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Mr Lex Frieden
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Zürich, april 30, 1998

Dear Mr Frieden

How are you?

When I came back from my holidays I found a note from Daniel Stirnimann together with a copy of your fax from march 27, addressed to him.

I see that you are planning to come back to Switzerland in the summer time and that you want to know my address.

Unfortunately we are not in Switzerland during the month of July but otherwise if you come later it would certainly be nice, to meet you again.

I'm sure I'll be hearing from you once your plans are more concrete.

With warm regards

Ingrid Hasler

Ingrid Hasler-Hasler
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THE 22 IMMUTABLE LAWS OF MARKETING

Al Ries & Jack Trout

On this tape, you will find the fundamental laws of marketing described in some detail. Once you open your mind to the possibility that there are immutable laws of marketing, it's easy to see what they are. In truth they are obvious. We have been studying what works in marketing and what doesn't work for 25 years. What we have found is that programs that work are almost always in tune with some fundamental course in the marketplace. And you can build a brilliant marketing program only to have one of the immutable laws knock you flat if you don't know what they are. After years of working on marketing principles and problems, we have distilled our findings into the basic laws that govern success or failure in the marketplace. We call these principles the "immutable laws of marketing" and there are 22 of them. Violate them at your own risk.

1. **The Law of Leadership** – it's better to be first than it is to be better. The basic issue in marketing is creating a category you can be first in. It's much easier to get into the mind first than to try to convince someone you have a better product than the one that did get into the mind first. The law of leadership applies to any product, any brand, any category. The law of leadership also applies to magazines, which is why Time leads Newsweek, People leads Us, and Playboy leads Penthouse. The law of leadership applies equally as well to hard categories, like automobiles and computers. Jeep was the first in 4-wheel drive, off-the-road vehicles. Acura is first in luxury Japanese cars. IBM was the first in mainframe computers. Sun was first in workstations. Jeep, Acura, IBM and Sun are all leading brands. The first minivan was introduced by Chrysler. Today Chrysler has only 10% of the car market but 50% of the minivan market. Is the essence of car marketing making better cars or getting into the market first? The first desktop laser printer was introduced by a computer company, Hewlett Packard. Today, HP has only 5% of the personal computer market but 45% of the laser printer market. One reason the first brand tends to maintain its leadership is because the name often becomes generic. Xerox, the first plain paper copier, became the name for all plain paper copiers. People will stand in front of a Ricoh or a Sharp or a Kodak machine and say, "How do I make a Xerox copy?" They will ask for the Kleenex when to box clearly says Scott. They will offer you a Coke when all they have is Pepsi Cola. How many people ask for cellophane tape instead of Scotch tape? Not many. Most people use brand names when they've become generic – Band-Aids, fiberglass, Formica, Gore-Tex, Jell-O, crazy glue, Q-tips, saran wrap and Velcro, to name a few. If you're introducing the first brand in a new category, you should always try to select a name that can work generically. Lawyers advise the opposite, but what do they know about the laws of marketing? Not only does the first brand usually become the leader, but also the sales order of follow-up brands often matches the order of their introductions. The best example is ibuprofen – Advil was first, Nuprin was second, and Medipren was third. That's exactly the order they now enjoy. Advil has 64% of the ibuprofen market, Nuprin has 20%, and Medipren has 8%. The fourth brand that entered the market was Motrin IB. Even though it had the powerful prescription name

for ibuprofen, Motrin's market share is even less than Medipren. Keep in mind that Advil was introduced with the "same as Motrin" theme. Also consider Tylenol, the first brand of acetaminophen. Tylenol is so far ahead of the number 2 brand that it's hard to determine who is number 2. If the secret of success is getting into the mind first, what strategy are most companies committed to? It's the better product strategy. The latest and hottest subject in the business management field today is called benchmarking. Touted as the ultimate competitive strategy, benchmarking is the process of comparing and evaluating your company's products against the best in the industry. It's an essential element in the process often called "total quality management." Unfortunately, benchmarking doesn't work. Regardless of reality, people perceive the first product into the mind as superior. Marketing is a battle of perceptions, not products. What's the name of the first brand of aspirin, the first brand of acetaminophen, the first brand of ibuprofen? Hint: substitute leading for first, and you'll have the answers to these three questions. Neil Armstrong was the first person to walk on the moon. Who was second? George Washington was the first president of the United States. Who was second? Thomas's was the first brand of English muffin. What was the second? If you're second in the mind, are you doomed to languish forever with Buzz Aldrin, John Adams and some unknown English muffin? Not necessarily. Fortunately, there are other laws.

2. **The Law of the Category** – if you can't be first in the category, set up a new category you can be first in. Is marketing difficult? No. The laws of marketing are quite simple. Working things out in practice is quite another matter. Cray Research went over the top with the first supercomputer. Today Cray is an $800 million company. So Convex put two and two together and launched the first mini supercomputer. Today Convex is a $200 million company. Sometimes you can turn an also-ran into a winner by inventing a new category. Commodore was just another manufacturer of home personal computers that weren't going anywhere until they positioned the Amiga as the first multi-media computer. Today the Commodore Amiga is a big success. More than $500 million worth are sold annually. When you launch a new product, the first question to ask yourself is not, "How is this product better than the competition?" The first question to ask is, "First what?" In other words, what category is this product first in? Charles Schwab didn't open a better brokerage firm. He opened the first discount broker. Today Charles Schwab is America's largest discount broker. Leaders was not the first women's magazine, but it was the first magazine for the mature woman. This is counter to classic marketing thinking, which is brand-oriented. How do I get people to prefer my brand? Forget the brand; think category. Prospects are on the defensive when it comes to brand. Everyone talks about why their brand is better. But prospects do have an open mind when it comes to categories. Everyone is interested in what's new. Few people are interested in what's better. When you're first in a new category, promote the category. In essence you have no competition. Digital Equipment told its prospects why they ought to buy a mini-computer, not a DEQ mini computer. In the early days Hertz sold a rent-a-car service; Coca-Cola sold refreshment. The marketing programs of both companies were more effective back then. Yet most companies are brand oriented. They think brands; they talk brands; they promote brands, when they should be focused on categories. Ask yourself, "What category can we be first in?" After you have invented a category, you can spend all your efforts promoting the merits of the category. You're the leader and you can sit back and enjoy all the benefits of leadership.

3. **The Law of the Mind** – it's better to be first in the prospect's mind than to be first in the marketplace. Dumont invented the first commercial television set. Durrier introduced the first automobile. And Hurley introduced the first washing machine. All are gone. Is something wrong with the law of leadership? No, but the law of the mind modifies the law of leadership. It's better to be first in the mind than it is to be first in the marketplace, which, if anything, understates the importance of being first in the mind. Being first in the mind is everything in marketing. Being first in the marketplace is important only to the extent that it allows you to get into the mind first. For example, IBM wasn't first in the marketplace with the mainframe computer. Remington was first with Univac. But thanks to a massive marketing effort, IBM got into the mind first and won the computer battle early. The law of the mind follows from the law of perception. But marketing is a battle of perception, not product. Then the mind takes precedence over the marketplace. Thousands of would-be entrepreneurs are tripped up every year by this law. Someone has an idea or a concept they believe will revolutionize an industry, as well it may. The problem is getting the idea or concept into the prospect's mind. The conventional solution to the problem is money. That is, the resources that design and build product or service organizations, plus the resources to hold press conferences, attend trade shows, run advertisements and conduct direct mail programs. Unfortunately, this gives rise to the perception that the answer to all marketing questions is the same—money. Not true. More money is wasted in marketing than in any other human activity outside of government activities, of course. Once someone else gets into your prospect's mind, you can't take away their position with money alone. You can't change a mind once a mind is made up. Wang was first in word processors, but the world passed them by and went on to computers. Wang, however, wasn't able to make the transition. In spite of spending millions of dollars promoting their personal mini computers, Wang is still perceived as a word processor company. Xerox was the first in copiers, and then tried to get into the computer business. Twenty-five years and $2 billion later, Xerox has made very little progress in computers. You want to change something in a computer? Just type over or delete the existing material. You want to change something in a mind? Forget it! Once a mind is made up, it rarely, if ever changes. The single most wasteful thing you can do in marketing is to try to change a human mind. If you want to make a big impression on another person, you cannot worm your way into their mind and then slowly build up a favorable opinion over a period of time. A mind doesn't work that way. You have to blast your way into the mind. The reason you blast instead of worm is that people don't like to change their minds. Once they perceive you one way, that's it. They kind of file you away in their minds as a certain type of person. You cannot become a different person in their minds. The only way to change that perception is to become a different kind of person in someone else's mind so that the majority overwhelms the minority. If one finds they are out of touch with the majority, they will sometimes change their mind. But you haven't changed their mind; other people have. One of the mysteries in marketing is the role of money. One day a few dollars can work a major miracle. The next day millions of dollars can't save a company from going under. When you have an open mind to work with, even a small amount of money can go a long way. Apple got off the computer ground with $91,000 contributed by Mike Markula. Today Apple is not only a survivor, but also the leading brand of home personal computer. Apple's problem of getting into the mind was helped by its simple, easy to remember name. On the other hand, Apple's competitors had complicated names, which were difficult to remember. In the early days, five personal computers were in

position on the launching pad: Apple II, Commodore Pep, Imsa 8080, Mitz Altaire 8800, and the Radio Shack TRS80. Ask yourself, "Which name is the simplest and easiest to remember?" And then ask Commodore, Imsa, Mitz and Radio Shack why they didn't give their products a simpler name. The laws of marketing are simple. The ability of the human race to complicate things knows no bounds.

4. **The Law of Perception** – marketing is not a battle of products; it's a battle of perceptions. *Many* people think marketing is a battle of products. In the long run, the best product will win. Marketing people are preoccupied with doing research and getting the facts. They analyze the situation to make sure that truth is on their side. Then they sail confidently into the marketing arena, secure in the knowledge that they have the best product and that ultimately the best product will win. Truth is nothing more or less than one expert's perception. And this expert's truth itself is only a perception. And who is the expert? It's someone who is perceived to be an expert in the mind of somebody else. If truth is so elusive, why is there so much discussion in marketing about the facts? Marketing people focus on facts because they believe in objective reality. It's also easy for marketing people to assume that truth is on their side. If you think you need the best product to win a marketing battle, then it's easy to believe you have the best product. All that's required is a minor modification of your own perceptions. Changing a prospect's mind is another matter. People are seldom, if ever wrong, at least in their minds. It's easy to see the power of perception over product when the products are separated by some distance. For example, the three largest selling Japanese imported cars in America are Honda, Toyota and Nissan. Most marketing people think the battle between the three brands is based on quality, styling, horsepower and price. Not true. It's what people think about a Honda, a Toyota or a Nissan that determines which brand will win. Marketing is a battle of perceptions. Japanese automobile manufacturers sell the same cars in the United States as they do in Japan. If marketing were a battle of products, you would think that the same sales order would hold true for both countries. After all, the same quality, the same styling, the same horsepower and roughly the same prices hold true for Japan as they do for the United States. But in Japan, Honda is nowhere near the leader. There, Honda is in third place behind Toyota and Nissan. Toyota sells more than four times as many automobiles in Japan as Honda does. What's the difference between Honda in Japan and Honda in the U.S.? The products are the same, but the perceptions in the mind are different. If you told friends in New York you'd bought a Honda, they might ask you what kind of car did you get. Did you get a Civic, an Accord, or a Prelude? If you told friends in Tokyo you'd bought a Honda, they might ask you what kind of motorcycle did you buy. In Japan Honda entered the mind as a manufacturer of motorcycles and apparently most people don't want to buy a car from a motorcycle company. Marketing's a battle of perceptions, not products. Marketing is the process of dealing with those perceptions. Some soft drink executives believe that marketing is a battle of taste. Well, New Coke is number 1 in taste. The Coca-Cola Company conducted 200,000 taste tests that proved that New Coke tastes better than Pepsi Cola and Pepsi tastes better than their original formula now called Coca Cola Classic. So who is winning the marketing battle? The one that research has proven to taste the best, New Coke, is in third place. The one that research shows tastes the worst, Coca-Cola Classic, is in first place. You believe what you want to believe. You taste what you want to taste. Soft drink marketing is a battle of perceptions, not a battle of taste. What makes the battle even more difficult is that customers frequently make buying decisions based on second-hand

perceptions. Instead of their own perceptions, they base their buying decisions on someone else's perception of reality. This is the "everybody knows" principle. Everybody knows that the Japanese make higher quality cars than Americans do. If you had a bad experience with a Japanese car, you were just unlucky, because everybody knows the Japanese make high quality cars. Conversely, if you had a good experience with an American car, you were just lucky, because everybody knows that American cars are poorly made. Marketing is not a battle of products, it's a battle of perception.

5. **The Law of Focus** – the most powerful concept in marketing is owning a word in the mind. Not a complicated word. Not an invented one. The simpler words are best. Words taken right out of the dictionary. This is the law of focus. You burn your way into the mind by narrowing the focus to a single word or concept. It's the ultimate marketing sacrifice. Federal Express was able to put the word overnight into the mind because it sacrificed its product line and focused on overnight package delivery only. In a way, the law of leadership—it's better to be first than to be better—enables the first brand or company to own a word in the mind. But the word the leader owns is so simple it's invisible. The leader owns the word that stands for the category. IBM owns computer in the mind. This is another way of saying that the brand becomes a generic name for the category. You could also test the validity of the leadership claim by a word association test. If the given words are computer, copier, chocolate bar and cola, the four most associated words are IBM, Xerox, Hershey's, and Coke. An astute leader will go one step further to solidify that position. Heinz owns the word ketchup in the mind. But Heinz went on to isolate the most important ketchup attribute. "Slowest ketchup in the west" is how Heinz is preempting the thickness attribute. Owning the word slow helps Heinz maintain a 50% market share. If you're not a leader, then your word has to have a narrow focus. Even more important, however, your word has to be available in your category. No one else can have a lock on it. The essence of marketing is narrowing the focus. You become stronger when you reduce the scope of your operations. You can't stand for something if you chase after everything. When you develop your word to focus on, be prepared to fend off the lawyers. They want to trademark everything you publish. The trick is to get others to use your word. To be a leader, you have to have followers. It would be helpful for Lotus to have other companies get into the groupware business. It will make the category more important and people will be impressed with Lotus's leadership. Once you have your word, you have to go out of your way to protect it in the marketplace. The case of BMW illustrates this very well. For years, they were the ultimate driving machine. Then they decided to broaden their product line and chase Mercedes Benz with large 700 series sedans. The problem is, how can a living room on wheels be the ultimate driving machine? Not only can't you feel the road, but you also crush all the pylons in your driving commercials. As a result, things started downhill for BMW. Luckily, they have recently introduced a new small BMW and are emphasizing driving once again. They have regained their focus. The law of focus applies to whatever you're selling or even un-selling, like drugs, for example. The anti-drug crusade on television and in magazines suffers from a lack of focus. There's no one word driven into the minds of drug users that could begin to un-sell the drug concept. Anti-drug advertising is all over the map. You'd think the anti-drug forces who, after all, are professionals, would have taken a lead from the amateurs who are fighting the abortion issue. Both sides of the abortion issue have focused on single powerful words: pro-life and pro-choice. The anti-drug forces should do to the same--Focus on a single powerful word. What the campaign

ought to do is to make drugs what cigarettes are today, socially unacceptable. One word that could do this is the ultimate down word, loser. Since drug usage causes all kinds of losses—job, family, self-esteem, freedom, life—a program that said drug are for losers could have a powerful impact, especially on the recreational user, who is more concerned with social status. The law of focus could help solve one of society's biggest problems.

6. **The Law of Exclusivity** – two companies cannot own the same word in the prospect's mind. Volvo owns safety. Many other automobile companies, including Mercedes Benz and General Motors, have tried to run marketing campaigns based on safety. Yet no one has succeeded in getting into the prospect's mind with a safety message except Volvo. Many companies continue to violate the law of exclusivity. What often leads marketers down this booby-trapped lane is that wonderful stuff called research. Armies of researchers are employed, focus groups conducted, questionnaires tabulated. And what comes back in a three-pound report is a wish list of attributes that users want from a product or service. So if that's what people want, that's what we should given them. Some years ago, Burger King started down this slippery slope from which they have never quite recovered. A market study showed that the most popular attribute for fast food was "fast". No big surprise there. So Burger King did what most red-blooded marketers do—they turned to their advertising agency and said, "If the world wants fast, our advertising should tell them that we're fast." What was overlooked in the research was the fact that McDonalds was perceived as being the fastest hamburger chain in the country. Fast was McDonalds' word. Undaunted by this, Burger King launched their campaign with the slogan "best food for fast times." The program quickly became a disaster. Very nearly on a par with Herb. The advertising agency was fired, management was fired, the company was sold, and downward momentum was maintained. A large number of people paid the price for violating the law of exclusivity.

7. **The Law of the Ladder** – The strategy to use depends on which rung you occupy on the ladder. While getting into the mind first ought to be a primary marketing objective, the battle isn't lost if you fail in this endeavor. There are strategies to use for number 2 and number 3 brands. All products are not created equal. There is a hierarchy in the mind that prospects use in making decisions. For each category there is a product ladder in the mind. On each rung is a brand name. Pick the car rental category. Hertz got into the mind first and wound up on the top rung. Avis got into the mind second, and National got into the mind third. Your marketing strategy should depend on how soon you got into the mind and consequently which rung of the ladder you occupy—the higher the better, of course. Take Avis, for example. For years, Avis advertised the high quality of its rent-a-car service. "Finest in rent-a-cars" was one of their campaigns. The reader looked at the ad and said, "How could they have the finest rent-a-car service when they're not on the top rung of my ladder?" Then Avis did the one thing you have to do to make progress inside the mind of the prospect. They acknowledged their position on the ladder. Avis is only number 2 in rent-a-cars, so why go with us? We try harder. For thirteen years in a row, Avis had lost money. Then they admitted they were number 2, and Avis started to make money, lots of money. Shortly thereafter, the company was sold to ITT who promptly ordered the advertising theme, "Avis is going to be number 1." "No they're not," said the prospect, "they're not on the top rung of my ladder." And to make the point, many picked up the phone and called Hertz. The campaign was a disaster. Many marketing people have misread the Avis story. They assume the company was successful because it tried harder, they had better service. Not at all. Avis

was successful because it related itself to the position of Hertz in the mind. If trying harder were the secret of success, Harold Stasen would have been president many times over. The mind is selective. Prospects use their ladders in deciding which information to accept and which information to reject. In general, a mind accepts only new data which is consistent with their product ladder in that category. Everything else is ignored. What about your product's ladder in the prospect's mind? How many rungs are there on your ladder? It depends on whether your product is a high interest or a low interest product. Products you use every day like cigarettes, cola, beer, toothpaste and cereal tend to be high interest products with many rungs on their ladders. Products which are purchased infrequently, like furniture, lawn mowers and luggage, usually have few rungs on their ladders. Products which involve a great deal of personal pride, like automobiles, watches and cameras, are also high interest products with many rungs on their ladders even though they are purchased infrequently. Products which are purchased infrequently and involve an unpleasant experience usually have very few rungs on their ladders. Automobile batteries, tires and life insurance are three examples. Marketing people often talk about the three leading brands in a category as if it were a battle of equals. It almost never is. The leader inevitably dominates the number 2 brand and the number 2 brand inevitably smothers number 3. In baby food it's Gerber, Beechnut and Heinz. In beer it's Budweiser, Miller and Coors. In long-distance telephone service it's AT&T, MCI and Sprint. What's the maximum number of rungs in a ladder? There seems to be a rule of seven in the prospect's mind. Ask someone to name all the brands he or she remembers in a given category. Rarely will anyone name more than seven. And that's for a high interest category. For a low interest product the average consumer can usually name no more than two or three brands. Sometimes your own ladder or category is too small. It might be better to be a small fish in a big pond than to be a big fish in a small pond. It's sometimes better to be number 3 on a big ladder than number 1 on a small ladder. 7-Up was on the top rung of the lemon-lime soda ladder; Sprite was on the second rung. In the soft drink field, however, the cola ladder is much bigger than the lemon-lime ladder. So 7-Up climbed on the cola ladder with a marketing campaign called the Un-cola. By linking the product to what was already in the mind of the prospect, 7-Up established itself as an alternative to Coke and Pepsi. As tea is to coffee, 7-Up became the alternative to a cola drink. And 7-Up sales climbed to where the brand was the third largest selling soft drink in America.

8. **The Law of Duality** – in the long run every market becomes a two-horse race. Early on a new category becomes a ladder of many rungs. Gradually, over time, the ladder becomes a two-rung affair. When you take the long view of marketing, you find the battle usually winds up as a titanic struggle between two major players, usually, the old reliable brand and the upstart. Look at the three long distance telephone companies. AT&T has 62% of the market, MCI has 15% and Sprint has 9%. Who will win and who will lose in the telephone wars? While the future is unknowable, a betting person would put his or her money on MCI. MCI won the battle with Sprint for second place. Now MCI ought to become the upstart alternative to old, reliable AT&T. Sprint is probably feeling very comfortable on the third rung of the ladder. Nine percent doesn't sound like much, but it translates into $6 billion in annual sales. And the market has been growing rapidly. Long term, however, Sprint is in serious trouble. Look what happened to Royal Crown Cola. Back in 1969 the Royal Crown Company revitalized its franchise system, 350 bottlers strong, and hired the former president of Rival Pet Foods and a veteran of both Coke and Pepsi. The company also retained *Wells*

Rich Green, a high-powered New York advertising agency. "We're out to kill Coke and Pepsi," declared Mary Wells Lawrence, the agency's head, to Royal Crown bottlers. "I hope you'll excuse the word, but we're going out for the jugular." The only brand that got killed was Royal Crown. In a maturing industry, third place is a difficult place to be. Take the domestic automobile industry. In spite of heroic measures undertaken by Lee Iacocca, Chrysler is in trouble. In the long run, marketing is a two-car race. Take the airline industry. American Airlines with 20% of the market got its nose out in front and will probably wind up as the Coca-Cola of the skies. The interesting battle is between Delta and United, tied at 18% apiece. One of these two will take off like Pepsi, and the other is headed down with Royal Crown. In the long run, marketing is a two-airline race. Successful marketers concentrate on the top two rungs. Jack Welch, the legendary Chairman and CEO of General Electric, said recently, "Only businesses that are number one or number two in their markets could win in the increasingly competitive global arena. Those that could not were fixed, closed or sold." It's this kind of thinking that built companies like Proctor and Gamble into the powerhouses they are. In 32 of its 44 product categories in the U.S., P&G commands the number 1 or number 2 brands. Early on in a developing market, the number 3 or number 4 positions look attractive. Sales are increasing. New relatively unsophisticated customers are coming into the market. These customers don't always know which brands are the leaders, so they pick ones that look interesting or attractive. Quite often these turn out to be the number 3 or number 4 brands. As time goes on, however, these customers get educated. They want the leading brand, on the naïve assumption that the leading brand must be better.

9. **The Law of the Opposite** – if you're shooting for second place, your strategy is determined by the leader. In strength or as weakness, wherever the leader is strong is an opportunity for a would-be number 2 to turn the tables. Much like a wrestler uses his opponent's strength against him, a company should leverage the leader's strength into a weakness. If you want to establish a firm foothold on the second rung of the ladder, study the firm above you. Where are they strong, and how do you turn that strength into a weakness? You must discover the essence of the leader and then present the prospect with the opposite. Don't try to be better; be different. Coca-Cola is a 100-year-old product. Only seven people in the history of the world know the Coke formula, which is kept locked in a safe in Atlanta. Using the law of the opposite, Pepsi Cola reversed the essence of Coca-Cola to become the choice of a new generation, the Pepsi generation. When you look at a given product category, there seems to be two kinds of people. There are people who want to buy from the leader and there are people who don't to buy from the leader. A potential number 2 brand has to appeal to the latter group. In other words, by positioning yourself against the leader, you take business away from all the other alternatives to number 1. If old people drink Coke and young people drink Pepsi, there's nobody left to drink Royal Crown Cola. Yet too many potential number 2 brands try to emulate the leader. This is usually an error. You must present yourself as the alternative. Marketing is often a battle for legitimacy. The first brand that captures the concept is often able to portray its competitors as illegitimate pretenders. A good number 2 can't afford to be timid. When you give up focusing on number 1, you make yourself vulnerable, not only to the leader, but to the rest of the pack. Take the sad story of Burger King in recent years. Times have been difficult for this number 2 in hamburgers. They've been through many management changes, new owners and a parade of advertising agencies. It doesn't take much of a history review to see what went wrong. Burger King's most successful years came when they were on the attack. They opened the attack with "have it

your way", which twitted McDonalds' mass manufacturing approach to hamburgers. Then they hit them with "broiling, not frying", and "the Whopper beats the Big Mac." All these programs reinforced the number 2 alternative position. Then, for some unknown reason, Burger King ignored the law of the opposite. They got timid and stopped attacking McDonalds. The world was introduced to "Herb the Nerd", "the best food for fast times", "we do it the way you do it", "you've got to break the rules", and so on. They even started a program to attract little kids, the mainstay of McDonalds' strength. This is no way to stay a strong number 2. Burger King sales per unit declined and have never returned to the level they were when they were on the attack. They made the mistake of not taking the opposite tack.

10. **The Law of Division** – like amoebae dividing in a petri dish, the marketing arena can be viewed as an ever-expanding sea of categories. A category starts off as a single entity. Computers, for example. But over time the category breaks up into other segments—mainframes, minicomputers, workstations, personal computers, laptops, notebooks, pen computers. Like the computer, the automobile started off as a single category. Three brands—Chevrolet, Ford and Plymouth—dominated the market. Then the category divided. Today we have luxury cars, moderately priced cars, and inexpensive cars; full-size, intermediates and compacts; sports cars; four-wheel drive vehicles; RVs and minivans. Each segment is a separate, distinct entity. Each segment has its own reasons for existence. And each segment has its own leader, which is rarely the same as the leader of the original category. The way for the leader to maintain its dominance is to address each emerging category with a different brand name, as General Motors did in the early days with Chevrolet, Pontiac, Oldsmobile, Buick and Cadillac. Companies often make a mistake when they try to take a well-known brand name in one category and use the same brand name in another category. A classic example is the fate that befell Volkswagen, the company that introduced the small car category to America. Their Beetle was a big winner, which grabbed 67% of the imported car market in the U.S. Volkswagen was so successful they began to think that they could be like General Motors and sell bigger, faster and sportier cars. So they swept up whatever models they were making in Germany and shipped them all to the U.S. But unlike GM, they used the same brand, Volkswagen, for all of their models. "Different Volks for different folks," said the advertising, which featured five different models, including the Beetle, the 412 Sedan, the Dasher, the Thing and even a station wagon. Needless to say, the only thing that kept selling was the small thing, the Beetle. Well, they found a way to fix that. They stopped selling the Beetle in the U.S. and started selling a new family of big, fast, expensive Volkswagens. Now you have the Vanawagen, the Sirocco, the Jetta, the Golf Geo and the Cabriolet. They even built a plant in Pennsylvania to build these wondrous new cars. Unfortunately for Volkswagen, the small car category continued to expand, and since people couldn't buy a long-lasting, economical VW, they shifted to Toyota, Honda and Nissan. Today, Volkswagen's 67% share has shrunk to less than 4%. Recently, they even had to ship cars back to Germany that they couldn't sell in the U.S. Volkswagen isn't some minor European brand like Saab or Alfa Romeo. Volkswagen is the largest selling automotive brand in Europe. The cars VW sells in the U.S. are the same ones they sell in Europe. Only the minds of the people buying them are different. In America, Volkswagen means small and ugly. Nobody here wants to buy a big, beautiful Volkswagen. One of their competitors, Honda, decided to go up market. Rather than use the Honda name in the luxury car market, they introduced the Acura, and they even took the painful and

expensive step to set up separate Acura dealerships to avoid confusion with the Honda. The Acura became the first Japanese luxury car in the U.S. Honda now has the leading brand in two categories. What keeps leaders from launching a different brand to cover a new category is the fear of what will happen to their existing brands. General Motors was slow to react to the super premium category that Mercedes and BMW had established. One reason was that a new brand on top of Cadillac would enrage their present Cadillac dealers. Eventually they tried to take Cadillac up market with the $54,000 Alante. It bombed. Why would anyone spend that kind of money on a Cadillac since their neighbors would probably think they paid $30,000 or so? No prestige. A better strategy of General Motors might have been to put a new brand into the Mercedes market. Timing is also important. You can be too early to exploit a new category. Back in the 50's the Nash Rambler was America's first small car, but American Motors either didn't have the courage or the money to hang in there long enough for the category to develop. By the time the Beetle, Toyota, Datsun and Honda began to impress America with the fact that smallness is goodness, the Rambler had slipped into automotive history. It's better to be early than late. You can't get in the mind first unless you're prepared to spend some time waiting for things to develop.

11. **The Law of Perspective** – marketing effects take place over an extended period of time. The long-term effects of marketing are often the exact opposite of the short-term effects. In everyday life, there are many examples of short-term gains and long term losses, crime being a typical example. If you rob a bank for $100,000 and wind up spending ten years in jail, you either made $100,000 for a day's work or $10,000 a year for ten years of labor. It depends on your point of view. Inflation can give the economy a short-term jolt, but in the long run inflation leads to recession. In the short term overeating satisfies the psyche, but in the long run it causes obesity and depression. In many other areas of life—spending money, taking drugs, having sex—the long term effects of your actions are often the opposite of the short-term effects. Why that is it's so hard to comprehend that marketing effects take place over an extended period of time. Take the line extension. In the short term, line extension invariably increases sales. The beer industry clearly illustrates this effect. In the early 70's, Miller High Life was barreling along with .... [gibberish]

12. **The Law of Line Extension ...** [gibberish] ...The next day, the same company is spread thin over many products and is losing money. Take IBM. Years ago, when IBM was focused on mainframe computers, the company made a ton of money. Today, IBM is into everything and barely breaking even. In 1991, for example, IBM's revenues were $65 billion, yet they wound up losing $2.8 billion. That's almost $8 million a day. In addition to mainframe computers, IBM markets personal computers, pen computers, workstations, mid-range computers, software, networks, telephones, you name it. IBM even tried to enter the home computer market with the PC Jr. Along the way, IBM dropped millions on copiers, sold to Kodak; Rolm, sold to Seamans; satellite business systems, shut down; the Prodigy network, limping along; SAA, Topview, Office Station, and OS2. When a company becomes incredibly successful, it invariably plants the seeds for its future problems. Take Microsoft, the most successful company in the software field. If ever a company is on top, it's Microsoft. Even though it's 1/50th the size of General Motors, Microsoft stock is worth more than GM's. What is Microsoft's strategy? In one word, "more." "Microsoft Corporation said it was aggressively seeking the dominant share in every major software applications category in the personal computer field," said the Wall Street Journal recently. Microsoft is

setting itself up as the next IBM with all the negative implications the term suggests. When you try to be all things to all people, you inevitably wind up in trouble. "I'd rather be strong somewhere," said one manager, "than weak everywhere." Invariably, the leader in any category is the brand that is not line extended. Why does top management believe in line extension in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary? One reason is that while line extension is a loser in the long term, it can be a winner in the short term. Then, too, management is blinded by an intense loyalty to the company or brand. Why else would PepsiCo have introduced Crystal Pepsi in spite of the failure of Pepsi Light and Pepsi AM? More is less. The more products, the more markets. The more alliances a company makes, the less money they make. Less is more. If you want to be successful today, you have to narrow the focus in order to build a position in the prospect's mind. For many companies, line extension is the easy way out. Launching a new brand not only requires money, but it also requires an idea or concept. For a new brand to succeed it ought to be first in a new category. Or the new brand ought to be positioned as an alternative to the leader. Companies that wait until a new market has developed often find these two leadership positions already preempted. So they fall back on the old, reliable line extension approach. The antidote for line extension is corporate courage, a commodity in short supply.

13. **The Law of Sacrifice** – you have to give up something in order to get something. The law of sacrifice is the opposite of the law of line extension. There are three things to sacrifice. The first sacrifice is product line. Where is it written that the more you have to sell, the more you sell? The full line is a luxury for a loser. Take Emory Airfreight. Emory was in the airfreight services business. Anything you wanted to ship you could ship via Emory—small packages, large packages, overnight service, or delayed service. From a marketing point of view, what did Federal Express do? Federal Express concentrated on one service—small packages overnight. Today, Federal Express is a much bigger company than Emory. The power of the sacrifice was the fact that Federal was able to put the word "overnight" into the mind of the prospect. And what did Federal Express do? They did the same thing Emory did, they threw away their overnight position by buying Tiger International's Flying Tiger Cargo line for $880 million. Now Federal Express is a worldwide air cargo company without a worldwide position. In just 21 months, Federal Express lost $1.1 billion in its international operations. Marketing is a game of mental warfare; it's a battle of perceptions, not products or services. In the mind of the prospect, Federal Express is the overnight company. Federal Express owns the overnight position. When the market turned international, Federal Express faced a classic marketing dilemma. Do they try to take a domestic name into the international field, or do they create a new worldwide name? Furthermore, how do they deal with DHL, the company which got into the international field first? It's bad enough that Federal Express walked away from the overnight idea; what's even worse is that they didn't replace the overnight idea with a new one. The world of business is populated by big, highly diversified generalists and small, narrowly focused specialists. If line extension and diversifications were effective marketing strategy, you'd expect to see the generalists riding high. But they're not. Most of them are in trouble. What's a department store? A place that sells everything. That's a recipe for disaster. Campbell, L.J. Hooker, Gimbals, all wound up in bankruptcy court. Hill's Department Stores filed for bankruptcy. Macys, the owner of the world's largest store, filed for bankruptcy. Interstate Department Stores also went bankrupt. So they looked at the books and decided to focus on the only product they made money on, toys. As long as they were going to focus on toys, Interstate decided to change their name, to

Toys-R-Us. Today, Toys-R-Us does 20% of the retail toy business in the country, very profitably too. In their last fiscal, Toys-R-Us made $326 million on sales of $5.5 billion. In the retail field generally, the big successes are the specialists. The Limited, upscale clothing for working women; The Gap, casual clothing for the young at heart; Victoria's Secret, sexy undergarments; Foot Locker, a $1.5 billion athletic shoe chain; Banana Republic, safari wear. When a clothing chain with a name like Banana Republic can be successful, you know we're in the age of the specialist. The second sacrifice is the target market. Where is it written that you have to appeal to everybody? In the late 50's, Coke outsold Pepsi more than 5 to 1. What could Pepsi Cola do to go against Coke's powerful position? In the early 60's, Pepsi finally developed a strategy based on the concept of sacrifice. They sacrificed everything except the teenage market. Then they brilliantly exploited this market by hiring its icons: Michael Jackson, Lionel Richey, Don Johnson. Pepsi has closed the gap and so today they are only 10% behind Coca-Cola in total U.S. cola sales. In the supermarket, Pepsi actually outsells Coca-Cola. In spite of Pepsi Cola's success, the pressure for enlarging the tent is always present. Recently, they succumbed to temptation. "Gotta have it" is Pepsi's new theme. The advertising shows people like Yogi Berra and Regis Philbin drinking Pepsi. In other words, old people as well as young people are now the target for Pepsi Cola. The target is not the market. That is, the apparent target of your marketing is not the same as the people who will actually buy your product. Even though Pepsi Cola's target was the teenager, the market was everybody. The 50-year-old guy who wants to think he's 29 will drink the Pepsi. The third sacrifice is constant change. Where is it written that you have to change your strategy every year at budget review time? If you try to follow the twists and turns of the market, you're bound to wind up off the road. The best way to maintain a consistent position is not to change it in the first place. People Express had a brilliant narrow position to start with. They were the no-frills airline that flew to no-frills cities at no-frills prices. People used to get on a People Express plane and say, "Where are we going?" They didn't care as long as it was cheap enough. What did People Express do after they became successful? They tried to be all things to all people. They invested in new equipment like 747s, they started to fly the heavily traveled routes to places like Chicago and Denver, not to mention Europe. They added frills like first-class sections. People Express lost altitude and only escaped bankruptcy court by selling themselves to Texas Air, who did it for them. Whitecastle, on the other hand, has never changed its position. A Whitecastle today not only looks the same as a Whitecastle did 60 years ago, it also sells the same frozen sliders at unbelievably low prices. Would you believe the average Whitecastle today does more than a million dollars a year in revenues? That's more than Burger King and not too far behind McDonalds. Good things come to those who sacrifice.

14. **The Law of Attributes** – for every attribute, there is an opposite, effective attribute. Too often a company attempts to emulate the leader. Much better is to search for an opposite attribute that will allow you to play off against the leader. Similar won't do. Some say all attributes are not created equal, you must try and own the most important attributes. Gillette is the world's number 1 razor blade maker. Their dominance revolves around their high technology razors and cartridge systems. When an upstart from France brought an opposite attribute to the category in the form of a disposable razor, Gillette could have laughed and wheeled out their research on how America wants hefty, expensive, high technology razors. But they didn't. Instead, Gillette jumped in with a disposable razor of their own called Good News. By spending heavily, Gillette was able to win the disposable battle. Today the

Gillette Good News dominates the disposable category, which has grown to dominate the razor blade business. Moral: you can't predict the size of a new attribute share, so never laugh.

15. **The Law of Candor** – when you admit a negative, the prospect will give you a positive. It may come as a surprise to you that one of the most effective ways to get into a mind is to first admit a negative, and then twist it into a positive. "Avis is only number 2 in rent-a-cars." "With a name like Smuckers, it has to be good." "The 1970 VW will stay ugly longer." "Joy, the most expensive perfume in the world." What's going on here? Why does a dose of honesty work so well in the marketing process. First and foremost, candor is very disarming. Every negative statement you make about yourself is instantly accepted as true. Positive statements, on the other hand, are looked on as dubious at best, especially in advertisements. You have to prove a positive statement to the prospect's satisfaction. No proof is needed for a negative statement. Marketing is often a search for the obvious. Since you can't change a mind once it's made up, your marketing efforts have to be devoted to using ideas and concepts already installed in the brain. You have to use your marketing process to rub it in. Admitting a problem is something that very few companies do. When a company starts a message by admitting a problem, people tend to open their minds. Now with that mind open you're in a position to drive in the positive, which is your selling idea. Some years ago Scope entered the mouthwash market with a good-tasting mouthwash, thus exploiting Listerine's truly terrible taste. What should Listerine do? They certainly couldn't tell people that Listerine's taste wasn't all that bad. That would raise a red flag that would reinforce a negative perception. Things could get worse. Instead, Listerine brilliantly invoked the law of candor. "The taste you hate, twice a day." Not only did they admit their product tasted bad, they admitted that people actually hated it. Now that's honesty. This sets up the selling idea that Listerine kills a lot of germs. The prospect figured that anything that tastes like disinfectant must indeed be a germ killer. A crisis passed with the help of a heavy dose of candor. General Foods admitted that Grapenuts cereal was a "learned pleasure" and advised consumers to "try it for a week." Sales went up 23%. One final note: the law of candor must be used carefully and with great skill. First your negative must be widely perceived as a negative. It has to trigger an instant agreement in your prospect's mind. If the negative doesn't register quickly, your prospect will be confused and mentally ask, "What's this all about?" Next, you have to shift quickly to the positive. The purpose of candor isn't to apologize; the purpose of candor is to set up a benefit that will convince your prospect. The law only proves the old maxim, "honesty is the best policy.'

16. **The Law of Singularity** – In each situation, only one move will produce substantial results. Many marketing people see success as the sum total of a lot of small efforts beautifully executed. They think they can pick and choose from a number of different strategies and still be successful as long as they put enough effort into the program. If they are the leader in the category, they fritter away their resources on a number of different programs. They seem to think that the best way to grow is the puppy approach—get into everything. If they're not the leader, they often end up trying to do the same as the leader, but a little better. It's like Saddam Hussein saying that "all we have to do is fight a little harder and everything will work out." Trying harder is not the secret of marketing success. Whether you try hard or try easy, the differences are marginal. Furthermore, the bigger the company, the more the law of averages wipes out any real advantages of a trying harder approach. History teaches us that

the only thing that works in marketing is the single, bold stroke. In any given situation, there's only one move that will produce substantial results. Successful generals study the battleground and look for that one bold stroke that is least expected by the enemy. Finding one is difficult. Finding more than one is usually impossible. Military strategist and author, B.H. Liddell Hart, calls this bold stroke "the line of least expectation." The Allied invasion came at Normandy, a place whose tide and rocky shore the Germans thought would be an unlikely choice for a landing of any scale. So it is in marketing. Most often there's only one place where a competitor is vulnerable, and that place should be the focus of the entire invading force. The automobile industry is an interesting case in point. For years, the leader's main strength was in the middle of the line. With brands like Chevrolet, Pontiac, Oldsmobile, Buick and Cadillac, General Motors easily beat back frontal assaults by Ford, Chrysler and American Motors. The Edsel fiasco is a typical example. GM's dominance became legendary. What works in marketing is the same as what works in the military, the unexpected. In recent years there were only two strong moves made against GM. Both were flanking moves around the GM marginal line. The Japanese came in at the low end with small cars like Toyota, Datsun and Honda. The Germans came at the high end with super premium cars like Mercedes and BMW. With the success of Japanese and German flanking attacks, General Motors was under pressure to commit resources in an attempt to shore up the bottom and top of their line. Cadillacs were too cheap to block the high priced German imports. In an effort to save money and maintain profits, GM made the fateful decision to build many of their mid-range cars using the same body style. Suddenly, no one could tell a Chevrolet from a Pontiac or an Oldsmobile or a Buick. They all looked alike. Their look-alike cars weakened General Motors in the middle and opened up the move for Ford as they broke through with the European styled Taurus and Sable. And then, the Japanese jumped in with Acura, Lexus and Infiniti. Now General Motors is weak across the board. Look at Coke. At present Coca-Cola is fighting a two-front battle with Classic and New Coke. While Classic has regained a lot of its original strength, New Coke, an Edsel from Atlanta, is barely hanging on. As we see it, Coke has only a two-part move to make. They want to make progress beyond just buying business. One move is step backwards; the other move is to step forward. With New Coke safely tucked away in the archives, Coke would be able to invoke the law of focus and bring back the concept of the "real thing" and use it against Pepsi. To pull the trigger, they could go on television and say to the Pepsi generation, "Alright, kids, we're not going to push you, but when you grow up and you're ready for the real thing, we've got it for you." That would be the beginning of the end of the Pepsi Generation if Pepsi Cola doesn't kill it off all by themselves. Not only is this idea simple and powerful, but it's really the only move available to Coke. It exploits the only words that Coke owns in the mind, "the real thing." To find that singular idea or concept, a marketing manager has to know what's happening in the marketplace. They have to be down at the front in the mud of the battle. They have to know what's working and what isn't. They have to be involved. Because of the high cost of mistakes, management can't afford to delegate important marketing decisions. That's what's happened to General Motors. When the financial people over, the marketing programs collapsed. Their interest was in the numbers, not the brands. The irony is the numbers went south along with the brands. It's hard to find that single move if you're hanging around headquarters and not involved in the process.

17. **The Law of Unpredictability** – unless you can write your competitors' plans, you can't predict the future. Implicit in most marketing plans is an assumption about the future. Yet

marketing plans based on what will happen in the future are usually wrong. We have hundreds of computers and an army of meteorologists that can't predict the weather three days in advance, so how do you expect to predict your market three years in advance? Yet there are those who would say that America's big problem is the lack of the long view, that American management is too short term in its thinking. Won't eliminating long-term plans make things even worse? On the surface, those concerns are real. But it's important to understand what is meant by long term versus short term. Most of corporate America's problems are not related to short-term marketing thinking. The problem is short-term financial thinking. Most companies live from quarterly report to quarterly report. That's a recipe for problems. Companies that live by the numbers die by the numbers. Harold Jenine of ITT fame was the one man who in recent times best exemplified this example. He would wheel and deal and beat up his managers for ever-increasing earnings. Jenine's efforts resulted in a house of cards that eventually fell apart. Today ITT is a shell of what it once was. Good accounting, bad marketing. Good short-term planning is coming up with that angle, or word, that differentiates your product or company. Then you set up a coherent long-term marketing direction that builds a program to maximize that idea or angle. It's not a long-term plan; it's a long-term direction. Tom Monahan's short-term angle at Dominos Pizza was to come up with that home delivery idea and build a system that delivered pizzas quickly and efficiently. His long-term direction was to build the first nationwide home delivery chain as rapidly as possible. Monahan couldn't own the words home delivery until he had enough franchises to afford national advertising. He accomplished both objectives, and today Dominos is a $2.65 billion company with a 40% share of the home delivery business. He did all this without a complex ten-year plan. So what can you do? How do you best cope with unpredictability? While you can't predict the future, you can get a handle on trends, which are a way to take advantage of change. One example of a trend is the fact that America has become more and more health oriented. This trend has opened the door for a number of new products, especially healthier foods. The recent runaway success of Healthy Choice frozen entrees is a clear example of a product that took advantage of this long-term trend. Also notice the word they preempted—healthy. It's a classic example of the law of focus. The danger of working with trends is extrapolation. Many jump to conclusions about how far a trend will go. If you believed the prognosticators of a few years ago, everyone today is eating broiled fish or mesquite barbecued chicken. Hamburger sales are doing just fine, thank you. Equally as bad as extrapolating a trend is the common practice of assuming the future will be a replay of the present. When you assume that nothing will change, you are predicting the future just as surely as when you assume that something will change. Remember Peter's Law? Something unexpected will always happen. One way to cope with an unpredictable world is to build an enormous amount of flexibility into your organization. As change comes sweeping through your category, you have to be willing to change and change quickly if you are to survive long term. Yesterday General Motors was slow to react to the small car trend. It has cost them dearly. Today IBM is slow to acknowledge the trend away from mainframes. It could cost them dearly. One final note that's worth mentioning: there's a difference between predicting the future and taking a chance on the future. Orville Redenbacher's Gourmet Popping Corn took a chance that people would pay twice as much for a high-end popcorn. Not a bad risk in today's affluent society. No one can predict the future with any degree of certainty, nor should marketing plans try to.

18. **The Law of Success** – Success often leads to arrogance and arrogance to failure. Ego is the enemy of successful marketing. Objectivity is what's needed. When people become successful, they tend to become less objective. They often substitute their own judgment for what the market wants. Donald Trump and Robert Maxwell are two examples of people blinded by early success and untainted by humility. And when you're blind it is indeed hard to focus. Mr. Trump's strategy was to put his name on everything, committing the cardinal sin of line extension. Actually, ego is helpful. It can be an effective driving force in building a business. What hurts is injecting your ego into the marketing process. Brilliant marketers have the ability to think like a prospect thinks. They put themselves in the shoes of their customers. They don't impose their view of the world on the situation. As their successes mounted, companies like General Motors and IBM became arrogant. They thought they could do anything they wanted to in the market place. Success leads to failure. The bigger the company, the more likely it is that the chief executive has less touch with the front lines. This might be the single most important factor limiting the growth of a corporation. Since the typical top executive works 61 hours a week, that leaves only 20 hours for everything else, including managing the operation and going down to the front. No wonder chief executives delegate the marketing function. That's a mistake. Marketing is too important to be turned over to an underling. If you delegate anything, you should delegate the chairmanship of the next fundraising drive. The next thing to cut back on are the meetings. Instead of talking things over, walk out and see for yourself. Small companies are mentally closer to the front than big companies. That might be one reason they grew more rapidly in the past decade. They haven't been tainted by the law of success.

19. **The Law of Failure** – failure is to be expected and accepted. Too many companies try to fix things rather than drop things. "Let's reorganize to save the situation," is their way of life. Admitting a mistake is bad for your career. A better strategy is to recognize failure early and cut your losses. The Japanese seem to be able to admit a mistake early and then make the necessary changes. Their consensus management style tends to eliminate the ego. Since a large number of people have a small piece of the big decision, there is no stigma that can be considered career damaging. In other words, it's a lot easier to live with, "We were all wrong" than the devastating "I was wrong." This ego-less approach is a major factor in making the Japanese such relentless marketers. It's not that they don't make mistakes, but when they do they admit them, fix them, and just keep coming. The usually successful Wal-Mart has another approach that enables them to deal with failure. It's called Sam Walton's "Ready, Fire, Aim" approach. It's an outgrowth of his penchant for constant tinkering. He was well aware of the fact that nobody hits the target every time. But at Wal-Mart people aren't punished if their experiments fail. Why Wal-Mart is different from many large corporations is that so far they appear to be free of an insidious disease called the "personal agenda" that can creep into any corporation. Marketing decisions are often made first with the decision-maker's career in mind and second on their impact on the competition or the enemy. There is built-in conflict between the personal and the corporate agenda. This leads to failure to take risks. If a company is going to operate the ideal way, it will take teamwork, a spirit of accord, and a self-sacrificing leader. One immediately thinks of Patton and his Third Army in a dash across France. No army in history took as much territory and as many prisoners in as short a period of time. Patton's reward: Eisenhower fired him.

20. **The Law of Hype** – the situation is often the opposite of the way it appears in the press. When they were successful IBM said very little. Now they throw a lot of press conferences. When things are going well, a company doesn't need the hype. When you need the hype, it usually means you're in trouble. Young and inexperienced reporters and editors tend to be more impressed by what they read in other publications than what they gather themselves. Once the hype starts, it often continues on and on. No new soft drink has received more hype than New Coke. By one estimate, New Coke received more than $1 billion worth of free publicity. Add to that the hundreds of millions of dollars spend to launch the brand, and New Coke should have been the world's most successful product. It didn't happen. Less than 60 days after the launch, Coca-Cola was forced to come back with the original formula, now called Coca-Cola Classic. Today Classic outsells New about 15 to 1. No new newspaper has received more hype than USA Today. At its launch in 1982 were the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate. The residue of this initial hype is still so great that most people cannot believe USA Today is a loser. History is filled with marketing failures that were successful in the press. The Tucker 48; the U.S. Football League; videotext; the automated factory; the personal helicopter; the manufactured home; the picture phone; polyester suits. The essence of the hype was not just that the new product was going to be successful. The essence of the hype was that existing products would now be obsolete. Polyester was going to make wool obsolete. Videotext was going to make newspapers obsolete. The personal helicopter was going to make roads and highways obsolete. The Tucker 48 with its Cyclops eye headlight would revolutionize the way the trade makes automobiles. Only 51 were ever built. These predictions violate the law of unpredictability. The only revolutions you can predict are the ones that have already started. Forget the front page. If you're looking for clues to the future, look at the back of the paper for those innocuous little stories. Neither the computer nor the facsimile took off like a rocket. The personal computer was introduced in 1974. It took six years for IBM to strike back with the PC. Even the PC didn't boom until a year and a half later when Lotus 1-2-3 hit the market. Over the years the greatest hype has been for those developments that promised to single-handedly change an entire industry, preferably one that's vital to the American economy. The latest over-hype development is the pen computer, which will revolutionize the personal computer field and make computers accessible to everyone whether they can type or not. It's all hype. The pen computer might be attractive to a narrow segment of the market, especially the travelling salesperson craft. But for the most part, hype is hype. Real revolutions don't arrive at high noon with marching bands and coverage on the 6 p.m. news. Real revolutions arrive unannounced in the middle of the night and kind of sneak up on you.

21. **The Law of Acceleration** – successful programs are not built on fads; they're built on trends. A fad is a wave in the ocean, and a trend is the tide. A fad gets a lot of hype and a trend gets very little. A fad is a short-term phenomenon that might be profitable, but a fad doesn't last long enough to do a company much good. Furthermore, a company tends to gear up as if a fad were a trend. As a result, they are often stuck with a lot of staff, expensive manufacturing facilities and distribution networks. Here's the paradox. If you were faced with a rapidly rising business with all the characteristics of a fad, the best thing you could do is dampen the fad. Stretch the fad out and it becomes more like a trend. The Ninja turtle is a good example of a fad that collapses in a hurry because the owner of the concept got greedy. When everyone has a Ninja turtle, no one wants one any more. On the other hand, the Barbie

doll has become a trend. When Barbie was invented years ago, the doll was never heavily merchandised into other areas. As a result, the Barbie doll has become a long-term trend in the toy business. The most successful entertainers are the ones who control their appearances. They don't wear out their welcome. Forget fads. And when they appear, try to dampen them. The only profitable thing to ride in marketing is a long-term trend.

22. **The Law of Resources** – without adequate funding an idea won't get off the ground. If you have a good idea and you picked up this tape with the thought in mind that all you need is a little marketing help, this law will throw cold water on that thought. Even the best idea in the world won't go very far without the money to get it off the ground. Investors, entrepreneurs and assorted idea generators seem to think that all their good ideas need is professional marketing help. Nothing could be further from the truth. Marketing is a game fought in the mind of the prospect. You need money to get into the mind. You need money to stay in the mind once you get there. Steve Jobs and Steve Wosniak had a great idea. But it was Mike Markula's 91 grand that put Apple Computer, Incorporated on the map. Ideas about money are worthless. Well, not quite. But you have to use your idea to find the money, not the marketing help. The marketing can come later. Be prepared to give away a lot for the funding. In marketing the rich often get richer because they have the resources to drive their ideas into the mind. Their only problem is separating the good ideas from the bad ones. Here's the bottom line. First, get the idea, then go get the money to exploit it. Here are some shortcuts you can take. Sometimes you can marry the money. Georgette Mosbacher married Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher in 1985. Three years later, Mrs. Mosbacher bought LaPrairie, a Swiss cosmetics firm, for $31.5 million. Where did she get the money? From everyone—venture capitalists, LaPrairie distributors in Japan and Switzerland, plus her own and her husband's resources. In the first year under Georgette Mosbacher's control, LaPrairie sales were up 30%. Then she sold out at a hefty profit. Sometimes you can find the money at home. Donald Trump would never have gotten anywhere without Dad's millions behind him. Sometimes you can share your idea by franchising it. Tom Monahan was able to put Dominos Pizza on the map by pursuing an aggressive program of franchising his home delivery idea. The more successful marketers front load their investment. They take no profits for two or three years as they plow all their earnings back into marketing. If you want to be successful today, you'll have to find the money you need to spin those marketing wheels.

There's a warning that goes with these laws. We would be remiss if we did not warn our listeners about the potential dangers of trying to apply the laws of marketing within an existing organization. Many of these laws fly in the face of corporate ego, conventional wisdom and the Malcolm Baldridge awards. The law of perception runs counter to the corporate culture of most companies where trying to be better is deeply ingrained. People are forever running around and benchmarking the leader in the category and then setting out to beat their specs. It's what the "quality" movement is all about. The law of leadership is tough for many to swallow. Most people want to believe they got to the top by being better, not by being first. So beware. Management won't take kindly to any suggestions that will take the emphasis off their "better product" strategy. The law of sacrifice could cause you problems. Offering everything for everybody is also deeply ingrained in most corporations. If you have any doubts, just stroll down the aisles of any supermarket. What you will find is variation on variation of sizes, flavors and forms. It boggles the mind. Nobody wants to focus. You expect offices filled with young,

bright marketing people to just sit there and do nothing? They feel compelled to tinker and make improvements. After all, how can they make their mark on the organization? So beware, those young, bright marketing people will not take kindly to any efforts to curtail their tinkering. The law of focus suggests owning a word in the mind. What word does your company own in the minds of your prospects? "I don't know," might be your response. "We make a variety of products for many different industries." So beware. You have some pruning to do, which isn't going to be easy to sell to the powers that be. The law of perspective will frustrate anyone looking for quick marketing victories. Companies want to see instant results. So beware. Those accountants will give you a hard time in the short term. The law of line extension is the most dangerous law of all to deal with. In this case, you have to be prepared to demolish what management holds to be a basic truth: "Big, successful brands have an equity. They can be exploited to encompass different kinds of products." Line extension make imminent sense in the board room. You won't find one director in a dozen who would be willing to challenge management on this critical issue. So beware. Management will not take kindly to any efforts that curtail their equity expansions. You may just have to wait them out. Management is mutable, but the laws of marketing are not. Thus you are duly warned. If you violate the immutable laws, you run the risk of failure. If you apply the immutable laws, you run the risk of being bad-mouthed, ignored or even ostracized. Have patience. The immutable laws of marketing will help you achieve success, and success is the best revenge of all.

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Hex

This is a rough draft of ~~our~~ two documents that are emerging from our first study. It is based on a Random sample. of CILs.

Copies are also going to Ann Marie H., Jwe Kailes, Linda Gonzales, and Mike Schafer.

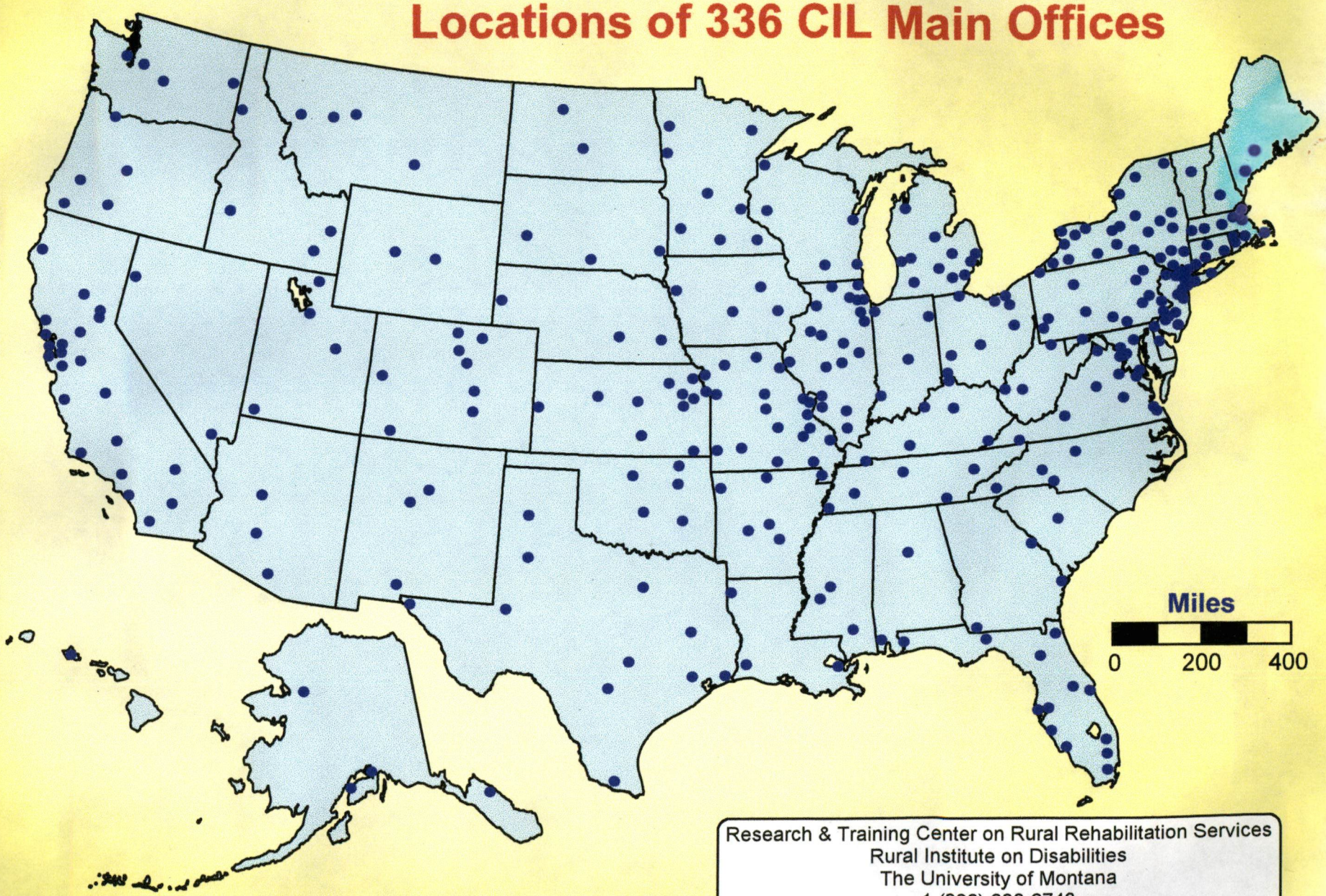
Once this paper is under control, we can start on a report of the second project together.

Hope the summer heat hasn't interfered too much with the joys of life.

Tom Seekins

An Equal Opportunity University

Locations of 336 CIL Main Offices



Map based on FY 1996-97 Data

Project funded by The National Institute on Disability and Rehabilitation Research

Research & Training Center on Rural Rehabilitation Services
Rural Institute on Disabilities
The University of Montana
1 (888) 268-2743
August, 1998

Lex Frieden

DRAFT FACT SHEET

Estimating the Cost of Achieving

UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO CENTERS FOR INDEPENDENT LIVING

1998

Over the past 20 years, the national network of centers for independent living has significantly contributed to the advancement of the population of people with disabilities, and helped countless thousands of individuals with severe disabilities achieve healthy and independent lives. Yet, the residents of 40% of the nation's counties lack basic access to CILs. To achieve universal access to CIL services, we estimate an investment of approximately $70.9 million will be needed. This estimate is based on the following:

1. Our research identified 336 CILs with 224 satellite locations.

2. We estimate that these programs annually provide direct services to over 213,000 individuals living in 1,911 (60%) of the nation's counties.

3. CILs actually delivered services in an average of 5.7 counties. We estimate America needs as many as 216 more CILs to reach the 1,230 counties in which no services are delivered.[1]

4. Further, we found the median budget of a CIL was $328,000. Accordingly, we estimate that $70.9 million would be needed to achieve universal access to CIL services using the current model.

This estimate is based on the premise of expanding the current model of CIL services. Alternative models have been discussed and described in other reports. Implementing such models may require a lower long-term investment but require investing a higher amount early in the process. Further, such models have not been tested and may not be effective.

These estimates do not consider whether the current centers have sufficient resources to meet the demand for quality services. The National Council on Independent Living and the Association of Programs for Rural Independent Living recommend a minimum budget of $_____ for a CIL. An investment of $_____ would be required to achieve universal access to CILs funded at this level; an additional $_____ for existing centers and $_____ for new centers.

Research and Training Center of Rural Rehabilitation, Rural Institute on Disabilities, 52 Corbin Hall, University of Montana, Missoula, MT 59812 (888) ..... Ruralinstitute.umt.edu

Map of the Location of 336 CILs

The Research and Training Center on Rural Rehabilitation at the Rural Institute on Disabilities is funded by a grant from the National Institute on Disability and Rehabilitation Research ( ). The opinions contained in this document do not reflect the position of NIDRR or any Federal agency.

References

Innes, Enders, ...

1. To calculate the number of CILs needed, we divided the number of counties in which our research suggests no services were actually delivered (1,230) by the average number of counties in which CILs reported actually delivering services (5.7).

Lex Frieden

DRAFT 3.1 - 8/4/98

NOT FOR CIRCULATION -- DO NOT COPY

A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF INDEPENDENT LIVING CENTER SERVICES: URBAN AND RURAL DISTRIBUTION EQUITY[1]

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Running Head: A geographic analysis

Key Words: Rural, Independent Living, Disability

Abstract

Centers for Independent Living (CILs) have emerged as a significant source of services, supports, and advocacy for people with disabilities. Since 1978, the Federal government has funded an increasing number of CILs around the nation to provide both services to and advocate for people with disabilities. Others have been created with state and local funding. We found 336 CILs and estimate that these centers operate 242 satelilites. We conducted a survey of a random sample of 62 CILs to assess their distribution around the county, the areas they serve, and the extent of their services. Results suggest that CIL services are provided to over 213,000 individuals living in 60% of the nation's 3,141 counties. Data show, however, that residents of non-metropolitan (rural) counties are far less likely to receive direct services from a CIL than their urban counterparts. CILs reported allocating 54% of their resources to direct services and 27% to community advocacy. Finally, evidence indicated that CILs that were perceived as only service providers were less satisfied with their image than were centers perceived as offering both services and advocacy. Results are discussed in terms of the rural population of people with disabilities as representing a traditionally under served group, and the need to expand CIL services to provide more equitable access for currently unserved and under served rural populations.

A Geographic Analysis of Independent Living Center Services:

Urban and Rural Distribution Equity

Over the last 25 years, the independent living (IL) movement has emerged as a major social movement. According to Ed Roberts "In its broad implications, the independent living movement is the civil rights movement of millions of Americans with disabilities. It is the wave of protest against segregation and discrimination and an affirmation of the right and ability of persons with disabilities to share fully in the responsibilities and joys of our society". (NCD 1996 p17) Centers for Independent Living (CILs) have emerged as a major foundation for implementing the independent living philosophy, a philosophy based on consumer sovereignty, self-reliance, and political and economic rights (DeJong, 1983; NCD 1996, p 19).[2] CILs are community based, non-profit, consumer-directed, non-residential organizations designed to both advocate for and provide support to people with disabilities to help them live independently in their community. CILs provide a core set of IL services, which are defined in section 7(29) of the Rehabilitation Act as: information and referral, IL skills training, peer counseling (including cross-disability peer counseling), and individual and systems advocacy. Community systems advocacy can be conducted directly by staff of a CIL or indirectly by organizing and supporting grass-roots consumer advocacy efforts.

The first CILs emerged from urban circumstances in Berkeley and Boston. In 1978, Title VII of the Rehabilitation Act provided federal funding to establish and demonstrate the utility of CILs. In 1979 there were 10 Federally-funded CILs. Over the last 20 years, Federal funding has expanded to create CILs in every state, and to assist States in further providing, expanding, and

improving independent living services. The Rehabilitation Services Administration reports that $42 million in Title VII, Part C funds now directly support approximately 250 CILs, and indirectly leverages independent living services far further (***). CILs have also been created and are operated using state, local, private, and even fee for service funds. The Independent Living Research and Utilization (ILRU) program at the Texas Institute on Rehabilitation Research currently lists more than 400 independent living programs around the nation (***).

One of the strengths of a program with such strong roots in local consumer control, is the incredible diversity used to address local challenges. This strength, however, adds complexity to demonstrating distributive equity and universal access to CIL services. The Rehabilitation Act of 1978 as amended (1992) and other key disability policy positions (e.g., National Council on Disability, 1997) identify several populations as being unserved and under served. Typically, this means that individuals with specific characteristics tend to receive services at a far lower rate than would be expected based on their proportion in the population of people with disabilities. Traditionally unserved and under served populations include minority groups, such as Blacks, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, American Indians and rural populations. While data that reflect services to minority groups are routinely collected, few data that describe the distribution of services to rural populations are available. .

While growth and expansion of CILs has been evident in many urban areas, their expansion and reach into rural areas has been less clear. Seekins, Ravesloot, and Maffit (***) estimated that less than 30% of the nation's 2,400 rural counties had even minimal access to CIL services. Many States have recognized the need to make CIL services and supports available in

all areas of their state and have taken various approaches to achieving more equitable access to CIL services. For example, the state of Missouri has recently provided funding to created 12 new CILs using state funds. Reportedly, other states have taken the approach of setting statewide service access as a goal and mandating that CILs expand their services to all areas of a state, but without providing additional funding.

Currently, there is no clear understanding of the distribution of CILs around the nation, especially the extent of their reach into rural areas that are traditionally under-served. In part, there has been no method for measuring or assessing the distribution of services to rural areas. The purpose of this study was to assess the distribution of CILs across the nation. Specifically, we wanted to estimate the distributive equity of access to CIL services across both rural and urban areas. In addition, this study was designed to assess the utility of county residence as a measure of distribution of services to urban and rural areas.

It is important to emphasize that this study focuses on the provision of direct services provided by CILs but not their quality or impact. In addition, as mentioned above, CILs can and do use both direct service and systems advocacy approaches to achieve their purposes. Individual and systems advocacy are part of every CIL's core services. While it is standard practice to track the delivery of individual services, it is far more difficult to track either the provision of systems-advocacy efforts or their impact on individuals or communities. Nevertheless, reported services to individuals offers one way of assessing access to services and the allocation of resources. It also offers a way to assess the extent of growth of CILs and to identify areas in need of further attention. As such, this study is limited to a quantitative assessment of the distribution and delivery of direct services to individuals.

Methods

Participants and Data Sources

The primary data for this study, counties served by CILs and the number of people receiving services in each county, are not routinely collected or reported by the Rehabilitation Services Administration, or any other federal agency. Accordingly, we collected the data directly from providers. CILs were randomly selected from a list of 419 potentially eligible programs maintained by the Independent Living Research Utilization (ILRU) program at the Texas Institute of Rehabilitation Research. A program on ILRU's list was deemed eligible if ILRU identified it as a "bonafide" CIL.[3] A program randomly selected from the list remained in the sample unless during data collection it was determined that a.) it was actually a satellite, branch office, or outreach organization of another CIL, b.) was not in fact a bonafide CIL, c.) no staff member could be reached despite repeated calls, d.) essential data could not be obtained, or e.) cooperation was refused. In such cases, a program was replaced by randomly selecting another CIL from the ILRU list. Typically the respondents providing answers to our questions were center directors, but other staff occasionally answered.

The sample size of 62 was determined using sampling procedures from Scheaffer, Mendenhall, and Ott (1990). The sample estimation used a standard deviation and variance estimate from a previous CIL survey conducted by the RTC:Rural in 1995 and 1996 (***) of the number of counties and consumers served by rural and urban centers. Prior to conducting this research, the adequacy of this size sample was further checked by conducting a power analysis (Cohen,1998). Based on previous CIL survey results with power set at .70 and an alpha of .05, the sample was checked using two medium effect sizes. A medium effect size of .25

indicated 42 participants would be required and a medium effect size of .20 indicated 65 participants would be adequate. From these two calculations, a sample of 62 was chosen.

An important goal of this study was to estimate the distribution of CIL services provided in Fiscal Year 1996 relative to the population of potentially eligible individuals. We defined the potentially eligible population as those with a severe disability as described by McNeil (1993). These data were based on a national sample of approximately 30,000 individuals. Our analysis, however, required county level data for assessment of variations in the distribution of services and the most recent county level data for this severe disability population were from the 1990 Census. To match McNeil's data with the FY '96 CIL service data reference period, we updated estimates of the severe disability population living in each county to that time frame. We assumed that disability would be stable over time and within counties, and used three Census Bureau sources: the 1990 total population and unduplicated count of people with disability for all counties, the Census Bureau's 1995 total population estimates for counties, and the national estimate of severe disability given by McNeil (1993). From these sources, we estimated the 1995 population of people with severe disability by:

1. Projecting McNeil's severe disability estimates to 1995 by multiplying the ratio of his 1991-2 national Severe disability count to the 1991-2 total population count by the 1995 total population estimate.

2. Using the 1990 Census STF3A table (matrix P68) to provide an unduplicated county count of those with disabilities. The ratio of this county count to the 1990 total population county count was then multiplied by the 1995 total population county count to estimate the 1995 unduplicated disability count for counties.

3. Distributing the 1995 severe disability national estimate between counties to give the 1995 county-level severe disability estimates. The ratio of the 1995 national severe disability estimate to the 1995 national unduplicated disability total was multiplied by the 1995 unduplicated disability totals for individual counties to produce the severe disability total for each county.

Procedures

This study was part of a larger rehabilitation geography study of CIL services. Its primary method involved a phone survey. The survey questionnaire, survey procedures, and data analysis procedures are described below.

Measurement instruments. A standard phone-survey protocol was developed, consisting of four parts. The first part of the survey instrument provided a statement of introduction, purpose of the call and survey, and confidentiality of responses. The second part of the questionnaire asked for demographic and descriptive information about the program, including its location and number of satellites.[4] The third part of the questionnaire asked the respondent to identify all counties falling within their service area plus any additional counties in which services were provided in Fiscal Year 1996. Respondents were then asked to report the number of people served in each county. The fourth part of the survey asked additional questions about CIL finances, what image the community had of their role, whether they were satisfied with that image, and how their budget was distributed between individual services and systems change advocacy. Two open-ended questions were asked, one about additional rural issues and a second about any comments they might care to make.

Survey procedures. Surveyors made calls to each CIL using the phone number provided on the ILRU listing. Upon reaching a staff member, the surveyor introduced himself and described the purpose of the call. Then, he asked to speak with the Director, or a person able to address consumer service and fiscal information. If necessary, an appointment was made to call at a more convenient time. When a respondent was reached, the surveyor read the questionnaire to the respondent and asked him or her to answer the questions as completely as possible.

To collect data about service delivery, participants receiving Title VII funding were asked to obtain copies of their FY '96 performance report to the Rehabilitation Services Administration (i.e., their 704 Report). This report contains a total count of the number of individuals with disabilities having a Consumer Service Record,[5] and a dollar figure of the CIL's net resources. A CSR is a consumer service record maintained for eligible consumers receiving IL services, other than or in addition to information and referral (RSA-PD-98-03, Glossary of Terms).

The number of individuals served in each county was obtained by asking the participant first to list all the counties falling within the CIL's designated service area plus any other counties with people receiving services. They were then asked to report the number of individuals provided services in each county either from their records, if available, or to estimate that number by apportioning the 704 form's CSR total count figure across counties. Either alternative provided a sum that equaled the total reported for the year. CILs which did not use 704 reporting forms were asked to use other service reports similar to the criteria for a CSR on the RSA 704 form, or to provide an estimate based on similar criteria. All responses were recorded on a standard questionnaire form by the surveyors. Explanations or elaborations were improvised as needed.

Data Analysis

Data on the number of counties served were not sufficiently robust for analysis of variance, owing to the relatively high variance to mean values found within the three groups of metropolitan (σ = .035, mean = .012), nonmetropolitan-adjacent (σ = .009, m = .005), and nonmetropolitan-nonadjacent counties (σ = .014, m = .007). We therefore opted to use the Kruskal-Wallace rank test to compare levels of counties covered in the three categories.

Simply comparing the numbers of people served across geographic areas would inevitably produce significant metropolitan-nonmetropolitan differences, since only about 20% of the population lived in nonmetropolitan counties. To create a comparable measure, we calculated the ratio of people served to the estimate of potentially eligible population of people with a severe disability for each county. Grouping counties by Beale Codes[6] (see note 2) permitted statistical comparisons between metropolitan, nonmetropolitan-adjacent, and nonmetropolitan-nonadjacent county ratios. Beale Codes range from 0-9 , in ascending order of decreasing urban population. Codes 0-3 represent metropolitan (M) counties, codes 4, 6, & 8 represent nonmetropolitan counties that share an economic adjacency (NA) with a metropolitan county (at least 2% of the work force commutes to a metropolitan county), and codes 5, 7, & 9 represent nonmetropolitan counties that do not share economic adjacency (NN) with a metropolitan county.

Results

A total of 58 CILs completed the survey over the phone. Four CILs provided the data through the mail. (Appendix A presents a map of the location of responding CILs.) Of the 62

centers originally selected at random, 40 completed the survey. Twenty-two CILs were selected at random to replace those who could not be reached or who declined to participate.

Centers from our sample reported serving 437 (13.9%) of the nation's 3141 counties (or county equivalents). Respondents reported serving an average of 7.1 counties, with a range of 1 to 38 counties. The median number of counties was ***.

Table 1 presents estimates of the total number of counties served and unserved based on projections from the sample. These projections suggest that 2,386 (76%) of the nation's 3141 counties fall within a CIL service area, while approximately 775 (24%) counties fell outside of any CIL service area.

Table 1 about here

Examining the reports of the number of consumers served in these counties, however, reveals that no services were provided in approximately 15% (475) of the counties which were identified by CILs as being within their service area during the reporting period. Table 2 presents an estimate of counties unserved by CILs; a combination of the 755 (24%) counties which fell outside of any CIL service area and the 475 (15%) in a service area in which no direct service were actually provided. As such, approximately 1,230 (39%) of the nation's counties were unserved by CILs during the reporting period.[7]

Table 2 about here

The total population of the counties reported to be within the service areas of the 62 responding CILs was 62,437,406; 23.8% of the U.S. total population given in the 1995 Census county population update. We estimated a total 25,196,784 people nationally to have a severe disability, of whom 6,046,644 (24%) lived in counties served by the sampled CILs. Our sample estimate of people with severe disability was divided between 5,350,925 (88.5%) living in metropolitan, 318,153 (5.3%) in nonmetropolitan adjacent, and 377,566 (6.2%) in nonmetropolitan nonadjacent counties.

Table 3 presents the number of people reported served by CILs in FY '96 for the sample and our projections for the nation, based on the sample. To estimate of the number of people served nationally, the number of people served in metropolitan, non-metropolitan/adjacent, and nonmetropolitan/nonadjacent countes in the sample was divided by the number of counties in each county type in the sample. The resulting sample ratios of people with severe disability served by county type were multiplied by the estimated number of counties claimed in each category (shown in Table 1) to give the national estimate of people served by county type and the estimate of total number of people with severe disability served (213,875). These data demonstrate the magnitude of individuals receiving services relative to the overall population of people with severe disability. Our sample of 62 CILs included 437 counties in their service areas. The 39,151 individuals identified by the sampled CILs as receiving services represents less than 1% (.66%) of the population with severe disability in the sample service areas.

Insert Table 3 about here

The ratios of people served to people with severe disabilities living in the service area were compared using the Kruskal-Wallis Test, which indicated a significant overall effect between metropolitan, non-metro/adjacent, and non-metro/non-adjacent counties (K-W = 15.834, df = 2, p = .0004). Individual comparisons indicated that metropolitan counties (n = 131, mean rank = 255.02) received significantly greater services than did either non-metropolitan/non-adjacent counties (n = 106, mean rank = 196.67) or non-metropolitan/adjacent counties (n = 200), mean rank = 207.25). Counties of the two nonmetropolitan categories did not differ significantly.

One of the ways some CILs expand their service areas is through satellite offices. Of the 62 responding centers, 29 (47%) reported operating at least one satellite program. These 29 CILs reported operating a total of 45 satellites, or an average of 1.5 satellite offices with a range of 1-4. Projecting nationally across the 336 identified CILs, we estimate there to be 242 such satellites.

Finally, CILs in our sample reported a median budget of $327,691. Of this, they reported allocating an average 81% to either services or advocacy, with 54% of their funds going to direct services and 27% to community advocacy.

Table 4 presents a comparison of the public image of CILs and their satisfaction with that image. A Chi-Square comparison between CILs that thought their public image to be that of a service organization only and those that thought their public image to be that of both a service an advocacy organization found significant differences (Chi Square = 15.03487, df =1, p < .01), indicating that CILs were more satisfied with a mixed service-advocacy or wholly advocacy image than with a service-only image.

Insert Table 4 about here

Discussion

This study assessed the geographic distribution of independent living services provided by Centers for Independent Living in the United States. Results suggest that 2,386 (76%) of the nation's counties are in a CIL service area but that residents of only 60% of these counties actually received direct services in FY 1996. We estimate that these direct services reach more than 213,000 individuals annually. These data also suggest that 775 (24%) counties fell outside of any CIL service area, and that residents of nearly 40% of the nation's counties did not access direct services from a CIL. Further, data show that rural counties are far more likely to go unserved, and even in counties where services are provided, individuals in rural counties are significantly less likely to receive services than those in metropolitan counties.

A second major finding emerged from the data. The proportion of people receiving direct services is small relative to the number of people having severe disabilities. While CILs deliver direct services to over 213,000 individuals annually, this represents less then one percent of potentially eligible individuals using our method of estimating eligibility. Further, people with disabilities living in metropolitan counties received services at a rate disproportionately higher than those living in nonmetropolitan counties.

These findings must be interpreted with some caution for several reasons. First, while these data focus on the provision of direct services, they do not reflect the intensity, quality, or impact of the services. Further, this analysis ignores the extent to which systems advocacy may

have been conducted by CILs. For example, respondents in our sample reported that about 54% of their resources were allocated to direct services and that 27% were allocated to advocacy. The use of the provision of direct service is intended only as an indicator of growth and development of CILs and emphasizes only one of their main processes. The conduct of systems advocacy is believed to be a primary purpose of CILs and to have broad impact. Still, the distribution and impact of advocacy between urban and rural areas is not understood.

Second, service data were all self-reported. While surveyors asked respondents to refer to center records, not all center were used Federal 704 reporting forms because they were not all Federally funded and even Federally-funded centers may not have used the 704 forms to report services supported by non-Federal funds. In addition, data about the county in which services are delivered are not routinely recorded and were estimated by respondents. These estimates may not accurately reflect the actual patterns of service delivery.

Third, we rellied on one mailing list as the basis for identifying CILs. There may be CILs not included on this list. It is unlikely that there are many CILs not identified by ILRU, however. This list has been developed over many years with contributions from national, state, and local organizations. Still, our estimates based on this source may be somewhat low.

Finally, the way different CILs organize to deliver services and the way they define services for reporting appear to vary widely. For example, some respondents reported difficulty in determining when information and referral for an individual evolved to sufficient intensity to become a service. Different CILs reported different criteria for making such determinations. This appears to have led to inconsistencies in tabulation of service data across centers. These inconsistencies reduce the precision of measurement and increase the difficulty of making clear

interpretation of the data. The use of a large, random sample, however, mitigates against the threats to validity posed by these concerns.

One interesting aspect of the study was that non-metropolitan/adjacent counties were slightly less well covered than were non-metropolitan/non-adjacent counties. This suggests that when a CIL has responsibility for both a large metropolitan area and the surrounding rural counties, the rural counties receive less attention and fewer resources. CILs located in metropolitan areas may of necessity need to direct their limited resources toward the more density populated areas, and have few resources available for outreach into the more distant and more sparsely populated adjacent non-metropolitan counties. While CILs which are based in smaller cities surrounded by rural counties may have geographic outreach as an explicit goal, recognizing their smaller urban core as the "regional hub" for a larger geographic region. Increasing the funding level of urban centers with responsibility for rural areas may have a positive effect on rural residents, if it allows them to focus on the entire population in the CIL service area.

Implications

There are several implications of this study and recommendations that flow from this analysis. These are discussed below:

Money and Expansion

What does this study say about expaning CILs?

Alterative Models

What are issues involved in using other models for providing CIL services to unserved areas?

Local Control

What are issues of local control we should address?

Reporting and Measuring CIL Activity and Impact

Does this study support using counties or some other geographic measure? What are the issues of trying to measure impact?

Advocacy versus Services

This study says nothing about the effects of advocacy? Is there a need to try to understand the extent of its impact?

Conclusion

What are our major conclusions and recommendations?

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Balcazar, Seekins, & Fawcett

DeJong (1983).

Table 1

Estimate of Counties in and out of a CIL Service Area in 1996

	Total Counties	Counties In a Service Area	Counties Not in a Service Area
Total	3,141	2,386 (76%)	755 (24%)
Metropolitan Counties	835	716 (86%)	119 (14%)
Non-Metropolitan Counties	2,306	1,670 (72%)	636 (28%)
Non-metropolitan Adjacent Counties	1,003	573 (57%)	430 (43%)
Non-metropolitan Non-adjacent Counties	1,303	1,097 (84%)	206 (16%)

Table 2

Estimate of Counties Unserved by a CIL in 1996

	Total Counties	Counties Not in a Service Area	Counties In Service Area, Not Receiving Services	Total Unserved Counties
Total	3,141	755 (24%)	475 (15%)	1,230 (39%)
Metropolitan Counties	835	119 (14%)	38 (5%)	164 (20%)
Non-Metropolitan Counties	2,306	636 (28%)	437 (19%)	1,073 (47%)
Non-metropolitan Adjacent Counties	1,003	430 (43%)	130 (13%)	560 (56%)
Non-metropolitan Non-adjacent Counties	1,303	206 (16%)	307 (24%)	513 (39%)

Table 3 ***Figures to be redone, and not rounded to 3 decimal points

Counts and Percentages for Sample and National Counties

	Number of Counties	Census 1995 Population Estimates	People with Severe Disabilities	People Served by CILs
Sample Counties				
Metropolitan	131 (30%)	56,425,020 (90%)	5,350,925 (88.5%)	34,852 (89%)
Nonmetro, Adjacent	106 (24.3%)	2,742,227 (4.4%)	318,153 (5.3%)	1,387 (3.5%)
Nonmetro, Nonadjacent	200 (45.7%)	3,270,159 (5.2%)	377,566 (6.2%)	2,912 (7.4%)
Totals	437 (100%)	62,437,406 (99.6%)	6,046,644 (100.1%)	39,151 (99.9%)
U.S. Counties				
Metropolitan	835 (26.6%)	208,912,958 (79.6%)	19,182,047 (76.1%)	190,527 [a] (89.1%)
Nonmetro, Adjacent	1003 (31.9%)	29,920,210 (11.4%)	3,309,889 (13.1%)	7,506 [a] (3.5%)
Nonmetro, Nonadjacent	1303 (41.5%)	23,922,102 (9.1%)	2,704,848 (10.7%)	16,016 [a] (7.5%)
Totals	3141 (100%)	262,336,270 (100.1%)	25,196,784 (99.9%)	213,785 [a] (100.1%)

[a] estimated from sample data

TABLE 4

CIL Image

	Satisfied		Not Satisfied	
Service only	2	16.7%	10	83.3%
Service and Advocacy	35	81.4%	8	18.6%
Advocacy only	3	100%	0	0%

Chi-Square Test Comparing "Service Only" with "Service and Advocacy" Image Satisfaction

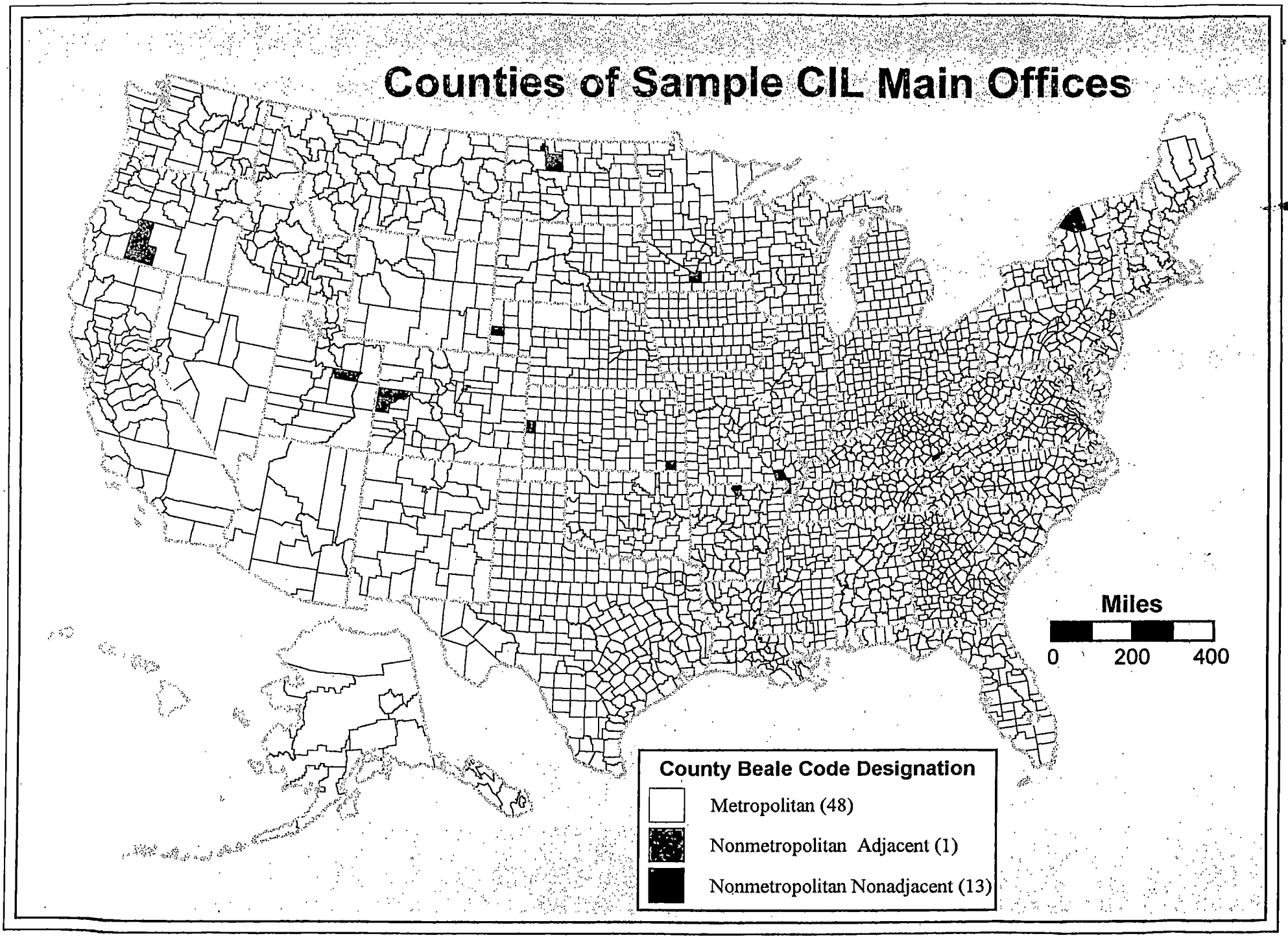
Chi-Square = 15.03487
df = 1
$p < .01$

Appendix A

Map of Locations of Responding CILs

Written Descriptions of Figures and Tables for those with Visual Impairments

Description of Table 4
Of the centers which indicated that their public image was restricted to that of a service organization, fewer reported being satisfied with that image (2) than were dissatisfied (10). By contrast, of the centers which indicated that their public image was both that of a service organization and an advocacy organization, more reported being satisfied with that image (35) than were dissatisfied (8). All three of the centers who regarded their public image as that of an advocacy group were satisfied with that image


Counties of Sample CIL Main Offices
Miles
0
200
400
County Beale Code Designation
Metropolitan (48)
Nonmetropolitan Adjacent (1)
Nonmetropolitan Nonadjacent (13)

Footnotes

1. This research was supported by a grant from the National Institute on disability and Rehabilitation Research ( ). The authors wish to express their sincere appreciation to Lauren _____ and Lex Frieden of the Independent Living Research U.....Reprints may be obtained from the Research and Training Center on Rural Rehabilitation at the University of Montana,....

2. Independent Living philosophy include : consumer control, peer support, self-help, self-determination, equal access, and individual and system advocacy, to maximize the leadership, empowerment, independence, and productivity of individuals with disabilities into the mainstream of American society. (Rehabilitation Act of 1973, as amended in 1992, Sec 701.)

3. A bonafide CIL meets the criteria in Title VII of the Rehabilitation Act. Sec 702.
(1) The term "center for independent living" means a consumer-controlled, community-based, cross-disability, nonresidential private non profit agency that
(A) is designed and operated within a local community by individuals with disabilities; and
(B) provides an array of independent living services.

4. The definition of a satellite used in the study is considerably broader than that used in our broader survey. The larger survey delineates off-site locations into: satellite (using the RSA definition), branch office (staff presence more than .5 FTE per month, outreach office (staff presence less than .5 FTE per month), and other (to collect the permutations that exist especially with emerging models

5. A CSR is a consumer service record maintained for eligible consumers receiving IL services, other than or in addition to information and referral (RSA-PD-98-03, Glossary of Terms)

6. Technically, there are several approaches to identifying rural residence. The Census Bureau and the Farmer Home Administration employ definitions that can be applied to areas within counties, restricting the term "rural" to open country and towns of under 2,500 and 10,000 total population, respectively. Popper (1986) defined "frontier" counties as those with fewer than 6 people per square mile. The Office of Management and Budget identifies "metropolitan" counties as those having a town of at least 50,000 people and a total county population of at least 100,000, and regards all other counties as "nonmetropolitan". USDA refined the OMB scheme by developing the Beale codes that assigned one of 10 values to a county, depending on its degree of rurality. Other approaches classify on the basis of economic activity.

Beale Rural-Urban Continuum Codes (developed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, Agricultural and Rural Economy Division)

Code	
	Metropolitan Counties
0	Central counties of metro areas of 1 million population or more
1	Fringe counties of metro areas of 1 million population or more
2	Counties in metro areas of 250,000 to 1 million population
3	Counties in metro areas of fewer than 250,000 population
	Nonmetropolitan Counties
4	Urban population of 20,000 or more, adjacent to a metro area
5	Urban population of 20,000 or more, not adjacent to a metro area
6	Urban population of 2,500 to 19,999, adjacent to a metro area
7	Urban population of 2,500 to 19,999, not adjacent to a metro area
8	Completely rural or fewer than 2,500 urban population, adjacent to a metro area
9	Completely rural or fewer than 2,500 urban population, not adjacent to a metro area

7. By subtracting these estimates from the total number of counties for each county type, approximately 119 M, 430 NA, and 206 NN counties would appear not to be claimed by any CIL. Additionally, of the claimed counties 7 M, 24 NA, and 56 NN were explicitly identified by sample CILs as having received no services for FY 1996. Projecting these numbers to the national level would suggest that 38 M, 130 NA, and 307 NN counties claimed by CILs received no services for FY 1996. By combining the national totals for counties not covered with those for counties receiving no services, an estimated 164 M, 560 NA, and 513 NN counties would receive no CIL services. These 1237 counties comprise 39.4% of the nation's 3141 counties.

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1333 Moursund, Houston, Texas 77030-3405
In The Texas Medical Center
Telephone (713) 799-5000, 797-5790 (TDD)
Fax (713) 799-7095

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Laurel Richards

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==========

From: Lex

Department: _____

FAX Number: (713) 799-7095 Telephone Number: (713) 797-5284

Comments: What do we do now?

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Bates
Technical College

July 22, 1998

Lex Frieden
Senior Vice President
The Institute for Rehabilitation and Research
1333 Moursund
Houston, TX 77030-3405

Dear Lex:

It has been some time since we communicated. Meanwhile we have been doing some research about independent living and have met with some of the people involved with independent living centers (ILCs) here in Washington State.

It seems that if Bates Technical College is to be involved in providing training to people associated with ILCs, the focus should probably be on the entry-level employees. Also it would probably be best to take a regional focus, perhaps serving the area identified by the Office for Civil Rights, Region X.

To begin a training program for persons associated with ILCs, with a long-term goal being the development of an Associate of Technology Degree in Disability Studies, one of the following courses may be a place to start:

- **Introduction to Disabilities Law** **DIS 101** **3 Credits**

  This course would cover not only the Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990 but also all relevant federal law regarding technology, housing, communication, and employment for persons with disabilities.

- **History of the Disabilities Movement** **DIS 102** **3 Credits**

  This course would be designed to give students a perspective of how persons with disabilities were treated from early times to the present. It would cover various societal changes; statistical information about the growing number of persons with disabilities in our society; and highlight, through an interview format, the leaders in today's disabilities movement.

- **Principles of Self-Advocacy** **DIS 103** **3 Credits**

  Using an interview or panel format, this course would be designed to teach the various principles of self-advocacy such as political rights, consumer independence, and self-reliance. Both persons with disabilities and persons assisting those with disabilities would gain understanding about appropriate assistance methods in ILCs.

We would appreciate knowing whether or not you think one of these courses would be a good starting point. Following are some of the activities that would need to occur for these proposed courses to become reality:

- Identify funds for course development including personnel, supplies, postage, studio time, and travel.
- Identify persons to participate in the course development.
- Determine course competencies, content, requirements, and assessment.
- Identify existing printed and videotaped materials, if appropriate.
- Identify and secure studio time for course production.

We look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

John Pearson, Director
Paraeducator Training Program
(253) 502-4024, TDD (253) 596-1698
Toll free (888) 872-7221
Fax (253) 502-4044
E-mail jpearson@ctc.edu

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cc: William P. Mohler, President
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J. Struct. Learn. & Intel. Sys., 1998, Vol. 13(2), pp. 89–101
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System Dynamics Technologies and Future Directions in Instructional Design*

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The purpose of this article is to report the current status of work in progress by the Grimstad Group. This group of international scholars is conducting research to extend and validate system dynamics technologies for their use in managing the complexities and risks of large-scale, courseware development projects. System dynamics is a model- and simulation-based methodology which lends itself to the study of complex and dynamic systems, especially those which involve feedback mechanisms. This article presents the design of a feasibility study of the use of system dynamics and its instantiation in a particular software product, ModelData's PowerSim, in the domain of courseware development. The purpose research activity is to create a learning laboratory based in system dynamics for courseware developers and managers. Additionally, we present a representative model of the complexities of instructional design which can provide a foundation for a courseware developer's learning laboratory.

Keywords: Grimstad group; system dynamics; technologies; simulation-based methodology

The overall purpose of the research in progress reported here is to extend and validate system dynamics technologies for their use in managing the complexities and risks of large-scale, courseware development projects. Courseware consists of a variety of computer-based

*This article is part of a program of research and development conducted by the Grimstad Group which is a member of the Consortium of Courseware Engineering. Members of this group include: Pål I. Davidsen, University of Bergen; José J. Gonzalez, Agder College (Norway); Daniel J. Muraida and J. Michael Spector, Armstrong Laboratory; and, Robert D. Tennyson, University of Minnesota.

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instructional materials used for the purpose of creating effective learning environments. While computer costs are dropping, new interactive technologies are appearing with a frequency that makes it quite difficult to plan and produce optimally effective (in terms of learning) and efficient (in terms of costs) computer-based instructional materials.

System dynamics is a model- and simulation-based methodology which lends itself to the study of complex and dynamic systems, especially those which involve feedback mechanisms (Forrester, 1961). This technology has been used successfully to model individual decision-making and project team dynamics in the domain of software project management (Abdel-Hamid, 1989; Abdel-Hamid and Madnick, 1991). A recent initial pilot study indicates that system dynamics can be applied to the domain of instructional design (Grimstad Group, 1995a). The current effort aims towards a representative and validated system dynamics model of the project dynamics for a large-scale, courseware development effort.

BACKGROUND

How is the planning and implementation of computer-based learning environments being controlled and managed? This question goes to the heart of current efforts to make effective use of advanced learning technologies. The answer, unfortunately, is that there is no empirically established methodology for controlling and managing large-scale courseware development efforts. As a consequence, many courseware development projects end behind schedule, over budget, and with only marginally effective learning environments.

Courseware development has demonstrated a tendency to adopt practices found useful and productive in software development settings (Yang *et al.*, 1995). For example, computer-assisted software engineering (CASE) tools found their way to market in the 1980s. In the 1990s, counterparts in the domain of courseware development are beginning to appear. In general, these tools can be categorized as electronic performance support systems (EPSSs) for instructional design and range from on-line tutorials on instructional design to case-based instructional design advisors to expert systems to guide the instructional design process (Spector, 1994; Spector *et al.*, 1993). Such automated courseware development tools will surely continue to appear and prove useful in a variety of settings.

However, it is not merely sufficient to place powerful tools in the hands of the users, as has been clearly demonstrated in the domain of software development. Abdel-Hamid and Madnick (Abdel-Hamid, 1989; Abdel-Hamid and Madnick, 1991) have demonstrated that the techniques for modeling and simulating complex, dynamic systems can be effectively applied to several aspects of software project management (e.g., quality control, software reuse, project staffing, etc.). One significant outcome of their work is that the system dynamics models of software development turned out to be excellent tools for sensitizing project members to the many variables that effected the project and to the fact that the effects from one activity often fed back into another part of the development effort (e.g., there is a link between time spent on validating program specifications and time spent recoding later). In short, the existence of a computer model of project activities resulted in the de facto creation of a learning laboratory for software project management.

The work presented here is an attempt to extend the above reviewed findings to the domain of courseware development. Specifically this work is a feasibility study of the use of system dynamics and its instantiation in a particular software product, ModellData's PowerSim, in the domain of courseware development. The general purpose is to create a learning laboratory based in system dynamics for courseware developers and managers. The specific purpose is to create a representative model of the complexities of instructional design which can provide a foundation for a courseware developer's learning laboratory.

SYSTEM DYNAMICS

The Grimstad Group (Grimstad Group, 1995b) has been involved in three NATO sponsored meetings on the subject of automating instructional design and four summer institutes on courseware engineering at the University of Minnesota. In the first NATO meeting (1992, Barcelona), the use of a system dynamics tool (ModelData Corporation's PowerSim) to create sophisticated simulations in support of complex learning objectives was demonstrated (Gonzalez and Vavik, 1994). In the second meeting (1993, Grimstad, Norway), the more general applicability of system dynamics to instructional planning and production was suggested (Gonzalez and Davidsen, 1995). In the third meeting (1994, Grimstad, Norway), an initial pilot study was conducted for the purpose of determining if the hypothesis suggested in

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the previous meeting was correct (Grimstad Group, 1995a). The results were positive; a system dynamics model was created for a small portion of the analysis-design phase of a hypothetical instructional design task involving several project team members.

The next step in this evolving technology is to create a more complete system dynamics model of a real instructional design effort and to determine if such a model has any value as a learning tool. Progress on this task is reported here. First, we present a summary of system dynamics and how PowerSim represents system dynamics models and how it can be used to run subsequent simulations on those models.

System dynamics has been applied to a large number of problems in the social sciences, including project management issues in general, and more specifically to software engineering projects (Sterman, 1988; 1989; 1994). Managers in a number of private and public enterprises employ system dynamics to design robust strategies; for example, collections of well balanced policies that enable them to handle a wide variety of problems defined by the prevailing circumstances.

System dynamics proceeds on the assumption that a system can be represented as a collection of the following elements: (a) things external to the system being modeled, such as sources for inputs to the system and sinks for outputs of the system; (b) levels, which represent things being accumulated within or used up by the system; (c) flows, which indicate where the items being accumulated come from and where those things being used up go; (d) auxiliaries, which are the fundamental variables within the system; (e) constants, which can be considered variables which remain constant during the course of a simulation; and (f) links, which indicate how the basic elements of a system are interconnected.

With these basic elements, system dynamics can be used to explicate complex, dynamic systems such as those that exist in many instructional design and production settings. Using simulation techniques known as "management flight simulators," system dynamics can recreate the factors, features, and constraints of complex systems (Sterman, 1988; 1989; 1994). These simulators have direct applications for the instructional design community in two contexts: First, as research tools – to study why people, facing complex, dynamic design, development, and production problems, act counterproductively due to their misperceptions of the structure underlying the manifest features of the problem; and, second, as training simulators – to improve the way people understand and create strategies to cope with complex design problems.

Essentially, our aim is to employ system dynamics to improve understanding of relationships between the structure and the behavior (dynamics) of problem-related systems comprised of many interacting instructional design variables. Given our assumption that the instructional design environment shares key features of complex mental model systems, we believe there are four kinds of structural problems that are particularly challenging.

- First, there is the origin of the dynamic behavior itself – the relationship between levels and flows. The level of a system determines its state at any point in time and the rates of the flows, accumulated by the levels, constitute the dynamics of the system. Although simple in principle, people often find it difficult to distinguish between real levels and flows and to identify the behavioral consequences of flows acting on levels.
- Second, in real systems, not only do flow-rates effect levels, but through the causal relationships that constitute the structure of the system, levels feed back to influence flow-rates. Real dynamic systems are consequently characterized by circular causality. Their structures contain feedback loops that transmit the dynamic behavior of one attribute to the next until the circle is closed and the signal, in a modified form, is fed back to its origin. Such loops have a tendency to counteract or reinforce each other in the stabilization or destabilization of the system. In the management of feedback systems, peoples' mental actions are typically being amplified or counteracted, depending on which feedback structures are dominating the system at a particular time.
- Third, there are delays or lags in real systems. Delays distribute the effects of changes in variables throughout a system over time and often cause information to reach its destination in an untimely fashion. Delays and lags tend to cause people to discover and give priority to short-run gains and to ignore and postpone actions against future losses. Delayed reactions typically cause people to over and undershoot in their correcting (compensating) actions, and thus create systems exhibiting oscillatory behavior.
- Finally, there is non-linearity, which implies that system attributes influence each other in a non-proportional way, and that they interact so that their partial effects cannot easily be distinguished. Such interactions may cause shifts in the structural dominance of a system over time. That is, substructures that have dominated a system's behavior for some time may, suddenly, or gradually, lose their

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significance, while other substructures gain influence. This typically causes a dramatic modification of the system's dynamic behavior. Notice that this happens endogenously, as a result of the behavior of the system itself, and that no structural change need take place, only a shift in relative dominance between substructures.

To obtain the improvement of systems behavior required to solve a problem, we design and implement a new set of policies that effectively act as systems substructures. The fact that a system exhibits a variety of behavior patterns, typically leads people to conclude that the system undergoes structural changes, often presumed to originate from outside the system, and thus remaining outside the control of its manager. This perspective attributes the problem to exogenous factors and does not encourage policy design and intervention. In fact, however, in nonlinear feedback systems such behavioral modifications result from the behavior feeding endogenously back to the structure of the system – causing an amplification and an attenuation of the relative significance of a variety of substructures. Such an understanding should cause people to take a more active role in problem solving by modifying the systems structure through policy design and implementation.

These characteristics of complex systems tend to mask relationships between cause and effect, and thus obscure current problems, while hiding the means of solving them. Successful solutions are often counterintuitive and hard to identify. In addition, there are often uncertainties associated with systems, and humans tend to state their perceptions, policy preferences, and attitudes vaguely. As a result, realistic models of systems require the use of both random and fuzzy numbers in simulations.

PROJECT RATIONALE

Because we are using system dynamics in a novel domain, courseware development, it is worthwhile to discuss the context in which courseware development occurs. We shall refer to that context as instructional systems development, or ISD, which is how it is referred to in the instructional science literature. Over the past forty years ISD has progressed from a simple linear methodology for instructional development to a complex model of the ill-structured iterative process that is instructional design today (Tennyson, 1995). The original form of ISD (and still a widely applied approach; e.g., Braden, 1996) came directly

from military planning technology which used static, sequential flow diagrams to characterize the planning of instruction.

Figure 1 depicts a model of how early instructional systems development viewed the relationships between individual learning and

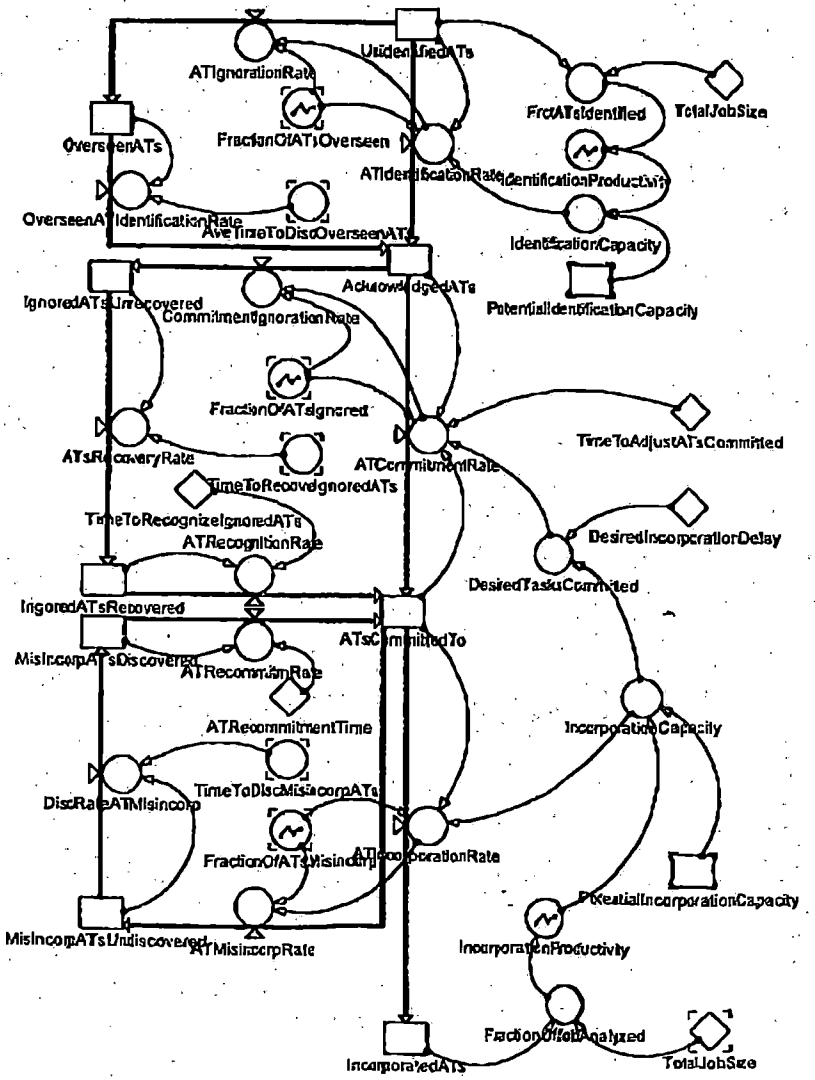


Figure 1. A model of a simplified ISD view of learning.

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instructional design. The top level system reflects a model of individual human learning. The student begins with some knowledge (the cloud or source on the top left) and an initial set of accomplishments (Task Identification Rate), possibly determined by a pretest, represented as a constant with a link to student accomplishments (Tasks Pending Completion), which is what this system depicts as being accumulated (the Task Completion Rate circle). How the student is progressing, determined by a formative evaluation (Productivity), effects the rate of learning. Behavioral objectives are represented as constants and are linked to formative evaluation (Nominal Capacity), based on the obvious notion that students should be tested on the measurable objectives of the lesson.

The model of individual learning in Fig. 1 is linked to a model of the process of designing instruction. The links between these two models are of particular interest. Notice that behavioral objectives and formative evaluation also provide input to the flow-rate of the instructional program – how well the objectives are being incorporated into the final instructional program. The overall quality of the final instructional program can be measured by the time it takes students to master the learning goals, which is appropriately linked to the individual learning rate in the top model. Notice that this model contains feedback loops, which dramatically increases the complexity of the system.

With the advent of automated instruction many unforeseen complications were introduced, stemming chiefly from new requirements for producing effective computer-based instructional delivery systems. While those early behavioral attempts to guide the development of instruction were occurring, developments in the cognitive movement of psychology produced an unprecedented number of implications for instructional theory. As the implications of this new perspective on instructional variables became clear, the scope of instructional development problems increased dramatically. ISD's evolution followed these shifts in thinking about instruction, attempting to provide guidance for development, based on cognitive research. Tennyson's work has traced the attempts of instructional psychologists to produce instructional design guidance based on the implications of the cognitive paradigm (Tennyson, 1994). Figure 2 depicts a view of Tennyson's fourth generation ISD model and Fig. 3 shows the area where our research originally focused.

Figure 3 illustrates the richness of the cognitive complexity involved in instructional design. Note that Fig. 3 only focuses on the interactions

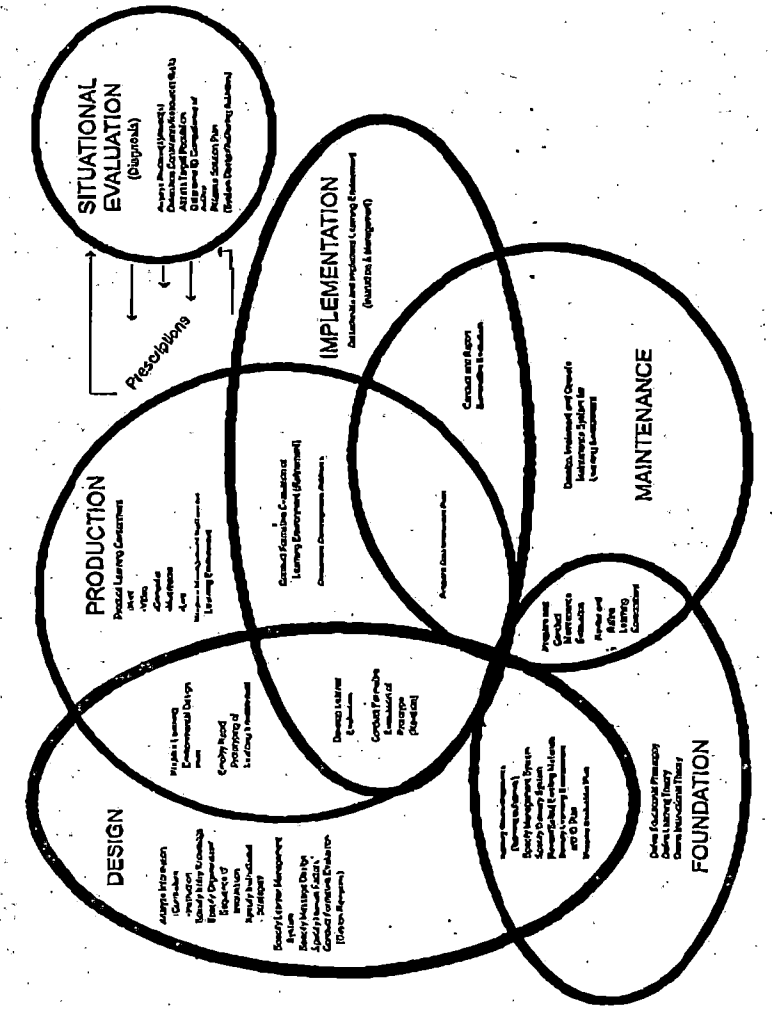


Figure 2. The focus of the initial system dynamics model of ISD[4].

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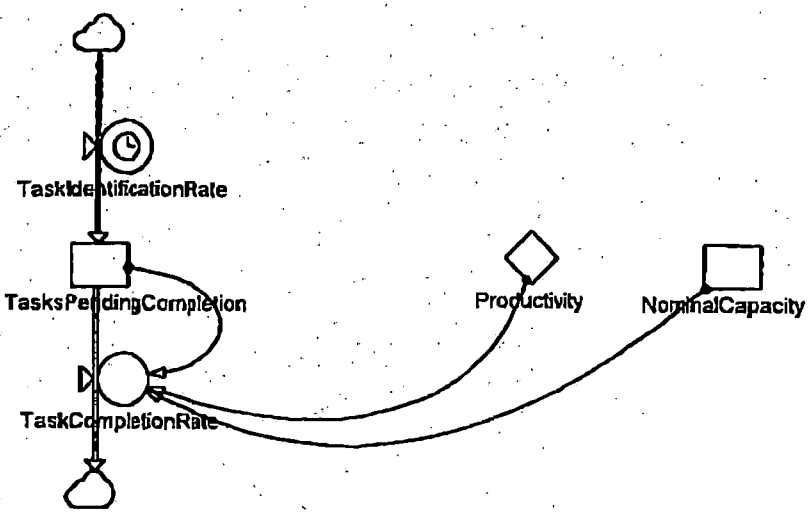


Figure 3. The identification of, commitment of resources to, and incorporation of analysis tasks (Ats) in an ISD[4] project.

among the products involved in instructional materials production (e.g., courseware). Other perspectives are both possible and desirable, such as team dynamics which is also highly relevant to our research and which will be included in a complete project dynamics model. Also, Fig. 3 outlines but a faction of a model we have designed so far to capture the initial identification of analysis tasks (AIs), the commitment of project resources to those tasks, and the incorporation of the tasks into the ISD project plan. Consequently, the complexity depicted in Fig. 3 is but the tip of an iceberg.

In the past decade, ISD researchers have taken to examining the instructional design process, as an object of study based on research in problem solving (Goel and Pirolli, 1989; Nelson *et al.*, 1988; Rowland, 1992). Additionally, analytic structures applied to the fields of project management have been examined for their potential to portray the complexity of the instructional design process from cognitive and organizational standpoints (Gonzalez and Davidsen, 1995; Gonzalez and Vavik, 1994). The confluence of these two trends makes it possible, in principle, to initiate rigorous analyses of ISD from both perspectives.

In terms of guiding the characteristics and the impact of an instructional delivery, the fourth generation of ISD (ISD[4]) (see Fig. 2) is responsive to the implications of cognitively-based instructional

research. Tennyson's model acknowledges variables which can support learning such as the exploitation of prior knowledge and the use and manipulation of mental models. More importantly, however, the model addresses the difficulty of producing an effective instructional treatment under the cognitive paradigm. The ISD[4] process methodology is characterized as an iterative but nonlinear process that cannot be reduced to rules. Instructional design is viewed in much the same way that cognitive researchers view complex, ill-structured problem solving (e.g., architectural design and engineering design). A key aspect of Tennyson's model is the situational evaluation component which is depicted separately in Fig. 2. The reason for separating out situational evaluation is that it influences all aspects of ISD and it must be a dynamic evaluation, depending on the state of the project, previous efforts, feedback, etc.

In ISD[4] models no assumptions are made concerning a given sequence of activities to be prescribed (see also Dolbec, who presents a Gestalt approach, 1996; and Willis, who provides a constructivist-interpretive model, 1995). A design solution is proposed as part of a situational evaluation that creates a unique set of design prescriptions for the particular instructional setting. This is possible because the prescription is derived from a knowledge base comprised of a set of five types of interacting development domains that have both variable and invariant attributes (see Fig. 2). Thus, any particular instantiation of ISD[4] would be a specially tailored subset of the total set of authoring activities comprising the knowledge base.

CONCLUSION

Recognizing the requirements of cognitively-based courseware requires that the designer be sensitive to many factors that can negatively influence the integrity of a production from conception to delivery. Because cognitively-based instruction has a rich instructional design space compared to that of behaviorally-oriented instruction, the designer is responsible for correspondingly more elaborate sets of authoring activities. Rather than depending on production rules to specify instructional design authoring, Tennyson has coupled the notion of using fuzzy logic to dictate the appropriate combination of authoring activities with immediate formative evaluation of those activities. This rapid-prototyping approach is an effort to contain the risk of poor authoring decisions before they become prohibitively

expensive. It is one thing, however, to describe the nature of a highly complex system of interacting variables in the design environment in a post hoc fashion, but quite another to attempt to use that description as a basis for effective instructional production. The designer has too many variables to attend to. If a satisfactory solution is to be obtained an approach to bounding that complexity is needed.

If this project proves to be successful, then the instructional science community can take a giant step toward more effective management and use of advanced learning technologies. Specifically, the United States Air Force will have an extremely powerful and intelligent electronic performance support system for the domain of courseware project management. Preliminary data from our work indicates that this model will provide a substantial foundation for the creation of a dynamic learning laboratory for the domain of courseware development. In addition, given the success of the parallel effort in the domain of software engineering, there is good reason to expect that this effort will likewise yield interesting and useful results.

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JUSTICE FOR ALL

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FRED PELKA: 54 BURNCOLT ROAD, FLORENCE, MA 01062, 413/586-2876;

August 10, 1998

Dear Lex:

Enclosed is a rough - not for publication - draft of an eventual publication on the subject of empowerment. I attempt to distill the results of our great experiments with empowerment, to communicate a concept and an agenda for a revolution that will empower all people to live far better than they do now. This issue is very important to me, as I know it is to you. I want to record our thoughts on this while I am still around to do it.

I would very much appreciate your glancing at this draft (alternate media version available upon request) and offering your guidance - and perhaps that of one or two trusted colleagues. I would be deeply honored if I could mention your name as an adviser. As you see, the introduction specifically states that persons listed as advisors do not necessarily endorse every word of the document.

I would especially appreciate your sending me at least one quote by you or another leader in your state about how you see the revolution of empowerment - your personal views on short and long range issues (see examples in the draft). If convenient, I would like to receive one or two additional quotes by "leaders of the future" - young people or "unsung heroes/heroines."

If you have time, I would also appreciate having one or two 50- to 200-word stories about ordinary people with and without disabilities who have become empowered.

We hope to go forward with our next draft by September 5th. While it is very late to make any major conceptual changes in this next draft, some quotes and anecdotes can be included. There will be other drafts. Your guidance will be valuable in both the short and long term.

Please contact Fred Pelka at 413-586-2876 if you have questions or FAX suggestions, quotes or stories, or requests for alternate media, to Mark Smith at 601-969-1662.

I love you.

Justin Dart

Justice For All means Real Power for All,
Real Choices for All, Real Access to the Dream for All

DRAFT Not For Publication

YOU HAVE THE

POWER

LIVE THE DREAM

THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT

JUSTIN DART

ADVISORS AND EDITORS: FRED PELKA, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF; MIKE AUBERGER, GERALD BAPTISTE, FRANK BOWE, MARCA BRISTO, BELINDA CARLTON, JAMES CHARLTON, JIM DICKSON, NANCY DIEHL, GUNNAR DYBWAD, PAUL EDWARDS, FRED FAY, DAN FISHER, LUCY GWIN, WADE HENDERSON, JUDY HEUMANN, RACHEL HURST, KONOKA IZUMI, BOB KAFKA, JOHN KEMP, ROBERT KILBURY, JOHN LANCASTER, PAUL MARCHAND, GINA MCDONALD, BECKY OGLE, DEBBIE ROBINSON, LEE SCHULZ, BOBBY SILVERSTEIN, GREG SMITH, MARK SMITH, PATTY SMITH, RUD TURNBULL, LUCY WONG-HERNANDEZ, PAT WRIGHT

Beloved colleagues, I address you now in the twilight of my life to express my passionate conviction that humans with or without disabilities will never fully achieve their God given potential until there is a revolution of empowerment.

I cry out to you from the depths of my being. Your lives, the quality of humanity hangs in the balance! You have the power. Live the dream today.

Lead! Lead! Lead the revolution of empowerment!

I love you. I am with you always.

Together we shall overcome.

Justin Dart

YOU HAVE THE POWER
LIVE THE DREAM

THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT

JUSTIN DART

JULY 26, 1998
JUSTICE FOR ALL: JACKSON, MS

"As times change, so government must change. We need a new government for a new century - humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves; a government that is smaller, lives within its means, and does more with less. Yet where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world, and where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, government should do more, not less. The preeminent mission of our new government is to give all Americans an opportunity - not a guarantee, but a real opportunity - to build better lives."

President Bill Clinton
January 20, 1997

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"I think the great challenge today is to make the promise of America a reality for all of its citizens, and to make achieving the American dream, which I believe in fervently, a reality for all Americans. It can be done."

Wade Henderson

"At the banquet table of nature there are no reserved seats. You get what you can take, and you keep what you can hold; if you can't take anything, you won't get anything; and if you can't hold anything, you won't keep anything. And you can't take anything without organization."

A. Philip Randolph

DEDICATION - TO YOSHIKO DART AND TO

PATRIOTS, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE. This writing is dedicated to you. More importantly this writing is authored by you, through your guidance to me, through your communications to the world, through your actions for a society that empowers.

I AM EXTREMELY GRATEFUL TO, I DEDICATE THIS WRITING TO, THE MANY GREAT PEOPLE – family, friends, leaders of the civil and disability rights movements - who have in one way or another contributed to this draft.

THEY INCLUDE: Mike Auberger, Gerald Baptiste, Frank Bowe, Marca Bristo, Belinda Carlton, James Charlton, Jim Dickson, Nancy Diehl, Gunnar Dybwad, Paul Edwards, Fred Fay, Dan Fisher, Lucy Gwin, Wade Henderson, Judy Heumann, Val Halamandaris, Rachel Hurst, Konoka Izumi, Bob Kafka, John Kemp, Robert Kilbury, John Lancaster, Paul Marchand, Gina McDonald, Yayoi Narita, Becky Ogle, Debbie Robinson, Lee Schulz, Bobby Silverstein, Greg Smith, Mark Smith, Patty Smith, Rud Turnbull, Lucy Wong-Hernandez and Pat Wright.

I AM PROFOUNDLY GRATEFUL TO FRED PELKA, my brilliant, passionate editor. Without his hundreds of hours of dedicated labor, there would be no "You Have the Power."

Justin Dart

"The lived oppression that people with disabilities have experienced and continue to experience is a human rights tragedy of epic proportions... (There must be a) fundamental reordering of global priorities and resources based on equality, respect, and control of resources by the people and communities that need them."

James I. Charlton
Nothing About Us Without Us

"This is the decade where people with disabilities are becoming empowered and gaining Self-Determination to have the power to make choices and control their own lives. It's about freedom and becoming independent. The new millennium will require education and outreach to the minority communities so that everyone can join us with their ideas and become one America. We should use the word capabilities not disabilities. This is the time for people with capabilities of all kinds to come and be at the table and be heard.

We need to reach out to everyone, all Americans, to work together for the new millennium."

Debbie Robinson

This writing is a beginning attempt to distill that experience, to communicate a concept and an agenda for a revolution that will empower all people to live far better than they do now.

THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT WOULD BE NECESSARY EVEN IF MINORITY AND DISABILITY DISCRIMINATION DID NOT EXIST, because no people anywhere – people who are minorities, people with and without disabilities, people who are poor, people who are rich - will ever reach full personal potential without the knowledge and supports that an empowerment society will provide. There will be no truly democratic, scientific society until all people are empowered to use the methods and products of science and to think and act as members of democratic government.

Unlike most previous religious and political movements, the revolution of empowerment makes no claim of inevitable success, no offer of happy-ever-after euphoria to the faithful. This revolution is possible only if you, if we together, have the will to act. We offer that most profound pain and happiness of cultural childbirth, of becoming one with the great flow of humanity in its eternal struggle for a better life - today and for future generations.

YOU HAVE THE POWER, AND THEREFORE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO REVOLUTIONIZE YOUR LIFE and the lives of others for the better. There is no need to wait for any title or permission. When you change, society changes, because you are society. You can be a revolution of one today. But you will not be alone. You will be joining the greatest army, the greatest family in the world - increasing thousands of the world's most beautiful people working in loving solidarity on history's most important project.

Throughout this document we impose specific meanings on words that are currently used very loosely to justify almost any agenda.

EMPOWERMENT: We mean empowerment literally – creating a culture, creating a social context that enables all people to develop, to take the power, to govern themselves and society and to produce the good life for self and for all. Empowerment means that all people are entitled to the individualized tools necessary to achieve full personal choice and full personal potential.

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America."

Gouverneur Morris
Patriot with a Disability

"It is the right and the responsibility of disabled people (of all oppressed people) to redefine themselves (their identities and their values) as opposed to accepting the definitions imposed by our oppressors."

Bruce Curtis

YOU HAVE THE POWER, AND THEREFORE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO REVOLUTIONIZE YOUR LIFE AND THE LIVES OF OTHERS FOR THE BETTER. YOU DON'T NEED ANY TITLE, PERMISSION OR MEMBERSHIP CARD. ACT TODAY! JOIN, LEAD THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT.

INTRODUCTION

HUMANITY CLEARLY HAS THE RESOURCES TO LIVE A GOLDEN AGE OF SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY in which every person achieves a quality of life beyond the most optimistic imagination of yesterday. But we humans remain stubbornly addicted to many of the primitive perceptions and practices of our long pre-science, pre-democratic childhood. We are mired in a brilliant but confused adolescence. Proclaiming an age of adult reason and responsibility, we remain obsessed with childish symbols of prestige. In the midst of record riches, there is massive discrimination and poverty. We seem unable to take the last simple steps into the magnificent Promised Land of mature democracy. Our current approaches to government and culture are reaching their useful limits. People seek a new vision. We, of the civil and disability rights communities, have that vision.

WE PROPOSE, WE DECLARE A REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT.

THIS REVOLUTION WILL CREATE A CULTURE that focuses the full force of science and free-enterprise democracy on the individualized empowerment of every single person to live his or her full potential for self-determination, productivity and quality of life.

We of the rights movements, we as a culture, have recorded several decades of pioneering progress in developing specific initiatives that widen the scope of human possibility. Our experiments have proven absolutely that people with almost any physical, mental or social disability - when provided with the individualized tools of empowerment - can not only equal, but greatly exceed the norms of current mainstream society.

"I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed. A man who takes away another man's freedom is a prisoner of hatred, he is locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness. I am not truly free if I am taking away someone else's freedom, just as surely as I am not free when my freedom is taken from me. The oppressed and the oppressor alike are robbed of their humanity.

When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both. Some say that has now been achieved. But I know that that is not the case. The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free, the right not be oppressed. We have not taken the final step of our journey, but the first step on a longer and even more difficult road. For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test of our devotion to freedom is just beginning."

Nelson Mandela

DEMOCRACY: Literally. We do not refer simply to a society where the people have the right to govern, but to a society where the people – all the people - actually do govern. A society in which 50% of the people vote, and maybe 5% make the decisions, is light years better than traditional authoritarian regimes, but it simply is not mature democracy.

FREE-ENTERPRISE: We do not refer to a trickle down free market that allows a few to grab all the money and the power they can get, to manipulate government and society's resources without regard to the quality of life of other people. We refer to that dynamic combination of guaranteed equality, investment in opportunity for all, and virtually unlimited creative enterprise that made America the richest and most democratic nation in history. Empowerment means free-enterprise actually exercised by all.

SCIENCE: We refer to a science dedicated to life. We refer to a science as that explosively successful methodology which has revolutionized the power of human beings to utilize their resources and to control their environments. Science means establishing knowledge and developing action through a continual process of experimentation, evaluation of results and refinement of action based on those results. Empowerment means that science, to be worthy of the name, must be focused clearly on the quality of life in the continuum which is individual, society and universe. Empowerment means that all people will be enabled to utilize the methodology and products of science to maximize quality of life for self and for all.

THE DREAM: We do not refer to the Madison Avenue version of the "American dream": A Mercedes Benz, a Jeep Cherokee, a four bedroom house in the suburbs and a cottage on the beach for the fortunate – and "good luck" and charity for the rest. We refer to the dream of Martin Luther King, to the Human Dream: A world of peace and love, a world in which all people are empowered to produce and to live lives of quality.

PRODUCTIVITY: Productivity must be defined not only in terms of raw monetary balances, but finally in terms of quality of life produced. Producing a billion dollars worth of cigarettes or land mines is not the same as producing a billion dollars worth of health care.

"The ADA is the law of the land. Citizens with disabilities now possess real rights that were mere dreams just months ago. Rights protections, however, are rarely automatically or easily implemented. We must remain as diligent in ADA's enforcement as we were in its passage. We must not only look to government and business to fully implement ADA. We must also mobilize an empowered constituency, the disability movement, to move aggressively forward to assure that ADA's promise becomes reality."

Paul Marchand

"Human progress is neither automatic nor inevitable. Even a superficial look at history reveals that no social advance rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle, the tireless exertions of dedicated individuals."

Martin Luther King

HISTORIC CROSSROADS – DREAM OR DRIFT?

THE CIVIL AND DISABILITY RIGHTS MOVEMENTS, AMERICANS, ALL HUMAN BEINGS STAND AT AN HISTORIC CROSSROADS.

Thanks to the pioneers of science, free-enterprise and equal-opportunity democracy, thanks to you, humanity has created cultures that achieve standards of living and social justice beyond the wildest dreams of our ancestors of only a few centuries ago. We as rights advocates, we as Americans have joined with our colleagues in other lands to play major leadership roles in this explosive progress.

Today, for the first time, humanity has the economic, technological and human resources to eliminate poverty, discrimination, dependency, and isolation, to moderate pain and disability, to prolong productive life dramatically – to remove underlying causes of violence and war.

WE HAVE ALL THE RESOURCES TO LIVE THE HUMAN DREAM, TO CREATE A GOLDEN AGE of science and democracy that empowers us all to govern, to produce and to live the good life.

WILL WE DO IT? Or will we, like great cultures past, relax in the status quo, and drift down the road of self-indulgence, disunity and subsidy for privilege to the land of might have been?

- *36.5 million Americans live in poverty.*
- *20 to 30 million Americans suffer from hunger.*
- *25 million Americans rely on food pantries, soup kitchens, homeless shelters, and other emergency feeding programs.*
- *10.6 million American children have no health insurance.*
- *71% of Americans with disabilities are unemployed, versus 21% of all Americans.*
- *40% of Americans with disabilities have incomes below the poverty line, versus 18% of all Americans.*
- *20% of Americans with disabilities do not finish high school, versus 9% of all Americans.*

- *Around the world, nearly 1 billion human beings are ravaged by hunger, 35,000 people die each day of starvation, 13 million die each year - three quarters of them children. All of them suffer severe disabilities in the process of dying. A very large percentage of the people who survive prolonged acute hunger will have significant disabilities.*
- *97% of disabled children in developing countries receive no form of rehabilitation whatsoever.*
- *98% of disabled children in developing countries receive no education.*

Sources: Congressional Hunger Center, Second Harvest, US Census Bureau, Harris Poll, the Hunger Project, Disability Awareness in Action

THE PROBLEM – OPPRESSION IN THE MIDST OF PROSPERITY

SOCIETY AT THE END OF THE 20TH CENTURY IS CHARACTERIZED BY CRUSHING OPPRESSION IN THE MIDST OF APPARENTLY LIMITLESS PROSPERITY.

DAILY WE TRUMPET RECORD PROGRESS IN TERMS OF CERTAIN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INDICATORS. We have the capacity to supply the entire world with the conceptual and material components of the good life – to create good life for all. But we are not doing it.

IN CONTRAST WITH THE MUCH ADVERTISED INDICATIONS OF PROGRESS, THERE IS GLARING EVIDENCE that our current approach to culture is reaching its useful limits, is indeed dangerously incomplete. Three decades ago, the richest fifth of humanity had thirty times as much income as the poorest fifth. Today it has sixty-one times as much. In America, with record highs in stocks, corporate profits, employment and personal incomes, increasing millions of lower middle income and poor people, and especially people with disabilities and minorities, are falling further behind every year. Increasing millions lack basic health care coverage and quality education. Thousands are hungry and homeless. In other nations, there are hundreds of millions who lack the basic necessities of human existence: food, shelter, medical care, education, personal rights. They live as virtual sub-humans in situations of constant psychological and physical desperation. They die years or decades before their time. Political imprisonment, torture and murder abound. Wars continue.

BUT THE POOR ARE NOT THE ONLY VICTIMS in our turbulent adolescence of democracy. The well-to-do, the powerful are prevented by obsolete perceptions and systems from reaching anything close to their full potential. The daily news is full of the very real problems of the affluent and the famous. No people anywhere, rich or poor, are living as well as they could.

THROUGHOUT HISTORY PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF MINORITY GROUPS, have always been the poorest of the poor, the most oppressed of the oppressed. In spite of our

REALITIES

In spite of the United Nation's noble objectives, violence, sexual abuse, and neglect of children and adults with disabilities continues throughout the world. For example, in Malaysia, adolescents with disabilities are spending their lives tied down to beds. In Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America, children with mental retardation are being kidnapped to sell their vital organs to affluent buyers. People who commit offenses against people with mental retardation in Germany and Spain are receiving reduced penalties because their victims are viewed as incapable of suffering, and the assailant who raped a woman with mental retardation in the United Kingdom is set free because the victim's testimony is held to be inadmissible. The United States and the United Kingdom report cases of people with disabilities being denied proper legal representation and convicted of crimes that they did not commit. Institutional abuse and neglect continues to be reported from Albania, Australia, Belgium, the Commonwealth of Independent States, Greece, Jamaica, and many others (Reid, 1992). Studies from many countries (e.g., US, UK, Australia) suggest that child abuse, beatings, and rape are common occurrences in the lives of many, probably most, people with developmental disabilities.

Dick Sobsey
Violence and Abuse in
the Lives of People with Disabilities
1994

landmark victories for disability rights in recent decades, seventy-one percent of potentially employable Americans with disabilities are jobless. Millions live in poverty. Millions can't get health insurance at any price, unless they go on welfare. Millions are segregated in ghettos and back rooms, or are imprisoned in institutions and nursing homes. Thousands are homeless.

LOOKING AROUND THE WORLD, there are only a handful of countries that have mandated anything approaching full equality for people with disabilities, and there is no country on earth where full equality is a reality of daily life. In some countries, people with disabilities are not even allowed to vote, much less raise a family, go to school, or hold a job.

In many countries, people with disabilities are still beggars left to starve by the roadside. There are nations where 90 percent of children with intellectual impairments do not live to be six.

AMONG THE FIRST SYSTEMATIC MASS MURDERS committed by the German Nazis were those of people with disabilities. Hundreds of thousands of people with disabilities were given lethal injections, forced into gas chambers, starved, tortured and used in medical experiments. Today, the killing continues. There are countries where the murder of babies with disabilities is still routine. In the United States of America there are increasing numbers of people who say that we who have severe disabilities are better off dead – that it should be legal to "assist" us to die.

HOW MANY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES AROUND THE WORLD DIE every year from violence, or from lack of the basic necessities of life? Two million? Four million? Ten million?

NOBODY KNOWS. Dead whales they count. Dead spotted owls and butterflies they count. Nobody counts the deaths of people with disabilities. This is a contemporary Holocaust, an ongoing crime against humanity, which the international community has barely acknowledged.

WE MUST END THIS OPPRESSION and all oppression everywhere, not only for the sake of poor people, people with disabilities, and minorities, but for all humanity. Because humanity is one. Oppression of anyone is oppression of everyone.

"Surely our great-grandsons will not be wrong if they think of us as barbarians? The truth is that as children of a transition period, we are neither fully conscious of, nor in full control of, the new powers that have been unleashed. Clinging to outworn habit, we still see in science only a new means of providing more easily the same old things."

Pierre Teilhard de Chardin

"This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union, it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form, and substance of government, whose leading object is, to elevate the condition of men - to lift artificial weights from their shoulders - to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all - to afford all, an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life."

President Abraham Lincoln
Message to Congress

THE SOLUTION: A REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT

IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY APPARENT THAT HUMANITY'S CURRENT APPROACHES TO CULTURE - even the best of them - have reached their useful limits. There is widespread confusion about the purpose of life and society, about the responsibility of individuals and the governments they create. We need a new vision of government and society - a vision that will identify the problem and harness our fantastic resources to enable all to live the good life that is clearly possible. We have that vision.

I PROPOSE THAT WE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND DISABILITY COMMUNITIES UNITE WITH ALL WHO LOVE JUSTICE TO LEAD A REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT. A revolution that confronts and eliminates obsolete conceptions and systems. A revolution to create a new culture in which the first priority is to focus the full power of science and free-enterprise democracy on the systematic, individualized empowerment of every person. Every individual must be empowered to live his or her full personal potential to govern self and society, to produce the good life for self and for all, to live the best possible quality life.

WE OF THE RIGHTS COMMUNITIES HAVE UNIQUE KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE TO LEAD A REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT. We, you have been the pioneers of empowerment: Labor rights, civil rights, women's rights, voting rights, affirmative action, rehabilitation, 504, independent living, IDEA, supported employment, People First, ADA, PAS, CASA and much more. These are practical, profoundly successful initiatives - but they are only beginning steps toward the Promised Land. None of them has the social support necessary to meet the needs of all the people they were designed to serve. At best they are beacon lights of progress and hope in a dusky sea of primitive values, attitudes, and systems. At best they are the dawn's early light of empowerment democracy.

DESPITE THE MAGNIFICENT PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE, PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES - PEOPLE WITHOUT DISABILITIES - will never fully achieve any of their legitimate goals until the revolution of empowerment becomes the clearly focused first priority of individuals and society.

"I agree with you that this nation is founded on the principle that each human life is sacred and inviolable. People with disabilities have an absolute right and responsibility to participate fully and equally in society and to maximize their quality of life potential in manners of their own choosing."

President Ronald Reagan
Letter to the National Council on Disability
January, 1984

"This is life... This is no make-believe world where you can go jumping into everything and it will be OK. You have to live up to your responsibilities and answer for your errors."

Herschel Walker

THE VALUES OF EMPOWERMENT

EMPOWERMENT REQUIRES A REVOLUTION IN THE VALUES WE ACTUALLY LIVE. We must stop pushing each other down in a self-destructive effort to achieve primitive symbols of power and prestige, and start lifting ourselves and each other to live well. Life is not a game that requires losers. Thinking people have been preaching this for more than 2000 years, but we have been betrayed by our addictions to obsolete values, and by our dependence on paternalistic authority.

WE ARE BETRAYED BY OUR LEADERS: The paternalistic elite of government, commerce and other vested interests use the power of the mass media and all manner of other psychological and economic manipulation to say, "Believe in me, give me your vote, give me your money, give me your mind, and I will give you the good life." And in too many ways we comply with their most frequent or seductive demands. This is not democracy. This is not the common sense demanded by an age of science for life. This is simply the authoritarian paternalism of Pharaoh or Caesar fragmented and labeled "free-enterprise." This approach can never result in the good life for all that is possible in a society founded on the values of science and democracy.

WE ARE BETRAYED BY OURSELVES when we allow the manipulators to make our decisions for us. The revolution of empowerment will require that we stop following the loudest voice and start making our decisions on the basis of those time honored truths which form the foundations of democracy - values in which we all profess to believe.

THESE TRUTHS ARE SELF-EVIDENT:

TRUTH: EACH HUMAN LIFE, THE QUALITY OF EACH HUMAN LIFE, IS SACRED AND INVIOLABLE. All human beings have an absolute right, and an absolute responsibility to live and to maximize quality of life.

QUALITY OF LIFE, LIFE ITSELF IS THE ULTIMATE VALUE.

"Inclusion not exclusion. Independence not dependence. Empowerment not paternalism and charity."

Bobby Silverstein

"Men who are good by reason - i.e., men who, under the guidance of reason, seek what is useful to them - desire nothing for themselves which they do not also desire for the rest of mankind."

Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza

TRUTH: ALL HUMAN BEINGS HAVE AN INALIENABLE RIGHT, AN INALIENABLE POWER AND AN INALIENABLE RESPONSIBILITY to govern their own lives, to govern society, to invest all of their abilities and resources in producing lives of quality not only for themselves and their families, but for all.

TRUTH: THE PURPOSE - THE FIRST AND FUNDAMENTAL PRIORITY - OF SOCIETY and its governments is not to govern people and to provide a good life for them, but to empower them - all of them - to govern themselves and to provide the best possible lives for themselves and their fellow humans.

TRUTH: EMPOWERMENT TO GOVERN ONESELF DOES NOT IMPLY freedom from the great universal values of social responsibility. On the contrary, empowerment mandates absolute individual and collective responsibility for those self-evident values that support the preservation and quality of human life - and on which all great religions and cultures agree.

TRUTH: HUMAN BEINGS ARE BY NATURE INTERDEPENDENT. Individual, family, society and universe form a continuum of interdependence. You cannot be responsible for yourself, or your family, without being responsible for the society and the natural environment in which you live.

You cannot morally buy a luxurious yacht or a large diamond with money needed to provide basic health care for your children – and other people's children. This is not to say that there is anything inherently wrong with wealth, or that the empowerment government will dictate the details of people's lives. This is to say that empowered people will – in their own self interest – choose to define luxury and productivity in terms of quality of life for all rather than fashionable symbols of power and prestige.

EMPOWERMENT IS WHEN THE GOOD LIFE FOR ALL IS THE FIRST, NOT THE SECOND OR LAST, VALUE OF EVERY PERSON AND GROUP.

"Generations of exclusion and oppression of people with disabilities have been declared ended by the ADA. We are recognized as equal members of the human family. But like other oppressed groups in history it will take us time to overcome the shame, the fear, the pity, the paternalism and prejudice that we have owned for eons. Universal access will not happen overnight. The ADA is a sword and shield that we must wield to empower ourselves."

William G. Stothers
Managing Editor
Mainstream Magazine

restored. SSI supports for children and adults must be strengthened and expanded.

HOUSING FOR ALL

WE AS GOVERNMENT MUST GUARANTEE ALL INDIVIDUALS AFFORDABLE, ACCESSIBLE AND QUALITY HOUSING. This does not mean that government should build houses for everyone. It does mean that government must work with the private sector to ensure that every person has a decent place to live. Public housing should be provided, but only when the private sector cannot meet the need.

All new housing must meet the standards of universal design. All rooms in all homes must be accessible to all members and friends of the family, no matter what their age, disability or health. No one should ever be forced by disability to move, remodel, or enter a nursing home simply to have an accessible environment.

COMMUNICATIONS AND TECHNOLOGY FOR ALL

WE AS GOVERNMENT MUST GUARANTEE ALL INDIVIDUALS PRACTICAL, AFFORDABLE ACCESS TO ALL COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS AND OTHER TECHNOLOGY. We have the technology to turn every living room, hotel room and office into a workplace, a university, a theater, a shopping center, a government office, a voting place, and a place of intimate communication with family and friends around the world.

TRANSPORTATION FOR ALL

WE AS GOVERNMENT MUST GUARANTEE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE TRANSPORTATION that is affordable, accessible and available to all. There should be greatly increased investment in efficient accessible public transportation, not only in large cities, but in suburban and rural areas. Owning and driving an automobile should not be required in order to participate in mainstream society.

"Passing ADA was incredibly historic. Now every day we must fight to make sure that the words in the law, the words on the White House lawn, the words in the House and the words in the Senate become reality for 43 million Americans with disabilities and millions more around the world who are looking to American leadership for the rights of the disabled."

Representative Steny Hoyer

COMMUNITIES FOR ALL

WE AS GOVERNMENT MUST PROVIDE LEADERSHIP TO DEVELOP ENTIRELY NEW COMMUNITIES that are efficient and accessible as a whole. Communities where all public places and services will be completely accessible and convenient to, and completely affordable by all people. Everyone participates. Everyone contributes. Communities, without gridlock and ghettoes, where you can commute to job, supermarket, house of worship or medical services in five or fifteen minutes on foot or wheels, in protected malls, and by underground public transport. Communities where green nature replaces garbage-covered concrete. We built the shopping center. It's time to build the living center.

A WORLD FOR ALL

WE AS GOVERNMENT MUST COORDINATE WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR, ORGANIZATIONS, AND INDIVIDUALS TO CREATE A FOREIGN POLICY that supports the empowerment of people in every nation. We must advocate, we must demand that the United Nations does the same.

Americans with disabilities bear a special responsibility to their brothers and sisters with disabilities around the world. Despite our continued oppression, we are probably the most affluent, and possibly the most empowered disability community on earth. We must demand that all public and private assistance programs in the world targeted for people with disabilities be structured in ways that empower those people. Programs based on paternalistic stereotypes are often worse than no programs at all.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL

WE AS GOVERNMENT MUST COORDINATE WITH BUSINESS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND WITH INDIVIDUALS TO RECONSTRUCT TAX-CODES so that all will pay their fair share. At the same time we must substantially revise the budgets of government at all levels, cutting the fat, the paternalistic bureaucracy, and the special subsidies for the power elite, and greatly expanding investment in empowerment services. We have a responsibility to our children and our grandchildren to eliminate deficits and excessive public debt.

"A society good for disabled people is a better society for all. All of us gathered here today know that this is true. Let us use our insight to convince others!"

Bengt Lindavist
The United Nations

"The ADA sends a simple powerful message to the world. Disability is a natural part of the human experience that in no way diminishes an individual's fundamental right to be a full participant in all aspects of society. Across Iowa and around the country, I have seen how the ADA has literally transformed people's lives. Individuals with disabilities have told me they are 'empowered' by the ADA. Has the ADA resulted in full equality in five short years? Have all the physical, transportation and attitudinal barriers facing people with disabilities come down? Of course not. We all know that couldn't happen over night. To me, the most important point is we have started on a journey to the promised land of full equality, dignity and respect. The ADA is a map to guide us to that promised land. The ADA is fair and balanced and must be maintained. The world is watching."

Senator Tom Harkin
July, 1995

STEREOTYPES WE MUST CHALLENGE

STEREOTYPES CONSTITUTE THE MAJOR BARRIER TO THE SOCIETY OF EMPOWERMENT. People with disabilities and minorities are especially victimized by stereotypes. But all people suffer from these obsolete perceptions.

STEREOTYPE: FULL EQUALITY FOR PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IS INAPPROPRIATE, people with disabilities are a small minority of tragic victims who can be cared for through minimal welfare and charity.

STEREOTYPE: PEOPLE WITH SEVERE DISABILITIES NEED TO BE PROTECTED AND ISOLATED - in back rooms, institutions and nursing homes. Some people with disabilities are better off dead.

TRUTH: PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES ARE NOT TRAGIC; THEY ARE NOT A MINORITY. Science and democracy have created a new human. Since 1800 we have more than doubled the average human life span. With modern medical treatment the majority of humans - in America, seven out of ten – will triumph over death to live with a disability at some point in their lives. Every single family in the world will experience the triumph of survival with disability. Disability is a normal characteristic of the new human. People with disabilities are not a tragic minority. They are a magnificent, triumphant majority.

A SOCIETY THAT DOES NOT MEET THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES DOES NOT MEET THE NEEDS OF ANYONE.

TRUTH: SCIENCE GIVES ALL MODERN HUMANS, WITH AND WITHOUT DISABILITIES, A NEW POTENTIAL to be a hundred times more productive, to live immeasurably better than our strongest, smartest, richest ancestors of only 200 years ago. But we are allowing old attitudes to limit this magnificent potential.

STEREOTYPE: ISN'T EMPOWERMENT REALLY JUST ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY MASSIVE PATERNALISTIC GOVERNMENT REGULATION?

"The Americans with Disabilities Act has set new standards of integration, participation, inclusion, and independence for all of us to strive to meet. We must endeavor to transform our programs and services - including income support programs - so that they promote these new standards. Our goal should be nothing less than full participation in every aspect of society for all individuals with disabilities."

Tony Young

Isn't empowerment just another label on the same old bottle of political paternalism – socialism, trickle down free market or something in between?

TRUTH: NO! THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT IS LIBERATION from the smothering authoritarian paternalism that characterizes even the best modern governments and cultures, not only those called socialist, but also those called free-enterprise.

THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT WILL PASS POWER FROM GOVERNMENT, commercial and other organized elites to individuals and families. The empowerment government will be a leaner government. It will have greatly reduced authority to impose prepackaged, one-formula-fits-all solutions. The empowerment government will have greatly increased responsibility to guarantee that all people have real access to all the public and private resources necessary to make final decisions for themselves – and to create individualized solutions for themselves. Empowerment means real opportunity, real free-enterprise for all.

STEREOTYPE: FULL EQUALITY FOR PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES AND MINORITIES COSTS TOO MUCH.

TRUTH: SOCIETY, GOVERNMENT CAN'T AFFORD NOT TO EMPOWER all its people. The paternalistic status quo is creating deficits, dependency, and poverty. Poor countries are poor because most of their people are oppressed rather than empowered. Rich countries have huge welfare costs because they have not empowered all their people.

THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT WILL BRING A POSITIVE EXPLOSION IN THE ECONOMY and quality of life that will dwarf the industrial revolution. The nations that do it first will assume economic and moral leadership of the world.

STEREOTYPE: THE AVERAGE PERSON IS NOT GOING TO SACRIFICE SELF TO EMPOWER ALL.

TRUTH: IN THE LONG RUN THERE IS NO SACRIFICE INVOLVED. You make no sacrifice when you plow the field, because there is simply no other way to grow the corn. Although the revolution of empowerment will

"And when you add together federal, state, local and private funds, it costs almost $200 billion annually to support Americans with disabilities, in effect, to keep them dependent. Well, when given the opportunity to be independent, they will move proudly into the economic mainstream of American life, and that's what this legislation is all about... I now lift my pen to sign this Americans with Disabilities Act and say, let the shameful wall of exclusion finally come tumbling down."

President George Bush
July 26, 1990

"...No doubt about it, ADA can be a win/win for everyone, if we are willing to work together and apply common sense."

Senator Bob Dole
July, 1995

sometimes involve painful change, you make no real sacrifice when you promote the good life for all, because there is no other way to achieve the good life for yourself and your children . There is no conflict between individual rights and unity. Human beings are inherently individualistic. At the same time they are inherently inter-dependent. The great strength of America has been that we are a nation of individualists who, at moments of historic decision, have stood in solidarity for the great universal values of humanity.

STEREOTYPE: A REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT IS POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE, certainly unwise. "Don't rock the boat." Empowerment advocates should be grateful for their gains. They should defend, fine-tune the status quo or even retreat, compromising with those who would "Go back to the good old days."

TRUTH: THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT IS IMPOSSIBLE ONLY IF YOU AND I DO NOT ACT. Retreat or acquiescence in the status quo would betray all present and future humans. Humanity's task now is to go aggressively forward, to focus the full force of science and free-enterprise on creating a culture that will systematically empower every person.

STEREOTYPE: WORKING FOR A REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT MEANS NEGLECTING current national and local issues.

TRUTH: WE MUST WORK MORE, NOT LESS, ON SPECIFIC CURRENT ISSUES, including personal issues, but always framing them in the vision of an empowerment society. The local, state and national legislation, the voting rights, the housing rights, the affirmative action, the personal assistance services you are promoting, the funding you are seeking, will never be fully achieved until you can justify them as part of a dynamic plan that will result in profit for all, better lives for all.

"Power concedes nothing without demand. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation are men who want crops without plowing the ground."

Fredrick Douglass

"There are only two kinds of power: money and people. We don't have the money, so our only hope for having power is to affect changes in people."

Belinda Carlton

"When we rule ourselves, we have the responsibilities of sovereigns, not of subjects."

President Theodore Roosevelt

THE BIG QUESTION

CAN WE COMMUNICATE OUR TRUTH? CAN WE WIN THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT?

History and the evening news say that we're probably not going to make it to the land of our dream.

WE CAN WIN. THE EMPOWERMENT CULTURE IS POSSIBLE. We can create a revolution of empowerment – a golden age of science and democracy for all. We have the money, the talent, the technology. But do we have the will?

HOW CAN WE POSSIBLY OVERCOME THE ANCIENT ATTITUDES, THE POWERFUL LOBBIES for the status quo and retreat? Who will lead, who will complete the revolution of empowerment? Who will make the dream live?

THE BUCK STOPS HERE. Look in the mirror. You are responsible. I am responsible. We are responsible.

WE WHO ARE THE PIONEERS OF EMPOWERMENT HAVE UNIQUE EXPERIENCE, AND THEREFORE WE HAVE UNIQUE RESPONSIBILITY TO EVERY PERSON, TO EVERY FAMILY IN THE WORLD, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

"BUT" SOME OF YOU MAY SAY, "I HAVE NO MONEY, NO TITLE. I'm not Joshua Malinga, Jesse Jackson, Judy Heumann, Bengt Lindqvist, or Marca Bristo. I'm not Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela or Bill Clinton. I'm not a leader. What can I do?"

YOU CAN DO EVERYTHING. When you change yourself, you have changed the society.

BUT IS IT WORTH THE STRUGGLE – the hard work? Is it worth the pain and risks?

"Let us suppose that certain individuals resolve that they will consistently oppose to power the force of example; to authority exhortation; to insult, friendly reasoning; to trickery, simple honor. Let us suppose they refuse all the advantages of present day society and accept only the duties and obligations which bind them to other men. Let us suppose they devote themselves to orienting education, the press and public opinion towards the principles outlined here...

Then I say that such men would be acting not as Utopians but as honest realists. They would be preparing for the future and at the same time knocking down a few of the walls which imprison us today. If realism be the art of taking into account both the present and the future, of gaining the most while sacrificing the least, then who can fail to see the positively dazzling realism of such behavior?"

Albert Camus

ACTION – 10 THINGS YOU CAN DO TO CHANGE THE WORLD

1. **ACT NOW, DON'T WAIT.** You don't need a special permission, a lot of money or a title to change the world. You don't have to wait for anyone or anything. You can become a revolution of one - today - in your own living room, in your own community.

2. **SPEAK CONSTANTLY ABOUT THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT -** in your own terms. Communicate your message on every possible occasion – to your family, your friends, your neighbors, your colleagues at the work place, and to the person sitting next to you on the bus.

   BECOME A PUBLIC ADVOCATE. Communicate the revolution of empowerment in simple terms over and over again – by letter, by calls, in person - to members of government, business people, newspapers, television, radio talk shows. Attend every possible meeting with your homemade signs.

3. **EVERY TIME YOU ADVOCATE ANYTHING,** minority rights, ADA, IDEA, affirmative action, gay and lesbian rights, universal health care, independent living, personal care assistance, supported employment, community access or your own personal rights – justify your issue as part of a necessary revolution that will empower all to live the good life.

   We must do this in order to communicate the truth that our agenda is not a marginal priority, not a self-indulgent request for handout or subsidy. It is instead a building block of the empowerment society, and without it no person, no family anywhere will ever achieve their potential to live the dream. We must communicate that empowerment is the first priority of human society. We must communicate to all that the revolution of empowerment will benefit them personally.

"I believe in the power of coalition politics. I think that it is impossible to achieve an agenda unless one is working in coalition."

Wade Henderson

"Emphasize the continual creation of new leadership; keep dividing organizations into more groups and subgroups in order to force more members into leadership roles. Encourage members to express and promote their own ideas in their own ways and through their own actions - speaking, writing, singing, praying, signing, whatever."

Bob Cooper

4. **BECOME AN ACTIVE CONTRIBUTOR TO THE ADVOCACY ORGANIZATION(S)** of your choice. There are many honorable and necessary roles to play – from stuffing envelopes and making calls, to organizing meetings and participating in demonstrations and civil disobedience. If you can possibly afford it, make cash contributions. No matter how few your dollars, they will make a difference. Unlike government or foundation grants and contracts, your dollars will be no-strings money that can be spent on aggressive advocacy.

5. **RECRUIT AS MANY PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE TO BE LEADERS** for empowerment. We have the best movement ever with the most loving, principled people, people like you. But there aren't enough of us. We must empower thousands of new leaders: people with and without disabilities, people who perceive themselves to be oppressed and people who do not.

6. **BECOME A POLITICIAN FOR EMPOWERMENT.** Vote in every election, including primaries. Educate others to vote – and about the issues involved. Participate in the party of your choice. Volunteer to work in the campaigns of candidates who support empowerment. Attend rallies with your signs and flyers. Contribute money to good candidates. A contribution of $5, $25, $100 puts you on a different list. Run for office.

7. **PURSUE A POLITICS OF SOLIDARITY WITH ALL WHO LOVE JUSTICE.** We of the civil and disability rights movements may differ in words and methods. But we all agree on the final goals: Empowerment for all, the good life for all. United we stand. Divided we fall.

BECOME AN ACTIVE SUPPORTER OF LOCAL, STATE AND NATIONAL COALITIONS OF ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS. Reach out to all who share our goals. Become a card-carrying member of as many empowerment organizations as possible – groups advocating for the rights of minorities, women, children, older Americans, gays and lesbians, for the rights of deaf and blind, psychiatric survivors, people labeled mentally retarded, parents. Support the Leadership Council on Civil Rights, NOW, NAACP, La Raza, the Consortium for Citizens with Disabilities, ADAPT, NCIL and many many more. If you can't afford the dues, or if there are no individual memberships, find other ways to communicate your solidarity. Become familiar with their issues and express your public support.

"Power is of two kinds. One is obtained by fear of punishment and the other by arts of love. Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent than the one derived from fear of punishment. Love is God"

Mahatma Gandhi

"The world is a classroom; the lesson, love."

Barbara Jordan

REACH OUT TO UNITE WITH OUR OPPRESSED COLLEAGUES IN EVERY NATION. Support them. Challenge them to join us in the revolution of empowerment. Join and support Disabled Peoples International, Rehabilitation International and other organizations for people who are oppressed: women, children, older persons, political prisoners, people with particular disabilities. Contact and join disability rights organizations in individual nations. Advocate with the United Nations.

8. **PURSUE A POLITICS OF LOVE.** Love has an almost magical power. Attack stereotypes, bad ideas and bad policies, not people. Love individual people, no matter what their ideas. Every person responds to love. Love has powered almost all great revolutionary leaders, including Jesus, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

   Every time you communicate our message of empowerment, give sincere loving recognition to the person with whom you are communicating. Every one has good qualities, good potential. Repeat the same loving, positive message of empowerment over and over, so that when people see you coming they will think, "Here comes that great empowerment person, she appreciates me."

9. **PURSUE A POLITICS OF TRUTH.** We have the facts. We have the proof. We have the truth. We don't need to exaggerate or to be evasive. Truth is a great power, a magic sword for life. Use it.

10. **PURSUE A POLITICS OF PERSISTENCE.** Some of our famous leaders have been geniuses. Some of them have been inspiring communicators. Some of them have been charismatic personalities. Some of them have been brilliant strategists. But many of them were none of these things. You do not have to have exceptional ability to be a strong leader. One characteristic that all great leaders have is persistence. You cannot beat a person who simply refuses to lose. No matter how many mistakes you make, no matter how many times you seem to be defeated, you must go forward. That is the simple secret of winning. You never, never, never give up.

In a survey of 3,262 seriously ill hospital patients, thirty percent said that they would rather die than live permanently in a nursing home.

New York Times
August 6, 1997

SUMMARY

COLLEAGUES, WE HAVE GREAT GOALS, AND GREAT SOLUTIONS. But we are never going to fully achieve any of them until we communicate the truth about empowerment to the world.

THE WORLD IS WATCHING OUR MOVEMENT, the world is watching democracy. The world will follow what we do. Failure is unthinkable.

No soldier ever died in a better cause.

GET INTO EMPOWERMENT, GET INTO POLITICS, AS IF YOUR LIFE DEPENDED ON IT. It does, and so do the lives of all humans in the 21st century.

Colleagues, you have proved that free people can prevail over paternalism and prejudice. You are proving that the human dream can live. You have made miracles in millions of lives. No one, no group is more qualified to lead the revolution of empowerment than you.

LET US EMBRACE AND LIFT EACH OTHER. Let us reject hostility, self-indulgence and retreat. Let us go forward together in the great tradition of Jefferson, Lincoln, Gandhi, A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Ed Roberts, Wade Blank, Elizabeth Boggs, Paul Hearne and Ron Mace. Let us meet intimidation with courage, hate with love, demagoguery with simple truth. Let us overwhelm fear and fallacy with our vision of a society that empowers all.

LET US UNITE TO SHOUT TOGETHER, EACH IN OUR OWN WORDS, EACH IN OUR OWN ACTIONS, "PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, YOU HAVE POWER! JOIN US IN THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT. JOIN US IN BUILDING THE SOCIETY OF OUR DREAMS."

"What empowers me is being around people who are making a difference, who are making changes, or making changes myself, and making a difference myself. That to me is the most inspiring and motivating factor."

Daniel Fisher

THE REVOLUTION OF ONE - 13 WHO CHANGED THE WORLD

YOU HAVE THE POWER. NOT ONLY TO CHANGE YOUR OWN LIFE FOR THE BETTER BUT CHANGE THE WORLD. Millions have done it. That is how humanity progressed from the cave to the astounding prosperity and opportunity of modern democracy.

Following are brief stories of thirteen individuals who overcame apparently impossible odds to lay the foundation for the revolution of empowerment.

ED ROBERTS, FATHER OF INDEPENDENT LIVING

In 1953 polio put 14 year-old Ed Roberts in an iron lung. He overheard a doctor urge his mother to pull the plug because, as "a respiratory quadriplegic," he would be "a vegetable for the rest of his life."

Instead, Ed and his mother Zona became fighters for empowerment. They fought when Ed's high school principal refused to allow Roberts to graduate, even though he was an honor student. They fought when officials at the University of California were reluctant to admit him, despite his excellent record at a community college.

Once at U.C. Berkeley, Roberts and other students with disabilities organized the Rolling Quads, and fought for total access, including an end to the paternalism that kept them housed at the school hospital, rather than in a dorm or in their own apartments. Roberts joined with John Hessler, Hale Zukas, Judy Heumann and others to develop the world's first community-based independent living center.

Working largely through volunteers, C.I.L. Berkeley provided aggressive advocacy to get people out of institutions and back rooms, and designed and fought for a system of Personal Assistance Services to enable folks to live independently in mainstream society. This sparked the beginning of the international independent living movement. Thirty years later there are hundreds of independent living centers all around the world, many of them founded with Roberts' direct input, all of them the result of his vision. For this reason, Roberts is often called "the father of the independent living movement."

In a survey of 3,262 seriously ill hospital patients, thirty percent said that they would rather die than live permanently in a nursing home.

New York Times
August 6, 1997

"He found power inside of himself," said Marca Bristo, soon after Roberts died in 1995, "and then shared that power with millions and millions of people."

DOLORES KING, REVOLUTION OF ONE

May 8, 1998

Mouth,

I am out of prison - the nursing home I was placed in for two years.

I fought with all I had. With paper, pen, stamps, envelopes, I wrote to the President of the United States, the Vice President, my congressmen, my state senators.

Plus I would disconnect the computers and throw away the plug in and outs. Same with the telephones. I would disconnect the cords, throw them away. They did not want to hear my voice. I made sure they heard no one else. I did this from one in the morning 'til five in the morning.

I had New York State Department of Health coming on surprise visits.

The administrator asked me, " Just what do you want?"

" Freedom of choice to go to my own apartment."

I would push medication trucks out fire doors, open all fire doors from the first floor and the second floor.

I had a pair of scissors. I cut main wires - one of the main wires to the electric doors so they stay opened.

I cut the water supply off. I plugged all toilets with plastic bags and toilet paper in the name of justice for all, against the abuse that goes on in nursing homes.

A fire has been started and the fire will not go out until all prisoners are out of the nursing homes.

Mrs. Dolores King
A letter to Mouth Magazine

"Some people want it to happen, some wish it would happen, others make it happen."

Michael Jordan

TOM HOPKINS VS. SPENCER MASSACHUSETTS

Tom Hopkins is a disability rights activist who opened up his small town of Spencer, Massachusetts for everyone. When Hopkins began his campaign, almost all of Spencer's public spaces were inaccessible. Members of the town's board of selectmen - who were also its business leaders - openly ridiculed Hopkins and the ADA. When his attempts at education and persuasion failed, Hopkins went to the state and federal governments. When they refused to act, Hopkins filed suit in federal court.

Hopkin's campaign made Spencer's citizens look at the way "the good old boys" were running the rest of the town's life, eventually causing the resignation of the town attorney, the chair of its planning commission, its police chief, and the suspension of its entire police department. In the meantime, the federal court ordered Spencer to obey the ADA. Its schools were made accessible; its town hall was opened to all its citizens; its businesses began to comply.

None of this was easy. Anonymous telephone thugs threatened to murder Hopkins and burn down his house. His children were taunted in school. One local businessman put threatening messages up on his restaurant's billboard. And even with a federal court order, town officials dragged their heels every step of the way.

Hopkins never faltered. His wife and children backed him through eight years of struggle, and local and statewide advocates came to court to show their solidarity.

But in the end, it was the efforts of one courageous advocate that made the difference. Tom Hopkins - a grassroots activist for empowerment.

KENNETH HEARD, ARRESTED FORTY-FOUR TIMES FOR EMPOWERMENT

Kenneth Heard knows about empowerment. A one-time nursing home resident because of his cerebral palsy, quadriplegia, and speech disability, Heard is now living in his own apartment as a full-time disability rights activist. For several years Heard was a one-man campaign for accessible transit in Syracuse, New York, using his body to stop inaccessible buses. A staunch believer in the tactics

"Believing in yourself is the most important thing. It's absolutely critical that you not allow yourself to be isolated, and don't allow people to say, 'No,' and when they do, recognize they are wrong, you are right... It's only going to change when we demand it."

Judy Heumann

of Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Wade Blank, as of this writing he has been arrested forty-four times, and is proud of it.

"Being arrested for what you believe is empowering. It makes you feel like a human being, because the system is taking you seriously." Empowerment, Heard says, is an ongoing process, and all individual will have their ups and downs. He points to his first ADAPT training in Denver as a turning point in his own struggle to be empowered.

"I had never before seen a bunch of disabled people get together to fight for a cause until I went to Denver. That's why I love ADAPT. You're never alone in ADAPT, you always know the people in the group are going to back you up."

After working as an disability rights organizer in Denver, Heard moved to Phoenix, where he founded that city's first ADAPT chapter. "We all have to fight for what we believe in," he says. "We all have to fight for what we want."

FRANK BOWE, COMMUNICATOR OF EMPOWERMENT

Like many deaf children born just after World War II, Frank Bowe was raised in an "oralist" environment that denigrated Deaf culture and American Sign Language (ASL). Hearing doctors, teachers, and "experts" all told his hearing parents, "Don't let Frankie learn signs." Learning ASL, they said, would stunt his ability to speak and lip-read, to "pass" as a "normal" child. Bowe grew up feeling isolated and inferior, abused by his hearing classmates, and unsure about his ability to live a full and independent life.

Two events turned his life around. The first was attending college at Gallaudet University, where he met Deaf people who not only used ASL, but were proud of it. The second was meeting disability rights pioneer Eunice Fiorito. "She told me...that as a blind person she shared the same kinds of problems I did - and that these were civil rights problems, not personal medical problems."

Today Bowe is a respected author and university professor. He is also one of the great pioneers of disability rights. He continues to live the message of empowerment, to emphasize the importance of community, and to urge us all "to focus upon changing the world."

"We have three top priorities: advocacy, advocacy, advocacy."

Ed Roberts

EUNICE FIORITO, FROM SHELTERED WORKSHOP TO MAKER OF HISTORY

Eunice Fiorito started her working life making ten cents an hour at a "sheltered workshop." Back in the 1950s, this was one of the few "jobs" open to people, especially women, who were blind. Even her (non-disabled) rehabilitation counselor told her not to apply for college, because she'd only drop out.

Not only did Fiorito finish her four-year program cum laude in just three years, she went on to become an educator, a writer, a high-level government official, and a world-class disability rights leader.

Fiorito was one of the first to recognize that the oppression of people with disabilities could only be ended through political advocacy. She also saw the importance of cross-disability organizing, how "if people with disabilities worked together their numbers would bring them real political power." She acted on this insight by co-founding the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities in 1975, and becoming a leader in a host of other local, national, and international disability rights groups.

Fiorito has written how, "People with disabilities must have their voices heard." Fiorito uses her own voice as an instrument for empowerment, fighting for the rights and dignity of all.

SOJOURNER TRUTH, FROM SLAVERY TO REVOLUTIONARY

Sojourner Truth was born a slave in the late 1790s, and escaped from her "master" in 1827. By the time of her death in 1883 she had become one of the most renowned human rights advocates in American history. Though so poor that at times she didn't even own a pair of shoes, she told audiences how she "felt as if the power of a nation was with me." "I cannot read a book," she once said, "but I can read the people."

Truth's courage and force of character are legendary. Told once that racists would burn down the auditorium if she tried to give her scheduled speech, she answered, "Then I will speak on the ashes." One time she was beaten by a mob so severely that she had to use a cane for the rest of her life. In the 1860s - a century before the Freedom Riders and 120 years before ADAPT - she started a

"LABEL JARS, NOT PEOPLE"

People First Canada

one-woman campaign to desegregate the Washington D.C. streetcars. Her slogan was, "I want to ride!"

Like the rest of us, Truth did not succeed at everything she tried. After the Civil War she toured the country, trying to pressure Congress to grant public land to former slaves so they could become self-sufficient. Congress ignored her. Nor did Truth live to see women win the vote, another of her causes.

Nevertheless, as one historian writes, "Truth acted courageously against the folly and injustice of her time. Despite her poverty and illiteracy, despite being black in a predominantly white society, despite...the pressure...for women to remain passive, she significantly shaped both her own life and the struggle for human rights."

LARRY ESPLING, HE MADE A NEW WORLD

Some people might look at Larry Espling and only see his disability. Espling didn't crawl until age seven, walk alone until eleven, or drink through a straw until he was thirty-five. But read his autobiography and you'll him recognize him as a fighter for empowerment.

"Having cerebral palsy is only a small part of my life," he writes in *Expect the Unexpected.* "It hasn't prevented me from having goals and dreams... But...you have to be given a chance...to see if you can do new things on your own."

The first people to give Espling a chance were his parents. A "specialist" told them to abandon their child to an institution. They refused. When their local public school refused to accept Larry into its classrooms (this was before passage of the IDEA), his mother taught him at home, while his father made sure always to include Larry in family activities.

Others encouraged him to look for a job, to enter college, to live independently. By using computers and other supports, Espling was able to earn a bachelor's and then a master's degree. He now counsels people with disabilities and their families, and speaks publicly "about self-advocacy and empowerment."

"I will always have dreams and goals for my life... You have to make your own world in your mind and go out and find that world."

"Each day we choose. We can choose indifference. Or we can choose to make a difference.

We can choose to view adversity as opportunity. We all have the freedom to choose how we view our situation. In coalition with others who share our vision we can reach our destination: The choices are ours. The future is ours. The world is ours. If we choose."

Fred Fay

JUDI CHAMBERLIN, FROM ASYLUM TO ADVOCATE SUPREME

Judi Chamberlin's life as an empowerment advocate began thirty years ago, when as a young woman she was labeled "schizophrenic" and placed in a series of mental institutions. Isolated and confined, drugged and ignored, she faced all the stereotypes about mental illness and all the paternalism of the psychiatric system. Years later she wrote how this "was the worst period of my life. My struggle to overcome the effects of this experience was what led me to become involved in the ex-patients' movement."

Since then, Chamberlin has been a tireless advocate for the rights of psychiatric survivors around the world. Hers is an agenda for human rights: an end to electroshock and lobotomy, an end to medical experiments and forced drugging and confinement for "the crime" of having a mental disability. The title of her book tells the story: *On Our Own: Patient Controlled Alternatives to the Mental Health System.* She co-founded the National Association of Psychiatric Survivors in 1985, and the National Empowerment Center in 1992. She has been and continues to be a strong advocate for cross-disability activism.

"It's all the same issue: having the right...to make your own decisions about your own life. In short: being free."

FRED FAY, MR. EMPOWERMENT

Nobody embodies empowerment and empowerment politics like Fred Fay. An advocate, a political organizer, the "computer wizard" who put disability rights on-line, and a mentor for disability rights activists around the world, he is a prime example of what is possible when people have access to the tools of empowerment.

Fay became an advocate almost immediately after he was spinal cord injured at age 16. In the early 1960s Fay was a leader in the fight for the National Transportation Act (1965) which required the Washington, D.C. Metro to be accessible to people with disabilities. Later Fay worked to pass the Architectural Barriers Act in 1968. In the early 1970s he co-founded one of the nation's first independent living centers in 1974, and in 1975 was a founder of the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities - the modern movement's first national cross-disability rights organization.

"You have to remember that, although there are setbacks, you are never defeated. Even if you don't achieve your goal this year, the work you do this year helps with the fight next year. You just have to keep plugging away at it."

Robert Kilbury

Because of a spinal cyst, Fay has been unable to travel or to use his wheelchair since 1982. Instead of retiring or even slowing down, he honed his computer expertise and took his advocacy into cyberspace. In recent years he has focused on shaping federal disability policy through the political process. Through Americans with Disabilities Vote, Fay has encouraged advocates to wield the ultimate political tool in a democracy - the ballot box. He has led many political campaigns, from "Disabled for Carter" to the "Americans with Disabilities for Clinton/Gore." Among Fay's advocacy efforts were equal access to education, jobs, housing, and recreation. A recent team victory was the Telecommunications Act of 1996, building ramps to access the information superhighway. He was also a leader in the struggle to pass the ADA in the 1980s, and in the 1990s helped coordinate the campaign that saved the ADA and the IDEA from those who would gut our rights.

How does he manage to contribute so much, when for the past 15 years he's been unable to leave his bed?

Through the use of the very same individualized empowerment tools discussed in this book: computers, adaptive technology, personal assistance services, and the health care he needs, when he needs it.

How has he managed to be so successful in his many efforts for human rights?

By understanding and mastering the politics of solidarity and coalition. "I found out long ago that by working together... we have more power than working as individuals."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, FROM DEPRESSION TO DEMOCRACY

Abraham Lincoln never used the word, but he was an example of and an advocate for empowerment. He was of working class origins, largely self-taught (he had during his lifetime roughly one year of formal education), and was regarded by his contemporaries as ugly and uncharismatic. He was not particularly successful as a young man, failing in business and often doing odd jobs. He suffered many political failures, not only as a beginning politician, but throughout his career, including his presidency. During his lifetime he was the one of the most unpopular presidents in the history of the United States. As a leader in war, he seemed to have a special ability to choose mediocre generals.

"If we believe that ADA is the power and we are the recipients of its strength, rather than we are the power and ADA is a tool for us to use, I fear we may still have a long way to go."

Bob Kafka

Yet this apparently ordinary, not very talented man is now recognized as having led a successful struggle to preserve the United States as the world's foremost guarantor of the rights and empowerment of all its citizens. He had a vision. He stuck to his principles no matter how many mistakes he made. No matter how many defeats he suffered, he just kept going.

Born into a society poisoned by religious intolerance and racism, he defended the rights of immigrants and religious minorities, and declared slavery "a monstrous injustice" that enabled "the enemies of free institutions...to taunt us as hypocrites."

Lincoln was also a person who struggled all his adult life with severe depression. "If there is a worse place than Hell," he once said, "I am in it." Yet he persevered as our national leader through the four most difficult years of American history.

The Civil War, Lincoln wrote, was "essentially a People's contest...a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men...to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life."

Lincoln laid out a vision of "government of the people, by the people, for the people," a "free society...augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere."

"The legitimate object of government is to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot, by individual effort, do at all, or do so well, for themselves."

ELIZABETH BOGGS, A FOUNDING MOTHER OF THE MOVEMENT

Elizabeth Boggs' career in empowerment began in the mid-1940s, and didn't end until her death in 1996. In those years she helped to forge the parents of children with disabilities into a powerful movement for human rights, and led in the struggle for deinstitutionalization and independent living.

FDR AND "JANE"

Franklin Delano Roosevelt is perhaps the ultimate "overcomer" of this century ... (But) he had many social advantages ... He was born exceedingly wealthy. He had a fine education ... and family which could and would support him...

Contrast my friend Jane ... (who) lives in a nursing home - she'll never get out except in a pine box, though she aches for freedom. She was born with cerebral palsy... She uses a manual wheelchair which she cannot push because Medicare was too cheap to replace her power chair when it wore out. She has little education, very little money, no real family and little hope.

You'll never see Jane in (the major media) because she would remind able-ist bigots of the shameful way they treat our people. The purpose of their sappy sentimentalism is to hide people like Jane behind a facade of "obercomers." (Yet) which is the more authentic experience of disability? Which story cries out for change - and which functions to support the status quo?

Carol Cleigh

Boggs had planned a career in science, earning her doctorate in chemistry in 1941. But days after his birth in 1945, her son Jonathan suffered a high fever that damaged his brain. The "expert" opinion back then was that children with brain injury were best "treated" in state institutions, and parents were urged to abandon them before they "became attached." Getting rid of the child, parents were told, would also spare the family "the shame" of having a disabled member.

As a scientist, Boggs realized that "the experts" were sunk in myth and prejudice. Talking to other parents, she realized she wasn't alone. Small groups of parents had already started meeting for mutual support. Boggs and others decided what was needed was a national organization to bring these groups together.

In 1950, representatives of several state and local groups met to found the National Association for Retarded Children, now known as the Arc. Boggs became its first woman president in 1958. Almost every innovation and empowerment milestone having to do with developmental disability since then has Boggs' fingerprints on it. She was the only advocate on President Kennedy's first Panel on Mental Retardation, and a prime mover behind the Developmentally Disabled Assistance and Bill of Rights Act and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, both passed in 1975.

On the international stage, she was the principal author of the United Nations Declaration of General and Specific Rights of the Mentally Retarded.

In 1988, she co-chaired the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities, touring the nation to advocate for the ADA. Age didn't slow her advocacy, and at the time of her death she was hard at work trying to remake the Social Security system.

The very term "developmental disability," coined in 1970, was in large part a Boggs creation. Until then, people with cerebral palsy, epilepsy, people labeled mentally retarded or autistic, were all segregated by label. Boggs realized that bringing these groups together would mean more clout for all of them. Boggs began as an individual advocate, alone and uncertain, fighting for the rights of her son. She ended working in coalition to fight for the rights of all.

"Every time you, as an individual disabled person, struggle against discrimination and lack of opportunities to give yourself more choice and control over your own life, every time you throw aside or challenge the stereotype of yourself as a passive, oppressed person - you are empowered - and are then able to empower others."

Rachel Hurst

M.K. GANDHI: SOLIDARITY EMPOWERS THE "HOPELESSLY" OPPRESSED

One of the great empowerment leaders of all time was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, called "Mahatma" or "Great Soul" by his followers. High born and educated in London as an attorney, Gandhi nonetheless made it his life's work to develop a way for even the most oppressed of us to claim our rights. He called this Satyagraha - "holding to truth." Satyagraha campaigns led to reforms in racist South Africa, and to independence for India and Pakistan, inspiring Martin Luther King and others to begin their own campaigns for human rights.

Satyagraha requires a total commitment to non-violence and to solidarity. In both South Africa and India, a common tactic of the government was to try to divide the protesters by offering some of them special privileges or concessions. The successful campaigns were those in which the protesters held firm together. Satyagraha was used not only to win independence, but to empower "Untouchables," women, and others on the bottom of the social ladder. As one of many examples, in 1924 a group of "Untouchables" refused to leave a road in the village of Vykom reserved for higher castes. When the first protesters were beaten and arrested, others took their place. The campaign went on every day for sixteen months, without a single instance of violence by the protesters, until the road was declared open for all. This victory set a precedent for the struggle of "Untouchables" all across India.

It is a mistake to attribute this and other successes to Gandhi's leadership alone. In fact, Gandhi never once visited Vykom during the campaign. Its leaders asked for his advice and support, but organized and managed it themselves. Other Satyagraha protests succeeded without any input from Gandhi at all.

Richard B. Gregg, an eyewitness to some of these campaigns, wrote that the unity of humanity "is not only a biological fact... it is, when wisely and fully asserted and acted upon, a great power." The Satyagraha campaigns are examples of how even the most oppressed of us can become empowered by holding fast to truth, and to each other.

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny."

Martin Luther King

"Blindness doesn't prevent people from having vision.

Being a part of the disability rights movement truly allows me to be all that I am because I don't have to be ashamed of being blind. In fact, I can embrace all the things I can do well because I am blind and celebrate every accomplishment among people who can appreciate what every victory means."

Paul Edwards

UNITED WE WIN - 9 PROFILES IN SOLIDARITY

EMPOWERED INDIVIDUALS ACTING TOGETHER CREATED LANDMARKS OF PROGRESS TOWARD THE DREAM.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, MR. COURAGE, MR. SOLIDARITY

A. Philip Randolph was a civil rights activist and a union organizer at a time in America when being either could well mean a violent death. But together with his union brothers and sisters, he demonstrated the power of solidarity, weathering the violence and hatred of those who would destroy him. For many years the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which he founded in 1925, Randolph was one of the most influential empowerment leaders of his generation.

Randolph was born in 1889, and raised in the Jim Crow south. He worked as an elevator operator, a porter, and a waiter on railroad dining cars while attending night classes at City College of New York. In 1941, the threat of his proposed march on Washington forced President Roosevelt to address discrimination against people of color in federal hiring and programs. Randolph's vision for a mass protest for civil rights became a reality in 1963, when he was a principal organizer of the March on Washington at which Martin Luther King made his "I have a dream" speech.

Randolph was an advocate of direct action and a master of symbols. In the summer of 1942, to cite one of many examples, he organized "blackouts" in New York and Chicago to protest the oppression of Black Americans. Participants were encouraged to turn off their lights on certain nights to symbolize "the economic and political blackout through which our people still stumble and fall in their too-slow progress toward the light in half-free America."

"Rather we die standing on our feet fighting for our rights," Randolph said in 1943, "than to exist upon our knees begging for life."

"...despite progress, we are still pursuing the very heart of 'life, liberty, and happiness.' What is that heart? It is the communal norm that people with mental retardation will be of, not just in, our communities that in every way we ourselves are part of our own communities."

Rud Turnbull

"The Medicaid Community Attendant Services Act is the perfect illustration of a piece of legislation that everyone says makes a lot of sense but it is not going anywhere currently. Because we have not organized enough power from the grassroots on up to start moving the system. The revolution of empowerment is going to truly implement what our rhetoric has always said. The first revolution that needs to happen is within our own community."

Bob Kafka

THE DENVER 19, WE WILL RIDE!

On July 5, 1978, nineteen disability rights activists surrounded two Denver city buses at an intersection, refusing to let them pass for a full day and night. This first act of civil disobedience would grow into a nation-wide campaign for accessible mass transit, and was the genesis of the direct-action group ADAPT. In the months and years to come, ADAPT activists staged non-violent "chain-ins" (chaining themselves to inaccessible buses) and sit-ins, blocked traffic, picketed city offices and waved signs at passing commuters. The slogan they used, "We will ride!" seems an echo of Sojourner Truth's campaign to integrate the Washington buses more than a century before.

Some dismissed these nineteen demonstrators, and those who followed, as radical, even irresponsible. But their action was another milestone for empowerment. In 1983, the Denver Regional Transit Authority committed itself to access on all its bus routes, and today there is a plaque at the corner of Colfax and Broadway, to commemorate the courage of those original nineteen fighters for empowerment.

"You can't just mildly sit back and expect someone to give you your rights," said Wade Blank, co-founder of ADAPT. "We have to create an emotional rage that transcends us and goes into the press. We create anxiety, and that's what needs to be happening."

DEAF PRESIDENT NOW, EIGHT DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

"People have died in the civil rights movement. People were jailed in protesting the Vietnam war. I stand here in 1988 asking: What do you believe in? What is your cause?"

So spoke Jeff Rosen at a rally of the Deaf President Now campaign in March, 1988. Rosen and other Deaf leaders were demanding that the (hearing) board of trustees of Gallaudet University - the world's only liberal arts college for Deaf students - appoint a Deaf president. When, on March 6, the board instead appointed a hearing women unable even to sign, Gallaudet students shut down their campus and announced that it would stay shut until the decision was reversed. Among the student leaders were Jerry Covell, Bridgetta Bourne, Tim

"MiCASA, supported employment, all of them say: end segregation. I think that is the only issue. And that means we make our own decisions. We must give people a voice to say to their keepers: I am pissed off. Your authority over me is illegitimate. I'm taking my life back. It's mine. And the second thing is uniting people. Hey honey, we are all in this together, solidarity!"

Lucy Gwin

Rarus and Greg Hlibok, heroes of empowerment, risking expulsion and arrest in a stand for Deaf rights.

In "the week the world heard Gallaudet" Deaf students boycotted classes, marched on the U.S. Capitol, and appeared on national TV.

For the first time in history, the American mass media treated discrimination against Deaf people as a serious issue. After eight days of protests, the Gallaudet administration appointed a Deaf President, and agreed to a Deaf majority on the new board of trustees.

As one student activist put it: "The era of hearing people deciding what is 'best' for Deaf people has come to an end."

Deaf President Now - a milestone for empowerment.

THE REVOLUTION AT HEW – 120 WHO MADE HISTORY

On April 5, 1977, one hundred and twenty disability rights activists occupied the San Francisco offices of the federal Department of Health Education and Welfare. Their action was part of a nation-wide campaign to force the government to recognize the rights of people with disabilities to participate in the American mainstream. That same day, and also in response to a call by the leadership of the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities, disability rights activists occupied or picketed federal offices in New York, Boston, Washington D.C., Denver, Philadelphia and elsewhere.

The San Francisco occupation lasted for 23 days, the longest sit-in at a federal office in American history. It and the other actions focussed national attention - for the first time ever - on the issue of disability rights. Activists risked arrest, and some of them their health and their lives, to empower future generations of people with disabilities. Among the heroes leading the campaign were Frank Bowe, Kitty Cone, Fred Fay, Eunice Fiorito, Judy Heumann, Mary Jane Owen, T.J. O'Rourke, Fred Schreiber, and many others.

The HEW protest gave disability rights activists pride in themselves and their movement. It was a crucial milestone of the road to the ADA, and showed us how solidarity and non-violent direct action can carry the day.

"Self-advocacy is about independent groups of people with disabilities working together for justice by helping each other take charge of their lives and fight discrimination. It teaches us how to make decisions and choices that affect our lives so we can be more independent. It teaches us about our rights, but along with learning about our rights, we learn responsibilities. The way we learn about advocating for ourselves is supporting each other, and help each other gain confidence in themselves to speak our for what they believe in."

Tia Nelis

PEOPLE FIRST – ASTRONAUTS OF EMPOWERMENT

History was made on January 8, 1974, when eight residents and former residents of an Oregon institution founded the nation's first organization made up of and entirely led by people labeled "mentally retarded."

Up until this time people with developmental disabilities had been locked in institutions, exposed to horrific abuse. They were the subjects of brutal medical experiments and vicious, dehumanizing propaganda. Even when their humanity was recognized, they were generally not allowed to speak for themselves, but instead were "represented" by others.

Now things would be different. "We wanted to let those in authority know that we were just like them," wrote Valerie Schaaf, first president of People First. "We wanted to speak for ourselves and show the world and our communities that we can do many things for ourselves."

In the quarter century since People First has done just that: strongly, proudly, effectively. People First has grown from those eight pioneers into a vast network of organizations involving thousands people in most American communities and many nations. People First, now often called Speaking for Ourselves, is on the cutting edge of empowerment - shattering stereotypes and confronting paternalism every step of the way - fighting for the right of all to health care, fighting to free everyone from inhuman institutions. People First has even taken on the paternalism of the disability rights movement itself, insisting that we stop using the demeaning label "mentally retarded."

The name of the group is in itself a profound statement of empowerment. Our disabilities are a part of, but not more important than, our basic humanity. In this way we are all People First.

The members of People First are the true astronauts of empowerment.

"For the first time in history a truly broad-based coalition led by all kinds of people with disabilities, working shoulder to shoulder with their families and friends, has hung together until the moment of victory.

Thus we have experienced empowerment as never before."

Elizabeth Boggs
on ADA

METHODIST BUILDING – SOLIDARITY IN ACTION FOR ADA

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 remains the disability community's greatest legislative triumph to date. But this victory was won by no single person or organization. Rather, it was a triumph of solidarity and coalition, of coordination between sophisticated lobbying and dedicated grassroots activism.

During the entire time the ADA was before Congress, the disability community was represented in negotiations principally by ADA author Bob Silverstein, "General" Pat Wright, chief negotiator for the disability rights community, and a select group of long-time rights advocates like LCCR Director Ralph Neas, CCD Chair Paul Marchand, Liz Savage and Chai Feldblum.

In a unique example of the power of grassroots democracy, the representatives of the major disability constituencies met from one to three times a week in the Methodist Building across the street from the U.S. Supreme Court. The group received reports on the negotiations from Wright and her colleagues and developed advocacy strategy.

Advocates from every group were able to explain their issues and outline their concerns. Problems were thrashed out, disagreements worked through so that the community could, at the end of the day, present a united front. These were open door meetings. All were welcome; all were heard.

Working together like this, it was possible to coordinate the activities of Capitol Hill lobbyists, national advocacy groups, and street and civil disobedience demonstrators. Congress was deluged with adamant calls, telegrams, letters, cards and visits, sometimes within minutes of the negotiating teams' call for action. Groups such as ADAPT and NCIL kept up the pressure on the street and outside the offices of members of Congress. Members of CCD and other advocates worked the halls of Congress during every office hour. All this occurred with no central office or funding, no organizational charts or articles of incorporation.

Through this community effort - each in our way and in our own voices but all working toward a common goal - we were able to convince Congress to pass and President Bush to sign the most sweeping civil rights act of the past three decades.

"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."

Margaret Mead

JULY 29 1976 –PSYCHIATRIC SURVIVORS "SILENT NO LONGER"

On July 29, 1976, several dozen empowerment activists began a sit-in at the office of California Governor Jerry Brown. The demonstrators, members of the Network Against Psychiatric Assault and Women Against Psychiatric Assault, organized this direct action to protest the horrific abuses of people labeled "mentally ill" at the hands of the state, the medical profession, and society in general. The occupation lasted a full month - until July 29, 1976 - and broke the silence about the forced drugging, electro-shocking, surgical mutilation, imprisonment and enslavement of those of us labeled mentally ill.

People with mental or emotional disabilities are among the most oppressed people on earth. Like people with physical disabilities, they have throughout history been denied their basic civil and human rights.

But, like people with physical disabilities, psychiatric survivors are coming together to demand control of their own lives. The occupation of the California governor's office has been followed in the years since by protests, political advocacy, and legal action by psychiatric survivors all around the world.

The California occupation galvanized the psychiatric survivor community. Like the HEW demonstration in San Francisco a year later, it was a pivotal moment for empowerment.

SENECA FALLS, 1848 – A TEA PARTY OF FIVE STARTED A REVOLUTION OF MILLIONS

The Seneca Falls Convention of July 1848 marked the first time in US history that women met publicly to discuss their common oppression. American women at that time were considered the virtual property of their husbands, fathers, or brothers, and had no legal or political rights whatsoever. The very idea of such a meeting was revolutionary, and a gigantic leap forward in the struggle for empowerment. Among the convention organizers were Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright and Mary Ann McClintock. These women met one morning at the home of Jane Hunt, in Waterloo, New York, and began to discuss the low status of their gender. "Sitting around the tea table" they decided they had to do something - to hold a meeting to discuss the problem. One of the them later wrote how they were all, at first, overwhelmed by their own audacity.

"We are humans, facing the conditions of life that all humans face. We are all the same and we are all different. Just as we understand and respect the sameness, we must acknowledge and respect the difference. Our best hope in the success of this effort is to join forces, recognize our sameness and differences, and work together for the empowerment of all of us."

I. King Jordan

Women, it was widely assumed, didn't have the mental capacity for this sort of "men's business" - talking politics or organizing conventions.

Ignoring these paternalistic stereotypes, the group wrote an ad for the *Seneca County Courier*, announcing a convention "to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of women." At their next meeting they drafted a Declaration of Sentiments - the first ever American feminist manifesto. Modeled on the Declaration of Independence, it boldly proclaimed that "men and women are created equal."

Three hundred people, mostly women, responded to the ad and attended this first convention. The resolutions they adopted proclaimed that women should have the right to vote, to earn wages, to have equal custody of their children, to be free and equal citizens. The convention was hailed by Frederick Douglass, Horace Greeley, and a very few other pioneers of human rights. The press, however, attacked the conference and its organizers as "shocking and unnatural." The vast majority of men, and probably most women, if they heard of them at all, dismissed the resolutions as too ridiculous even to consider. None of this mattered. *Within two weeks* America's second women's rights convention was held at Rochester, New York, and within two years conventions were being organized across the country.

The American feminist movement had been launched - started by a small group of women, without titles or power or a hope of success, meeting around a tea table in a small town in New York.

LETTER WRITERS THAT CHANGED HISTORY

A well-organized letter writing campaign can out-maneuver the most sophisticated vested interest and move the most stubborn bureaucracy. It is a perfect example of how many single voices add up to make history.

The parents of children with disabilities proved this when the Reagan administration threatened in 1981 to rescind the regulations enforcing the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). These advocates made sure that the public hearings held by the Department of Education resounded with outrage at how officials wanted to turn back the clock and deny children with disabilities their right to a public education. Even more significant was how

"We need to work in broad-based coalition, not just cross-disability, but cross-movements. Every individual has the ability to make a difference and abrogating that responsibility is an individual failure."

Judy Heumann

empowerment leaders such as Paul Marchand, Martha Ziegler and others urged people to write - to their representatives in Congress, to the President, and most especially to the Department of Education. It didn't matter so much whether the letter was eloquent, grammatical, or even neat. What mattered was making your voice heard where and when it counted.

No one knows just how many letters poured into Washington during this campaign. The Department of Education says it alone received 23,000, more than on any other topic in history. Various estimates for the total number range up to 100,000 - this in the days before fax machines, e-mail, and the widespread personal ownership of computers, printers, and copiers. It was a staggering display of people power, and it caused the administration to make a 180 degree turn. In 1982, it announced that the IDEA regulations would stand as written. The precious right to a public education for children with disabilities was saved.

Language is power, and when we put our words together we empower ourselves and each other. We've done it before, and there's nothing to stop us from doing it again.

"In order to win, we must galvanize our grass roots army to create a nation of barrier busters."

Patrisha Wright

THE AUTHOR'S EXPERIMENTS WITH THE POLITICS OF EMPOWERMENT

MY EXPERIMENTS WITH EMPOWERMENT

Some families do sports, some do gardening, my family does revolution. Yours can too. If you can't convert your family and friends immediately, you can begin by being a revolution of one today.

For the past 13 years I have lived, I have slept, eaten, and worked in one small room of a two bedroom apartment in Washington, D.C. My office has been a $2.95 used door laid on two used file cabinets. I have a computer, a printer and two ordinary telephones - there is a fax, a copy machine and other computers used by my family in other rooms. In this office, with full partnership of my magnificent wife, Yoshiko and my great foster daughters, I have performed most of the duties of one congressional and five presidential appointments and have advocated for disability rights throughout the nation and the world.

I have traveled to every state at least five times – most states 10 to 20 times - and have used the telephone, computer, fax and mail 365 days a year in tens of thousands of communications seeking to dialog with my colleagues in justice.

I make every effort to ensure that their issues are supported in all of my writings and advocacy.

I have made thousands of stickers, posters, flyers and speeches. I have attended hundreds of marches and rallies.

Yoshiko and I have been a tiny political PAC for the disability community, contributing to dozens of local, state and national political candidates from both parties who support people with disabilities.

I have attempted to pursue a politics of love, truth and solidarity.

"Perfection of means and confusion of goals seem - in my opinion - to characterize our age. If we desire sincerely and passionately the safety, the welfare and the free development of the talents of all men, we shall not be in want of the means to approach such a state. Even if only a small part of mankind strives for such goals, their superiority will prove itself in the long run."

Albert Einstein

You Have the Power. Live the Dream.

Virtually every communication I speak or write contains the words, "I love you." Every major communication contains an appeal for solidarity: "Together, only together, we shall overcome." I am a member of most major civil and disability rights organizations in the nation and many on the international level.

I make a special effort to communicate simple truth even when that truth is not fashionable. Truth is a magical power.

I am fortunate to have financial resources to reach out beyond my local community. But even if I was on social welfare, I could do essentially the same advocacy – making local calls, visiting fifty local organizations instead of fifty states, passing out flyers instead of mailing them. Making posters by hand, haunting the halls of local government. Participating in the local political campaigns, making contributions to the candidates of five, twenty-five, or of one dollar – instead of one hundred or one thousand dollars.

You have the power to change society, because you are society. Become a revolution of one today.

I love you. Lead on.

Justin Dart

July 26, 1998

He drew a circle that left me out
– Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout,
but love and I have the wit to win:
We drew a circle that took him in.

Edwin Markham

The Woods are lovely, dark and deep.
But I have promises to keep,
and miles to go before I sleep.

Robert Frost

"Let your vision always guide you. Keep your eyes on the prize. Try whatever it takes. Keep it simple. And be in it for the long haul. Never give up."

Marca Bristo

"Self advocacy begins by understanding that rights are never granted from above. They are grasped from below by those with the courage and determination to seize that to which they are entitled. Freedom is never bestowed. It is claimed. Justice is never conferred. It is won by sweat and sacrifice."

Tony Coelho

