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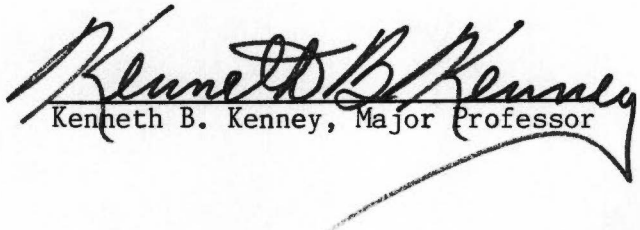
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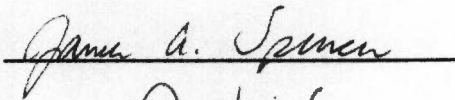
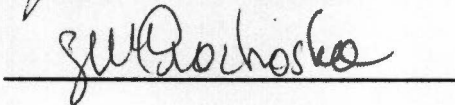
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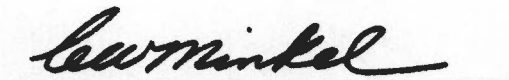
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June 1987

A PROPOSAL TO FOSTER
CIVIC LEADERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION
IN KNOXVILLE

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science in Planning
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Madeline A. Rogero

June 1987

To my children, Carmen Rogero Pitt
and Damian Rogero Pitt, for your
encouragement, love, and
sense of humor.

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Finally, I extend my appreciation to all those who participated in the research. Valuable information and opinions were provided by the staff of the citizen organizations and leaders in the communities which were studied and, most importantly, by leaders and citizens of Knoxville.

ABSTRACT

The ineffectiveness of leadership and a low level of citizen participation in public affairs in Knoxville prompted this study. Research showed that Knoxville's leaders are dissatisfied with their own ineffectiveness and there are few opportunities for citizens to participate in the decision-making process for major community issues.

Based on a contemporary theory of leadership, this thesis suggests that the ineffectiveness of leadership reflects an ineffectiveness of followership. Leaders and citizens must engage in an interactive process in order to achieve a mutual empowerment and to build a tradition of civic leadership. This thesis proposes that such an interactive process could be achieved in Knoxville by the creation of a citizen organization which offers a comprehensive, consensus-building approach to finding solutions to community problems.

A model for a Knoxville citizen organization is developed which describes goals, structure and organization, program and activities, and steps for implementation. It is modeled after three successful citizen organizations which are examined in the thesis: the Citizens League of the Twin Cities area, Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee, and Chattanooga Venture.

The thesis describes several factors currently existing in Knoxville which support the feasibility of a citizen organization. It concludes that the success of a Knoxville citizen organization depends upon a strong commitment of resources from a core group of initiators and the recruitment of an active broad-based membership.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Purpose of the Study	2
	Significance of the Study.	3
	Statement of the Problem	6
	Definitions and Delimitations.	6
II.	LITERATURE REVIEW.	8
	Leadership	8
	Followership	13
	Citizen Participation.	15
III.	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	21
IV.	RESEARCH FINDINGS.	25
	The Citizens League.	25
	Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee.	40
	Chattanooga Venture.	48
	Knoxville: A Situation Assessment.	58
V.	SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS.	74
	Summary.	74
	Recommendations: A Model for a Knoxville Citizen Organization.	76
	LIST OF REFERENCES.	86
	VITA.	95

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The concepts of civic leadership and participation are crucial elements of democratic theory. According to one theorist, a central thread of American constitutional development has been the evolution of a political system in which all active and legitimate groups in the population can make themselves heard at some crucial stage in the process of decision-making (Dahl 1956:137). However, in practice the amount of participatory activity that occurs is alarmingly small and the leadership that emerges is often narrowly-based and inadequate to address the needs of the community.

The National Association of Community Leadership Organizations (NACLO) suggests that Americans send confusing messages to public officials and potential public leaders:

Americans love our system of government, yet lack trust in those who serve in government. We want strong, independent, uncompromising leaders able to rise above petty political bickering, but we want the action that often necessitates the very compromising that we disdain. We thirst for effective leadership, but we are ambivalent about power and ambition. (NACLO 1984:6)

Faced with the need to allocate scarce resources, but without the groundswell of popular sacrifice found during World War II and the Depression, leaders who do emerge are often chewed up by the media, interest group politics, or bureaucratic infighting (NACLO 1984:7).

NACLO offers a democratic theory of leadership in which the "great leader as savior" approach is replaced with a broader conception of leadership in which there are many kinds of leaders

other than just political and business; leading is done by teams requiring the talents of more than a single individual; and a strong network of leaders is developed at all levels and in all sectors of society.,

Is it possible, NACLO questions, that we have a crisis of leadership because we have one of followership? Can we have good leaders without good citizens? NACLO suggests a highly interactive view of leadership and participation in which the health of a democratic society is measured by the quality of the ongoing interaction between leaders and an informed and supportive citizenry. Leaders might empower themselves by engaging citizens in democratic conversation, helping to identify the ethical, political, and long-range implications of policy actions rather than tying them in technical and rhetorical knots.

This is a unique approach to empowerment. In this author's experience, empowerment is a goal of social-change groups and is viewed primarily as a zero-sum game in which there is X amount of power. What power is gained by the citizens is lost by the public or corporate leaders. NACLO is suggesting that a mutual empowerment might emerge from an interactive process between leaders and citizens.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the potential for an interactive process in Knoxville and to develop a proposal aimed at

broadening the base and improving the quality of leadership, and increasing the level and quality of citizen participation. r

· This research will look specifically at the development of a civic organization in which citizens can participate in community decision-making and from which new leaders will emerge. · The organization will be a comprehensive, consensus-building approach to studying and finding solutions to community problems.

Many communities throughout the country have created civic organizations with these goals of building consensus on community issues and developing new leaders. The Citizens League of the Twin Cities area, Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee, and Chattanooga Venture are three examples. This research will look at the experiences of those organizations in order to develop a hybrid model for Knoxville.

· This proposal will be specific and practical. Recommendations for the model will include goals, structure and organization (board, staff, budget, funding), program and activities, and implementation.

2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

· The need for this study of leadership and citizen participation in Knoxville evolved from a graduate research project which this author was associated with from July 1985 to April 1986. · In addition, the issues and problems discussed in this study have been evident to this author as a resident of Knoxville for the past six years and as a member of neighborhood and community organizations.

The graduate research project, sponsored by the Knoxville-based 13-30 Corporation (now named Whittle Communications) and prepared for the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, developed a strategic plan for promoting economic development in the Knoxville area. During four discussion groups and personal interviews with political, business, and community leaders, "leadership" was consistently identified as a major weakness affecting economic growth in Knoxville. "Ineffective", "not broad-based--same people on all the appointed Boards", "constant bickering among political leadership" were some of the descriptions of Knoxville's leadership (Knoxville leaders, interview 1985). Part of this author's assignment with the research team was to study the leadership problem and to develop a plan to address the issue. The research and strategies developed for that assignment are incorporated into and expanded upon in this thesis.

A similar dissatisfaction with Knoxville leadership and its effect on citizen participation was addressed almost ten years earlier in a Knoxville News-Sentinel editorial (1977) entitled "What the Voters Said." According to the editor, an 18% voter turnout for a local election reflected the continuing dissatisfaction with the caliber of representation on the council and school board:

Knoxvillians share the growing cynicism about government. Many believe it makes little difference who is elected. The end results will be the same -- mediocre leadership, political expediency put ahead of total community needs, and further gouging of the already strapped taxpayer.

Knoxvillians are fed up with petty politics, shortsighted solutions and timid handling of major issues. They are tired of their chosen representatives buckling under political pressures to satisfy the wishes of a vocal few at the expense of the total

community. They are tired of wishy-washy, head-in-the-sand treatment of problems.

The editor believed that the low turn-out for the election sent a message from the public that there was a demand for bold, responsible leadership.

The gap in understanding and cooperation among citizens and leaders has been evident to this author who has been involved in various community organizations and issues. Many people who are active in community or neighborhood issues often do not understand the process that public officials must follow in areas such as zoning, school closings, and public transit planning. There is a mistrust between neighborhoods and city hall and even among neighborhoods themselves. There are few opportunities for political and citizenship education and few formal vehicles for broad-based citizen input. Major issues are studied by small, select groups (e.g., the Mayor's Task Force on School Reform and Knoxville Tomorrow, Inc.). As a result, when proposals are made they often lack widespread citizen support resulting in a hesitancy on the part of politicians to finance or implement the proposals.

This study resulted from a desire to find solutions to these problems and to foster broad-based civic leadership and participation in Knoxville. There appears to be widespread acknowledgment of the problem but there are few proposals or comprehensive efforts which attempt to address the issues.

3. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The fundamental research question which this thesis addresses is: How can broad-based civic leadership and participation be fostered in Knoxville?

In order to answer this question, six subsidiary questions are addressed:

1. What are the theoretical and practical values derived from promoting civic leadership and participation?
2. What efforts have been made in other selected cities to foster civic leadership and participation?
3. What is the current level and quality of civic leadership and participation in Knoxville?
4. What is Knoxville's recent history regarding efforts to promote civic leadership and participation?
5. What current efforts are being made to foster civic leadership and participation?
6. What specific, practical recommendations can be made for developing the model for a civic organization with the goal of fostering civic leadership and participation?

4. DEFINITIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

The study will focus on civic participation and leadership at the local level. Issues of participation and leadership at the state and national levels will not be discussed. The local level is defined as

issues in Knoxville and Knox County although for the purpose of brevity the text will refer to simply Knoxville.

The terms "leadership" and "citizen participation" are used extensively in practice as well as in the literature with varying shades of meaning and little consensus on their definitions. It is not the purpose of this study to develop new theories of leadership and participation nor to debate the essential qualities of each, although a sampling of opinions are presented in the introduction and literature review. In this study, leadership refers to the individuals who are involved in political and community issues in formal and informal ways, and have a major influence in determining public policy and in establishing the direction of the community.

Citizen participation refers to, quite simply, the participation in decision-making roles in civic affairs by citizens of the community. Citizen participation is considered crucial for the attainment of democratic ideals. It is also a purposive activity in which participatory mechanisms such as voting, public hearings, and advisory boards produce a desired impact—improved public services, better schools, and more responsive leadership and public officials (Kweit & Kweit 1981).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. LEADERSHIP

The concept of leadership has been widely studied and various theories have been proposed, yet no single theory has received dominant acceptance (Rosenbach & Taylor 1984:xiii). Some theorists, seeking a logical explanation, try to force leadership into rational empirical models. Others forsake empirical models for an intuitive approach which stresses the qualities of individual leaders and their unique situations (Rosenbach & Taylor 1984:xii).

The "great man" theory credits certain charismatic leaders with changing the course of history because of their own superior qualities of personality and character. (Burns 1978:51, NACLO 1984:4). The chief rival to the "great man" theory is the "situational" approach which suggests that time, place, and circumstances create environments for leaders to emerge (NACLO 1984:4). A perhaps more realistic perspective recognizes that leadership is the result of an interaction of a number of key ingredients: societal context, historical period, participants in the situation, tasks to be accomplished, and personalities of the leaders and followers (Rosenbach & Taylor 1984:vii).

Burns (1978:4,20) describes two kinds of leadership: transactional and transforming. Transactional leadership represents the bulk of relationships among leaders and followers, in which

leaders and followers exchange one thing for another, i.e., jobs for votes and special favors for campaign contributions. Transforming leadership is a dynamic leadership which recognizes and seeks to satisfy higher needs of followers. This results in a mutual stimulation which encourages followers to become more active, thereby creating new ranks of leaders. Another result, which Burns calls "moral leadership", produces social change that will truly satisfy the fundamental wants and needs, aspirations, and values of the followers.

A newer branch of leadership theory describes leadership in terms of management theory. Two recent books, In Search of Excellence (Peters & Waterman 1982) and A Passion for Excellence: The Leadership Difference (Peters & Austin 1985), have popularized this concept. The latter claims "a 'back to basics' revolution" is brewing in American corporate management in which the importance of the old management techniques, devices, and programs is being superseded by a commitment to people--the workers who produce and the people who consume the products--the goal of which is sustainable growth and equity (p. xvii). Further, they suggest that the concept of leadership is so crucial to this revolution that the terms "managing" and "management" should be discarded.

"Management," with its attendant images -- cop, referee, devil's advocate, dispassionate analyst, naysayer, pronouncer -- connotes controlling and arranging and demeaning and reducing. "Leadership" connotes unleashing energy, building, freeing, and growing. As Warren Bennis, a major figure in the current rethinking process, says, "American organizations have been overmanaged and underled." Yet the revolution is on . . . a clear result of inspired management (which is another way of saying leadership). (Peters & Austin 1985:xvii-xviii)

Leadership is, therefore, equated to inspired corporate management. The next step has been to define civic leadership in terms of corporate management/ leadership theory. This presents several problems on the local civic level. First it assumes that this management "revolution" has actually taken place in the hearts and minds of corporate managers/leaders across the nation. This author believes that it is more a revolution of words and ideas in an inspirational treatise, rather than a widespread change in management practices. Second, it encourages the belief that what communities need are more active corporate managers/leaders rather than civic leaders from all walks of life.

This thesis rejects a theory of leadership which is synonymous with management theory. It contends that corporate management/ leadership is not by definition nor purpose the same as civic leadership. The role and actions of corporate managers/leaders and civic leaders are distinctly different in terms of internal and external constraints, goals, and ultimate accountability. To manage is to direct and control. To lead is to inspire and guide. The corporate manager is ultimately concerned with efficiency and production in a cost/benefit framework, with a profit-making bottomline. Civic leaders must often forsake efficiency and speed for the achievement of democratic values of citizen representation and equity. Efficiency is a worthwhile civic goal, but it cannot be achieved at the expense of democratic values and rights. Although corporate managers/leaders can also be civic leaders, all civic

leaders should not be corporate leaders. Civic leadership must be drawn from other sectors of the community as well.

Communities should reject a preoccupation with corporate leaders and broaden their civic leadership to include people with various backgrounds and skills, including teachers/educators, social workers, homemakers, blue collar shift workers, retirees, youth, small business owners and professionals such as planners, architects, lawyers, and doctors. Gardner (1984: 320) suggests that there are many different ways of leading and many kinds of leaders. Many functions must be performed in an organization or society and a particular leader may contribute at only one point to this process. Berger (1983:252) identifies eight of the many community leadership roles which can be undertaken by either the public or private sector:

1. Seer: recognizes the need.
2. Visionary: has the idea that promises to remedy the problem or capture the opportunity.
3. Initiator: communicates the idea and readies the process for taking momentum.
4. Seller: markets the idea.
5. Convenor: offers neutrality to increase the likelihood of cooperation.
6. Facilitator: ensures that the lines of communication remain open.
7. Bridge Builder: constructs relationships with other groups to stimulate interest and gain support.
8. Sustainer: seeks to construct the building blocks of community partnerships, so that they are self-sustaining.

Bennis (1984:57) believes that leaders are needed at every level who can lead, not just manage. He defines leaders as "essentially educators" who are "able to clarify problems . . . rather than exploit them; to define issues, not aggravate them." Korda (1984:61) describes great leaders as "great simplifiers, who cut through argument, debate and doubt to offer a solution everybody can understand and remember." According to Gardner (1984:325),

[Leaders] can conceive and articulate goals that lift people out of their petty preoccupations, carry them above conflicts that tear a society apart, and unite them in the pursuit of objectives worthy of their best efforts.

Leaders are often described as visionaries. They must articulate a vision for the future. This vision has been described by Zaleznik (Kiechel 1984:301) as "the capacity to see connections, to draw inferences that aren't obvious, that are unprecedented" and "the ability to see around corners" into the future. A leadership model developed by Innovations Associates in Boston, identifies effective leaders as being able to

1. create and communicate a vision of the future that organization members will work together to accomplish;
2. empower the people around them to do their best; and
3. design organizational structures that focus people's efforts on reaching the desired vision. (Ross & Ross 1986:14)

With leaders at all levels and sectors of society, there is the danger of fragmented leadership which will be unable to answer what John Gardner (1984:321-322) calls the big questions: "Where are we

headed? Where do we want to head? What are the major trends determining our future? Should we do anything about them?" The solution for Gardner is not to do away with fragmented leadership, which he sees as vital to our pluralism, but to create better channels of communication among leadership groups especially on the larger community issues.

2. FOLLOWERSHIP

There is an evolving body of literature which suggests that the study of leadership must include a study of followership. While the concept of followership is gaining a place in contemporary leadership theory, it is not a new idea. The importance and role of followership has been discussed throughout history, as far back as Plato's Republic and Aristotle's Politics, and later in Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind (Litzinger & Schaefer 1984:138).

Burns (1978) believes the roles of leader and follower must be united conceptually. Unlike power-yielding, leadership "engages" people and is inseparable from followers' needs and goals.

Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers. . . . in order to realize goals mutually held by both leaders and followers. (Burns 1978:18)

Hollander (1984:31) suggests that the process of leadership depends on the relationship between leaders and active followers.

Leadership requires responsiveness, cooperation, and a distribution of

labor, necessitating a more active role for followers. Litzinger and Schaefer (1984:138) propose that "leadership may be chiefly an achievement of followers -- that able leaders may emerge only from the ranks of able followers." Therefore, followership serves as a prerequisite for effective leadership and leaders must learn skills of followership in order to be successful.

Rosenbach and Taylor (1984) warn against taking followership for granted. Followers legitimize the leadership role. Furthermore, followers' expectations are changing as the gap narrows between followers' competencies and leaders' abilities. Followers are increasingly more educated and sophisticated, with easier access to information, and leadership issues are more complex.

Increasingly, leaders must actively involve followers in organizational decisionmaking. All of this suggests a need to train followers in how to communicate their expectations and expertise, to enhance their willingness to participate. (Rosenbach & Taylor 1984:135)

Citizen participation--the active involvement of followers--and civic leadership are reciprocally interdependent. It is not enough to train leaders if there is no training for followers or no organizational vehicle for bringing the two together to work on civic issues of mutual concern. The central tenet of this thesis--the need for a civic organization which will foster civic leadership and participation in Knoxville--is based on this interaction and interdependence of leadership and followership.

3. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The Committee for Economic Development (1982) published a report which addressed the role of public-private partnerships in dealing with problems and opportunities in the nation's urban areas. According to CED, when these partnerships are complex, entailing significant capital investment, innovative institutional arrangements, disruption in community life, and implementation delays, it is extremely important that the process rely on certain civic foundations. Those civic foundations include:

- o A civic culture that fosters a sense of community and encourages citizen participation rooted in practical concern for the community.
- o A commonly accepted vision of the community that recognizes its strengths and weaknesses and involves key groups in the process of identifying what the community can become.
- o Building-block civic organizations that blend the self-interests of members with the broader interests of the community and translate those mutually held goals into effective action.
- o A network among key groups that encourages communication and facilitates the mediation of differences.
- o Leadership and the ability to nurture "civic entrepreneurs," that is, leaders whose knowledge, imagination, and energy are directed toward enterprises that benefit the community.
- o Continuity in policy, including the ability to adapt to changing circumstances, that fosters confidence in the sustained enterprise. (emphases added)

Active citizen participation is viewed by the Committee for Economic Development as an essential component of a positive civic culture. When citizens are empowered to advocate for their own

self-interest, it is the first step toward a public interest. "Each instance of citizen participation becomes a building block for greater civility" (Langton 1984:135).

Citizen participation is also recognized as a means of improving the policy formulation process. With citizen participation there is a greater likelihood that all policy options will be considered and all ramifications explored (Stewart & Duncombe 1981:410).

Langton (National Civic Review [NCR] 1981a:381) identifies three problems which undermine the effectiveness of citizen participation: (1) fragmentation caused by the sheer success of so many different citizen movements; (2) increased activism of corporate special interests which compounds the fragmentation problem; and (3) a preoccupation by some interests in being heard for the sake of being heard rather than for the substance of their convictions. Langton (1984:132) acknowledges a legitimate concern about interest groups and excessive political fragmentation but cautions that the problems may be overstated. "Critics fail to appreciate the civic values of interest groups and the wisdom of James Madison's observation that the cures for political fragmentation are worse than the disease."

Altshuler (1965:317) describes the central role which interest groups play in a democratic system of government:

A vigorous public opinion . . . cannot survive without vigorous interest groups, whose leaders articulate issues, command attention in the mass media, and assure supporters in dissent that they are not alone. . . . It should be assumed that whatever saps the vigor of interest groups saps the vigor of democracy.

However, the existence of many special interest groups and a high degree of political fragmentation also necessitates the identification and realization of broader community interests, the "public interest". Identifying the public interest requires the use of consensus building mechanisms and the development of community partnerships. Langton (1984) offers five general comments about consensus building:

1. Disconsensus is inherent in a pluralist society. It cannot and should not be totally eradicated. It is "the price we are willing to pay for liberty" (p. 133).

2. The critical question is whether a community can manage its differences and develop consensus when necessary. Consensus building and conflict management tools abound. The problem is not one of method, but whether public policymakers will commit the time, energy, and resources to consensus building.

3. Pseudo-consensus building is a form of manipulatory politics which gives consensus building a bad name, polarizing and breeding cynicism among citizens. Examples of pseudo-consensus building are: "stacking the deck" on advisory committees to eliminate critics and assure control over decisions, pretending there is consensus by inviting citizen input and then ignoring the results, and accusing critics of being a disruptive minority with questionable intelligence and motivation.

4. The dangers of conformity and apathy are a greater threat to consensus building than interest group politics. "Unless all citizens are empowered and encouraged to enter the political process, the

strength of consensus in every situation is thereby diminished" (p. 134).

5. The excessive dominance of private capital in politics is the most serious threat to civic values. "Why play the civic game when the outcome has been bought by the highest bidder?" (p. 135)

When there is a commitment to consensus building, the stage is set to create community partnerships in which people are willing to commit resources to solve problems. Berger (1983) describes two key stages in the development of a community partnership. The first is the Vision stage in which needs are perceived, ideas for change are conceived and communicated, and initiative is taken by an individual or group from the public or private sector. Next is the Action stage beginning with the establishment of the structure of the partnership, which can vary from an ad hoc coalition to a highly structured organization. A management plan is developed in which common goals are articulated and strategies outlined. Resources from the public and private sectors are identified while ongoing efforts are made to build a diverse network of support.

Citizen participation takes many forms with each form serving a purpose depending on the issues and citizens affected. Public hearings are by far the most prevalent form of citizen participation techniques utilized by local governments (NCR 1981b:608). A 1981 study by the New England Municipal Center (NEMC) reported that the turnout at public hearings is usually affected by the topic under discussion and the level of controversy. NEMC found that officials

responding to the survey were almost unanimously disappointed with public hearings because they felt hearings became forums for special interest groups and discouraged other citizens from participating (NCR 1981b:608).

The National Municipal League annually honors creative local initiatives which have offered new approaches to civic problems or have had positive effects on public policies. The local initiatives selected for "All-America Cities" awards represent various forms of participation including public-private partnerships, neighborhood organizations, community coalitions, citizen task forces or advisory committees, and single-issue civic groups (Woods 1984).

The citizen organization is one form of citizen participation which attempts to address larger community issues, mediate diverse interests, facilitate negotiation and compromise, and initiate public proposals. Rawson (1985), in a report on the Citizens League of Greater Cleveland, commented that this is a time of opportunity for civic organizations. He believes that citizen organizations are in a unique position to restore communications, build consensus, and develop a community agenda.

At the National Municipal League's 86th National Conference on Government in 1980, James L. Hetland, Jr., former chairman of The Citizens League of the Twin Cities area, discussed the role of citizen organizations for the 1980s:

Citizen organizations must take a lead in the very difficult job of redesigning our system for managing resources and delivering services. As we move toward conservation, cost effectiveness and

wise use of our resources, a basic change will of necessity emerge which is an application of the essential democratic process that has effectively been submerged during the last century, and that is permitting the will of the majority to be implemented through the balancing of the variety of interests that our society had developed as the essential method of decision making prior to the 1980s. Community need studies to set priorities for private, nonprofit and public allocation of resources can be done only by a broad-based local organization. (Hetland 1981:198)

A study of three communities with successful citizen involvement found that citizens of those communities felt they had good leadership which was committed to involving them in decision-making. A pre-condition for success seemed to be the existence of a committed group of leaders, citizens, and officials whose self-interest did not preclude the ability to work toward a common goal. (Anderson, Spiegel, Suess, & Woods 1979:51). This interdependence of leaders and citizen participants is a recurrent theme in the literature and is the cornerstone of this thesis.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research for this thesis began in July 1985 when the author was student leader of a graduate research project sponsored by the 13-30 Corporation (now named Whittle Communications). The purpose of the 13-30 project was to prepare a strategic plan to guide the efforts of the Greater Knoxville Chamber of Commerce in promoting economic development in the Knoxville area (Gill, Griffith, Irwin, McKinney & Rogero 1986). The first goal established in the plan was:

To promote strong leadership in the Knoxville/Knox County area that is able to depoliticize issues, create consensus, and plan for the future. (p. 4)

Two strategies which were developed to reach this goal were:

- (1) Create a broad-based citizen participation organization in Knoxville/Knox County which would be an advisor to government officials as well as an initiator, facilitator, and evaluator of community plans and projects; and
- (2) Develop and support leadership and citizenship education programs. (pp. 4,7)

This author researched and wrote the "leadership" component of the research project. That research is incorporated into and expanded upon in this thesis.

An analysis of the current level and quality of civic leadership and participation in Knoxville was obtained during Phase I of the 13-30 Research Project (13-30 Corporation et al. 1986). A situation

assessment of Knoxville revealed that "ineffective leadership" was one of five key barriers to economic growth in the area. This research was derived from interviews with community, business, and political leaders, public officials, and staff of economic development-related institutions in the Knoxville area. At the invitation of the Chamber of Commerce, twenty-one business, community, and political leaders participated in four small discussion groups which used a nominal group technique to identify Knoxville's strengths and weaknesses which affect economic development. A follow-up questionnaire was sent to the participants.

The research team then conducted a comparative analysis of how other communities have dealt with the issues of leadership and citizen involvement. This information was derived from site visits and personal interviews in four communities: Lexington, Kentucky, Nashville, Tennessee, the Triad in North Carolina (High Point/Winston-Salem/Greensboro), and Indianapolis, Indiana. These communities were selected for comparative study based on one or more of the following characteristics: a regional competitor for economic growth, recent successful business recruiting coups, similar characteristics, and success at handling similar problems. Interviews were held with community, political, and business leaders, and staff of leadership programs and a citizen organization.

The author also conducted two site visits to Chattanooga to interview staff of Chattanooga Venture and to participate in its two-day Visions 86 conference. Additional secondary research was

derived from reports and in-house publications authored by government and private agencies, and articles from the news media in the Knoxville area and comparative cities.

For the purpose of this thesis, additional research was conducted. A literature review and interviews provided a sampling of attitudes, both theoretical and practical, regarding the value of civic leadership and participation. Examples of leadership programs and citizen participation methods were derived from interviews, literature review, and publications from relevant organizations.

Case studies of citizen organizations in Indianapolis, Chattanooga, and Minneapolis provided organizational models for Knoxville. The data for the case studies was based on telephone interviews, review of in-house materials, journal articles and newspaper reports, and the previously mentioned site visits and personal interviews.

An understanding of the past and an awareness of the present is critical when planning for the future. Information on Knoxville's recent history regarding efforts to promote civic leadership and participation was derived from a literature review and interviews. Current efforts were documented through newspaper articles and interviews with public officials and individuals who are active in leadership programs and community groups.

The final step in this thesis was to create an organizational model for a citizen organization in Knoxville which would foster civic leadership and participation. This required a careful analysis of the

above research and a creative synthesis of successful strategies of other cities with the unique needs, constraints, and opportunities found in Knoxville.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

To increase the level of citizen participation and enhance the quality of civic leadership in Knoxville, this thesis proposes the creation of a broad-based citizen organization. The proposed Knoxville organization is modeled after three successful citizen groups which are examined below: The Citizens League, the Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee, and Chattanooga Venture.

These organizations share the goals of educating citizens on community issues, building consensus on proposals to deal with those issues, increasing the level of citizen participation, and developing new broad-based leadership. Yet each organization is a product of its own time and place. As a result, they differ to some degree in their structure, political autonomy, and organizational policies.

1. THE CITIZENS LEAGUE

The Citizens League is an independent, non-partisan citizen organization dedicated to public affairs education and research in the seven-county metropolitan area of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota (the Twin Cities). It is an open membership organization which relies on the active involvement of members to develop League recommendations on important issues. The central purposes of the League are:

To assist the community in identifying and defining its problems and its opportunities; to challenge the community with

new ideas; and to develop recommendations for change in policy and action.

To provide education opportunities for members and to raise the level of public understanding of issues and policy options. (Citizens League 1985)

Throughout the 35-year history of the Citizens League these concepts have remained constant. However, the structure and procedures of the organization have continuously changed.

History

In the 1940s, a group of emerging young leaders in Minneapolis and St. Paul met regularly to discuss public issues, often during lunch at the YMCA (Kolderie & Gilje 1976:324). Composed predominately of Republican businessmen, the philosophy of the "good government" group was summed up by the message at the bottom of their stationery: "Don't just beef about it, do something" (Jenni, interview 1987). They believed that government was big business and needed a watchdog. Efforts were begun in 1951 to formalize the group's efforts into one non-partisan civic organization which would conduct in-depth studies of community issues. In 1952, a professional staff was hired and the Citizens League of Minneapolis was formed, modeled after the Citizens Leagues in Cleveland, Ohio and Seattle, Washington. Local firms committed an annual budget of \$30,000 for three years.

The name of the organization and its primary functions evolved over the years. It began as the Citizens League of Minneapolis, composed primarily of Minneapolis residents and concerned with issues affecting the Minneapolis city government. It later became the

Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis, and then of Minneapolis and Hennepin County. By the mid-1960s, it had evolved into a Twin Cities area organization focusing on metropolitan and regional issues and became simply the Citizens League (Kolderie & Gilje 1976:325).

One function of the early Citizens League was to review and rate candidates for local office. This function was quickly dropped because "it proved difficult to do well and credibly" (Kolderie & Gilje 1976:324), and because there was a belief that the organization would be more effective if it remained non-partisan (Jenni, interview 1987).

The League originally functioned as a reactor to proposals initiated by local government. However, that role expanded in 1962 when the League not only rejected a proposed school board building program, but also proposed an alternate plan which ultimately won approval. Since then the Citizens League's role has expanded into one of identifying problems and initiating studies which generate proposals, as well as reacting to government proposals.

Membership and Structure

The Citizens League is a dues-paying membership organization governed by a Board of Directors with a professional staff. Membership currently totals 2,700 individuals and 350 firms. Dues are \$40 for families, \$30 for individuals, and a minimum of \$150 for firms.

The Board of Directors is a working board with thirty-eight members. Each year eight members are elected for three-year

overlapping terms by a mail-in ballot of League members. Annually in June, the 24 elected members select an additional 14 directors, including a President, who serve a one-year term. A new President is chosen every year and no director may serve two consecutive elected terms. There is a six-person Executive Committee and four committees which report to the Board: Operations, Communications, Community Information, and Program.

The League does not claim to be a fully representative cross-section of the entire community, although "the membership contains an increasingly diverse representation of individuals concerned with public affairs" (Citizen League News [CLN] 1973:2). Finance Director Philip Jenni (interview 1987) described the League as fairly representative of "public affairs junkies", and mostly white collar professionals. The Board is equally divided between Minneapolis and St. Paul area residents, and male and female. He explained that the role of minorities and labor is not high because they are not a significant percentage of the population (minorities are only 5% of the population).

It is a struggle to get enough diversity. This kind of work attracts persons who tend to be well above average in income and education, and disproportionately (even for the Twin Cities area) in white-collar, professional occupations. We are making increased efforts to draw in members of the minority community. . . . The balance that is needed for credibility must be secured partly in our study process, by making sure we hear from the broadest range of opinion; and partly in our process of moving proposals to the community, by making sure we touch base with all major groups. (Kolderie & Gilje 1976:339-340)

Membership has remained relatively stable over the years, but has not reflected demographic changes in the Twin Cities area, particularly suburban population growth. The League has more members in urban neighborhoods and has been criticized of representing urban interests more than suburban. A major drive to increase membership in the suburban areas has recently been initiated.

The eleven-person staff consists of the Executive Director, Associate Director, Finance Director, four researchers, and four clerical workers. The role of the staff is to service the volunteer committees. Responsibilities include scheduling and making all arrangements for meetings, preparing agendas and work materials, taking minutes of the meetings and drafting reports. Committee and task force volunteers are called upon to study and generate ideas, and are not responsible for paperwork or organizational details.

Budget and Funding Sources

The annual budget of the League averages \$500,000 (Jenni, interview 1987). In 1985, the League had expenses of \$524,127 with the following categorical breakdown: research and action 56%, publications 17%, administration 13%, membership development 11%, and speakers series and seminars 3% (Citizens League 1985:11).

Funding is received from several sources. The sources and their percentage of the total budget are: corporate contributions 65%, individual contributions 12%, membership dues 8%, earned income from fees and publication sales 11%, and miscellaneous 4% (Jenni, interview 1987).

Corporate membership fees are indexed to the size of the corporation, with a maximum contribution of 5% of the League's annual budget, or about \$26,000. Only one of the top 25 corporations of the Twin Cities area is not a corporate member. Law firms are also heavy contributors, with membership of all top 25 firms. Annual corporate renewal rates are high and relatively easy to obtain. An average of 30-35 corporate members do not renew their membership each year. These are generally smaller companies who cite financial problems as the reason. However, new corporate members are also recruited annually which compensates for lost memberships.

The high level of corporate support is indicative of an enlightened corporate leadership in the community, according to Jenni (interview 1987). Dayton-Hudson and other corporations set the standard back in the 1950s and 60s. The corporate giving programs of the Twin Cities' large corporations have long since become institutionalized and sophisticated, and do not operate at the whims of the CEOs. As a result, it is rare that a corporation will withdraw its membership as a result of disagreement with a League recommendation.

The League receives very little foundation money since most foundations will not fund operating budgets. Only one local foundation contributes to the budget. The League does apply for foundation grants for specific projects. It has received \$60,000 from the McKnight Foundation to fund the League publication Minnesota Journal.

Task Forces

The major activity of the Citizens League is done by volunteer task forces or study committees which research public issues and develop recommendations for action. Before 1960, issues were generally referred to standing committees for study. However this was changed in favor of special committees drawn together for a particular assignment for a designated period of time. The purpose of this was to increase membership activity by requiring a limited time commitment (CLN 1973:3).

Annually the Board selects four to six topics which have been recommended by the Program Committee and establishes a task force for each topic. Traditionally, membership on a task force was open to any person with an interest in participating. However, in 1984 the Program Committee studied the problem of commitment and attrition on League committees and decided that this flexible policy was not producing an adequate commitment for committee success. Therefore, the Committee instituted an application and appointment process aimed both at greater commitment and better committee balance (Citizens League 1985:6). Task force profiles in the 1984 and 1985 Annual Reports list an average of 20-30 "active participants" on each task force.

The Board appoints a chairperson for each task force. The weekly meetings of 2 1/2 - 3 hours may continue for six months to a year. Members of the task force generally have no personal background in or familiarity with the subject studied, thus reducing the possibility of

preconceived solutions or hidden agendas. The first months are spent gaining an understanding of the factual base of the problem before considering solutions. The process involves bringing resource people before the task force who are familiar with the problem under study and who can answer questions of the task force members. The next step is to state the exact nature of the problem and then move on to consider solutions. During the debate on findings, conclusions, and recommendations, the committee works mainly on a consensus basis--very few votes are taken. Committee findings, conclusions, and recommendations are drafted by the staff, re-worked by the committee, and re-drafted. The goal is to draft a clear, constructive, creative, and workable proposal which is addressed to a particular person or governmental body and which suggests a particular course of action (CLN 1973:3).

The task force submits its report to the Board for approval. The Board may approve the report or send it back to the task force for additional work. When a report receives Board approval, the Community Information Committee begins the process of generating public support for the proposal and encouraging implementation by the appropriate public or private organization. The proposal is reported in the press and the chairperson and task force members may be asked to present the report and answer questions at various meetings or hearings. If the report's conclusions and recommendations gain acceptance, momentum will build and task force members may be invited to serve on private

and governmental boards or committees responsible for implementing the proposal (CLN 1973:4).

Citizen League proposals have had a significant impact on major public decisions and on the process of making public decisions. Examples of issues in which the League played a major role are the establishment of a county wide park system in the late 1950s, the formation of the Metropolitan Transit Commission in 1966, the building of a major new zoo, the development of new formulas for revenue distribution to local governments by the State legislature in 1967 and 1971, the founding of Minnesota Metropolitan State College in 1971, and the development of a joint hospital complex with Hennepin County General Hospital and a nearby private hospital in 1972 (CLN 1973:2).

Improving the system of governance has been the biggest single thrust of League proposals. In the early 1960s, the League studied the increasing role and growth of uncoordinated single-purpose districts in the metropolitan area. League proposals were influential in the 1967 decision to draw these districts together under a representative general-purpose policy body, the Metropolitan Council. League proposals also sparked a major internal reorganization of Hennepin County government which has since been used as a model by other metropolitan counties (CLN 1973:3).

Task force reports approved by the Board in 1985 addressed the issues of the state's role in occupational education and what changes are needed, strategic management of Minnesota's groundwater, reform of the conference committee process in the Minnesota legislature, and the

system of public assistance in private real estate development (Citizens League 1985).

Committee Activities

The Citizens League has four standing committees whose members come partly from the board and partly from the general membership. This allows more involvement from interested citizens and spreads the workload and required time commitments.

Program Committee. The role of the program committee is to analyze the public issues which are compelling enough for the League to study and to make recommendations of study topics to the Board of Directors. The Committee seeks ideas from members, public officials, and others about issues which are emerging and need to be studied. Through a series of meetings, the committee narrows down a list of 100 or more possible issues to a final six to ten projects to present to the Board. The Board then makes a final selection of perhaps four to six topics. The program committee also plans programs and selects issue topics for the League's single-evening seminars which are discussed below (Citizens League 1985:6).

Community Information Committee [CIC]. The CIC takes up where the work of the League study group task forces ends. It is responsible for follow-up on the implementation of recommendations in Citizen League reports. While remaining non-partisan, it will coordinate League testimony at government hearings upon request. The CIC also works to make League positions responsive to current public

policy developments. CIC activities in 1985 included: suggesting modifications in a Metropolitan Council draft environmental impact statement on light rail transit, urging certain changes to a Metropolitan Council report on long-term health care, and suggesting improvements to the metropolitan tax-base sharing law to a House Tax Subcommittee (Citizens League 1985:9).

Communications Committee. This committee was formed in 1984 upon the recommendation of the Operations Committee in order to develop a stronger communications strategy with membership and the public. Its first project was to study the League publication Minnesota Journal and make recommendations for design and editorial changes. It has also produced a video which discusses Minnesota's political culture and traditions and the challenges for the future (Citizens League 1985:10).

Operations Committee. This committee oversees the financial and organizational operations of the League such as budgeting, personnel, and planning. Faced with a \$27,000 deficit in 1985, the operations committee began a review of the League's long-term fiscal health and developed a strategy of tapping new sources, communicating with membership to increase retention, planning fundraisers, and establishing a deferred giving program (Citizens League 1985:11). Other activities of this committee have been to recommend that the League acquire the Minnesota Journal as its house publication and to

redesign the League's basic publications including the adoption of a new logo (Citizens League 1984:np).

Seminars and Breakfast Meetings

Single-evening seminars, held several times each year, focus on current or emerging issues which are not already being researched by a task force. These seminars invite public testimony by the various interests in a given issue, thus allowing citizens to become familiar with the different viewpoints and considerations of one issue in a single evening. These seminars sometimes unveil issues which later become study topics. Six seminars were held in 1985, covering such topics as the state emergency jobs program, the criminal system, daycare, and health insurance (Citizens League 1985:7).

Breakfast meetings, also called "Mind-Openers Breakfasts" are another well-established tradition with the Citizens League. At these weekly meetings, community leaders in the public and private sectors lead discussions with the audience on timely issues. These meetings used to rotate between Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Bloomington but the League is currently experimenting with holding the Tuesday morning meetings at one central location. Mind-Openers meetings in April 1987 were devoted to assessing the quality of Minnesota's public schools (Citizens League Matters 1987:2).

Publications

The Citizens League publishes twenty-two issues of the Minnesota Journal each year which focuses on public affairs news, analysis, and

commentary. CL Matters is an update of the League's community activities, meetings, and progress on issues, and is inserted in each issue of the Minnesota Journal. A comprehensive list of public organizations and public officials is published biennially in the Public Affairs Directory. In 1984, the League began publishing an Annual Report which summarizes activities for the prior year. The League also publishes task force reports and League statements which can be ordered for a nominal fee.

Technical Assistance

Besides the task forces, committees, seminars, and breakfast meetings, the Citizens League serves as a resource to other organizations in the Twin Cities area and across the nation. The League assists other private and public agencies in finding qualified citizens to serve on committees, helps arrange programs for local issues conferences, serves as a clearinghouse for specialized and up-to-date information on governmental affairs, and conducts surveys that highlight major trends in local affairs (CLN 1973:4).

The League staff also provides technical assistance to other communities which are considering establishing a citizen organization. Because of the difficulty in responding to many individual inquiries, the League has hosted meetings at which representatives from interested communities gather to learn more about the League. In April 1976 a two-day conference was held which provided an intense briefing on the history, organization, methods, and program of the Citizens League. Forty people from nineteen different urban regions

gathered in the Twin Cities for this conference which was sponsored by the National Civic Review and underwritten in part by the Lilly Endowment (Kolderie & Gilje 1976:323).

League Executive Director Curt Johnson averages one trip per month to other communities to share the League experience (Jenni, interview 1987). The League's commitment to the regional citizen organization concept has been a valuable resource and a model for the development of citizen organizations in other areas of the country.

Analysis

A study conducted by civic leaders in Detroit on how to move their region ahead concluded: "The best progress is being made in those metropolitan areas where a strong regional citizen organization exists, with the Citizens League of Minneapolis-St. Paul area serving as the best example" (CLN 1973:2).

The Citizens League credits their success to three key elements: credibility, results, and education. Credibility is achieved by listening to all points of view, asking all the questions, and letting all the issues come out. Clear, specific recommendations and proposals lead to understanding, which leads to results. And finally, a commitment to sharing information enables the community to become knowledgeable of the issues (CLN 1973:2).

The Citizens League describes itself as a "home-grown, do-it-yourself consulting organization" (CLN 1973:2) and a "leadership-training program" (Kolderie & Gilje 1976:325). It also serves the important role of depoliticizing public issues.

[The League] serves largely to remove the partisan/political element from the issue side of local public affairs. In many cities, the group that sets the agenda, with issues and proposals, is the staff of the central-city mayor. The agenda is thus, from the start, partisan. In the Twin Cities area, much of the issue-raising function is handled by nonpartisan institutions. This becomes an expense, carried by the private community. But, in enlarging the potential for bipartisan agreement on problems and for early action, it is worth the investment. (Kolderie & Gilje 1976:325)

Looking for emerging issues and anticipating future problems and opportunities eliminates the typical scenario of "government by crisis". The role of the Citizens League has been to create a level of community concern and consensus on emerging issues which allows the government to act on issues instead of reacting to a crisis (Kolderie & Gilje 1976:326).

The most difficult challenge of the Citizens League, according to Executive Director Curt Johnson (Citizens League 1985:1) is "the trouble we buy when we confront an established constituency with serious criticism." This happened in 1982 when educators were incensed with a League education report and in 1985 on the issue of public financing of real estate development. Johnson expects to receive criticism and sometimes confrontation when the League takes a strong stand on an important issue. Yet, he remains confident that the process of reaching League proposals passes the test of "maximum objectivity and fairness" and that League recommendations are, in fact, representative of a growing consensus.

2. GREATER INDIANAPOLIS PROGRESS COMMITTEE

The Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee (GIPC) is a representative civic organization which serves as an advisory arm to the Mayor of Indianapolis. Through a consensus-building process, GIPC (pronounced "gypsy") task forces study public issues and develop strategies for confronting community problems. GIPC acts as a catalyst to establish needed coalitions in a public/private partnership but does not become involved in the day-to-day work of program implementation.

History

GIPC was founded in 1965 by democratic mayor John J. Barton. Barton was frustrated over the inability of the mayor's office to control the activities of many semiautonomous agencies and boards which governed a large number of local functions (Owen & Willbern 1985:43-44). GIPC's purpose was to develop a consensus-building process which could spur a collective effort at solving public issues (Lyon, interview 1985). Tom King, President of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce (interview 1985), said the business community supported GIPC at its inception "as a way to prop up a weak mayor" and has continued to support GIPC as a vehicle for building community consensus.

GIPC's role has continued through two subsequent administrations. Former republican mayor Richard Lugar, who took office January 1, 1968, used GIPC as a bandwagon to promote his programs and policies

(Lyon, interview 1985). The most important of these was the consolidation of the city of Indianapolis and Marion County--called Unigov--by an act of the Indiana legislature in 1969. GIPC has been credited with playing an influential role in the passage of Unigov.

Perhaps the most important of numerous government-sponsored study groups appearing [in Indianapolis] in the 1950s and 1960s was the Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee One of its most active subcommittees was a task force on government that issued several papers favoring reform in the years immediately preceding Unigov. The progress committee was then and still is a widely respected citizens' group, being credited with numerous public accomplishments. Its support greatly enhanced the Unigov concept's prospects. (Owen & Willbern 1985:42)

Current republican mayor William H. Hudnut, elected to office in 1975 and re-elected in 1979 and 1983, has actively relied on GIPC to tackle community problems through consensus-building. Mayor Hudnut reorganized and reconstituted GIPC in 1978. A new Board of Directors was appointed with the primary objective of being representative of the leadership of the entire community (Binford 1978).

The first task of the new GIPC was to coordinate a community-wide process of establishing goals and priorities. The Long-Range Planning Committee of GIPC presented "Goals for the City" (GIPC 1978) which was a survey of 180 GIPC members about directions and priorities for city goals. The city's economy was identified in the survey as the number one concern, with an economic development effort the number one priority.

Supported by this GIPC report, the Mayor and Chamber of Commerce contracted with a consulting firm in 1980 to prepare a long-range

industrial development strategy for Indianapolis. The strategic plan was completed in May 1982 (Central Research Systems 1982). In July 1982 Mayor Hudnut sent the report to GIPC with the request that a GIPC task force study it and make specific recommendations for implementation, considering such factors as the coordination of community resources, funding, the division of responsibility for the public and private sectors, and minority participation.

These questions are worth struggling with because it seems to me that this is a subject very much worth discussing as we talk about our City's future. I believe that the Progress Committee could provide the kind of public forum for this dialogue. It would be my hope that a community consensus could be established through the facilitating efforts of the Progress Committee and that an agreement to proceed would be forged. (Hudnut 1982).

GIPC's Industrial Development Task Force accepted the Mayor's challenge and in January 1983 released a proposal which called for the formation of an independent regional economic development corporation which would coordinate a comprehensive economic development effort for the area. The task force report (GIPC 1983) detailed a mission statement, objectives, responsibilities, structure and function of each department, composition of the Board of Directors, and staff and budget requirements. As a result, the Indianapolis Economic Development Corporation was created later that year, with an operating budget of \$650,000 funded jointly by the public and private sectors (Ballard, interview 1985).

This is a typical example of the role which the Progress Committee has played in Indianapolis' recent and ongoing

revitalization of its economy and image, a revitalization which has received national attention (Time 1984, USA Today 1984, Fortune 1984). GIPC task forces have been involved in developing the strategies and organizational structures for the promotion of Indianapolis as "the amateur sports capital of the world"; downtown redevelopment, including the Hoosier Dome; promotion of conventions and tourism; and creation of an arts council (Monger, interview 1985). Examples of issues which GIPC task forces have tackled are employment, local government financing, and a property tax referendum for the public schools (Lyon, interview 1985). In 1981 GIPC created a committee called PRIDE (Peaceful Response to Indianapolis Desegregation of Education) which successfully organized virtually every segment of the community in support of a peaceful desegregation of the schools following a federal court order that ended 13 years of litigation (National Civic Review 1983:149).

Membership and Structure

GIPC is an independent adjunct of the Mayor's office and describes itself as a public/private partnership in which private sector leadership advises the Mayor on issues of public concern. The Board of Directors is the policy-making body for all GIPC operations and directors are appointed by the Mayor for one-year terms. The current Board has 76 members. There is no ceiling on the number of Board members which can be appointed (Kopetsky, interview 1987). The Executive Committee of the Board consists of the officers, and past presidents of GIPC, the Executive Director, and the Mayor (GIPC n.d.).

To assure broad-based representation, certain criteria are used for Board appointments including maintaining a balance of democrats and republicans, minorities, religious groups, neighborhood groups, and the business community. In addition, the heads of certain organizations are routinely appointed, such as the President of the Junior League, Chairman of Indianapolis Public Schools, and President of the Stanley K. Lacy Leadership Series (Lyon, interview 1985).

GIPC is not a dues-paying membership organization like the Citizens League. Technically, the Board of Directors are the members of GIPC, although the term "members" is used informally to include volunteers on task forces.

There are four staff positions: Executive Director, Deputy Director, Secretary/Receptionist, and Administrative Assistant. The Executive Director is the chief liaison between GIPC and the Mayor's office, and serves at the Mayor's request as a working member of the Mayor's cabinet (GIPC 1985). The staff is kept small in number--the result of a conscious decision to assure active involvement of the Board and task force volunteers in the advisory capacity, thus preventing the "tail from wagging the dog" (Lyon, interview 1985).

Budget and Funding Sources

The operating budget has been between \$150,000 - \$200,000 for many years. Funds are raised through annual direct solicitation of the business community, foundations, and individuals. Businesses are the principle contributors with large corporations donating over \$3000 each. An annual fundraiser is held in the fall to which 150 major

contributors are invited. Some grants are received from foundations, including Lilly Endowment. No funds are received from the public sector, although office space is provided in the city-county building (Lyon, interview 1985).

Task Forces

The major work of GIPC is done through its task forces. Each task force is appointed by the GIPC chairperson and assigned a specific issue to be studied. Modeled after a Hartford leadership group, Atlanta 2000, and Goals for Dallas, a task force is comprised of 15-20 people, appointed by the Executive Director in consultation with the Mayor and Board representatives (Lyon, interview 1985). Interested citizens can also volunteer to serve on task forces (Kopetsky, interview 1987). Executive Director Margo Lyon described her role as a facilitator who brings the advocates, adversaries, and experts to the table as a task force to discuss the issue and come up with solutions. GIPC attempts to remove the blocks and barriers which result from insufficient information, and is considered neutral ground for dispute resolution.

Originally task forces were used to investigate and make recommendations on specific projects. However, Mayor Hudnut broadened the task force role to include a type of standing committee approach which gives ongoing attention to certain issues of particular concern. The Human Relations Task Force is an example of that approach (Binford 1978). All task force proposed goals, work projects, and final recommendations must be approved by the Board (GIPC 1985).

Current task forces include Air Quality, Arts, Education, Neighborhood Growth, and Urban Growth and Revitalization. Some task forces are later spun off from GIPC as autonomous groups, although GIPC may continue to assist them with such functions as financial management. Two examples of spin-offs are the Community Desegregation Advisory Council and the Indianapolis Arts Council (Kopetsky, interview 1987).

Publications

A newsletter is published three times per year which describes GIPC activities and task force progress. A general brochure is distributed which describes the organization's purpose and history. It is updated annually by a page insert which lists members of the Board. In 1986, an Annual Report was produced for the first time. GIPC also distributes copies of task force reports.

Analysis

Based on the GIPC experience, Executive Director Margo Lyon expressed these thoughts regarding public/private sector partnerships:

1. Problems to be tackled by a public/private partnership should be those that existing agencies cannot handle.
2. Tackle problems requiring coordination and information sharing between sectors but not addressing the ongoing administration of the public sector.
3. Tackle problems requiring full partnership.
4. Problems should be attractive to corporate citizens. . . . Only the large corporations can really provide resources that are needed. The small business leader may be able to

contribute his time but rarely will be able to give much more than that.

5. Any partnership must have a CEO personal commitment as well as the skilled people he can bring along with it.
6. It is highly recommended that any partnership truly become multi-sectoral---i.e., not just public and private sectors but also a proliferation of foundation and non-profit perspectives. (Lyon 1985)

Private and public sector leaders in Indianapolis (Bailey, Ballard, Blitz, Carr, Duke, King, Magowan, Monger, & Moses, interviews 1985) repeatedly affirmed GIPC's significant role in building community consensus for a public/private partnership. The Progress Committee's creative, workable proposals have made a significant impact on how problems are solved and how opportunities are identified in Indianapolis, including issues such as a major reorganization of local government and rejuvenation of the economy and image.

The Progress Committee is, however, the product of its own particular time and place. Executive Director Margo Lyon stated that the structure and role of a citizen organization should be determined by factors such as the type of local governmental form, the quality of public and private leadership, and the particular problems and opportunities facing the community.

3. CHATTANOOGA VENTURE

Chattanooga Venture is a non-profit, non-partisan citizens organization in Chattanooga, Tennessee. It was created as a vehicle for bringing Chattanooga's citizens to an open forum where people would decide together, by consensus, what the community's future direction should be and what specific things should be done to move in that direction (Chattanooga Venture News [CV News] 1984:7). The purposes of Chattanooga Venture are:

- [1] To develop ideas, programs and policies for the improvement of economic, social and environmental conditions in the Chattanooga/Hamilton County Metropolitan Statistical Area
- [2] To serve as a steering committee for the implementation of those ideas, programs and policies by local, state and federal governmental agencies, private industry and civic groups.
- [3] To serve as a clearinghouse of information and opinion concerning the economic and social conditions in the Chattanooga-Hamilton County [area] . . . by involving a broad cross section of the residents of the area in hearings, forums and surveys so that the local governmental, business and industrial leaders of the community can understand the views and concerns of all of the citizens.
- [4] To serve as a mediation and conciliation service, attempting to resolve problems that arise in the development and implementation of new programs, policies and resources
(Chattanooga Venture [CV] 1984:1-2)

Venture sees its role as that of catalyst, educator, facilitator, incubator of new ideas, and initiator of new efforts. It is committed to broad-based citizen involvement. "For Venture to reflect the collective wisdom of the community, it must attract the participation of citizens from all segments of the population" (CV News 1984:7).

History

In April 1982, at the Lyndhurst Foundation's expense, Chattanooga Mayor Pat Rose and Economic Development Officer Ron Littlefield joined officials from other U.S. cities on a tour of Europe sponsored by Partners for Livable Places (PLP) (Littlefield, interview 1986a). During the tour, Rose and Littlefield became acquainted with Indianapolis Mayor William Hudnut. They were intrigued by Hudnut's tales of how Indianapolis was "turning itself around" through a creative involvement of public and private leadership and citizen participation.

After returning to Chattanooga, Rose and Littlefield shared their findings informally with community leaders. Littlefield later joined staff at the Chamber of Commerce and in September 1983 coordinated a Chamber-sponsored site visit to Indianapolis. Forty-seven Chattanoogaans participated at their own expense. PLP organized the trip and set up meetings with Indianapolis leaders and the Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee (GIPC).

Impressed with the Indianapolis experience, a steering committee was formed to explore ideas for establishing a citizen organization in Chattanooga. The steering committee consisted of 30 people who had traveled to Indianapolis, and an additional 70 people who were invited to participate or who volunteered. The committee was broadly representative of the community, including business and labor, public and private sector, male and female, black and white, workers and retired people (CV News 1984:8). The steering committee met every

Thursday afternoon for six months to study models of citizen participation in 25 other cities, such as GIPC, Tucson Tomorrow, San Antonio Target 90, and the Twin Cities Citizens League. Certain committee members were assigned a specific city to become familiar with through research and communication. The committee member then presented his or her research at a weekly meeting of the steering committee. Options for Chattanooga were discussed at length and decisions were made by consensus (CV News 1984:8). From this exploratory process emerged the focus and structure for Chattanooga Venture.

The steering committee created a committee to draft the charter and bylaws which led to Chattanooga Venture's incorporation in August 1984. The steering committee also selected a Board of Directors who were officially installed at the first organizational meeting in August 1984. The Board opened a storefront office and hired its first staff, with Ron Littlefield as Executive Director.

The founding of Chattanooga Venture strategically coincided with an aggressive economic growth campaign initiated by a newly created economic development corporation, Partners for Economic Progress (PEP). Littlefield (interview 1986a) described this as a two-pronged approach: a civic organization for "product development and quality control" and an economic development corporation for "sales and marketing".

Membership and Structure

Membership in Chattanooga Venture is open to all citizens and numbers about 2500 individual and household members (CV 1985). There are no membership dues.

The Board of Directors is a large, broadly representative group, currently consisting of 60 members. According to the bylaws, the number of directors can be decided by the Board with a minimum requirement of 45 directors. Directors are nominated by a nominating committee and elected by the membership at the annual meeting. They serve for overlapping three-year terms (CV 1984:4). The Board meets monthly from September through May. An Executive Committee of 15 meets through the summer.

There are five staff positions: Executive Director, Associate Director, Program Director, Secretary, and Communications Editor. Student interns from the University of Tennessee-Chattanooga (UT-C) Public Administration program are volunteer staff. Venture has encouraged UT-C and Tennessee Valley Authority personnel to participate, thus tapping the skills and expertise of two major resources in the area.

Budget and Funding Sources

The Chattanooga Venture budget varies annually depending on the number of active projects. The 1986 budget of \$250,000 was raised from Lyndhurst Foundation except for \$30,000 from the state of Tennessee for the Visions 86 conference, \$25,000 from James Rouse's

Enterprise Foundation for a housing project, and \$25,000 from a corporate source (Littlefield, interview 1986a).

Since Venture's inception Lyndhurst has funded the total operating budget, the result of a three-year grant commitment in 1984. Venture will soon submit a proposal for a renewed commitment. Like many foundations, Lyndhurst normally does not fund a project for more than three years. Yet Lyndhurst is firmly committed to Venture and, according to Venture Associate Director Karen McMahon (interview 1987), Venture is expecting a renewed grant commitment. This year's proposed budget is \$350,000 which will cover operating expenses and three projects.

Other funding sources have been tapped for special projects. For example, in September 1986 Venture sponsored a "Made in Chattanooga" exhibition at the Chattanooga/Hamilton County Convention and Trade Center. The \$250,000 budget was raised from the corporate community (McMahon, interview 1987).

Venture's reliance on Lyndhurst as the major funder for its budget has advantages, according to McMahon. The staff does not have to spend a good deal of its time soliciting funds and can concentrate on Venture's primary mission. Also, Lyndhurst has a "hands off" policy which gives Venture total freedom to develop task force recommendations. McMahon cited an example of how Venture's fiscal dependence on Lyndhurst has produced results: For ten years the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce discussed the issue of sign and billboard control. Yet agreement could never be reached on a suitable

public recommendation because of the risk of alienating some of the Chamber's most influential, dues-paying members who are involved in the sign and billboard industry. However, in mid-1985 Chattanooga Venture formed a task force on the issue, brought together the various interests, and built consensus for a workable solution which resulted in the passage of a city ordinance in 1986.

Vision 2000

Venture's kick-off campaign was a community goals-setting process called Vision 2000 (CV News 1984, 1985a, 1985b). The goal was to build community-wide consensus in defining a common vision for Chattanooga's future. Over 1,000 people participated in a series of 32 public sessions held at UT-C from October 1984 through February 1985. The UT-C Chancellor was chairman of the program. UT-C faculty and staff assisted in coordinating the seminars, and students were encouraged to participate.

Six broad categories were created within which project teams developed goals and strategies. Those categories were:

- People: Human resources -- living and learning
- Places: Our environment -- preserving and developing
- Work: The economy -- growing and changing
- Play: Leisure/recreation/arts -- enjoying and doing
- Government: Public resources -- leading and serving
- Future Alternatives

Project teams brainstormed ideas using a nominal group process, settled on those which had the broadest support, and refined them into

specific proposals. A final public forum was held for each category at which the project team's recommendations were presented for critiquing and general feedback.

The Vision 2000 community planning process produced 34 goals for Chattanooga. A "Commitment Opportunity Workbook" (CV n.d.) was produced which listed the goals for each category, and described for each goal what it should accomplish, specific activities or strategies for implementation, the beneficiaries, and who should be involved (the "potential venturers").

The Commitment portfolio became Venture's work program. Committees were established to begin working on bringing the Vision 2000 proposals to fruition.

Committee Activities

Committees and task forces are composed of board members, the special interests affected by the issue, and citizen volunteers. Membership on committees and task forces is open to all interested citizens. Examples of the variety of initiatives which Venture committees and task forces have pursued are:

- o Collaboration with James Rouse's Enterprise Foundation on a 10-year program to eliminate substandard low-income housing in the city and revitalize neighborhoods (CV News 1985c:2).

- o Creation of two Human Relations task forces: one dealing with employment and the other with community relations (CV 1985:3).

- o Support for the development of the Tennessee Riverpark, a major 25-year plan to develop 20 miles of the Tennessee River corridor

to include new housing, offices, industry, hotel and commercial opportunities, public parks, an aquarium, and a continuous pedestrian riverway (CV News 1987:3).

- o Development of a major private venture capital program using the Cleveland, Ohio Primus Capital Fund as a model (CV 1985:4).

- o Renovation of the historic Tivoli Theater (CV News 1986:1).

- o Involvement (through participation of the Chairman of the Government Task Force) in efforts to unify the city-county court and jail facility (CV 1985:5).

Now in its third year, Chattanooga Venture has begun developing an outreach program to encourage more opportunities for grassroots citizen participation in communities of Hamilton County. Venture Network Forums are being proposed which would offer the Venture staff to organizations that "want to come together to produce town hall type of meetings focused on large community issues and smaller-scale homegrown concerns and opportunities" (CV News 1987:1). The purpose is to strengthen organizations at the neighborhood level and establish a network of participation.

Visions 86 Conference

In March 1986, Chattanooga Venture sponsored a two-day conference entitled "Visions 86: A Conference on Utilizing Community Assets". The purpose was to share Chattanooga's Visions 2000 process: to demonstrate how to establish community visions and create public consensus to make those visions reality. It was funded in part by the state of Tennessee as a Homecoming '86 event. Over 300 people from

seven states and 47 Tennessee communities attended. Participants were elected officials, including several Tennessee mayors and county executives, public administrators, chamber of commerce officials, educators, businesspeople, and other interested citizens (CV 1986b). Incidentally, the only participants from Knoxville were two TVA planners, a H.U.D. official, and this author. There were no official representatives of Knoxville or Knox County despite numerous invitations to public officials, agency staff, and chamber leaders (Littlefield, interview 1986b).

The conference was part inspiration and part instruction. A series of renowned speakers encouraged communities to plan for their future. Breakout sessions led by panels of experts discussed a variety of important community issues with participants. On the final day, a hands-on experience was provided in which participants learned step-by-step how to conduct a community goals setting program, using a nominal group process. A "Do It Yourself Kit" was provided which covered the basics from the kind of space and supplies needed to an example of a typical timeline for a meeting (CV 1986a).

Communications

From its inception, Chattanooga Venture has been a high profile organization, committed to communicating openly and regularly with the community (CV 1985). A storefront office was opened and staffed with volunteers and professionals. Day-long open houses were held at the beginning of Venture and at the end of Vision 2000. Over 10,000 brochures and questionnaires were distributed which asked citizens to

identify the community's assets and liabilities and how to develop and improve them. A monthly television program was developed with Channel 45 to clarify issues and understanding of Vision 2000 goals. A community calendar was produced in cooperation with Chattanooga Life and Leisure.

Venture publishes the Chattanooga Venture News which gives in-depth analysis of major community issues and updates task force and committee activities. It was originally produced entirely by professional volunteers, however Venture now employs a full-time Communications Editor.

Analysis

Chattanooga Venture has been a vehicle to build support for progress and change in Chattanooga. Although some politicians were initially wary of the idea, they soon learned that a consensus building process such as Venture provides decision makers with an understanding of the popular will and identifies a base of support for their programs (Littlefield, interview 1986a).

Chattanooga's new spirit of citizen involvement was recognized by Partners for Livable Places (PLP) of Washington, D.C. PLP studies the quality of life and economic health of American communities, and annually selects cities as "America's most livable places" for successfully facing economic challenges. Chattanooga was named to the 1986 list: "The heart of (its) new dynamic was its decision to invest in amenities, to make its base of idea and civic participation all-inclusive" (Knoxville News-Sentinel 1986).

4. KNOXVILLE: A SITUATION ASSESSMENT

The three citizen organizations previously discussed in this chapter all seek to educate citizens on community issues, build consensus on proposals to deal with those issues, increase the level of citizen participation in decision making, and develop new leaders who represent the diversity of the population while working together to define a broader community interest.

Yet each organization is a product of its own time and place, and is reflective of the forces which gave it birth and which nurture or challenge its existence: the values of the community, the political nature and power structure, the quality of leadership, the tradition of citizen action, socio-economic factors, the existence of educational resources, the commitment of human and organizational resources, the spirit of philanthropy, and the types of issues and opportunities which the community faces.

In order to develop a model for a citizen organization in Knoxville, it is necessary to study and understand the forces which exist in Knoxville which will either nurture or oppose a citizen organization.

Historical Political Context

Two local historians, McDonald and Wheeler (1983), described Knoxville as a city with a history of resistance to change and growth. Tracing Knoxville's history since the Civil War, the authors detailed a record of rigid conservatism, a resistance to planning and fiscal

outlays for community improvements, especially if taxes were raised, an ambivalent citizenry, and narrow, visionless leadership unable to meet the challenges of the New South industrial age. The conservative attitudes of two main groups , the civic-commercial elite and the working class, effectively blocked political, social, and economic change.

It is difficult to understand why Knoxville is the way it is without considering Knoxville's Appalachian influence, according to McDonald and Wheeler.

We have used the term "Appalachia" . . . to denote generally an environment "that is premodern or transitional -- an environment of rurality, strong kinship ties, community, low social mobility, resistance to change, self-awareness, and deep personal religious conviction. (p.5)

Appalachian characteristics and values have imparted to Knoxville a style and tone that is culturally and politically different in many respects from other areas of the country and even other southern cities. Unlike other New South industrial cities, Knoxville's industrial and economic base has not experienced a steady enough growth to reach an urban dynamic which could "leach out" Appalachian characteristics and transform its citizens into simply southern urbanites. Knoxville's location has also kept it linked "sybiotically and symbolically" with Appalachian values, more so than other southern cities (p.5).

The ultimate symbol of Knoxville's ultra-conservatism was Cas Walker, a powerful politician during the past forty years who

vigorously opposed--often successfully--proposals such as public improvements, downtown redevelopment, city-county consolidation, annexation, consolidation of the health department, fluoridation of the water, a civic coliseum, a city-county building, and any tax increase (p.135). He was a "hillbilly" politician and shrewd businessman who represented the working class "underdogs" against the elite "silk stocking" crowd (p.82). He was the master of a political style that Louis Brownlow, the first city manager, earlier had called "East Tennessee screamology" (p.137) and was not averse to punching it out with a fellow city council member if verbal dueling proved unsatisfactory (p.124).

The good civic leaders that did emerge in Knoxville prior to the 1960s "never seemed to come to grips with crucial issues, and the city seemed regularly to be side-tracked by antics like the Walker-Cooper joust" (p.124). With few exceptions, UT and TVA personnel did not become involved in the local political mire.

The political face of Knoxville became significantly altered as a result of a major annexation in 1962 of Fountain City and portions of the western suburbs. Besides these new voters, three new political blocs were emerging (p.142). One was a "business-progressive" bloc composed of members of the elite-controlled Chamber of Commerce who were less conservative than their predecessors and were ready to confront the city's political instability. They successfully elected their candidate for mayor, Leonard Rogers, as well as several "progressives" to council in 1965.

Another new political force was the large group of middle-class newcomers who came from outside the region to work for new industries in the late 1960s. They were affluent, well-educated, and more liberal than the general Knoxville community, and they demanded public services, good schools, and "good government". They became active in local PTAs, church, social and professional groups, and civic groups such as the League of Women Voters (p. 142).

The third new political group was the "business-developer" bloc which was younger, and more aggressive and risk-oriented than the Chamber business elite (p.143). They were dedicated to bold planning for area growth, major development in west Knoxville, and a massive renovation of downtown. Jake F. Butcher, a democrat and a member of the business-developer bloc, was president of United American Bank. He aggressively financed new development and industries, accounting for over half the business loans in the city by 1982 (p.145). In the mayoral election of 1971, the business-developer bloc supported Kyle Testerman's victory in a vicious campaign against the incumbent Rogers (p.131). Testerman's theme was that Rogers lacked the vision and energy to get Knoxville moving (p.152).

The Testerman administration began a bold program to revitalize downtown as a business-financial district, securing \$84 million in federal revenue-sharing and community-development money to finance it (p.158). He successfully pushed for the liberalization of the city's liquor laws, and unsuccessfully proposed the consolidation of city and county schools. He endorsed the world's fair concept, appointed

Butcher in a spirit of bi-partisanship to head a committee to prepare a feasibility study, and avoided calls for a referendum on the issue. "[Testerman's] ideas and energy seemed almost boundless, and he appeared to want to offer new and innovative ideas even before his older ones had been brought to fruition" (p.159).

However, Testerman lost his bid for re-election in 1975 to Randy Tyree in a very bitter campaign. McDonald and Wheeler blame his election loss to his "impatience with the normally languid processes of government, his open contempt of those who disagreed with him, and his willingness to take positions on even the most controversial of issues" (p.159). He had "too many political enemies, had given and taken too many political wounds, had shown himself too contemptuous of the average voters" (p.160). In sum, "Testerman's greatest foe was his own style. . . . He pushed too hard, moved too fast, advocated too many changes at once for a populace used to more judicious and conservative political leadership" (p.162).

Tyree was a popular and attractive candidate. He had been a police officer and was well-known for his role in Operation Aquarius, a massive bust of drug pushers in the UT area (p.160). He served as Safety Director toward the end of Mayor Leonard Rogers' administration. Tyree embraced the world's fair plans being developed by fellow democrat Jake Butcher and eluded calls for a referendum on the issue (p.168). Tyree was re-elected in 1979. The World's Fair opened in 1982 amid both elated praise and severe criticism. Later that year, Tyree lost his democratic bid for Governor of Tennessee.

By the time the 1983 mayoral race rolled around the fair was over and the site lay empty with no firm plans for redevelopment. Tyree did not run for re-election. He faced substantial debt from his failed gubernatorial campaign and was closely tied to the Butchers, whose banking empire had failed amid fraud allegations. Testerman again ran for mayor and easily defeated his opponents in the primary. Testerman's return to office may be a surprise considering McDonald and Wheeler's assessment of his prior defeat. However, despite the nonpartisanship of local elections, Testerman was a wealthy Republican businessman in a traditionally Republican area, which was still reeling from the criminal demise of the leading Democrat and financier. Testerman had name recognition, his opponents were weak, and he had proven that he could get things done, even if he lacked social graces and statesman-like qualities. With an empty fair site and \$46 million in fair-related debts (DuBose 1985), Knoxvilleians wanted someone who could get things done. Testerman's second term has been no less controversial than the first. His administration has pursued issues such as development of the World's Fair site, downtown redevelopment, restructuring of the police and fire departments, annexation, and consolidation of the city and county schools.

A Crisis of Leadership

Knoxville's leadership is no longer dominated by a Cas Walker brand of anti-growth reactionary politics. Leaders tend to be better educated, more sophisticated, and oriented toward change and growth.

Yet Knoxville's leaders describe themselves as narrowly-based, divided, and ineffective.

The quality of Knoxville's leadership was assessed in the 13-30 study (1986) which developed a strategic plan for economic development in Knoxville. The 13-30 study concluded:

Knoxville lacks strong leadership that is able to depoliticize issues, create consensus, and make progress toward a plan for the future. (p.10)

Ineffective leadership was identified as a key barrier to Knoxville's economic growth. The dissatisfaction with leadership was expressed by leaders themselves in nominal group meetings and interviews (Knoxville leaders 1985, Testerman 1985, Haslam & Akins 1986).

Knoxville leaders are frustrated with the divisiveness in their own ranks. Business leaders assail the quality of political candidates and criticize the political infighting which delays government action. Political leaders complain that business leaders are a divided camp who want change and progress but are not willing to pay for it and are unsympathetic to government's responsibility to a larger constituency.

The effectiveness of the political leadership has been undermined by vicious political campaigns, abrupt changes in policies between administrations, lack of cooperation and even open hostility between some elected officials; displays of arrogance toward critics; charges

of nepotism and misuse of travel funds; bitter personal feuds with the media, and scandalous personal allegations.

Business leaders have lacked a united vision since the end of the World's Fair. The Butcher bank failures and criminal indictments resulted in a backlash conservatism in the business community, a reduction in growth and risk capital, and a loss of leaders. The Chamber of Commerce staff and board are an active group of business leaders who are committed to promoting economic development for Knoxville. Yet, the Chamber is also a special interest group which first represents its members' interests. The current president of the Chamber is primarily concerned with identifying new business leaders rather than nurturing broad-based civic leadership (Akins, interview 1986).

There are also a number of special-interest leaders in Knoxville which represent either a specific economic or geographic constituency or a particular issue. They are not able to bring competing interests together to unite in a common vision because of their own narrow power-base and often parochial view of the Knoxville community's best interests.

A new effort at training leaders was begun in 1984 with the creation of Leadership Knoxville. Modeled after successful Leadership programs across the country, the purpose of the organization is "to strengthen the knowledge and understanding of [the] community among the current and emerging leaders and to prepare these leaders for the challenges ahead." The ten-month program focuses on the dynamics of

public decision-making and provides a cross-sectional view of the city's public issues. Participants are "current and emerging leaders comprising a representative group from business, the professions, government, education, religion, the arts, organized labor, and civic and community groups" (Leadership Knoxville 1985). Executive Director Jeannie Dulaney (interview 1985) stated that this training will provide a broader base of qualified leaders to serve in elected and appointed positions in Knoxville and will improve the quality of our leadership.

Although Leadership Knoxville is an excellent training program, the nature and limitations of the selection process creates a small and privileged group of students. There are over 200 applicants every year, but only 40 are selected by the Board. In addition, there is a \$600 tuition fee. Knoxville needs leadership training programs which offer opportunities for a much larger group of citizens who wish to develop leadership skills. An expanded Leadership Knoxville program which offers a variety of training workshops would be beneficial to the community.

Leadership in Knoxville is transactional rather than transforming. It lacks a dynamism which stimulates followers to be more active, thereby creating new ranks of leaders. It is what Gardner (1984:321) calls a fragmented leadership which is unable to unite to develop a vision of the future and make plans to get there. There is a need to create better channels of communication among leadership groups, especially on the larger community issues, in order to turn political,

business, and special-interest leaders, and other citizens, into civic leaders.

A Crisis of Followership

Knoxville's ineffective leadership is a reflection of its ineffective followership. Hollander (1984:31) suggests that effective leadership requires the cooperation and responsiveness of followership, and that followers, like leaders, require training and institutional vehicles for participation.

Knoxville offers few opportunities for citizens to be actively involved in the planning and decision-making process of major community issues. Most citizen participation is through membership in constituency- and issue-oriented groups. There are grassroots neighborhood groups such as Fourth and Gill, Oakwood-Lincoln Park, Old North Knoxville, Parkridge, West Hills, Fort Sanders, and City People; and single- and multi-issue groups such as Knoxville Heritage, Knoxville Green, the Arts Council, and Solutions to Issues of Concern in Knoxville (SICK). There are business, professional, and labor groups such as the Chamber of Commerce, the teachers association, the police and firefighters associations, and the Central Labor Council. Ad hoc coalitions are temporarily formed when issues arise that require cooperation. For example, several neighborhood groups have previously joined forces to fight the closing of fire stations, and the Citizens for Knoxville-Knox County Government was formed by several groups to campaign for metropolitan government in 1978 (McDonald & Wheeler 1983:174).

The most common opportunity for citizen input in Knoxville, besides the ballot box, is the public hearing. Hearings are an opportunity for citizens to be heard and for public proposals to be debated. However, all relevant interests may not be represented at a hearing and decisions are often made following adversarial confrontations. Public hearings are an ineffective forum for studying alternatives to major community issues, negotiating common ground, building consensus, and developing workable proposals.

Appointments to government boards and committees, such as the Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Industrial Development Board, provide an opportunity for selected citizens to participate in decision-making or advisory roles. However, County Commissioner Bee DeSelm (Ferrar 1986) stated that appointments in many cases are handed out as favors to constituents, and that the county commission is reluctant to fill posts with women. It was reported that of 136 appointed positions on county boards, only 25 were held by women. Leaders of local women's organizations disagreed with a Chamber of Commerce official who claimed that "there are just not enough qualified women willing to serve. . . . Most women don't want the appointments, if you want to know the truth."

Blue-ribbon committees and special task forces are occasionally appointed by elected officials to study a specific community issue. Knoxville Tomorrow, Inc. and the Downtown Task Force are two current examples. If appointments are representative of the interests involved, such task forces can be effective in depoliticizing an issue

and bringing together various interests and experts to study an issue and make recommendations for solving the problem. On the other hand, task forces are subject to criticism if it appears that political appointments were used to "stack the deck" in favor of one particular side of an issue.

A task force appointed by an independent citizen organization has certain advantages over one which is appointed by an elected official: increased credibility due to the non-political nature of the appointment, full-time staff support, established procedures to insure open and full hearing of viewpoints and alternatives, established access to media channels, and organizational support for follow-up and oversight of implementation.

Broad-based citizen input on major issues is often intentionally avoided by Knoxville's political and business leaders. The evasion of a referendum on the World's Fair is a prime example. When broad-based input is requested, it is often in the form of a questionnaire or some other method which assesses current attitudes, rather than an educational process which allows citizens to study an issue and its alternatives before making recommendations. The mayor's 1987 budget questionnaire which was sent to 1800 voters is an example (Harris 1986).

Analysis

Knoxville, like Indianapolis and Chattanooga, is trying to foster an environment for economic growth. But, unlike those two cities, Knoxville leaders have yet to discover the importance of creating a

public forum—a citizen organization—which will create support for progress and change through a consensus building process.

The Committee for Economic Development (1982) identified certain "civic foundations" which enable a community to respond effectively to its problems and opportunities: a strong civic culture which fosters a sense of community and encourages citizen participation; a well-defined vision of the future; communication and mediation of differences among key groups; a spirit of civic entrepreneurship; an ability to adapt to changing circumstances, and a broad-based citizen organization which can identify the interests of the larger community and work aggressively to build consensus on a course of action.

Knoxville must initiate efforts to strengthen its civic foundations and to foster a positive civic culture if it is to effectively respond to problems and opportunities. This thesis suggests that a combination of factors exist in Knoxville today which will support such efforts—including the creation of a citizen organization. Contributing factors include:

- o Knoxville's political and business leadership is frustrated by its own ineffectiveness and has acknowledged a need to try new approaches. They are cautiously experimenting with a regional marketing plan as part of a regional economic development strategy. Knoxville could follow the lead of Chattanooga by initiating a "two-pronged approach" to community development in which the citizen organization is responsible for "product development and quality

control" and the economic development effort promotes "sales and marketing."

- o Leadership Knoxville has now graduated over 120 people, some of whom have expressed a concern that there are few opportunities in which their leadership skills can be used to serve the larger community (Dulaney, interview 1987). There are also vast institutional and human resources at the University of Tennessee and Tennessee Valley Authority which remain largely untapped but which could be marshaled for such an effort.

- o Knoxville is ripe with issues which could be resolved more effectively by a citizen organization which facilitates the thorough study of an issue and makes recommendations based on consensus. Such issues include the reorganization of the police and fire departments, shelter for downtown's homeless, the Henley Street connector, redevelopment of the World's Fair site, development of a new downtown plan, regional economic development strategies, public industrial land development, landfill vs. incinerator needs, privatization of public services, and the consolidation of city and county services, including metropolitan government.

- o Finally, new and influential support and resources are available to initiate an effort to build a citizen organization in Knoxville. The idea of a citizen organization has actually surfaced at various times for at least the past eleven years. James Haslam II (interview 1986), an influential businessman and expert fundraiser, has been interested in this concept for many years. In 1976 he and

several other business leaders were approached with the idea by a local group of planners who had studied the Twin Cities Citizens League (Kenney, interview 1986) In 1982 the idea was again presented at a joint luncheon meeting of planners and public administrators. The featured speaker was James Hetland, Jr., a former chairman of the Citizens League.

The 13-30 study, upon which this thesis is based, is the most recent revival of the idea for a citizen organization in Knoxville. Whittle Communications (formerly called 13-30) is an influential force in Knoxville today. Chris Whittle, chairman of Whittle Communications, recently announced plans to invest \$70 million downtown for his corporate headquarters (DuBose 1986). He has been appointed chairman of the Downtown Task Force. Top management at Whittle Communications serve on the Board of Directors of several local groups including the Chamber of Commerce, the Community Foundation, United Way, and Main Street. A corporate foundation is being established. Chris Whittle has committed \$30,000 from his company and \$20,000 of his own funds as seed money for the regional marketing plan mentioned earlier in this chapter (Lail 1987). The regional marketing plan, like the citizen organization concept, evolved from the 13-30 study. Whittle is in an excellent position to commit resources and to assume a leadership role in the creation of a citizen organization.

An additional community resource which should be supportive of the development of a citizen organization is the East Tennessee

Foundation. Created in 1982 by the merger of two existing foundations, the East Tennessee Foundation supports innovative community programs and serves as a donor-advised fund and trustee of endowed funds. Executive Director Katharine Pearson (interview 1985) said there is hidden wealth in the community but without the tradition of philanthropy. A goal of the East Tennessee Foundation is to identify local wealth and to foster the spirit of philanthropy, serving as a major channel of funds into programs which will benefit the community.

Knoxville must nurture and strengthen its own civic foundations if it is to face the economic and political challenges of the 1990s. The creation of a broad-based citizen organization should be the first step in that direction.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. SUMMARY

Knoxville suffers from the dual afflictions of ineffective leadership and a low level of citizen participation. Knoxville's leaders are dissatisfied with their own ineffectiveness, narrow base, and fragmentation. Citizens are dissatisfied with mediocre leadership that often places political expediency before community needs.

There are few opportunities for citizens to participate in a meaningful way in the planning and decision-making process for major community issues. Most opportunities for citizen input are at public hearings at which decisions are made following often adversarial confrontations, or through task forces and government boards which are composed of a small, select group of appointed citizens. Issues of community-wide significance are often decided without adequate consultation of the citizenry and without public dialogue.

This thesis suggests that the ineffectiveness of leadership reflects the ineffectiveness of followership. Leadership requires an active role for followers in public policy decision-making. Leaders and citizens must engage in an interactive process of democratic conversation in order to achieve a mutual empowerment and strengthening of the community's civic foundations, and to build a tradition of strong civic leadership. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the potential for an interactive process in Knoxville which

would broaden the base and improve the quality of leadership and increase the level and quality of citizen participation.

The citizen organization is one organizational form which has been used successfully in other communities to create a forum for public dialogue. Three citizen organizations were examined in this thesis: the Citizens League, Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee, and Chattanooga Venture. These organizations share the goals of educating citizens on community issues, building consensus on proposals to deal with those issues, increasing the level of citizen participation in decision-making, and developing new broad-based leadership. Yet each organization reflects the spirit and politics of the community in which it operates and, therefore, differs to some degree in its structure, political autonomy, and organizational policies.

A citizen organization is proposed for Knoxville which will reflect the unique needs, constraints, and opportunities found in the community. This thesis suggests that a combination of factors currently exist which increase the feasibility of creating a citizen organization. The most important of these factors is a growing momentum for change and a group of influential people who support the idea and have resources to commit to the effort.

2. RECOMMENDATIONS: A MODEL FOR A KNOXVILLE CITIZEN ORGANIZATION

This model for a Knoxville citizen organization was developed by the author. It is offered here only as a starting point for discussion. The model for a community's civic organization cannot be created by one or even a few individuals. The process for creating a civic organization must reflect the very same process to which the organization is committed: a broad-based citizen effort based on consensus.

The Knoxville citizen organization (titled "KCO" for purposes of discussion) is the vehicle for creating a united vision for the future of Knoxville. KCO is a comprehensive, consensus-building approach to studying and finding solutions to community problems. It is a structure through which interested citizens can participate in community decision-making and from which new leaders will emerge.

Purposes

The Knoxville citizen organization is a catalyst, educator, facilitator, incubator of ideas, and initiator of new efforts. It is neutral ground where conflicts are resolved and differences are mediated. The purposes of KCO are:

1. To develop community goals based on consensus which articulate a united vision for the future of Knoxville.

2. To build consensus in the community regarding problems and solutions, in order to depoliticize issues and provide a vehicle for the cooperative effort of the public and private sectors.

3. To promote better government and civic improvement which will enhance the climate for economic growth and improve the quality of life.

4. To develop ideas, programs, and policies which will improve the economic, social, and environmental conditions in Knoxville.

5. To identify, educate, and nurture leaders for public sector leadership roles.

6. To increase the level and quality of citizen involvement in public affairs and the electoral process.

Structure and Organization

KCO is a non-profit, non-partisan, private sector entity committed to representing a broad cross-section of the entire community. It is committed to developing and using local resources in terms of expertise, leadership, and funding.

COMMENT: The author believes that KCO should be autonomous from the mayor's office, unlike the structure of Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee. The political divisiveness in this community makes it essential that KCO remain structurally independent. The Citizens League and Chattanooga Venture are both structurally independent yet have an extremely cooperative working relationship with the mayors and other elected officials of their communities.

Membership. Membership is open to all individuals, businesses, and nonprofit organizations. Members can volunteer and are appointed to serve on KCO task forces. Individual and family membership dues are nominal. Dues for corporations and organizations are indexed.

COMMENT: KCO should be a true membership organization which actively solicits members from across the community. Nominal dues give members an investment in their organization, yet are not so prohibitive as to preclude interested citizens from joining.

Board of Directors. A 50-member board which is representative of a cross-section of the community is elected by the membership. Directors serve for three years with overlapping terms. The Board meets monthly from September through May. It sets organizational policies and goals and approves task force recommendations. A 5-member executive committee is responsible for staff and operations and meets monthly.

COMMENT: The Board should be large enough to allow a good cross-section of the community to be represented. A large Board gives more segments of the community a voice in the process and an investment in the success of the organization. The goal of participation is of greater importance than whatever economies might be gained from a smaller board.

Staff. A 4-person professional and support staff coordinates daily operations, programs, and task forces, and implements board decisions. Student interns from the UT Planning and Public Administration programs are recruited as volunteer staff.

COMMENT: A full-time staff is critical to the success of a community-wide citizen organization. The volume of activities which KCO should undertake could not be effectively coordinated solely by volunteers. A 4-person staff would be similar in number to the staff of GIPC and Chattanooga Venture. Volunteers should be used to assist staff operations. The major role of volunteers, however, is to serve on the task forces.

Budget and Funding. The budget is \$250,000 annually. The sources of funding are membership dues, large corporate donations, local philanthropists, local foundations (such as the Levi-Strauss Foundation, the Whittle Foundation, and the East Tennessee Foundation), state and local government grants and contracts, grants from non-local foundations for specific programs, an annual fundraising event, and in-kind donations.

COMMENT: GIPC and the Citizens League rely primarily on large corporate donations. Chattanooga Venture's operating budget comes from Lyndhurst Foundation. It is expected that KCO's operating budget would come primarily from large corporate and individual donations and local foundations.

Programs and Activities

Community Goals-Setting Process. The first major activity of the civic organization would be a community goals-setting process similar to the one developed in Chattanooga. The purpose is to develop a vision for Knoxville's future along with specific programs and plans for implementation. The results of this process should set the agenda for the civic organization and should provide public and private leaders with the consensus necessary to support and implement the identified goals and objectives.

The "Knoxville Visions" project is a three-month long series of public meetings and forums which solicits maximum citizen involvement in order to kick-off the founding of KCO and to create a momentum for progress and change in Knoxville.

Task Forces: Issue Research and Recommendations. The bulk of the organization's work is carried out by task forces which thoroughly study an issue utilizing experts, advocates, and adversaries as resources and task force members. Specific proposals and plans for implementation are recommended by the task forces. Task force recommendations are the official position of KCO when adopted by the Board.

There are two types of task forces. One type is formed for a specific study and is of limited duration. The other type of task force serves an ongoing advisory role on a particular issue, e.g., a Human Relations Task Force. Task force members consist of board

appointees and other interested citizens who volunteer. The civic organization staff provides administrative, research, and clerical support and overall coordination of the research and recommendations.

Leadership and Citizenship Training. Leadership and citizenship education is an integral part of the civic organization. Task forces are one vehicle through which leaders emerge and citizens learn about their community and the governmental process.

KCO coordinates its activities with ongoing leadership programs such as Leadership Knoxville. It co-sponsors weekend and evening leadership workshops which are open to the public.

KCO works with schools and educators to develop programs and curriculum for leadership and citizenship training at all educational levels. The goal is to prepare a generation of new leaders by creating an interest in and understanding of the community.

Political education is coordinated with the League of Women Voters, political groups, and other organizations. Workshops are conducted which explain the political/electoral process and how to run for office. For example, the civic organization could co-sponsor with the Chamber of Commerce the "Action Course in Practical Politics," a political education course developed by the National Chamber of Commerce. The course would be held in several locations throughout the community for six weeks, one evening per week, in which the political process from the precinct level to the national political convention would be studied.

Citizen Participation. The civic organization is committed to broad-based citizen involvement. This starts with the community-wide participation process on goals-setting and continues with the involvement of citizens on task forces. KCO maintains and promotes a list of qualified, interested citizens and experts who are willing to serve on public and nonprofit committees and boards.

Public Information. A role of the civic organization is to collect and disseminate information about community goals and issues, the organization's activities, and task force reports. A high public profile is necessary. This is accomplished through extensive contact with the media, a monthly newsletter, an annual report, and other publications. Public forums and seminars are held which address current issues.

Implementation of Proposal for KCO

The creation of the Knoxville citizen organization should follow a process similar to the one used by Chattanooga Venture.. First, however, a core group of people must be assembled who are dedicated to the concept of a citizen organization and who will commit the necessary time and resources to bring this proposal to fruition.

The core group should consist of individuals who have a history of involvement in the community and who have the influence to garner the support of others. They should be willing to commit their time to nurture this proposal. They must also be willing to commit personal funds to seed the operation in its planning stages.

The core group should be committed to the concept of solving community issues through broad-based citizen participation in a consensus building process. They should be committed to developing civic leadership which will represent a broader constituency than political, business, or special-interest leaders.

The core group should hire an individual on a full-time temporary basis to coordinate and staff the founding meetings of KCO. When KCO is incorporated, the Board should hire permanent professional and support staff.

A small but representative group of leaders and activists should be invited by the core group to an initial meeting to discuss the feasibility and need for a citizens organization. It should be a genuine cross-section of the community, and not be business-dominated. An informational position paper should be sent to each participant prior to the meeting which summarizes the purpose of the meeting and provides some background information on the concept of citizen organizations and how one could benefit Knoxville. The Executive Director or Board Chairman of Chattanooga Venture should be invited to discuss the experiences of Chattanooga Venture. At the conclusion of the meeting, a steering committee should be formed.

The support of the media should be solicited from the beginning of the planning process. Media coverage and support is crucial to building a momentum for the organization and its activities. Representatives of the various media should be involved in the initial

meetings and should help coordinate the dissemination of information to the public.

Next a series of public meetings should be set up at which individuals are assigned to research and present their findings on the structures and activities of specific civic organizations in other communities. The meetings should be publicized and open to all interested citizens. This process should not be dragged out; perhaps 4-5 meetings would be sufficient to get a good overview of organizational options. A commitment should be obtained from participants at the end of this process and an organizational model decided upon for Knoxville. Committees should be formed to draft the Articles of Incorporation and Bylaws, apply for federal tax-exempt status, and begin fundraising. A full-time staff should be hired and a downtown storefront office opened.

The role of the core group is crucial to the creation of KCO. They are the convenors and initiators of the process, who should participate in the decision-making, but exercise no ultimate control. They should nurture KCO in its infancy, but give it a life of its own.

Conclusion

The successful creation of the Knoxville citizen organization depends first on a strong commitment from the core group including a commitment of resources to seed the proposal. A concerted effort is necessary to promote and market the idea, enlisting the support of the media and established community leadership. Finally, KCO must recruit an active membership who represent a cross-section of the community.

The ultimate success of the organization will be measured by three criteria: the credibility gained by listening to all points of view and building a community consensus; the results achieved from KCO recommendations and proposals, and the increased knowledge of public issues by citizens in the community. A successful citizen organization will foster a civic culture in Knoxville which encourages broad-based citizen participation and which values civic leadership.

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Group 1. September 4, 1985:

Daley, Roger A. President and General Manager, Knoxville News-Sentinel.

Morgan, George A. Chairman, Valley Fidelity Bank and Trust Company.

Neel, C. Warren. Dean, College of Business Administration, University of Tennessee.

Piper, Coleman. Proffitt's Department Stores.
Sansom, William B. Chairman and CEO, H. T. Hackney Company;
President, Knoxville Chamber of Commerce.

Group 2. September 5, 1985:

Hoskins, Edwin C. General Manager, Knoxville Utilities Board.
Kessel, W. Dwight. Knox County Executive, Knox County.
McMahan, Ronald D. Editor, The Knoxville Journal.
Smith, James F., Jr. Chairman and CEO, First American National
Bank of Knoxville.
Townes, James R. Executive Director and CEO, Knoxville Area Urban
League.

Group 3. September 10, 1985:

Atchley, Ben. State Senator, Knox County, 6th District.
Ayres, Thomas M. Cumberland Securities Co., Inc.
Harding, Wanda C. Executive Director, The Arts Council of Greater
Knoxville.
Lawler, Rodney. Lawler-Wood Associates, Inc.
White, David. President, The Community Foundation.
Worthington, Robert F., Jr. Partner, Baker Worthington Crossley
Stansberry & Woolf.

Group 4. September 12, 1985:

Boling, Edward J. President, The University of Tennessee.
Cate, Richard. Senior Vice-President, The Greater Knoxville
Chamber of Commerce.
Cobble, Donna McNab. President, Dunhill Temporary Systems, Inc.
Glover, Nicholas W. President and CEO, 13-30 Corporation.
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Pearson, Katharine. Director, The East Tennessee Foundation, Knoxville, Tennessee. Personal interview, October 3, 1985.

Testerman, Kyle. Mayor, City of Knoxville, Tennessee. Personal interview, September 30, 1985.

VITA

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She attended Temple University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. In 1974 she joined the staff of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW). She worked in Columbus and Chicago building consumer support and raising funds for California farm workers and then in several UFW field offices in southern California.

In 1979 she received her Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from Furman University in Greenville, South Carolina. She worked for the Knoxville office of The Youth Project, a public foundation, from 1980-84 during which time she began graduate studies at the University of Tennessee Graduate School of Planning. She received her Master of Science degree in Planning in June 1987 and is currently employed in the Economic Development branch of the Tennessee Valley Authority.