that residents are involved in decisions affecting development of their communities, and improving the quality of their own lives.
- **Civic Participation / Civic Action Network Grants Program** – Outreach piece for community meetings, TV and radio outreach promoting small grants targeted to disenfranchised neighborhood groups throughout the Central Valley.
- **We Can Help: Census 2000 Outreach Messages** – Distributed statewide to 180 agencies, English/Spanish/Chinese video tools for rural communities, promoting Census 2000 inclusion. Synergy with for TV, radio, house meetings.

- **Tamejavi Cultural Arts Festival** - Vignettes of performers, music, crafts, booths and resources from ethnic celebration in Fresno Tower District. Live broadcast during event on KNXT- TV Fresno.

CHAPTER 6

WORKING COLLABORATIVELY

"We have learned that relationships are the key to everything. Funding alone will not work." Orange Cove Community Partnership

The Central Valley, as documented in a previous chapter, is marked by extremes of wealth and poverty. Although it is the richest agricultural region in the world, the Central Valley also has California's lowest median family income. In the mid-1990s many community organizing groups were already working to alleviate the Valley communities' problems but they were working independently, in many cases kept apart by the vast geographic and cultural distances between them. Knowing that these organizations in the Central Valley were working to create positive change, and wanting to expand their organizing potential, in 1996 the James Irvine Foundation and various community leaders began an effort to bring those organizations together in a collaborative, multi-ethnic network.

Overview of collaborative projects

The Central Valley Partnership undertook five significant collaborative projects: the Civic Action Network, the Tamejavi Festival, ESPINO, Immigrant Leaders Fellowship, and Immigrant Rights. A brief overview of the last four is presented here to show the ways in which the Partnership worked not only with newly emerging groups (the subject of Chapter 5) but with already established organizations that had their own agendas and organizing styles.

Tamejavi Festival[102]

The CVP-created name "Tamejavi" was derived from the Hmong, Spanish and Mixteco words for a cultural harvest market—Taj laj Tshav Puam, Mercado,

[102] See: "Tamejavi Cultural Arts Festival"—Video by non profit communications showing vignettes of performers, music, crafts, booths and resources from ethnic celebration in Fresno Tower District.

nunJAVI"[103].The Tamejavi Festival is an example of collaborative work that linked core partners in the CVP with grassroot groups in the Civic Action Network and groups outside the Central Valley, to stage a festival that displayed the cultural wealth of the immigrant community[104]. The festival brought together thousands of people from around the Central Valley to hear music, eat, dance and watch performances by various immigrant groups. In this way it paved a path toward engagement with the wider community.

ESPINO—focusing on youth and education

ESPINO or "escuelas si, pintas no," translated from the Spanish means "schools yes, jails no". ESPINO was a collaborative project that emerged from the CVP's education committee. Committee members from all over the Valley were concerned about matters such as school dropouts, incarceration of minority youths, school community relations, and how families for whom English was not a working language could gain access to school officials and teachers. Some of the committee's work, which included support for an education task force for the Hmong community, led to the development of action research teams comprised of high school students.

ESPINO trained students to conduct research in their own communities, and specifically to document discrimination against immigrant, minority and gay students. Groups involved included CVP and CAN members, such as Freedom Bound and Madera Coalition for Justice. Students presented their findings to school boards and other groups, including the Regents of the University of California. Such findings received wide attention and in many instances had positive outcomes (e.g., the

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[103] CVP web page and Tamejavi web site: www.tamejavi.org

[104] see Articles by Eduardo Stanley of Pacific News Service, which describes the Festival and it's impact in the Valley:
http://news.pacificnews.org/news/view_alt_category.html?page=2&first=10&last=19&category_id=138

Regents rescinded a provision that would have forced immigrant families to pay out-of-state tuition for children who had graduated from California schools.)

Immigrant Leaders Fellowship

Another collaborative project was the Immigrant Leaders Fellowship Program (ILF). The goal of the ILF was to nurture leaders within immigrant communities, especially those involved with newly emerging organizations. Nominated by CVP members, the ILF offered community organizing and related training to more than 30 identified leaders.

About half of all Partners sponsored ILF fellows, including: Proyecto Campesino, El Colegio, Relational Cultures Institute, CRLAF, and San Joaquin Valley Coalition for Immigrant Rights, SVOC, North Valley Communities, People and Congregations Together, Pan Valley Institute and Frente Indigena Oaxaqueña Binacional. Participating CVP organizations each took on a fellow to work on projects of interest to the organization. In the process, fellows gained organizing and leadership skills. The program benefited from the support of both the National Rural Funders Collaborative and The California Endowment, in addition to that of The James Irvine Foundation.

Immigrant Rights

As CVP partner organizations met and shared updates on issues in their quarterly meetings, crucial problems facing immigrant communities and low wage workers became more apparent. Guest speakers and the experiences of CVP organizations revealed the extent to which immigrant families were encountering injustice and exploitation. The dilemma faced by immigrants and their families came to a head when the CVP got wind of a proposal in Congress to rescind provision 245i of the INS. Eliminating 245i would have separated families in which typically the husband had legal papers but the wife and children did not. This meant that the wife

and children would have had to return to their home country and would not be allowed to return to the U.S. for several years. When the consequences of this proposed change became apparent, various Partner organizations in close contact with immigrant workers began to take action. They started by getting the word out regarding the threat, visiting places where immigrants often gathered, such as churches, ethnic stores, and flea markets. Ethnic and farm worker radio stations, particularly one run by Projecto Campesino, and moderated by Pablo Espinoza, also proved very effective. Another organization, O La Raza, began recruiting workers to travel to Washington and present appeals to their representatives in Congress. A combination of direct contact, recruiting delegations, meetings at the state legislature and rallies such as one on Immigrant Day at the State Capitol, brought widespread attention to the issue.

Although all CVP members participated in 245i activities such as the Immigrant Day Rally at the State Capitol, some Partners worked in a very intentional, collaborative way with the threatened immigrant families and with each other. These groups included the Immigrant Legal Resource Center, the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation and the Sacramento Valley Organizing Communities. Representatives of the Immigrant Legal Resource Center, for example, traveled up and down the Valley offering guidance and hosting workshops on topics vital to the immigrant communities and to the organizations working on their behalf

Another immigrant rights issues could be traced back to past grievances, starting with the Bracero program in the 1940s. “Braceros” were workers brought from Mexico during and after World War II when their labor was essential to the production and harvesting of agricultural products. Part of the agreement written into the Bracero program included a provision that stated a percentage of their earnings would be set aside so that, upon each individual Bracero’s return to Mexico, the worker could withdraw those savings. Unfortunately, the money withheld from

Braceros' earnings was never accounted for and Braceros never received their promised savings. CVP member organizations such as the San Joaquin Valley Coalition for Immigrant Rights and the AFSC in Stockton continue to do major work together today to resolve this issue.

A key ingredient: building relationships &trust

The collaborative efforts described above did not happen all at once or in the same way. For the first two to three years of the Central Valley Partnership's existence most of the work done was focused on building relationships and trust. More active collaboration began in 1998 when, as we saw, an external threat helped mobilize the Partners and enabled them to work together for political change for the first time.

Establishing a social foundation of trust is a central theme in the social capital literature (Coleman, 1988; Kilpatrick, Field, & Falk, 2003; Putnam, 1993). To further the emergent sense of trust within the CVP, each quarterly meeting began with one-on-one sessions where attendees paired off to share stories of their activities. Thus each Partner got in the habit of introducing themselves and getting to know others.

Learning was a constant theme. Quarterly meetings featured field trips organized by the meeting's host organization, arranged to acquaint all attendees with the struggles facing communities around the Valley. Invited speakers also enlightened the Partnership on critical topics. Local tours, demonstrations and panels regarding the work of the host organization helped educate Partners about different areas of the valley.

The value of technical assistance

The Central Valley Partnership's consultant and technical assistance groups contributed greatly to the building of the collaborative. They were in constant contact with all the Partner organizations, both CVP and CAN. Recent community

development literature illustrates how technical assistance can greatly help community groups to evolve. (Glickman & Sevron, 2000; Kauth, 2002; Lasker & Weiss, 2003; Linden, 2002)

While the CVP itself did not have a central staff, consultants served as a de-facto staff providing a loose but effective organizational structure that promoted the CVP's networking and collaborative functions. As we saw earlier, consultants often acted as "circuit-riders," traveling from one organization or community to the next, running workshops and shaping the agendas for quarterly meetings. Likewise, information technology specialists were constantly on the road teaching, trouble-shooting, and setting up equipment for participants. Non-profit Communications kept in regular contact, searching for stories and materials that could educate both the CVP and the public as a whole. This steady networking helped keep all groups informed and in touch with each other.

Some member organizations played key roles in developing the collaborative. These included the Immigrant Legal Resource Center, the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, the Sacramento Valley Organizing Communities, the American Friends Service Committee, and the California Institute for Rural Studies. Aguirre International, for example, was initially hired to evaluate the CVP. Later, it shifted to providing technical assistance, running workshops on self evaluation and assisting the CVP in planning for its future.

The Pan Valley Institute, an AFSC-affiliate, played a particularly pivotal role in fostering collaboration. In addition to providing workshops for those in the Civic Action Network, it also brought labor unions, minority women and the ethnic media to CVP events and gatherings.

Networking

One of the main strengths of the Partnership was its ability to draw participants into a network and multiply their network power (Booher & Innes, 2002; Cross & Liedtka, 2005). Another strength was the Partnership's ability to foster continuous networking, so that groups remained in contact before, during and after each concerted action (Johnson & Johnson, 1997; Rudd & Colton, 2003).

As discussed earlier, networking occurred in many ways including: circuit riding, communication with technical assistants who had visited other groups, inter-member visiting, and victory celebrations such as those following the positive resolution of the 245i issue and the successful presentation by youth to the UC Regents regarding in-state UC tuition fees. Post victory gatherings, in fact, provided a great boost to the Partnership, a way of celebrating the value of working together.

Networking with outside groups also took place, again in a variety of ways. The Central Valley Partnership, for example, was invited in 2007 to organize a panel sharing its work at the Great Valley Center's annual conference. The panel was entitled "International to Local: How Immigrants from Around the World are Enriching the Valley's Culture." Panel participants were Central Valley immigrants from the Northwest Frontier Territory of Pakistan, Mixtec-speaking area of Oaxaca, Mexico, the Azore Islands, Liberia and Laos. All represented organizations that were part of the CVP's Civic Action Network.

Networking with immigrant rights groups throughout the state occurred at events such as Immigrant Day at the State Capitol and the Tamejavi Festival.
A youth driven and led statewide conference (London & Young, 2003) brought government entities into the network and highlighted critical issues faced by communities in the Central Valley.

The CVP was also invited to tell its story at conferences organized by Grant Makers Concerned about Immigrant and Refugee Rights, the Northwest Areas Foundation, Northern California Rural Funders, and the National Rural Funders Collaborative. These kinds of contacts helped Partner organizations identify new sources of funding and support. They also encouraged outside organizations to join the Partnership when feasible.

Tours of the Central Valley, organized by the CVP at the request of board or staff members of various foundations, universities and evaluators, also proved popular and helped publicize the innovative work being done by and through CVP. The decision to assist the CVP with Internet technology came from UC Berkeley's Center for the Information Society (BCIS), for example, after one such tour. Visitors from Seattle and Portland also came to the Central Valley in the hope of learning how they, too, might better meet the needs of their Pacific Northwest communities.

Different ways of collaborating

In keeping with the spirit and practice of the Central Valley Partnership, collaboration did not take a single form nor involve everyone in the Partnership at all times. As the following section shows, collaboration instead took a variety of forms from events involving all the Partners to initiatives led by one or two member organizations.

One group takes the lead

NCCIR, for example, organized Immigrant Days that brought immigrant communities from throughout California to the State Capitol in Sacramento. The rally at the capitol, followed by visits with legislators, showed participating Partners the advantages and strengths that come with collaborating with groups with similar concerns. The NCCIR also organized an Immigrant Summit that brought together indigenous groups from Mexico, refugees from Southeast Asia, and Spanish speaking

farm workers from Mexico and Central America. Those activities helped to expand network connections and increase access to joint funding.

One group connects people from inside and outside the Valley

The Pan Valley Institute, as we have seen, played a major role in organizing the Tamejavi festival, a collaborative effort involving partners in the CVP, select groups in the Citizen Action Network, and performing arts groups across the nation. Appalshop, a multidisciplinary art and education center in Whitesburg, Kentucky, Junebug Productions, an Afro-American storytelling group from New Orleans and a Puerto Rican playhouse in the Bronx, New York City, for example, added their own unique energies and talents to the festival. The inclusion of community performance groups from different parts of the country expanded Tamejavi's range and outreach. It also attracted the attention of major funders such as the Rockefeller Foundation, whose support was instrumental in the continuation of the Tamejavi festival through its fourth year.

A few CVP partners collaborate

The issue of immigrant rights, centered initially around the threat to provision 245i, first brought together those groups most intimately involved with immigrant workers: Sacramento Valley Organizing Communities, the Immigrant Legal Resource Center, the American Friends Service Committee's Proyecto Campesino, and California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation. Other Partners joined in to support specific activities (e.g., rallies, Immigrant Days).

Another example of collaboration involving a few partners was provided by ILRC, which ran workshops on immigration and naturalization issues with SVOC and CRLAF. ILRC also worked with Partners in the Fresno-Visalia area to place pressure on the Immigration and Naturalization Service there to be more responsive to the needs of immigrants. Having services available at more reasonable hours and at

locations accessible to people was a basic need because many could not afford to lose working hours to visit agencies that adhered to an 8-5 work schedule.

Collaboration involving half the Partners

The Immigrant Leadership Fellowship (ILF) program garnered support from the National Rural Funders Collaborative and The California Endowment. In the ILF program, CVP organizations identified potential leaders from immigrant communities in their areas and took them on as Fellows whom they mentored in community organizing. After a successful first year funded by the NRFC, the ILF was able to double the number of Fellows when the California Endowment joined the NRFC as a funder.

This new collaboration among funders and its ongoing association with the NFRC introduced the CVP to a still larger national network. A key advance came with the inclusion of the CVP in the NRFC's Assembly, which brought together rural collaboratives from all over the United States. In the process of sharing its own experiences, the CVP also learned what collaboratives in places such as Alaska, New Mexico and Appalachia were doing. Those connections led to constructive follow up activities. For example, the South Carolina Rural Coalition had focused its energies towards influencing state-level policy decisions that would impact the well-being of rural communities. The CVP invited the South Carolina group to present a workshop in California that would assist the CVP in promoting legislation that would have a similar positive impact on Central Valley communities.

Collaboration with others outside the partnership

Collaboration turned out to be an effective tool for keeping groups focused on particular issues. In the process it brought together some groups that historically had worked separately. Some groups, through their joint experiences in the CVP, have gone on to work together on projects not directly related to the CVP. PICO and the

Relational Culture Institute, for example, have collaborated on housing projects in Tulare County. Though both are members of the CVP their work in Tulare County has been separate from their work with the CVP.

In summary, what the CVP experience tells us about collaboration is that: (1) Collaboration need not involve 100% of member organizations; (2) Leadership for collaboration can be assumed by one Partner; (3) Collaboration can involve one, few, half or all member organizations; and (4) Partners may find it advantageous to work with organizations outside their normal realm of operations.

Mixing and Matching Strategies

Having a variety of organizations each with its own history, experiences and approaches, amplifies the possibilities for collaboration. One of the striking features of the Central Valley Partnership is the way in which it encouraged member organizations, with different backgrounds and skill levels, to "mix and match" their strategies. Instead of searching for the single best way to approach a particular issue, the Partnership encouraged people to learn from each other and each effort at collaboration. This was particularly evident in terms of the CVP's work on immigrant rights. Partners learned that success was not dependent on so-called powerful people pulling together but, rather, on ordinary people, even people hitherto "invisible" or scorned by the larger public, getting involved.

The Immigrant Day rallies organized by The Northern California Coalition on Immigrant Rights at the California State capitol clearly demonstrated this "strength in numbers." NCCIR brought immigrants to Sacramento who came from places as diverse as Russia, Mexico and Laos.

In the case of immigrant rights, collaboration involved the Immigrant Labor Resource Center, with its expertise and legal work, the Sacramento Valley Organizing Community, which has a very strong community organizing background through its

association with the Industrial Areas Foundation, and the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, with its experience in running workshops and naturalization clinics. But it also included the AFSC and O La Raza who organized farm workers to go to Congress to petition their representatives on behalf of immigrant workers.

Part of the preparation for those delegations can be traced to literacy classes run by El Colegio, in which illiterate immigrants from Mexico learned how to read and write through a method of teaching first developed by Paulo Freire. In the process of becoming literate, farm workers learned to read, write and discuss words like "Congress," ""immigrant rights," "petition," "demonstrate," etc. in keeping with Freire's philosophy of using literacy as a way to awaken people's political consciousness. These same farmers had also participated in Immigrant Day rallies and similar actions and thus were well prepared for their meetings in Washington, D.C.

Another example of mixing and matching strategies involved cross-generational gatherings where young people and adults came together to share their concerns about immigrant youths in the Central Valley. The CVP education committee worked with CAN members to create projects addressing issues such as joblessness, juvenile delinquency, gangs, discrimination and high drop-out rates. Youth in Focus took the lead in training youth to conduct community-based action research. Youth were also mentored by groups like CRLAF, Proyecto Campesino and Relational Culture Institute and given opportunities to present their findings to school boards, teachers and groups of parents. Other groups such as the ILRC, the San Joaquin Valley Coalition on Immigrant Rights and the American Friends Service Committee helped youth lobby the Regents of the University of California. As a result of their collaboration, the Regents changed their mind about charging out-of-state fees to immigrant students who had graduated from California schools. Through these activities a whole new generation of immigrants in the Central Valley gained a

tangible sense of their power to make a difference in the lives of their families and communities.

Planning for the Tamejavi Festival was yet another mix of people and organizations from across the spectrum and the country. Participants ranged from emerging grass roots groups and CVP organizations to directors of performance groups experienced in working with minorities and resource poor areas in different regions of the U.S. Organizers developed strong human relations and communication skills – not to mention patience - as they dealt with the shy and reticent, the famous and demanding. Lessons learned in the early years of the Partnership were applied here. Ground rules, for example, were established to ensure that everyone was listened to and treated with respect. Learning and building relationships, once again, were emphasized. This meant that the presence of experienced directors from outside of California, rather than being intimidating, was welcomed. The outside experts, in turn, were fascinated and impressed by the plays, dances, music and comedy routines performed by immigrants still adjusting to a new life in the Central Valley of California. Their collaboration produced a vibrant showcase for the cultural richness of the Central Valley and beyond, one that continues to this day.

Accomplishments of the Central Valley Partnership's collaborative strategies

The broad goal of the Central Valley Partnership was to move people living on the margins of society towards the mainstream, into a collaborative, multi-ethnic network that would improve their communities and help shape the future of the Central Valley. The Partnership, as we have seen, brought together an astonishing variety of immigrant and grassroots organizations throughout the Valley (.Figure 6.1) It secured support from universities, foundations, businesses and radio stations. It made politicians, state workers and ordinary citizens take notice. It made more visible the cultural wealth, diversity and dignity of immigrants, migrant and low-wage

workers and provided them with tools for increasing their social, economic and political capital. It laid bare the enormous contradictions of vast agricultural resources and immense human suffering.

FIGURE 6.1: CIVIC ACTION NETWORK

By themselves and in collaboration with each other, Partners took on numerous projects. They supported naturalization through workshops in the major cities of the Valley. They promoted civic participation through the Civic Action Network. They strengthened leadership through the Immigrant Leaders Fellowship program. They improved access to higher education through youth organizing programs. They built affordable housing in Dixon; improved public health and safety in Malaga; made local institutions more responsive in Stockton; strengthened communities through cultural events in Fresno; improved schools in Lost Hills and held immigrant rallies in Sacramento.

At its peak in 2003, the Partnership included twenty-two member organizations, each with its own programs for community development and action.

The Partners' programs served specific constituencies, including farm workers from Mexico; refugees from Laos and Cambodia; indigenous groups from Oaxaca; new immigrants from the Azores, Pakistan, India, Russia and Liberia; and low income workers in urban neighborhoods and rural enclaves.

Perhaps the most enduring outcome of the Central Valley Partnership's work is found in the words of one of its community organizers:

"Mainly what the CVP has done is connected people up with other people. It's less about the programs than about the connections that we don't even know how to trace. If you think about the fact that now Leonel Florez is running around the Valley with Mark Silverman on immigrant voter stuff, that is not even a program, how would we have traced that. So it's all these little things like Oralia and Sasha, a leadership fellow and Rosa from Si Sabe, who is a CAN grantee, they're all part of the participatory research project of Pan Valley Institute. It is all these connections of little things that are happening now that might not be formally but is now part of the leadership program continuing in its formal shape, or Tamejavi in it's formal shape It's all these little connections.

But it would mislead to end here. Collaboration does not come easily or all at once. It does not come without costs. Sometimes it does not come at all. The lessons learned from the Central Valley Partnership – both the accomplishments and failures – are the subject for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER 7

LESSONS FROM THE CVP EXPERIENCE

> You have an under resourced area, and an area that is full of talent, full of diversity. A place that feels the relative systemic injustice that is part of its daily life and a place which people self identify: "I live in the Central Valley. I am a Valley person. We may be poor, we may have problems, but this is a place to be reckoned with, this is a place to stay and build a family and build community here." There was a regional identity. With all of its diversity, there was a regional identity, and the fact that there weren't as many community organizations made it possible for those that were out there to work with one another more easily. The partnership in many ways was the extrusion of the potential that the valley simply has. That it is there, and ready to bloom and blossom. --Craig McGarvey

This final chapter reviews what we have learned from the Central Valley Partnership's experience in developing a collaborative, multi-ethnic network and how those lessons can contribute to community development theory and practice. Discussion will focus on the following:

(1) How the collaborative came about

(2) Lessons learned about recruiting and retaining members

(3) The role of funding

(4) What it takes for a large, collaborative, multi-ethnic network to become independent and sustainable

(5) How member organizations can deal with the inevitable challenges that accompany efforts of collaboration.

The chapter will conclude with a commentary on the accomplishments of the Partnership and the challenges it faces today.

How collaborative organizations come about

Collaborations come about in a variety of ways. Stimuli for collaboration can come from the outside as well as from internal initiatives. The CVP's response to the INS's abolition of the 245(i) provision was a reaction to an event that came from the outside. That reaction served as the catalyst for collaborative action.

This stimulus, in the form of an external threat, as we have seen, prompted partners within the CVP to take a series of actions to forestall the abolition of provision 245(i). The provision allowed families of immigrants, composed of some family members with legal documents as well as others without legal documents, to stay together. Another external threat which helped mobilize the CVP involved a ruling by the Regents of the University of California that children of immigrants without proper documentation would be treated as non residents of the State of California. This meant that academically qualified immigrant children finishing high school in California could attend the University of California only by paying the higher fees required of non residents. Given the low incomes of most immigrant families, such a requirement would have prevented even the brightest of immigrant children from enrolling in the University of California.

In contrast, other examples of work undertaken by the CVP were proactive in nature, with the impetus for collaboration generated from within the network or member organizations. These included the Immigrant Leadership Fellowship program, the Civic Action Network, and the Tamejavi Festival. Collaboration here occurred in a number of different way, with different member organizations taking the lead and a "mixing and matching" of organizing strategies taking place..

As the Partnership's collaborative efforts became known, a series of educational tours of CVP projects were undertaken. Presentations at various conferences also spread the word about the CVP's work. This generated more interest in the Partnership, including foundation support from such organizations as the National Rural Funders Collaborative, the Rockefeller Foundation, The California Endowment, and the Wellness Foundation.

In the case of the National Rural Funders Collaborative, support went beyond funding to linking the CVP to a broader national network of rural groups working in collaboration. This helped the CVP become familiar with strategies used by other groups outside California. Acquaintance with the South Carolina Rural Collaborative, for example, helped the CVP begin to understand how their future work could focus on influencing policy to improve the lives of people in the Central Valley.

Membership dynamics

Collaboration, as we have seen, took time. It required building relationships and trust. It emphasized learning from one another's experiences, even when those lessons were sometimes discouraging. For the first two years of the Partnership, member organizations came to quarterly meetings mainly out of obligation as recipients of funding from the James Irvine Foundation. One of the consultants explained how this affected the dynamics within the Partnership:

> It brought unlikely people together. They did not choose each other. In a lot of alliance building and organizing, people choose their partners. In the case of the CVP, Craig McGarvey, Irvine's program officer, chose the partners. To me that raises a challenge about building relationships that stick and those that won't. --CVP Consultant.

In the beginning groups seemed more concerned about jockeying for recognition than about searching for ways in which the Partners could start working

together on projects that would be of mutual benefit. Some organizations brought into the Partnership had to work around past animosity toward each other. Many grassroots nonprofit organizations have had to survive by raising money to support their activities from different resources, and so they often found themselves in competition with each other.

Mark Miller, a community organizer with much experience working in the Central Valley, describes the culture of scarcity in which these community groups existed:

> Part of the problem is that for non-profits in the Central Valley, it's a culture of scarcity, and you have to think first and foremost on the welfare of your own organization, whether it survives or not. Even in that kind of setting, if there is an excitement of working with other people, if it keeps you from viability because you are wasting energy instead of pulling your resources in and focusing on what you need to do; it's often hard to think collaboratively in a culture of scarcity. It's very hard. (Mark Miller Interview, 2004)

Such competition fueled much of the anxiety and animosity that groups held towards each other. Therefore the building of trust was an on-going challenge. People had to go beyond showing up and talking at the meetings, to taking real action, together, to get things done. This meant member organizations had to learn to listen and learn from one another, to respect each other's views and organizing strategies, even if they did not always share them.

It is instructive to recognize how the composition of the CVP changed over the years of its existence. Initially about half a dozen groups formed the core of the CVP. This grew to 22 member organizations at the Partnership's peak and included hundreds of smaller, grassroots affiliated groups via the Civic Action Network. Over this period, a few organizations severed their connection with the CVP. Others, like

SVOC and North Valley Community severed their commitment to work collaboratively together.

A solid core of Partners, however, stayed committed to the work of the Central Valley Partnership even when times got tough. Craig McGarvey, the program officer from the James Irvine Foundation was a key factor in keeping the group together: He had a clear vision and appreciation for the role of community organizing in the building of communities. In his words:

> "You only get democracy built as you get the community built. And community building happens when real people come together to build something. That is the model that permeates everything. Figure out what problems people want to solve, start from there, and if you can do that, then you can provide them with some support, so that they can come together and work on problems they have identified together, that they share. And they can make plans and implement those plans. They can be encouraged to develop human working relationships with people they might have never met, people from different backgrounds. That kind of community organizing and popular education approach is the only thing that really builds community. That works at the individual level, bringing in individuals for different projects. And it works at the institutional level. That was the motivating force the partnership was built on. Get in a relationship with them by giving them a grant, and then encourage them to get into relationships with one another around the problems they identify." (Interview with Craig McGarvey. 2004)

Many of the membership issues faced by the Central Valley Partnership have been documented with regard to other collaborative efforts (Gray, 1991; Helling, 1998; Skocpol, 1997; White & Wehlage, 1995). Recruitment of new organizations

into the CVP, for example, represented both an opportunity and challenge, not always in equal measure. Communications consultant Erica Kohl recalls the CVP's recruitment strategies as being very dependent on Craig McGarvey's influence:

> Craig was looking for groups that could complement each other. And groups that had a solid commitment to community organizing. He wasn't interested in service providers; he was interested in people who would move people into action. He wanted a team with complementary skills, legal skills, advocacy skills, organizing skills, research skills. (Interview Erica Kohl 2004)

As a result, Partners came into the CVP in many different ways. Some individuals became known to the CVP by participation in a committee or by appearing as a guest speaker. Youth in Focus director Jonathan London, for example, was invited to take part as a consultant to the education committee of the CVP. The Fresno Leadership Foundation joined the CVP after their founder spoke at one of the quarterly meetings. One member organization was created specifically for the CVP: the American Friends Service Committee opened the office of the Pan Valley Institute in anticipation of all the work that would be needed as the CVP reached out to emerging immigrant organizations.

The San Joaquin Valley Coalition for Immigrant Rights revolved around the work initiated by Leonel Flores whose work caught the attention of McGarvey. As Kohl noted:

> The addition of organizations to the CVP was more a prerogative of the program officer rather than arising from a discussion among the partners in the CVP. In a sense the Irvine Foundation was a gatekeeper of the membership. Surprisingly, no objections or questions were raised about that method of increasing the size of the CVP (Erica Kohl, 2004 Interview)

While this type of recruitment strategy kept the Partnership growing in dynamic, creative ways, it also masked problems related to territoriality and dependence. Many of the Partners had a history of competing with each other in the past for recognition, funding and territory. Differences in approaches and ideologies had often created contentious relationships, some of them leaving scars and wounds that have never fully healed. Because of the funding provided by the James Irvine Foundation, some of these conflicting relationships were "papered over" and appeared to have been put to rest until issues arose bringing the old animosities back to the surface. Battles would then be waged around who supported a network of farm workers and whether or when to mount a strategy of confrontation.

Sometimes collaboration was stalled or compromised because of conflicts among personalities. Mark Miller of the American Friends Service gave this advice to foundations seeking to fund collaborative work:

> This is for foundations…an effort of this kind in a region like the Central Valley requires a very long term commitment. The notion that a group like the CVP is going to become autonomous or independent or self-sustaining is not realistic. If a foundation wants to make a real difference in the region, they have to stick with it in the long haul - seeing it through the down times as well as the up times. Before you allocate those resources for the long time, you want to make sure that those who you are investing in have real affinity for each other and are really going to work together, and the best test of that is history. (Interview, 2004)

Today, sadly, the questions about membership in the Central Valley Partnership have less to do with what organizations to invite into the Partnership, than what organizations need to be asked to leave. In the past, each member organization was responsible for submitting a proposal every two years for review by the James

Irvine Foundation. As long as a member got renewed funding, no questions or objections were raised regarding membership in the CVP. However, with the Partnership now responsible for securing its own funding, such questions take on greater importance.

The role of funding

The Central Valley Partnership's organizing efforts and accomplishments would have been largely impossible were it not for the abundance of financial support from foundations, especially the James Irvine Foundation. The grants from the James Irvine Foundation to individual Partners were not only instrumental in building the Partnership, but in numerous cases were critical to a specific organization's survival. The long-term investment the Foundation made in the Partnership was rare and invaluable. Instead of the usual two to three-year grant cycle, support was viewed as a long-term investment:

> We [the James Irvine Foundation] wanted to invest in the Central Valley for a long period of time. We said a "decade." But the grants would only go out two years at a time. This gave the foundation some leverage and we encouraged the organizations to share proposals with one another - to look for opportunities for synergy and collaborative efforts and to write those goals and ideas into their proposals. (Craig McGarvey Interview)

Such generous, long-term funding provided the Central Valley Partnership with the flexibility and freedom it needed to engage in creative, collaborative community development work. Hundreds of newly emerging grassroots groups were brought into being that otherwise would have quickly withered or gone unnoticed. But the James Irvine Foundation's investment of money, time and energy had a shadow side. It created from the onset a dependency relationship which kept the

Partnership from taking actions that would have led to greater independence and sustainability

Today the Central Valley Partnership, despite its many accomplishments, is in a "holding pattern". It has not been able to translate its successes into a viable organizational base for lasting impact and change. Even though anticipated, the loss of funding from the James Irvine and other foundations came as a terrible blow. It also came more suddenly than expected due to the bust of dot.com companies and the impact on philanthropic foundations' revenue. Events of 9/11 also had a dramatic effect, souring foundations' interest in immigration and causing changes in priorities and directions.

The James Irvine Foundation, for example, in 2003 shifted its attention away from civic engagement programs, which led to the demise of support for the CVP and to the dismissal of Craig McGarvey, the program officer who had been so responsible for getting the Partnership started. Even the 2001 awarding of one of the foundation world's top honors, named for Charles Scrivener, for innovative and creative leadership, was not enough to protect him.

Becoming independent and sustainable

When the Irvine Foundation funding ceased, the CVP had neither a staff nor 501(c)3 status. It had existed as an *ad hoc* group held together by a commitment to a common cause, namely: to improve the lives and communities of immigrants and other low-wage workers in the Central Valley. It was aided by an equally committed group of consultants and technicians, and sustained by generous monetary and staff support from the James Irvine Foundation. But it was not until its seventh year that the CVP began a serious consideration of the steps it would need to take to become an independent, sustainable collaborative in its own right.

As it undertook this work, some obvious needs emerged: new, more diverse funding sources, non-profit or 501c3 status, staff, a board of directors, offices, computer and communications equipment, a website manager and technical support. In short, what was needed was most of the organizational structure – or its equivalent - that the CVP had been depending upon for the last seven years. Identifying this long laundry list of needs, while continuing its organizing work as individual organizations and as a collaborative, with very little income, understandably led to a period of stress, conflict, withdrawal and transition.

By 2004 the Partnership had succeeded in attracting some new sources of financial support, had begun the Immigrant Leaders Fellowship program and hired a CVP Coordinator, Noe Paramo. Actually, Paramo was CVP coordinator half time, with the other half of his time devoted to running the Immigrant Fellowship program. One of his first tasks became to work with the Partnership to get it established as a non-profit, 501 c3 organization. Other tasks included: recruiting people to serve on the CVP's Board of Directors; developing a strategic plan; and identifying new sources of funding. The shock of no longer having the freedom and flexibility to focus solely on its organizing work and projects was considerable. But such works was necessary if the Partnership was to become more sophisticated and adaptive (Healey, 1998) and increase its institutional capacity to respond to the changing nature of politics and money in the Central Valley.

In retrospect, some key questions have emerged regarding the relationship between the Central Valley Partnership and the James Irvine Foundation, namely:

- What were the factors that led to the eventual and current reduction in organizational capacity of an initiative with such high levels of human, social, and financial capital at the outset?

- What lessons – both positive and negative -- does the CVP have for other collaboratives and for funders who wish to support them?
- How can distinguishing between the nature, roles, resources, and governance of collaborative partnerships versus formal "collaboratives" help us understand the experience of the CVP and provide lessons for future efforts? (London, Fujimoto, & Richardson, 2007)

Addressing these questions can be helped by framing the narrative of the CVP as a transition between "states" of resource mobilization using the following 2x2 cell model (see Fig. 7.1). This model presents four possible combinations based on high or low external investments (foundation funding and technical support) and high or low internal investments (partner organizations' staff, expertise, funding).

The Partnership began its life in quadrant II (high external investments/ low internal investments) with an initial infusion of foundation funding. This stimulated a strong collective response by funded organizations, shifting the CVP into quadrant IV (high external investments/ high internal investments). Then, with the loss of its core funding, the CVP shifted to quadrant III (low external investments/ high internal investments). Finally, the combination of using up most of its remaining JIF grant support and partnership fatigue resulted in a shift to quadrant I (low external investments/ low internal investments), even though the Partnership was able to sustain itself at a relatively strong level of function for several years in this state.

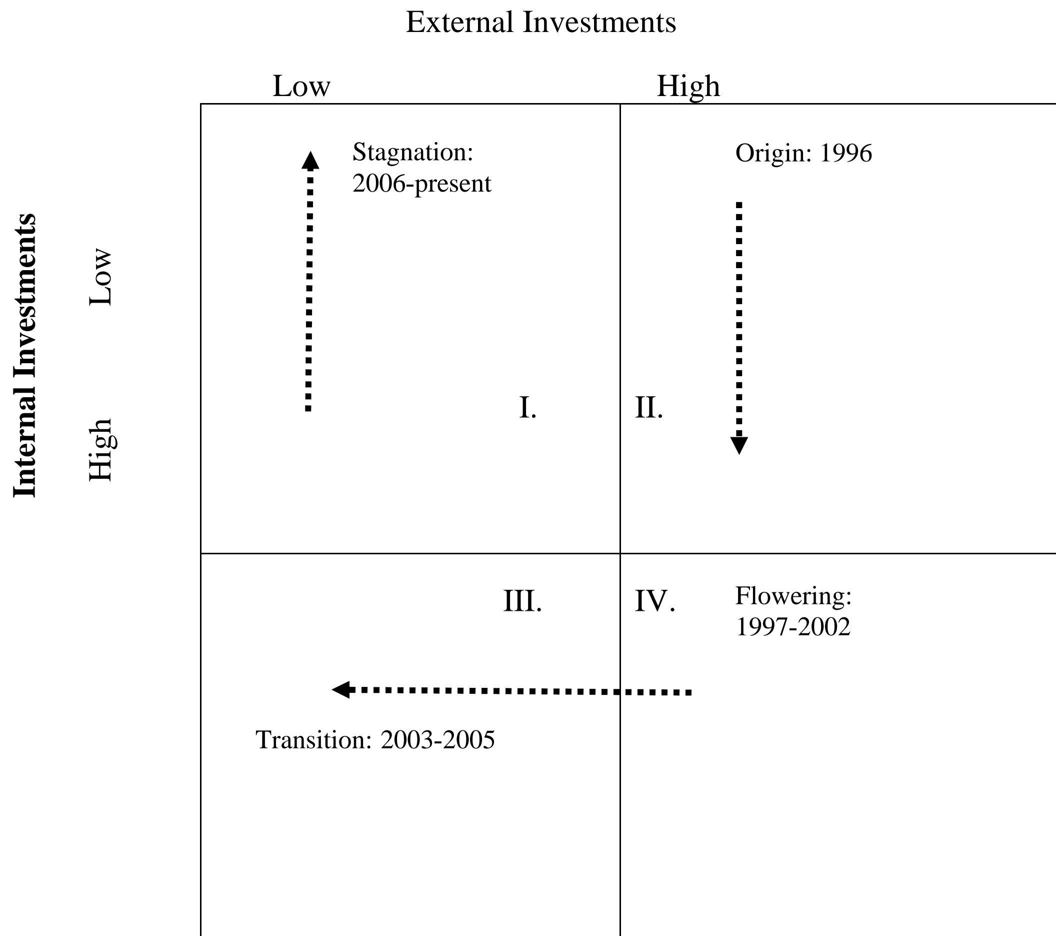

**FIGURE 7.1: CVP's INVESTMENT TRAJECTORY **

Paying attention to these state-shifts in the amount and kind of resources available to the Partnership at different moments in its history is critical for understanding its internal aims and mode of organization and its potential and actual collaborative impact at those moments. Equally important, however, have been the impact of the abrupt change in resources available and the struggle of the Partnership to devise new and appropriate collaborative structures to adapt to these changed resource levels. The dynamic and inclusive organizational structure that made possible and birthed several successful and ongoing collaborative programmatic successes that remain CVP's legacy to this day was functional at a high level of external funding. It

became dysfunctional at a low level of external funding when the cost of collaboration outweighed the benefits.

Two, seemingly paradoxical lessons might be drawn from this account of CVP's limitations and current transitional state (1) Diverse, inclusive and effective grassroots collaborations for social change require funding commitments that are deep and long, especially in resource-poor regions with limited organizational capacity. However, (2) If an independent/ free-standing collaborative is the ultimate goal of such broad-based efforts, then skills and time must be spent at the outset in defining mission, structure, governance and funding priorities for the collaborative itself. This need may, in turn, work against the broad diversity and inclusiveness which first characterized the partnership.

With such analysis, the current holding pattern of the CVP can be understood not as the fault of any one entity, i.e., either its funders or its members. But, rather, as a failure to reframe the original aim and design of a loosely constructed, highly innovative network so that it could become a more formal, self-governing, self-sustaining collaborative with a distinctive role and mission over and above those of its constituent members.

The challenges of collaboration

The implications and results of CVP's inability to sustain a diverse, high-level of collaborative activities when faced with a shrinking funding base can be charted in terms of the "assets" the Partnership enjoyed by virtue of its generous funding source and the hidden and, in many cases inevitable, challenges it would face once it had to replace those externally-provided assets with assets specific to the member organizations themselves. Table 7.1 summarizes those assets and the challenges they masked. The CVP's external funding, as we have seen, was critical for maintaining its programmatic objectives and sustaining its loose/flexible organizational structure. Yet

that very funding or external asset proved costly in terms of the Partnership's institutional development.

TABLE 7.1: IMPACT OF HIGH AND LOW RESOURCE ENVIRONMENTS ON ACTIVIST ORGANIZATIONS

Asset in high resource environment	Challenges	Manifestations in low resource environment
Strong champion for generous and flexible foundation funding	Dependency on outside resources Vulnerable to foundation staff changes	Delayed moves towards organizational independence Lack of orientation to securing diversity of funding sources
Strong technical assistance team	Reliance on TA providers to "do" versus to "teach to do"	Limited lasting partnership and member organization staff capacity
Diverse set of collaborative partners	Challenge of building and maintaining "deep" collaboration	Falling away of lower-resource organizations Competition between CVP and its higher-capacity partner organizations
Value on collaboration and inclusion	Expanded those at the table but not the size of the "pie" Mechanisms for selection and for learning from experiences (including failures) weak.	Stagnation due to difficulty in making hard decisions on strategy Difficulty in defining collective and distinctive role and activities of CVP greater than the sum of its parts

Limits to collaboration and inclusion

Given the diversity of its membership, the CVP benefited from a culture that valued collaboration, inclusion, and empowerment of all if its members. In its original high-resource state, this was clearly an asset as it promoted a broad outreach (exemplified through the 149 grassroots organizations engaged through the Civic Action Network) and a group process based on consensus in which everyone had their opinion heard and incorporated. This inclusive model also resulted in an expansion of the numbers of Partners over time.

However, the increased size and scope of the Partnership was not matched by the development of an internal governance structure and operational system needed to lead and manage the CVP once it was on its own. In particular, the CVP struggled with its post-transition governance, becoming bogged down in a process of organizational development "catch up" that was slow and frustrating to members because of a structure that was not suited for quick or difficult decisions. An investment in organization building (principally creating a 501c3 and a new strategy in line with its new level of resources) was necessary but it pulled the Partnership away from the innovative, action-oriented projects that earlier had made them so appealing to other funders.

In its seminal stages, the CVP showed a fierce commitment to allowing Partners to do what they did best. It intentionally encouraged "mix and match" strategies and did not force members into any kind of super-organizational frame. While this optimized learning and creativity, in the long run it did not lend itself to more clearly defining the role and value of the Central Valley Partnership as a whole, as a force larger than its parts..

Indeed, the CVP's unwavering commitment to a very broad inclusion of partners produced a stagnancy that excluded many of the lower-resource funding organizations and prompted many of the higher-capacity funding organizations to shift their investments of time, energy and money to individual efforts or even other coalitions. Ironically, in the CVP's current state of reduced activity, it is largely the three founding members of the Partnership who have the means to remain active in the collaborative: the Immigrant Legal Resource Center, American Friends Service Committee, and the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation.

Considerations regarding funding support

Viewed as a vital experiment in grassroots mobilization that linked diverse partners over a vast and varied regional landscape for over a decade and spawned numerous lasting spin-offs, the Central Valley Partnership is clearly a powerful success. Even at its current reduced capacity and level of activity, the CVP does important and necessary work. Moreover, there is hope for rebirth if a new and more appropriate organizational structure can be developed.

The experience of the Central Valley Partnership and the James Irvine Foundation does not mean that foundations should stop or avoid funding grassroots collaboratives. The lessons learned, even when painful or unintended, have been valuable. What has become clear is that:

- Early and significant support should be given for planning, as well as clarification of the collaborative mission and respective roles of collaborative partners. Such support could be in addition to (or perhaps instead of) providing early funding for core support of individual organizations or emerging collaborative activities.
- Clarification of mission should center on the question of intention of impact vs. sustainability of the collaboration itself, that is, whether the

goals include the creation of a lasting collaborative with its own mission, role and level of sustainability or one limited to supporting new and innovative collaborations among organizational partners. If the former, strong focus on self-governance, diversification of funding, and organizational development is critical from the outset. If the latter, a more organic approach may be appropriate, one in which a fading away of the formal partnership is not a "finale" but rather part of the process.

- Collaborations involving low-resource organizations in low-resource regions, if they are to be sustainable, require sufficient and sufficiently long-term investments of capital to ensure internal growth and development of members, internal governance and diversification of funding.
- An overabundance of external resources invested early in the collaboration, especially in a resource-scarce environment and in the absence of efforts towards self-governance and funding diversification, may create unwanted financial dependency and also delay and inhibit the necessary process of refining internal mission and structure.
- Early technical assistance should focus on capacity-building of collaborative partners and the collaboration itself, including capacity for raising other funds, rather than only on acting for internal partners or on behalf of the funding sponsor(s).
- Technical assistance must balance addressing immediate needs with building lasting capacity within the organizations. The development of an explicit capacity-building strategy, with goals and actions for each organization and for the collaborative as a whole, can help ensure this long-term learning approach.

- Although diversity and inclusiveness are essential values for on-the-ground collaboration, they should be balanced with the capacity and willingness of collaborative partners to define a common mission and a distinctive set of activities/outcomes that all will embrace over and apart from their individual missions and core activities.

In the end, these lessons may be distilled to one essential premise for collaboration as it relates to funding: alignment between resources and organizational structures and strategies is critical and must be adjusted as circumstances change, which requires resilience. This implies, of course, that these adjustments require mutual and long-term commitments of funders and practitioners alike. For practitioners, the experience of the CVP calls for strong and early internal investments in the development of a common vision, an explicit rationale for collaboration, and context-appropriate self-governing principles and structures. For funders, the CVP's experience calls for external investments in technical assistance that promotes such self-governance and sustainability from the early stages. Such practices would help reduce the likelihood of dependency and increase the self-empowerment of the collaborative members.

The desired and dynamic outcome of such an approach can be visualized in Figure 7.2, with an organization moving ,for example, from its origin in quadrant III (high internal/ low external investments) towards quadrant IV (high internal/ high external investments). When foundation funding is reduced, the self-empowered governance processes and structures of the collaborative will be more likely to weather such downturns and to seek alternative support based on their unique values (continually returning to quadrant IV.)

The dynamic quality of this model emphasizes that neither external circumstances nor the internal dynamics of a collaborative are stable or linear.

Sustainability must therefore be sought not in stability, but in resilience, and such resilience must be developed and sustained through the kinds of relationship-building and trust discussed earlier.

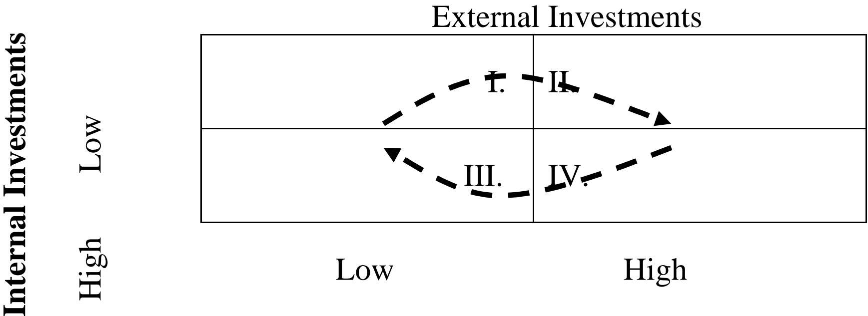

FIGURE 7.2: DESIRED RESOURCE TRAJECTORY

By supporting a pro-active approach to building sustainability and resilience - instead of the reactive and crisis-driven scenario the CVP faced in its after the loss of its original funding - foundations and collaborations can engage in a more co-equal partnership. Such partnerships could in turn support a more sustainable prospect for grassroots mobilization on a regional scale. In their analysis of the constructive failures of the Hewlett Foundation's Neighborhood Improvement Initiative, Brown and Liester (2007) reached a similar conclusion, stating clearly:

> "Foundations that intentionally develop and maintain such relationships characterized by mutuality, respect, clarity about the goals and risks, agreement on strategies and timeline, flexibility to make adjustments along the way, transparency, honesty, and constructive dialogue—gain a durable tool they can use to generate knowledge as well as meet community change goals. Unless these relationships are in place, the best technical assistance tool or the most generous amount of funding cannot produce its desired impact, especially over

the long run."

Paradoxically, by trading off some of the core organizational support for CVP members for greater collective identity and action, the Partnership might have been able to build on its most powerful and innovative collaborations such as the Tamejavi Festival, ESPINO, the Civic Action Network, and the Immigrant Leaders Fellowship Program and still achieved a more lasting institutional vitality.

The CVP and community building

> True community building is changing culture, cultural change. It involves changes in hearts, minds, and relationships. That's what social justice work is. That's what community work is; that's what democracy work is. And that only can happen through organizing, getting people to work together with one another on projects. And its not a matter of being able to provide the best services to people that is going to change the culture. It's not a matter of getting the best policy changes that is going to change the culture. It's a bit of a provocative statement, but it is definitely the lesson I learned from the people in the Valley. To me positive policy change is not the cause of cultural change, it's the result. And positive service delivery change is not the cause of cultural change, it's the result. Building relationships is the heart of cultural change and it's the heart of positive movements for just democracies.
>
> – Craig McGarvey, Irvine Foundation Program Manager for the CVP

While the Central Valley Partnership is, admittedly, at a crossroads, there is no denying that it has had a tremendous impact on changing lives and communities in the Central Valley and beyond. The relationships that were formed and nurtured by the Partnership continue to this day, albeit in different forms. People and organizations

know each other in ways that would otherwise never existed. They have danced and protested, told stories and shared meals , celebrated and mourned together. In the process, they learned they were not alone, that together they could make a difference in the lives of their families and communities and on the region as a whole.

The CVP's collaborative activities have heightened the value and merits of a regional approach to community development. Just as many of the issues facing people and communities in the Central Valley, ranging from pesticide drift to poverty , cut across political boundaries, solutions require a multilocal focus for community development to work. Projects undertaken by the CVP demonstrated that a regional approach went beyond geography enabling collaboration among groups not only from different towns and counties but those who shared different languages, cultures, organizing strategies and interests.

While the Central Valley remains a region of extreme wealth and poverty, those who live on its margins are no longer invisible and have gained a sense of their own power. Although the Central Valley Partnership may not survive as a single, enduring formal collaborative per se, its work, mission, founding values, and spin-offs will continue to have profound impacts within the Central Valley and beyond, in the world of immigrant communities and funders, and, hopefully, within the field of community development as well.

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