THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DEFERRED DREAMS: HOW NONPROFIT GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES

IMPACT MINORITY POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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BY

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For Nino, my partner.
In Memoriam

"…how can we promote and ensure accountability and participation within the governing structures instituted in poor communities? More specifically, how do we minimize the process of exclusion?"

        -Cathy Cohen, *Social Capital, Intervening Institutions and Political Power*

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ABBREVIATIONS

Interview subjects and their affiliations were promised anonymity. Incidents, quotations, and names used in the text have previously been published or are otherwise in the public domain.

ANC	African National Congress
ANLCA	American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa
BAN-WYS	Conference of Black and Non-White YMCA Secretaries
CAA	Council on African Affairs
CDC	Community Development Corporation
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
CRC	Civil Rights Congress
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CWD	YMCA Colored Works Department
DRUM	Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement
FAADS	Federal Assistance Awards Data System
FHFC	Florida Housing Financial Corporation
FPDS – NG	Federal Procurement Data System – Next Generation
HBCUs	Historically Black Colleges and Universities
ICAA	International Committee on African Affairs
LRBW	League of Revolutionary Black Workers
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NBUF	National Black United Front
N'COBRA	National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America
NCCJ	National Conference of Christians and Jews (now National Conference for Community and Justice)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NNC	National Negro Congress
PT	The Philadelphia Tribune
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SDS	Students for Democratic Society
SNCC	Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a great debt to my mother, Diane Judith Nash, and to my father, the late Rev. James Luther Bevel, who quite literally offered up their minds, bodies, and spirits in the interest of democracy and freedom for all in addition to loving me, equipping me for life, and caring for me to the best of their abilities.

Mom, so many battles and their aftermath have at times left you with so little for yourself … and still you made sure that I was never hungry, cold, or without books. The treasures of my childhood were your soft, cool cheek against my own, and your commitment to my education, including consciously prioritizing my growth over your privacy and just about everything else. Your laughter and listening to you sing spirituals while we looked at the stars on Chicago summer nights will always be a part of who I am. Thank you. You gave me permission to write this book the day that you told our beloved Mimi (and model housekeeper) that you were absolutely certain that you did NOT want your tombstone to read, "Here lies Diane Nash. She never had a dirty dish in her sink!" How many people come to this world with a mother who is unpretentiously brilliant, committed in battle even unto death, and willing to forsake glory to find joy in walking slowly enough to stay hand-in-hand with her children? I would be lying if I said that being your daughter has been easy, but so great are the blessings! If they lined up all the mothers in the whole wide world....

My beloved father, you live in the Ancestors Village now, a place where only those whose lives were given in service to people can repose. Thank you for teaching me that I am a female *man*. Not an appendage, but created in the image and likeness of God, with all of the rights, responsibilities, and prerogatives of citizenship and humanity that entails. Thank for you for being a living demonstration of Matthew 6:33 and for teaching me that it is not the critic who

counts. You invited me into a world of action informed by thought. You let me share in your warmth, your sense of adventure, and your keen sense of humor. You allowed me to witness your relentless pursuit of knowledge, freedom, and justice. For me, you will always shine as a model of courage and sacrifice. These are riches much greater than gold. You accomplished so much. Forgive the rest of us for standing still or taking steps back while you continued treading a way through the blood of the slaughtered—for all of us. I'll do my best to stay at it for as long as I'm on this side of the river.

In lieu of being able to thank the love of my life on this plane, I offer his parents, James and Jewel Tillman, my gratitude for rearing such a beautiful human soul. From his mother, deep love and respect for Black people and from his father, constancy. Nino's life was a study in devotion—to his family, his community, and to human rights. It is satisfying to finally bring this work to fruition that began as a long ago conversation between us.

I regret that I did not get the chance to thank Joan Bondurant while she was living, for writing *Conquest of Violence,* the book that made me want to be a scholar. Nor can I here thank the late Iris Marion Young for the impact that her thought, her openness, and her kindness had on me. I am joyful that I *can* thank John Brehm, Cathy Cohen, Michael Dawson, Susan Gzesh, Patrick Hall, Melissa Harris-Perry ("Sure you can!"), Keith Jennings, Kevin Lyles, Martha Mahoney, Aldon Morris, Barbara Ransby, Beth Richie, Gerald Rosenberg, and Betsy Sinclair, for guidance, support, and their confidence in me. Each of you continue to be a part of the rich intellectual environment in which I am privileged to work. Michael, your brilliant scholarship, and your mix of patience and professionalism are what I aspire to in teaching and advising. Cathy, it has been a privilege to witness the creativity and rigor with which you approach your work, your well-constructed, crisp presentations, and your formidable ability to gracefully

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For my children, Summer and Cole. And for Enoch and Jamerica. For Faati and Abdul. For Frederick Lewis, Miri Sais, and Irene Tillman. For all of my nieces and nephews. For the young people who are developing the new social justice movements. For my students. For every young person who acts with the knowledge that the future of the beloved community lies in their hands. I am inspired by the courage you show in facing the daunting problems of your generation. Thank you for all that you have taught me. May you be rigorous in your investigations and analyses—correcting mistakes when you find them, especially your own. And may you be guided by love and blessed with courage.

Standing on so many shoulders and inspired by such greatness … the potential is boundless. Limitations, errors, and shortcomings are all my own.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores external control of nonprofit institutions located within African American communities, and examines the effect over time of this control on the development of these institutions as potential sites for democratic activity, leadership development, and political agenda setting. The dissertation uses demographic and interview data to search for correlations between African American representation on policy-setting boards and progressive programming and policy. Archival research contributes to a historical understanding of the political development of African American civil society organizations and illuminates often overlooked connections between these organizations and social movement activity. Interviews with key figures document how differences in the political policy preferences of different ethnic groups manifests on the level of nonprofit governance.

Does community control of nonprofit social service agencies make a difference in the type of leadership, policies, and programs implemented in minority communities? If so, what are the systemic mechanisms that cause variation across these outcome variables? My research indicates that policy and procedure within the nonprofit sector provide at least one locus for the reproduction of discriminatory ideologies and practices. Antithetically, I also observed internal and external circumstances that produced responsiveness and change from some non-governmental organizations. An unexpected finding is that there is evidence supporting a strong causal relationship between the anti-communist crusades of the 1940s and 1950s against Black internationalists and Pan-Africanists, and the subsequent weakness of domestic African American civil society.

The literature on Black politics, political power, participation, and social capital provides a framework for exploring whether or not non-community control over historically Black

nonprofit institutions has lead to a significant depletion of "political spaces" and other forms of social capital, which might otherwise have been used to advance an insurgent, racial-justice-centered political agenda. This research on civil society organizations serving the political interests of African Americans aims to help fill the knowledge gap on the connection between individual Black public opinion and the larger American political system. It is my hope to add to the all too slim body of research on the internal political dynamics of African American communities and populations and the process of agenda formation.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION:
THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

A fundamental tenet of American politics is that through our associational life, we join with others in the communities to which we each belong to aggregate our policy preferences and debate which programs will best serve our interests. The organizations where this takes place then provide platforms for advocacy. Why, then, is African American civil society not more robust? African Americans still face economic, environmental, and political disparities that— according to a pluralist model—would warrant collective deliberation and advocacy. Why, then, is Black civil society a shadow of its former self? What are the outside forces that limit the potential of Black civil society organizations as vehicles for addressing these disparities?

New Orleans—2011.

Since its inception, the Dryades YMCA has operated independently under the control of the African American community that it was created to serve. It was chartered in 1905 when Jim Crow laws prohibited Blacks from joining dominant majority institutions. Now, as always, people of all ethnicities are welcome to participate.

This Y is not one facility, but a campus with multiple buildings, teeming with activity. Robust versions of programs usually associated with large, well-managed YMCAs can be found here: a brand new 22,000 square foot aquatics and wellness center, a beautiful contemporary main building, day camp, Youth and Government programs, and other signature YMCA youth activities. However, in addition to these universal programs and facilities, there are unexpected things. There is the School of Commerce, which since 1928 has provided workforce development training and currently runs one of the most successful and affordable schools for

licensed practical nurses in Louisiana. There is also the 700-student James M. Singleton Charter School. Another unexpected phenomenon at this YMCA is the multi-layered matrix of talented, well-educated African Americans at every level of leadership.

Miami - 2011.

In the wake of the 2002 *en masse* resignation of the board of directors (despite their name, however, they serve only as an advisory board) at the Carver branch of the YMCA of Greater Miami, the dilapidated former furniture showroom that housed this branch serving Liberty City and Little Haiti is gone, and so is the modular building that was a stopgap when the building finally was condemned. Now, there is no facility. Upon leaving, they cited disagreements on how resources should be allocated and a lack of communication by the centralized, citywide administration as well as an utter disregard for local community leaders who had worked tirelessly to raise funds and goodwill for a new facility. After their exit, they discovered that in 1984, under alarmingly similar circumstances, an advisory board for the same historically African American branch had also experienced a bitter breakup with the YMCA of Greater Miami, resulting in lawsuits and the formation of an independent, community-controlled social service agency.

The land upon which the Carver YMCA once stood now has affordable housing towers. Of 402 units, 73 percent (292 units) are designated for seniors. The leadership at the downtown office decided that income from the development would best serve the YMCA of Greater Miami's interests. The developers that they chose to work with are now serving time in prison for kickbacks and padding contracts (Boggio 2016).[1] Not only was the vast majority of the stolen money earmarked to provide housing in poor communities, but local leadership in Liberty City

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[1] For citations and a detailed account of what happened with this development, see chapter 4.

and Little Haiti was ruthlessly dismantled in deference to the YMCA officials who oversaw "the creative capital plan"[2] that involved collaborating with these private "developers."

How is it that the maturation of possibility at the Dryades YMCA in New Orleans exceeds the imaginings of those interested in the survival and prosperity of Black youth in other impoverished communities? Conversely, what were the factors that caused two generations of Black community leaders in Miami to conclude that their best option was to walk away from the Y, taking a tremendous loss in terms of the precious resources, painstakingly gathered over time, that they had brought to the table? One goal of this study has been to gain a greater understanding of the power relations within nonprofit institutions as it relates to minority communities.

Corporatist and neoliberal values imposed from outside communities are often at odds with the will of those communities. Another case in Philadelphia illustrates some typical elements of conflicting agendas and how current power arrangements sometimes work to disempower community-based leadership.

Philadelphia –1998.

Upon resigning as board chair from a historically African American branch of the YMCA in Philadelphia in protest of centralized, non-representative control, Rotan Lee wrote in *The Philadelphia Tribune* on December, 1, 1998: "In my view, the corporate office is professionally ill-equipped to grapple with the myriad problems besetting the Black community, failing to conceive, plan and implement programming that addresses critical socioeconomic issues."

By the time attorney Rotan Lee wrote the preceding statement, he had built a strong reputation as a committed advocate for his Philadelphia community. Solidly middle class, Lee's

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[2] Alfred Sanchez (2016) LinkedIn profile. https://www.linkedin.com/in/alfredsanchez1/.

father had been a surgeon, his mother a surgical nurse (Eichel 2006). Having served as Philadelphia's school board president during the 1990s and on the gas utility board in the late 1990s, Lee was chairman of the Board of Managers at the second oldest historically Black branch of one of the nation's largest and oldest social service organizations (Washington 2002).

For several years straddling the turn of the new century, a public battle was waged over the fate of the Christian Street YMCA. Board members at Christian Street perceived the Metropolitan Association's office as indifferently paternalistic. "Christian Street's demands are rooted in the branch's history. Independence is sought to assure greater impact on the Black community—crucially aiding its transition from third party benefaction to social and economic self-reliance," wrote Lee in his regular column in *The Philadelphia Tribune* on March 22, 2002. On May 2, 2002, in a letter on his legislative letterhead, state representative Harold James— another board member—wrote of the situation: "Driving, in part, the Branch Board of Managers' decision to seek Christian Street's autonomy is lack of corporate concern and a dangerous indifference to the needs of the Great South Philadelphia community."

This dissertation examines these and many other instances of conflict between communities and the administrative regimes designed to serve them. The concerns expressed by board members at Christian Street point to the central question underpinning this research: In the wake of civil rights victories half a century ago, are there still significant systematic, anti-participatory and disfranchising forces operating to shut African Americans (and possibly other groups) out of policy-making positions in organizations that garner resources on their behalf? Furthermore, does community control of nonprofit social service agencies make a difference in the type of leadership, policies, and programs implemented in minority communities—and thus in broader political processes and civic dialogue?

Several points of contention emerge in Lee's columns and in those by other reporters at the same paper, *The Philadelphia Tribune* (the nation's oldest African American daily, founded in 1884), and in articles by reporters in *Philadelphia City Paper*, an alternative weekly founded in 1981. The articles were written over a two-and-a-half year period—from December of 1998 to May of 2002. The following were at issue:

1. The inaccessibility of the facility and services to members of the community who could not afford the membership fees set by the corporate office (Lee 2001b).
2. Doubt by staff at the central office that the branch's board and staff could competently administer a federally-funded school readiness initiative (Gale 2002). In addition to Lee, the Christian Street Board of Managers included three members of the state legislature and a much-respected 10-year veteran executive director (Lee 2002b).
3. The dismissal of an African American woman who had been executive director of the Branch for ten years in April 2002; this was understood by African American community members to be in response to the branch seeking independence (Welles 2002).
4. Displeasure at management fees collected by the Metropolitan Association; the fees were perceived to be exorbitant (15 percent of Christian Street Y's annual budget of $1 million) (Gale 2002).
5. As the conflict escalated, a wish to operate independently of the Metro Association's control grew steadily.
6. In this particular case, problems were exacerbated by the fact that there was no African-American representation on the Metro Board (Lee 2002b). Additionally, there were claims that threats were made to disband the Christian Street Board of Managers in response to inquiries regarding branch independence (Lee 2001b).

The preceding summary is an illustrative case of a minority community's perception that its resources were being controlled externally. Divergent policy, programming, and personnel preferences resulted in protracted, public conflict.

1.1 Linkages, Stirrings, and the Neoliberal Racial Order

In order to effectively examine the organizational relationships that intervene between Black politics and African American political behavior and US politics, this dissertation uses Dawson and Francis's (2015) concept of an emergent neoliberal racial order as a theoretical frame. In *Black Politics and the Neoliberal Racial Order*, Michael C. Dawson and Megan Ming

Francis (2015) argue that "a new neoliberal racial order has emerged." They define *neoliberalism* as

> a set of policies and ideological tenets that include the privatization of public assets; the deregulation or elimination of state services; macroeconomic stabilization and the discouragement of Keynesian policies; trade liberalization and financial deregulation; a discursive emphasis on "neutral," efficient, and technical solutions to social problems; and the use of market language to legitimize new norms and to neutralize opposition (see also Duggan 2003; Wedeen 2008, 2013; Dawson 2011; Cieply 2013).

Dawson and Francis's article offers a useful theoretical perspective for examining what is happening in African American organizational life in the contemporary period. The historical time period encompassing the data for this project ranges from the Jim Crow era to the present day. Because we will be exploring African American political development, Rickey Hill's *The Study of Black Politics: Notes on Rethinking the Paradigm* (1994) also proves useful in addressing some fundamental epistemological concerns in studying the linkage between Black participation in the American political system and the practice of Black politics.

According to Dawson and Francis,

> [n]eoliberal ideology is so powerful because it creates the illusion of a privatized sphere in which corporations and private actors assume the responsibilities of formerly government functions in a more "neutral and efficient" manner. In doing so, neoliberalism corporatizes government functions, conceals the persisting operation of the state, and removes government accountability. (2015, 27)

Dawson and Francis assert that post-racialism and exclusively legalistic "New Jim Crow" frames miss the fact that capitalism and race are mutually constitutive. They argue for a political economy approach, which illuminates "racial capitalism."[3]

> This literature [post-racial] makes the simple calculation that color-blind laws equal a color-blind nation. In doing so, we believe that it has created a type of "civil rights fiction" in which equality and civil rights are interpreted strictly through the lens of formal equality. (2015, 30)

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[3] For a discussion on the mutually constitutive nature of race and capitalism, see Walter Johnson (2013).

Admitting and cataloguing some of the similarities between the present and the Jim Crow era, they argue that "the civil rights, Black power and other anti-racist movements" produced a "major shift in the racial order" (41). In the attack on and dismantling of Jim Crow, "racial capitalism" evolved.[4]

> A critical transformation marking the transition to the neoliberal racial order was that numerous mechanisms for maintaining and reproducing white supremacy moved from the state sector to the economic sector and civil society. (41)

In *Race, Class, and Conservatism* (1988), economist Thomas Boston had recognized and written of the broad scope and shifting nature of racial orders.[5] "This inferior status is constantly regenerated not only by economic dynamics, but also by legal, cultural, political and social apparatuses which support it. Hence, even when racism is removed from the laws, it lingers in other aspects of society's superstructure and economic substructure" (4). Boston also addressed the routine misspecification of class boundaries by researchers. "For example, researchers typically merge the black capitalist with the black middle class: as if they constitute only one class. The small size of the former is usually the rationale…. In fact, the weak state of the black capitalist is a major aspect of modern racial inequality" (7).

The occlusion of data in this way denies very real inequalities a place on the modern agenda. Boston reminds us that "with the defeat of Reconstruction blacks were expropriated of both redistributed land and capital accumulated through years of saving. They were dispossessed also of a political and judicial mechanism to protect property rights. This event constituted the single most devastating blow to the establishment of a viable Black capitalist class in America; and even during the decades since, access of Black entrepreneurs to capital has been extremely

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[4] For a discussion of cycles of protest, see Sidney Tarrow (1998).
[5] See also Charles W. Mills (1997) and Michael Omi and Howard Winant (2014).

restricted" (1988, 31). Congressional approval deregulating the charter of the Freedman's

Savings and Trust Company allowed white speculators to bankrupt it (32). In light of these

realities, capital assets held publicly by NGOs take on more importance as a base for

movement toward equality and justice.

In the tradition of others who have studied the organizational relationships intervening

between the individual and government—including African Americans specifically[6]—this

dissertation uses Rickey Hill's *The Study of Black Politics: Notes on Rethinking the Paradigm*

(1994) as an additional lens for studying the linkage between Black participation in the American

political system and the practice of Black politics. Hill is unequivocal that a true commitment to

the republican and democratic ideals of the United States mandates the illumination and pursuit

of racial equity (1994, 12). The extant gap between the current US racial order and a truly

functional democracy continues to create problems of DuBoisian double consciousness for

workers, activists, scholars, and any observer who tests a colorblind pluralist narrative (Dubois

[1903]1999).[7]

Black politics as a scholarly pursuit incarnates the idea among Black professionals of all

stripes that they must be "twice as good" to have various forms of access. In fact, the reality may

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[6] See also Harold F. Gosnell, (1935); V.O. Key, Jr., (1964). Also Cathy Cohen (1999) details "secondary marginalization" of queer, poor and female strata of the black community as the AIDS crisis unfolded. Dara Strolovich (2007) examines how issues are prioritized within economic and social justice advocacy organizations, using Kimberle Crenshaw's idea of "intersectional marginalization" to show that issues that affect advantaged subgroups of an organization's constituency often are highlighted, even where other issues would benefit a greater number of members of the broader group. The plethora of "rights" movements (women, disability, Latino, gay, etc.) that emerged or were energized in the wake of the civil rights movement support Rogers Smith's contention that domination has been a central feature of the American political context.

[7] See also Mack Jones (1968, loc. 129). "I found myself consciously studying on two tracks: one to satisfy expectations of my professors and their classes and the other to develop an understanding of the world more useful for me as an African American social scientist committed to the growth, development and advancement of African people in the United States and throughout the diaspora." See also Rickey Hill (1994) and Hanes Walton Jr. (1994) for a literature review of this concept in Black politics.

be that the demands of Black politics require a three-, four-, or five-fold effort as compared to research in the "normal" paradigm of American politics. First, one must address the pluralist model and other cornerstones of the study of American politics. Additionally, one must also be conversant with a separate canon: the literature and practice specifically targeted at ending the exploitation of people of color. Thus, the racial order continues to create a DuBoisian "double consciousness." Third, the scholar who feels an ethical responsibility to work toward a functional democratic republic will generally have substantial work in merely getting historical information and clarifying relevant facts—excavating data that is suppressed or ***occluded*** by the customs and conventions of systemic racial domination. Data collection for this project on the demographics of policy-setting boards of directors (see chapter 3) provides an illustration. Fourth, if the scholar's interest and point of view are born of his or her experiences as a Black person, there are the additional stresses and hazards of "living while Black." Finally, of course, during episodes of open contention, there is the added burden of personal attacks of all sorts, up to and including physical brutality and assassination—e.g., Black scholar/activists Martin Luther King, Fannie Lou Hamer, Fred Hampton, and Clementa Pinckney and the eight others who were specifically targeted in a June 2015 mass killing because of their church's historic support of African

American human rights.

  According to Hill, the fact that research questions in American politics have centered on the Democratic and Republican parties reflects the dominant class's control of the political landscape (Foner 1984; Seidelman 1985). Further, he contends that this is reproduced within the study of Black politics:

> The missing links of American politics exist because ideological and political formations that are nontraditional and dominated have never been genuine alternatives to dominant-class politics. Communist, socialist and social democratic formations have been unable to confront, or compete within and for,

dominant class power. They have thus never received full attention in the leading analyses of American politics. (1994, 12)

This paper will describe contemporary civil society institutions and the political goals of minority communities, and how these goals are supported or thwarted in light of pluralist models of a healthy, functional, civil society. Existing theory on the link between Black politics and American political institutions will be employed in an attempt to evaluate the connection between social service institutions and Black political participation. Further, Chapter 4 examines the similarities and connections between an eroding civil society and the loss of the power to govern locally through state takeovers of municipalities.

Rickey Hill's *The Study of Black Politics: Notes on Rethinking the Paradigm* (1994) and John Gaventa's *Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis* (2006) are employed respectively throughout the dissertation as a theoretical underpinning and a useful analytical lens. As Hill writes, "black politics is a structural matter—institutional and organizational." Hill notes at least five problems central to the study of Black politics:

1) The political strategy of African Americans must be critically analyzed.
2) The role of political ideology in shaping the Black experience in the United States must be analyzed.
3) Historical content and continuity must be one basis for understanding the many facets of personality and culture.
4) The conceptualization of "the black experience" must be better developed as this has been a persistent problem.
5) An analysis of "(a) the decline of black radical praxis, (b) the rise of a black political elite, and (c) the continuation of the black adjustment to white domination" (17) must be undertaken.

1.2   Power and Community Institutions

John Gaventa's "power cube" (2006) provides a useful analytical tool, which has at its base his own earlier work and that of Steven Lukes (1974).[8] Following VeneKlasen and Miller (2002), the "three faces" or "three dimensions" of power are determined to be Visible (first face), Hidden (second face), and Invisible (third face):

Table 1.1 - Dynamics of Power

Visible (*First Face*): Formal, visible, decision-making processes. Rules, institutions, and procedures ostensibly govern what policy is adopted and implemented.
Hidden (*Second Face*): Systematically and repeatedly influencing outcomes by setting the agenda. Powerful institutions and individuals can control what issues are up for consideration and who gets to sit at the decision-making table. Often other groups and people are excluded with the result that their needs go unmet and interests go unaddressed.
Invisible (*Third Face*): Perhaps the most subtle and yet effective dimension upon which power operates, through cultural and ideological norms, it "shapes the psychological and ideological boundaries of participation." Not only are issues of certain groups kept off the agenda, but culture and ideology limit or prevent the conscious awareness of significant problems, even by those affected. "[S]ocialization perpetuates exclusion and inequality...."
Summarized from VeneKlasen and Miller (2002).

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[8] Pluralist models address the most apparent level of how power within a political system is purported to operate. "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do." Both Dahl (1969) and Polsby (1968) found that the claims of minorities are efficiently addressed. Schattschneider's "mobilization of bias," where the rules of the game consistently operate in a systematic way to benefit certain groups or individuals at the expense of others, added another dimension to pluralist models of power (1960). See also, Bachrach and Baratz's, *Two Faces of Power* (1962) for development of this idea. In *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (1980), John Gaventa tests Steven Lukes's "three-dimensional" theory of power (Lukes 1974) by examining the dynamics and history of power relations in a poor, rural Tennessee valley. According to Gaventa, the third dimension of power "involves specifying the means through which power influences, shapes or determines conceptions of the necessities, possibilities, and strategies of challenge in situations of latent conflict" (1980, 15). Gaventa's study and the work of others (Cohen and Dawson 1993, Bobo and Gilliam 1990) illustrate that a lack of observable political activity within underserved communities does not necessarily imply apathy or a lack of civic-mindedness as characteristic of individuals or groups in these neighborhoods.

This typology of the ways power manifests is arrayed across one of three axes in Gaventa's Rubik's cube-based model. Another axis shows levels upon which power operates— local, national, and global. The third axis is devoted to types of "political spaces."

Gaventa (2006) defines these spaces "as opportunities, moments and channels where citizens can act to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships that affect their lives and interests" (26). Referring to Andrea Cornwall's work, he asserts that spaces for participation are not neutral, but shaped by power relations (Cornwall 2002). According to Lefebvre (1991), "Space is a social product ... it is a dynamic, humanly constructed means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (24). Gaventa continues,

> Hayward suggests that we might understand power "as the network of social boundaries that delimit fields of possible action." Freedom, on the other hand, "is the capacity to participate effectively in shaping the social limits that define what is possible" (Hayward 1998: 2). In this sense, participation as freedom is not only the right to participate effectively in a given space, but the right to define and to shape that space.
>
> So one dynamic we must explore in examining the spaces for participation is to ask how they were created, and with whose interests, and what terms of engagement. (26)

The types of political spaces on the third axis are:

Closed. Decision making takes place "behind closed doors" without the participation of some persons affected. In government and NGOs, this frequently leads to charges of a lack transparency or accountability.

Invited. Citizens participate at the pleasure of those with authority within NGOs, government, etc.

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Claimed/Created. These spaces "are claimed by less powerful actors from or against the power holders, or created more autonomously by them."[9]

Because the concept used for the model is so spacial/dimensional, I have graphically reproduced the essence of it below.

Figure 1.1 Gaventa's Power Cube
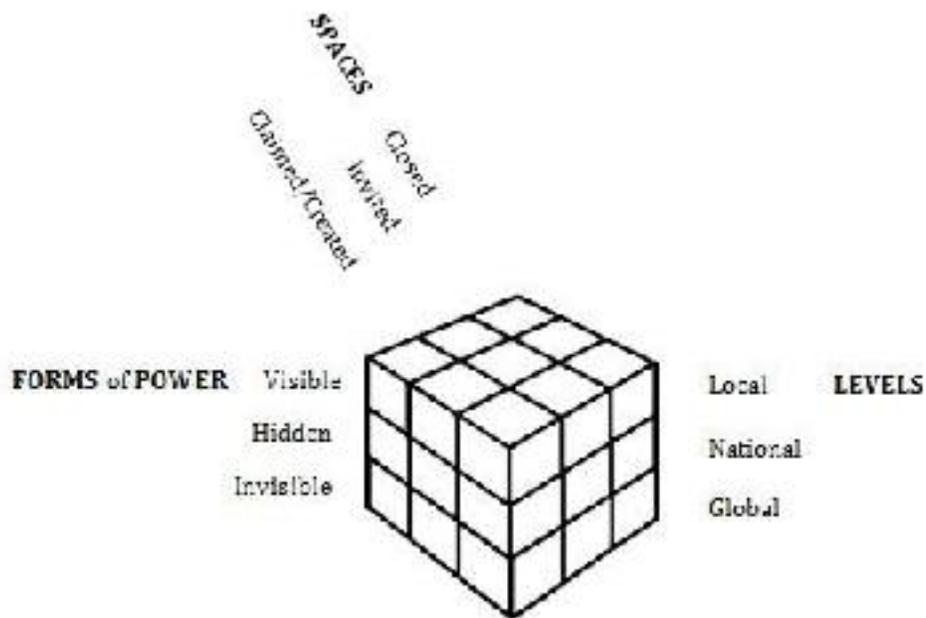
Source: John Gaventa's *Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis* (2006)

The model is not meant to imply static categories. It is designed to evoke the interactions and interrelationships between the nodes on all of the axes and the shifts that are possible with respect to analyzing power, as well as strategizing and organizing change in power relationships within a system. Gaventa also states that there are other possible categories. For example, one

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[9] According to Gaventa (2006, 27), Cornwall refers to these spaces as "organic" spaces that emerge "out of sets of common concerns or identifications" and "may come into being as a result of popular mobilization, such as around identity- or issue-based concerns, or may consist of spaces where like-minded people join together in common pursuits (Cornwall 2002).

could add the domestic sphere to the "levels" dimension of the model traditionally considered "private" (2006, 27).

As McAdam (1999) observes, there is a logical correspondence between theories of political power and social movement theory (36). "Having denied the importance of a problem of power, pluralists do not treat mass movements as rational forms of organization by constituencies that lack power … since the pluralists stress that power is shared in a pluralist democracy, social movements that do not accept the normal political techniques of that society must be dangerous and irrational" (as cited in Rogin 1967, 272–73).

McAdam's (1982) and Morris's (1984) models of social movements—specifically the civil rights movement of the 1960s—put much agency in the hands of "the challengers" themselves. When we look specifically at early challengers to the status quo and not at the later stage, managerial lobbying organizations, we find community-based, non-elite leadership embedded in the social relations of a community (Lo 1992, Payne 1995). Currently, there is wide agreement among scholars of social movements that "indigenous resources" are a crucial factor in the struggle by oppressed groups to advance claims for just treatment and inclusion in the polity (McAdam 2004; Morris 1984; Edwards and McCarthy 2004). "It is the ability of groups to organize, mobilize and manage valuable resources that determines whether they will be able to engage in social protest" (Morris 1984, 279).

Similarly, Morris's analysis employs the Black church, the NAACP, and "local movement centers" that he describes as "non-bureaucratic, formal organizations" (Morris 1984, 285). According to Morris, this type of structure gave African Americans the capacity to innovate and quickly make and implement decisions. His "indigenous perspective" is concerned with dominated groups. This theory "maintains that emergence of sustained movement within a

particular dominated community depends on whether that community possesses 1) certain basic resources, 2) social activists with ties to mass-based indigenous institutions, and 3) tactics and strategies" (Morris 1984, 282). Unless offset in some way, loss of indigenous resources implies a reduction in the African American community's ability to confront social, political, and economic domination by advancing justice claims in what Morris has referred to as a "tripartite system of domination."

Unions, fraternal organizations, and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have also been critical institutions for advancement within the African American community. Administrators and faculty at HBCUs were invaluable during the civil rights movement (see Fig. 2.1). During the 1970s, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement and other Detroit-based Black labor groups were formed to address grievances, including disproportionate reprisals against Black workers for actions taken by a wide, ethnic cross-section of plant workers (Dawson 2013; Georgakas and Surkin 1998; Geschwender 1977). These Revolutionary Union Movements eventually formed The League of Revolutionary Black Workers to centrally coordinate their activities.

If "creativity and innovations are central to the efforts of people engaged in movement activities aimed at establishing a new social order" (Morris 1984, 277), then the loss of community institutions or control of those institutions that serve as social laboratories, meeting places, and repositories of political history and culture could be assumed to be antithetical to movement goals.

Addressing the link between political power and social movement mobilization, Michael Dawson argues that significant gains occur for Blacks when their organized, extra-systemic, political action restructures formal political institutions (1994). Cathy Cohen (2002) cautions that

assessments of social capital must not dismiss the realities of informal and formal structural

constraints on the political power of marginal groups. Drawing a distinction between "the goal of

limited community input in a program and the goal of politically empowering communities so

that they might develop their own agendas," Cohen writes, "government policies and programs

meant to service poor communities sometimes, possibly unintentionally, destroy social capital."

Emphasizing grassroots systems of participatory decision making, she enumerates three

conditions that may provide the best opportunity for outside resources—or as she terms them,

"intervening institutions"—"to empower marginal communities: 1) third-party resources must

be put under the democratic control of local residents and be structured to build on existing

infrastructure and assets within the community; 2) intervening institutions must be able to

address demographic changes and the complex social groupings, beyond those delineated by

geography; 3) we must use a model that does not begin and end with the federal government"

(275).

1.3   501(c)3 Organizations

A brief explanation of the class of civil society organizations examined in this project is in

order. Charitable organizations designated tax exempt under section 501(c)3 of the Internal

Revenue Code are less visible to public watchdogs than are various levels of elected

government and their associated bureaucracies. However, large sums of public money are

allocated to nonprofit organizations, though they are beyond democratic control. An abstract of

a Government Accounting Office (GAO) report on federal funding to the nonprofit sector from

February 2009 states:

> Funding data sources identified the following as the approximate amounts of federal
> funds flowing to nonprofits in 2006 under different mechanisms, although most
> sources did not reliably classify nonprofit status of recipients: (1) $135 billion in fee-

for-service payments under Medicare; (2) $10 billion in other types of fee-for-service payments; (3) $25 billion in grants paid directly to nonprofits; (4) $10 billion paid directly to nonprofits for contracts; and (5) $55 billion in federal funds paid to nonprofits by states from two grant programs, including Medicaid. (GAO could not assess other programs.) In addition, approximately $2.5 billion in loan guarantees and $450 million in loans were issued to nonprofits, and approximately $50 billion in federal tax revenues were foregone due to tax expenditures related to nonprofits.

With respect to accuracy, the abstract reads:

> Due to limitations and reliability concerns with tracking systems data, the data presently collected provide an incomplete, unreliable picture of the federal government's funds reaching the nonprofit sector through various mechanisms, although they suggest these funds were significant. No central source tracks federal funds passed through an initial recipient, such as a state, and the nonprofit status of recipients was not reliably identified in FPDS-NG or FAADS.[10]

The purposive and structural diversity of 501(c)3s mean that any person or group who wanted to watch all the nonprofits that impact a particular community would have to make a staggering commitment of time and resources (Berry 2008). It is centralized boards of directors for federally-funded, region-wide nonprofit organizations that typically set policy, provide general operational oversight, and hire senior staff. These boards therefore wield a great deal of power. Suboptimal outcomes in monitoring and accountability may plague nonprofits in similar ways to those observed in the federal bureaucracy (Brehm and Gates 1997). Therefore, structurally speaking, the potential for abuse of power exists in contexts without adequate accountability or provision for redress.

The terms "nonprofit" and "third sector" will be used here to denote 501(c)3 organizations. While there may be other types of tax-exempt organizations that this research

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[10] "The Federal Procurement Data System – Next Generation" is a central repository containing data on federal contracts. A part of the General Services Administration, there is a requirement that all federal contracts of $3,000 or more are reported to FPDS-NG. See https://www.fpds.gov/fpdsng_cms/index.php/en/. Beginning in 2011, federal financial assistance award transaction data began to be available via the Federal Assistance Awards Data System at http://www.census.gov/govs/www/faads.html.

applies to, I look specifically at the structure and *raison d'etre* of 501(c)3s. Where nonprofits are concerned, the "primary purpose is not to make money but to serve the public" (Wolf 1990). According to a US Department of Labor publication, "A Nonprofit Organization" refers to "any corporation, trust, association, cooperative, or other organization which (1) is operated primarily for scientific, education, service, charitable, or similar purposes in the public interest...." (US Dept. of Labor 2003).

Nongovernmental organizations have a major role in representing the interests of various groups of citizens directly to government officials and indirectly in the formation of political interests and agenda at the community level. In *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam writes, "Externally, voluntary associations, from churches and professional societies to Elks clubs and reading groups, allow individuals to express their interests and demands on government and to protect themselves from abuses of power by their political leaders" (Putnam 2000, 338). Additionally, voluntary organizations serve civic, education, and leadership development functions (Skocpol 2003; Putnam 2000; Tocqueville [1835]2006). "Voluntary associations are places where social and civic skills are learned—'schools for democracy'" (Putnam 2000, 338). If we accept these claims, then clearly politically and economically disadvantaged groups within the polity have an even greater need for the benefits and protections that voluntary associations provide (Skocpol, Liazos, and Ganz 2006).

"On a deliberative understanding of democratic practice," writes Iris Young, "democracy is not only a means through which citizens can promote their interests and hold the power of rulers in check. It is also a means of collective problem-solving which depends for its legitimacy and wisdom on the expression and criticism of the diverse opinions of all the members of society" (Young 2000, 6; see also Guttman and Thompson 1996). Historically, at those times

when marginalized communities have mobilized, they have frequently been forced to seek alternatives to "normal" politics in order to address the needs and grievances of their specific communities. However, groups who have found themselves excluded from this normal democratic process and their sympathizers do organize and are sometimes successful in using unorthodox techniques to win a more equal share of power. The literatures on Black politics, power, and social movement theory analyze how, when, and why this occurs (or may not occur).

1.4   Clarification of Concepts

In light of the removal of Jim Crow barriers to political participation in the 1960s and the destruction of other overt forms of racial discrimination, what are the mechanisms of power that continue to reproduce racial disparities? Who controls the nonprofit real estate, wealth, social capital, and other assets in historically African American communities, and what difference, if any, does it make for political policy and practice?

If African Americans are systematically shut out of policy-making positions in organizations that garner resources on their behalf and therefore sustain community-wide losses of political power and social capital (agenda-setting and sites for potential insurgency), then to some extent, institutional racism and oppression triumph over pluralism in the American context.

Using "African American" here, I am not asserting that persons of the same skin color possess material characteristics that somehow set them apart from or make them better representatives of other African Americans. Jane Mansbridge (1999) offers four compelling contexts in which "descriptive representation" may serve substantive and symbolic functions: "(1) adequate communication in contexts of mistrust, and (2) innovative thinking in contexts of uncrystallized, not fully articulated, interests …, (3) creating a social meaning of 'ability to rule' for members of a group in historical contexts where that ability has been seriously questioned,

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and (4) increasing the polity's de facto legitimacy in contexts of past discrimination…." All of these seem to apply to the political arrangements of nongovernmental organizations under examination. Furthermore, Adolph Reed's (1999) differentiation between "community control" and simply "Black control" is useful in defining African American in the context of this research project. According to Reed, "Black control was by no means the equivalent to popular democratization" (1999, 66).

This dissertation conceptualizes two different types or levels of operation for the historical processes that occurred when large nationwide nonprofits attempted to desegregate facilities and operations. The phrase "***nominal integration***" is used to describe a process of integration in civil society institutions that did not fully incorporate Americans descended from slavery and the unique concerns that arose throughout the Jim Crow era, continuing into the present (Shelby 2005). I reserve the term "***profound integration***" to imply real power-sharing and a blending of infrastructure that underpins an organization's programmatic policy and governance.

The claim is not being made here that non-white individuals cannot at times be the best advocates of issues and policies preferred by African Americans. Throughout American history, the project of advancing the rights of African Americans has not been an exclusive undertaking. From John Brown and the abolitionists to Myles Horton (founder of Highlander Folk School) to Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, Viola Liuzzo, James Reeb, and other American martyrs for the cause of civil rights, there has always existed—alongside a more nationalist thread—a record of cooperation across racial classification to remedy the American legacies of slavery and segregation.

Public opinion research shows that Blacks and whites differ more on policy preferences for dealing with racial disparities than they do on general principles of equality (Dawson 1994; Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Pew Research Center 2015). Therefore, the ideal circumstance, following Jane Mansbridge, would include the presence of all groups in decision-making processes (Phillips 1995, 25). In analyzing Congressional representation, David T. Canon finds that "black members do a better job of walking the racial tightrope and balancing distinctive needs of black voters and the general interests of all voters, black and white alike" (1999, 244). These findings may well hold for the policy-setting arena of nonprofits. Members of marginal groups must pay attention to the dominant majority in the nation, even when the majority of their district is non-white. When the situation is inverted, whites are not as sensitive to the needs of marginal groups who have little or no influence over their well-being (Canon 1999, 244).

Due to insufficient representation on policy-setting boards for organizations that "intervene" in their communities, the social justice agendas of marginal groups may die for want of resources to move them forward. More extreme, these aspirations may draw actual opposition from organizational hierarchies where there are no interpreters or advocates for these agendas. If the loss of control over resources, the loss of leadership development opportunities, and the loss of informal and formal means to educate and motivate youth are found to be major problems for Blacks and other people of color within the nonprofit sector, obviously the lack of these forms of social capital would have far-reaching consequences for civil society and resurrected and rejuvenated Black counter-publics (Dawson 1994). Unless one either accepts a permanent racial underclass or conceives of political and economic solutions that do not require the political participation of African Americans *qua* African Americans, then considering the reconstruction of a strong Black counter-public certainly seems worthwhile.

The lack of diversity on volunteer nonprofit boards is primarily a function of the self-selection process. Possible justifications for continued imbalances are that community members are not sophisticated enough, and therefore certain functions are best left to experts, or that community members might pursue partisan issues, which would be a detriment to the organization, etc. However, the use of resources within a community to debate and pursue a broad range of interests is certainly possible without partisanship that would be harmful to a non-partisan designation. Policies that disallow community participation under the rubric of neutrality have definite political consequences. Arguments for "improved" technical expertise and efficiency threaten meaningful participation (Habermas 1970, 105–06; Simpson 1995). "Professionalization" has a long history of being considered antagonistic to democracy, stretching back as far as ancient Athens (Manin 1997, 33).

The following is a diagram of my overarching hypothesis:

Figure 1.2 Model - Political Losses Due to External Control

RESOURCES	COVERT CONTROL	DISENFRAN-CHISEMENT	POLITICAL LOSSES
Public and private; solicited by 501(c)3s to help African Americans and other disadvantaged groups / individuals	Impression given of community control over resources; actual control by elites on a "citywide" corporate board; "professional-ization" at expense of meaningful community involvement	Elite peer-selected boards of directors set policy; mediated by "downtown" staff; results in conflict and imposition of non-indigenously determined policies, agenda, and allocation of resources	• Potential sites for alternative agenda • Loss of information transmission capacity • Loss of leadership development • Loss of programs aimed at male youth/politics

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The four dependent variables of interest are listed as bulleted points in the final box of the model represented in Fig. 1.2.

I predict that when and where control over YMCA branches in historically Black neighborhoods is community-based or metropolitan YMCA associations are profoundly integrated, inclusive of all policy-setting and administrative levels, African American YMCAs will have higher values on the following dependent variables: 1) more political programming; 2) greater intergenerational, cross-class, and general information transmission; 3) programs that develop indigenous leadership; and 4) programs aimed at "difficult" problems and segments of the community (male youth; prison inmates, etc.) (Calhoun-Brown 2003, 48).

Findings of conflict over desired programs and activities and a preferred political agenda—especially where the will of the local community is defeated—provide evidence supporting a loss of political power and social capital (agenda-setting and sites for potential insurgency). A widespread culture of harmonious delivery of services and governance that African Americans find relevant, inclusive, and empowering (low values on my four dependent variables from the final section of Fig. 1.2), falsify my hypothesis.

A preliminary analysis of relevant literature and a portion of my data show that desegregation of the YMCA took place primarily at the level of membership and facilities, but that there have been persistent problems of lack of diversity in corporate governance and management (Dean 2004). I will explore the extent to which this has resulted in losses of programmatic autonomy, leadership-building capacity, and indigenously held and controlled physical assets within African American communities across the United States.

1.5   Why Focus on the YMCA?

Extending intuition and building on an earlier pilot project, this dissertation will examine the effect of nonprofit governance on political activity. I have selected the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) as the focus of my research because it is the largest and oldest nonprofit social service organization in the nation. The Young Men's Christian Association of the USA is actually a federation of separate associations. With an aggregate budget of $4.7 billion annually from public and private sources and long, contradictory histories as resource bases for social movement activity *and* oppressive policies ,[11] the history of this unique organization is in itself a large part of the story of historical development (and decline) of Black civil society. Also, the individual associations provide an excellent population from which to draw cases. Unit homogeneity—similarities between various YMCA associations and branches (such as having a common, stated mission and many identical structural features)—will be an asset in making certain kinds of comparisons. If future research determines that findings only apply to the YMCA, then its size, budget, and number of members still imply a certain utility of any findings. Nationally, the YMCA receives over half a billion dollars in government contracts annually.[12]

While individual YMCAs serve as separate cases here for some purposes, expanding the scope of the research to other national nonprofits will provide valuable comparisons. The size, national base of operation, and a history of having physical meeting places within communities led to the selection of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and African American fraternal organizations as other sites to be studied as comparative cases. As an

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[11] YMCA of the USA, *2005 YMCA Statistical Summary* (2006). Table 12 gives $5,040,066,232 as the YMCA's total revenue for fiscal year 2005.

[12] Ibid. Table 12 lists $560,014,001 for revenue from government contracts for fiscal year 2005.

exemplary case, I examine the YMCA's history as it transitioned after World War II from a federation of racially segregated associations, through integration and the creation of large, presumably-integrated, Metropolitan Associations in the nation's urban areas. Historical data, including multiple accounts that illustrate community-corporate conflict, will supply depth and detail. Along with an accompanying analysis, this material will provide background information for the dissertation. I will also trace the evolution of the YMCA's organizational structure as it supported or weakened the ability of African Americans to engage in agenda-setting, deliberation, organization, leadership development, and other activities related to political participation and representation. The data used in this project is primarily related to African American communities; however, if there are indications of systematic structural problems that hinder representation, future inquiry should determine if these effects are generalizable to other groups.

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was traditionally a religious organization, but has always been ecumenical and controlled by lay people (Zald 1987). In that the church has historically been the strongest independent institution within the Black community (Harris 1999; Tate 1994; Lincoln and Mamiya 1990), the YMCA has functioned as an important adjunct or auxiliary organization for liaising and coalition-building inter-denominationally and with multi-ethnic and non-religious members of the broader community. Observing African American mainstream religious organizations, Harris argues that they paradoxically serve as sites for the acquisition and honing of civic skills and positive affect toward civic life while at the same time serving as material resource repositories and "oppositional civic culture" (Harris 1999, 40; see also Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995, 382). Because of the high cost of obtaining information, Melissa Harris-Perry argues that African

American civic spaces are important sites for the reproduction of ideologies in the Black counter-public (Harris-Lacewell 2004).

1.6 Plan of the Project

In Chapter 2, archival research provides a political history of the Y and information on the evolution of its internal structures. Rudimentary network analysis reveals many cross-connections among African American YMCA staff, international work (particularly in Africa), faculty and administration at colleges and universities (particularly historically Black institutions), and progressive political and social movements. This chapter also briefly discusses early African American YMCA ties to Africa and how anti-communist mobilization weakened African liberation movements and Black civil society in the United States. This material is based on interviews, the archives of the YMCA's Colored Works Department (CWD), and other historical sources with attention to the broader context. (i.e., backlash in the 1970s to the Black Power movement as a backdrop, if not the impetus for the structural change of urban YMCAs across the country).

Chapter 3 outlines the current situation and documents contemporary cases of conflict between communities of color and central urban administrations. After gathering demographic information on major US metropolitan areas and boards of directors, the composition of boards of directors at YMCAs was analyzed in order to determine whether communities of color were being represented in bodies that set policy related to community programs and personnel. Material on other national nonprofits is also introduced for the purpose of comparison and illustration.

Using major metropolitan areas as units of comparison allows an examination of racial representation on policy-setting bodies and executive staff for the various YMCA Metropolitan

Associations. Data was gathered on a sample of seventeen of these policy-making boards to determine racial composition (n=17 derived from overlapping sets of regional Metro YMCAs and US cities with the highest African American population). Case selection procedure is detailed at the beginning of Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed case study of one association where conflict occurred between the historically African American branch and the central administration. The case study is based on extensive interviews with relevant staff and stakeholders representing a variety of viewpoints and an analysis of the data from interviews with key administrative personnel within several large nonprofits, in light of the variables of interest outlined in the introductory chapter.

Best practices for empowering people and units of organizations within communities emerged in interviews and other sources during the course of this research. They are collected and discussed in Chapter 5.

The goal of the final chapter is to summarize the findings of the project and to assess the extent and impact of problems of lack of representation within nonprofit leadership. Using Camden, New Jersey as an example of the recent phenomenon of state takeovers of municipal governance, I posit a fundamental shift away from participatory democracy, not only in NGOs, but also in the formal structures of US government.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICALLY BLACK INSTITUTIONS
TO INTEGRATED ASSOCIATIONS

The goals of this chapter are to provide relevant historical background on the evolution

of nonprofit organizations and to begin to explore how that history may have circumscribed the

development and present potential of social service organizations in the US. We will also look at

the development of the YMCA's present metropolitan association model as it evolved to service

the country's large urban areas. The chapter also explores the relationship of YMCA work to

international anti-colonialism and the effects that the Cold War had on both. As Dawson and

Francis note, "one aspect of neoliberalism is the drive to erase our memory of the past and our

ability to derive productive insights from the past, making it infinitely more difficult to forge a

new democratic, egalitarian, and just future for all" (2015, 33).

Using available scholarly literature, publicly available materials, newspaper archives, the

Kautz Family YMCA Archives at the University of Minnesota, papers of Julius Rosenwald

archived at the University of Chicago and other sources, I have constructed an historical account

of the evolution of the Young Men's Christian Association.

2.1   Origins of One of the Nation's Oldest Nonprofits

In 1844, industrialized London was a place of great turmoil and despair. For the young men who migrated to the city from rural areas to find jobs, London offered a bleak landscape of tenement housing and dangerous influences.

Twenty-two-year-old George Williams, a farmer-turned-department store worker, was troubled by what he saw. He joined 11 friends to organize the first Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), a refuge of Bible study and prayer for young men seeking escape from the hazards of life on the streets.[1]

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[1] YMCA of the USA, website, accessed August 25, 2015. <http://www.ymca.net/history/founding.html>

According to Mayer Zald, (1990) "At its founding, the YMCA was an evangelical organization of young industrial workers in London. Since its arrival in the US in 1851, the Y has changed in many ways; gradually becoming more secular in its goal, the YMCA in the USA has primarily focused on serving middle-class families. Today, similar problems and challenges confront poor youth in the cities of the United States."

Crossing the Atlantic in 1851, the YMCA of the United States was segregated from its beginning. Barred from participation in the fledgling organization, some African Americans, enthusiastic about the idea of YMCA work formed their own YMCAs. This was the beginning of a long parallel history in which African Americans and some whites constantly denounced the segregated system while simultaneously pressing forward with efforts to provide activities and expanded opportunities to young Black men. This is especially true when the Great Migration, beginning around 1910, sent them streaming into (predominately Northern) cities from the rural South.

By the end of the 1850s, all of the Canadian YMCAs had left the Confederation of North American YMCAs in protest of the YMCAs deference to slavery and toleration of the YMCAs exclusion of Blacks. They were not asking for a condemnation of slavery, but only that the body would make YMCA membership open to all men regardless of their condition in life.

> Again it [the YMCA Central Committee] avoided taking a clear position on slavery. Instead, the Central Committee explained that it acknowledged the autonomy of local YMCAs and therefore had no authority to issue binding policies on slavery or any other issues (Mjagkij 1994, 11).

One hundred years later, pursuing a similar policy of non-involvement, the National YMCA had long insisted that its hands were tied in local matters. It wasn't until 1967, well after

the Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, that the YMCA of the USA finally issued a directive to its remaining segregated local YMCAs to integrate.[2]

In *A Light in the Darkness, African Americans and the YMCA, 1852-1946*, historian Nina Mjagkij (1994) writes that the National Y hired its first staff person to promote Y work among African Americans in 1876. In 1888, William Alphaeus Hunton, a Black Canadian, was hired as the third man and the first Black person to hold the position. His father, Stanton Hunton, was "a close confidant of John Brown when the raid on Harper's Ferry was being planned" (Von Eschen 1997, 59). Over the next several decades, the freedmen in the South and Blacks in the North dug into YMCA work with energy and enthusiasm. By 1903, there were over 100 African American YMCA branches in cities and on college campuses. Only a few of these branches (all of them in the North) had managed to build a facility specifically to serve as a YMCA. The other branches operated in converted, rented, or loaned space. By 1910, wealthy philanthropists like George Foster Peabody and Sears magnate Julius Rosenwald had begun to invest heavily in the creation of facilities for these African American branches.

Convinced of the value of the work that was taking place in African American YMCAs, Rosenwald began to give challenge grants to help construct high-quality facilities to serve African Americans. Newspaper articles, personal letters, and other documents from the University of Chicago's archive of Rosenwald papers detail the program, which required Black communities to raise 25 percent of the needed funds while assigning 50 percent to the local white community; Rosenwald would make up the difference. By 1930, thirty-six African American branches of the YMCA had facilities that had been built to be YMCAs. Twenty-four of these

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[2] Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Milestones in the History of African Americans and the YMCA. University of Minnesota, accessed March 19, 2017, http://special.lib.umn.edu/ymca/guides/afam/afam-milestones.phtml

were beneficiaries of Rosenwald grants. Black branches served the important function of offering young men a clean place to stay when they arrived in a city; reading rooms that helped to improve literacy rates; lectures, father and son dinners, and other activities. An interview subject with family ties to the Black YMCA movement that date back to the early 1900s explained about the Great Migration: "That was back in the days when the Ys had street names, so the brothers would know where to go."[3]

In the post-World War I social upheaval, the Ys worked within the military as returning troops and migration to the cities made residential YMCAs a relatively safe place for gay men to meet, to explore, and to cruise. Certainly this held true for Black gay men as well (Wrathall 1997, 253). According to one respondent, who had held positions from executive director to CEO in several major American cities,

> In some American cities particularly in the Northeast where the YMCAs were fairly mature—because they're kind of new on the West Coast—there was a social awakening that began with the Beat Generation. It began before the 60s really. And it found its way into the Y. The Y in big cities was one of the first places that gay people could go without being dragged behind a bus. There were things about the Y—because it was open and accommodating.

An important function that Black branches served was as a base for advancing the cause of social justice.[4] Butler Street YMCA in Atlanta was considered the Black "city hall" of the civil rights movement (Myrick-Harris 2005). Butler Street Y's ongoing Hungry Club Forum was founded in 1945 to promote political discussion in the community. In 1905, the Senate Avenue YMCA in Indianapolis began holding a series of public forums. These forums continued

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[3] Interview with author, 2015.

[4] See Intercollegiate YMCA records; also Adele Cloutier's unpublished master's thesis on the role of the Intercollegiate YMCA and YWCA in the Post-World War II civil rights movement, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota Library.

regularly into the early 1960s.[5] In Chicago, the father of Black History Month, Carter G.

Woodson, founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History at the Wabash

YMCA, along with the Y's Executive Director and several others (Bennett 2007, 550).

In addition to educational programs and forums, the physical spaces and other resources

within YMCAs were used to try to help save the lives of the Martinsville Seven—young Black

men sentenced to death for the alleged rape of a white woman. William Mandel writes of his

1951 pilgrimage in his 1999 autobiography, *Saying No to Power*:

> Our headquarters in Richmond was to be the Negro YMCA, which violated Jim
> Crow by the mere fact of accepting us. None of the well-established Black
> churches in this, the former capital of the Confederacy, would have anything to do
> with us at the outset, though the [Black] National Baptist Convention of twenty-
> three thousand churches and 4 million members opposed the death sentences in
> this case of alleged rape. (1999)[6]

Only a few years earlier, the Depression had hit African American YMCAs hard,

reducing funding and increasing demand for services. The national YMCA was faced with some

hard decisions as well:

> The sincerity of white association leaders who professed an interest in
> maintaining YMCA services for African Americans was called into question
> when the National Council was forced to reduce its staff in response to the
> Depression. Between 1929 and 1932 the National Council lost less than 10
> percent of its total personnel, whereas the staff of the Colored Work Department
> was cut by 50 percent. Eventually the Colored Work Department was reduced to
> three secretaries: Channing H. Tobias, Robert B. DeFrantz and Ralph W. Bullock

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[5] The Monster Meetings continued through the beginning of 1963 (Warren 1995, 57). As an offshoot of the Monster Meetings, an active committee observed and intervened in local and state politics in order to advance the Black communities educational, employment, and housing opportunities. Speakers at the meetings included Langston Hughes, Adam Clayton Powell, Dr. George Washington Carver, A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Jr., Thurgood Marshall, Jackie Robinson, Eleanor Roosevelt, Jesse Owens, Dr. Charles Drew, W.E.B. DuBois, Robert Abbott (owner/publisher of *The Chicago Defender*), Howard Thurman, Walter White, Countee Cullen, Ralph Metcalf, and many senior national YMCA staff members of the Colored Works Department who would figure prominently in international work, particularly in Africa.

[6] Excerpt from the website Civil Rights Movement Veterans, accessed April 10, 2017, http://www.crmvet.org/nars/mandel.htm.

were in charge of all African American association work throughout the depression [sic] and World War II. (Mjagkij 1994, 116)

This reduction of their ranks surely created a "brain drain" that made it virtually impossible for the three remaining African Americans on the Y's national staff to formulate and advocate for structural policies that would protect African American gains made during segregation (such as leadership development and the autonomous administration of community-held wealth). This diminished capacity of the national black staff of the YMCA surely proved very costly in the face of the impending and inevitable end of segregation:

> African American association leaders realized that if their demand for desegregation was met they would also have to give up their control of separate associations. In the past they had carefully guarded their autonomy in the YMCA, but the wartime protest against segregation made it impossible for them to continue to insist upon racial separation. Tobias explained, "the trend of the Y.M.C.A. Movement now is in the direction of integration … rather than toward the strengthening and multiplication of separate racial branches." (Mjagkij 1994, 125)

This failure of the national YMCA to effectively address and protect the gains made by African Americans resulted in an integration strategy that granted Blacks public accommodation, but robbed the community of valuable opportunities for leadership development and local community control of social and political capital. In 1944, shortly before the Y's post-war dissolution of the Colored Works Department when such records ceased being kept, there were 144 African Americans employed as professional managers. Even where Blacks prevailed, resource-intensive legal and social battles were often required to maintain control of facilities and decision making by local communities of color. Brief descriptions of historical episodes and excerpts from documents will show actual occurrences of this phenomenon. Because of the intended scope of this project, the following list of incidents and the details that follow are meant to be illustrative, not exhaustive:

Table 2.1 Sample of Pre-Civil Rights Movement Incidents

1917	Kansas City, Missouri
1920	New York, New York
1920	Nashville, Tennessee
1942	Charleston, South Carolina
1942	Dallas, Texas
1968	Atlanta, Georgia

1917 – Kansas City, Missouri

The African American Executive Secretary of the Paseo Branch, a "Rosenwald" YMCA,

is fired ostensibly for purchasing and installing a $30.00 steam pump without permission from

the Central office.

> Before deeding our property over there was a verbal understanding that there
> would be colored men members of the corporation (a thing that has always been
> hazy to us). This corporation as far as we are concerned never materialized.…
> Then co-operation as interpreted by the general Secretary (the Chief Executive
> Officer for Kansas City) has meant as one of our men stated it, the acceptance
> without discussion any and all his rulings without discussion, that he saw fit to
> make. This in the finality resolved itself into practically taxation without
> representation." (DeFrantz 1917).

In the same letter to Jesse Moorland, Robert DeFrantz (1917) wrote:

> Only $243. Of a budget totaling over $12,000.00 came through the Metropolitan
> office. Financially we have never received any considerable sum through the
> Metropolitan or Central office. Never dependents.

In reality, it was for political reasons that the white establishment disapproved this Negro

executive secretary, Robert B. DeFrantz. A letter written to W.J. Parker (Rosenwald's business

manager for the Negro YMCAs) from the white general secretary who fired DeFrantz accuses

him of urging his community toward autonomy from the Central YMCA, saying that he "sought

to use the department as a propagator of DuBois doctrine … this is the most serious menace our

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colored Associations will have to face. I refer to the effort being made all over the country to get

DuBois men into the dominant places of leadership in our movement."[7] Clearly, the African

American leadership at the national level had an entirely different disposition toward DeFrantz.

As the same letter indicates, after his dismissal from the Paseo Association, he was hired onto the

national staff of the Colored Department of the International Committee.[8]

Aldon Morris (1984) points out that successful social movement mobilization involves

"social activists with strong ties to mass-based indigenous institutions" (282). In the Paseo

example, we see an activist being removed from his institutional base and constituency.

DeFrantz breeched the line between the kinds of social capital that whites were comfortable

allowing Blacks to accumulate when he began to lead his constituency in directions that

politicized that social capital.

Robert B. DeFrantz's father, Alonzo D. DeFrantz, had been the secretary-treasurer of the

"Pap" Singleton Movement. From Natchez, Mississippi, the elder DeFrantz had gone to

Tennessee and then to Kansas, helping to lead the movement during this migration of

"exodusters," or recently emancipated Blacks from the South. His son Robert eventually became

the executive secretary of the Negro YMCA in Kansas City, later working in the National

YMCA's Colored Works Department office; Robert's brother Faburn served as executive

secretary at the Senate Street YMCA in Indianapolis.[9]

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[7] Letter from R.S. Bishop to W.J. Parker, January 19, 1920. Box 44, Folder 35. Julius Rosenwald Papers, The University of Chicago Library. A 1921 YMCA Year Book lists Robert B. DeFrantz working in the Colored Men's Department. The International Committee's offices were in New York, at 347 Madison Avenue (78).

[8] Ibid, 78.

[9] See Nell Irvin Painter for a discussion of Alonzo DeFrantz's contribution to the first large scale migration of Blacks from the South. Skip Mylenski, "A Sporting Chance," *The Chicago Tribune*, September 04, 1988, gives additional detail.

1920 – New York, New York

In a report dated March 3, 1920, the Commission on Colored Work lists as its second and third

recommendations:

> 2. That all monies contributed for the improvement of relationships between the white and colored races shall be controlled by a joint committee of white and colored people. Such a joint control would necessitate frequent consultations and would further that mutual understanding and good will which is so essential to all permanent progress.

> 3. That opportunity to a degree that does not now exist be given the colored people for self-expression and self-determination in the work.

In this report, we see an early expression of the will of Black leaders to adhere to

principles that later theorists like Iris Young (1990) advocate: greater justice through

deliberative democracy.

1921 - Nashville

Advisory board members of the Colored Branch of the Young Men's Christian

Association of Nashville win a court case allowing it to become an independent association. The

Central Association admits in their answer that the African American branch's building, which it

sold, was to be held in trust. The Central Association began negotiations to sell the building

without consulting the African American community or its Advisory Board, which had raised

the $10,000 down payment (Watson 1920).

1942 – Charleston, South Carolina

Dissatisfied with the pace of progress of YMCA work in their community, colored

residents of Charleston organize a separate charitable corporation and demand property that

had earlier been donated for their benefit. The property was to be held in trust by the Central

Association. After many consultations by both sides with lawyers as well as the National

Association and its Colored Works Department, the deed is transferred to the newly formed independent association.

1942 – Dallas, Texas

In Dallas, a dispute breaks out because the Community War Chest donates $13,500 to the Moorland Branch of the YMCA, a proportionate share of the War Chest's total contribution to the YMCA of $53,000. The general secretary [CEO] of the Central Association decided to only give the Moorland Branch $3,000.

These incidents show a legacy of conflicting agendas and fights to control resources. For resource-poor communities to have to repeatedly engage in battles to retain control of property or to receive a fair share of charitable donations further depletes that community's reserves. In evaluating the present day state of affairs regarding nonprofit organizations' involvement in marginal communities, it is important to understand the historical development of these institutions.

1968 – Atlanta, Georgia

The Conference of Black and Non-White YMCA Secretaries (BAN-WYS) meets in Atlanta "to develop a composite strategy for nation-wide confrontation with YMCA leaders at all levels about the YMCA's practices with Non-White people."[10] One hundred-and-twenty staff members attend the conference. BAN-WYS issues a report called, "Confronting Racism in the YMCA … The Time is Now!" The report states that of more than 4,000 professional workers, only 256, or 6.5 percent, are non-white (BAN-WYS 1968, 5). The very first of the conference's recommendations detailed in the report is:

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[10] Leo Marsh was one of the founders and first General Chair of BAN-WYS. He had been the first African American President of the National Association of YMCA Secretaries. Later he was instrumental in creating the Black Achievers Program while a consultant to the YMCA's Harlem Branch.

1. That immediate priority be given to the recruitment and selection or election of Black and other minority group laymen to decision-making bodies at the national, Area/State and local levels. The criteria for the involvement of such laymen should be inclusive of "Grass Roots" experiences that can be a resource in affecting and effecting decisions, priorities, policies and programs. (6)

For most of the last century, there is evidence that struggles over social capital and political agendas erupted in different geographic locations. After the dismantling of the Colored Works Department, the resources to even document and archive such occurrences were lost to African Americans. Along with the loss of a conduit for information is a lost vehicle for national organizing. This conforms with Gaventa's assertions that power can operate at a level that "shapes or determines conceptions of the necessities, possibilities and strategies of challenge" (2006, 15).

2.2 Pan-Africanism and Domestic Collateral Damage of the Red Scare

It is impossible to understand the YMCA's role in helping and/or hindering the political organization and aspirations of African Americans *within the US* if one does not understand the geopolitical legacy of racial domination, including the Atlantic slave trade. As a precursor to discussing the present state of the YMCA as a potential vehicle for furthering the political goals of African Americans, this section details the leadership structure of the Colored Works Department of the YMCA of the USA during the first half of the twentieth century. It also illuminates individual and institutional ties to African liberation movements. The chapter examines how the Cold War affected both movements (African Liberation and Civil Rights in the southern US), particularly McCarthyism's chilling effect on the domestic "social gospel" orientation that shaped YMCA work in the early part of the twentieth century.

From emancipation onward, there was an increasing recognition of the plight of Africans on the continent and common cause in the fight against racial oppression around the world. This emergent pan-Africanism worked in parallel to other strategies that African Americans used to organize themselves and pursue their interests. There was also increasing repatriation to Liberia and other African countries, as well as political and cultural exchange and collaboration.

In the early twentieth century, the Christian social gospel movement encouraged a "lived faith" approach,[11] one of putting one's beliefs into action in the world. Adding these influences to a long tradition of religion-based, political and social change movements (Wilmore 1998), Black Christians—in parallel with whites—were part of a move away from a theology based solely on individual salvation toward an impulse addressing the collective "sins" of society. Naturally, this turn influenced the small but significant number of Blacks participating in the missionary movement.

Max Yergan, the first Black YMCA missionary to work in India and then South Africa, was one of the most influential African American domestic leaders within the YMCA movement and beyond (Anthony 2006). The stated aims of the YMCA made it the ideal platform from which to provide facilities and services aimed at improving the lot of disadvantaged peoples. Yergan was personally responsible for over three dozen YMCA branches in East and Southern Africa (Anthony 2006, 66; Gilmore 2008, 239). By 1925, he had begun organizing and fundraising for a new research institute for social service workers at Fort Hare University in

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[11] Amongst the most important leaders of the Social Gospel movement within Protestantism, Walter Rauschenbusch influenced Dr. Martin Luther King and thereby the civil rights movement. The digital archive at the King Center contains four pieces that Martin Luther King wrote on Rauschenbusch. One essay is about Rauschenbusch's normative ideas on the Church's role in society; the other notes and writings are on sin, capitalism and the Social Gospel. See <www.thekingcenter.org/archive> accessed March 18, 2017.

Alice, Eastern Cape, South Africa. Fort Hare has been central to the development of eastern and southern Africa. Fort Hare's illustrious graduates include Nelson Mandela; Govan Mbeki, whom Yergan introduced to Marxism (Anthony 2006, 132); the ANC's Oliver Tambo; Seretse Khama, the first president of Botswana; ZANU leader Herbert Chitepo; the current president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe; the first president of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda; the founder of the South African Inkatha Freedom Party, Mangosuthu Buthelezi; Robert Sobukwe, who founded the South African opposition Pan Africanist Congress; and Chris Hani, leader of the South African Communist Party. Desmond Tutu was chaplain at Fort Hare from 1967–1970.[12]

In addition to Yergan, there was a striking and considerable intersection of 1.) National Black YMCA staff; 2.) progressives advocating for social and economic justice for African Americans in the US; and 3.) Pan-Africanists. The coterie of progressive Blacks who held manifold formal or informal posts in the above areas also tended to 4) populate the faculty and administrative posts at Black colleges and universities. A look at the career of Channing Tobias illustrates the multiplicity of roles that Black leaders often played on international and domestic fronts. For thirty-five years beginning in 1911, Tobias was an international secretary and then senior secretary in the Department of Interracial Services within the YMCA of the USA's Colored Works Department. In the latter capacity, he spoke at the 1926 World Conference of YMCAs in Helsinki, where he was a delegate. He later served as board chair for the NAACP, receiving its Spingarn Medal in 1948 (Sommerville 2006). In addition, he served on the boards of trustees of Howard University and Hampton Institute, and he was a 1946 Truman appointee to

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[12] See University of Fort Hare website http://www.ufh.ac.za/About/Pages/History.aspx . Regarding Tutu's tenure as chaplain of Fort Hare, see Steven Gish's *Desmond Tutu: A Biography* (2006).

the Civil Rights Committee and an alternate US representative to the Sixth Assembly of the United Nations.[13]

Table 2.2 details activities of selected YMCA leaders' work in multiple arenas. It is not meant to be exhaustive, but illustrative. Top leaders in domestic matters were frequently the same individuals who were creating and collaborating with their African counterparts on international Pan-Africanist projects, offering mutual support.

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[13] Blackpast.org, accessed March 18, 2017, http://www.blackpast.org/aah/tobias-channing-h-1882-1961.

Table 2.2
YMCA Leaders with pre-1960 Ties to Anti-Colonialism and the Civil Rights Movement

YMCA/YWCA AND DOMESTIC AFFILIATIONS	INTERNATIONAL AND ACADEMIC ROLES
Ella Baker	
Active in Shaw U's YWCA; Y delegate to a conference in NYC.[a] Frequented the Harlem YWCA and later joined YWCA staff, while organizing.[b] Director of Branches for NAACP[c] On staff at Highlander & SCLC Organized and mentored the first southern conference of student sit-in leaders.	Student of Max and Susie Yergan while at Shaw University; developed familiarity and deep interest in South Africa.
Harvey Cox	
YMCA Sec'y at Oberlin introduces M.L.King and James Lawson.[d]	
C.O.R.E. New Orleans Chapter - Dryades YMCA	
YMCA leader William Rucker opens Dryades to be headquarters for a successful 1959 selective buying campaign lead by Lolis Elie, Rev. Avery Alexander, Rev. A.L. Davis, Henry Mitchell, and Raymond Floyd. Aimed at forcing local stores to hire Blacks. A year later, a chapter of CORE was organized at Dryades. Led by Rudy Lombard, Oretha Castle, Cecil Carter Jr., and Lanny Goldfinch. Conducted sit-ins and voter registration drives.[e]	
Faburn E. DeFrantz	
Director of Senate Street YMCA (Indpls.) Established "Monster Meetings." Son of "Exoduster" leader Alonzo DeFrantz; brother of Robert DeFrantz.	Founding Member of ICAA
Robert DeFrantz	
Fired as Director of Paseo YMCA (Kansas City). Joins National YMCA Colored Works Dept. staff. Son of "Exoduster" leader Alonzo DeFrantz; brother of Faburn DeFrantz.	

Table 2.2 (continued)
YMCA Leaders with pre-1960 Ties to Anti-Colonialism and the Civil Rights Movement

YMCA/YWCA AND DOMESTIC AFFILIATIONS	INTERNATIONAL AND ACADEMIC ROLES
Casey Hayden (nee Sandra Cason)	
Involved in YWCA as a student at University of Texas-Austin. Later, a national officer. Hayden was the Atlanta YWCA's liaison to SNCC. Along with then-husband Tom Hayden, she was a founder of SDS. Pivotal role in Second Wave Feminism.[f]	
Anna Arnold Hedgeman[g]	
YWCA Executive Director for 12 years. First Black woman to be part of a New York mayor's cabinet.	Asst. Dean of Women–Howard University. Developed international education programs for the YWCA. Spent several months in India for the State Dept. Keynote speaker at the first Conference of the Women of Africa and African Descent (1960).
Dorothy Height[h]	
Protégé of Mary McLeod Bethune. Rose through YWCA, from Harlem, then Executive Director of the still independent Phyllis Wheatley Association in Washington DC. Ultimately served on National YW staff for over 30 years. "In l970, Height directed the series of activities culminating in the YWCA Convention adopting as its 'One Imperative' the elimination of racism." Long-serving president of the National Council of Negro Women founded by Bethune in 1935.	In l975, Height participated in the Tribunal at the International Women's Year Conference of the United Nations in Mexico City. As a result of this experience, NCNW was awarded a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to hold a conference within the conference for women from the United States, African countries, South America, Mexico, and the Caribbean. Was a sponsor along with Martin Luther King of the 1962 American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa.
Myles Horton[1]	
Founder of Highlander Folk School, a think tank and meeting ground for progressive labor and interracial student activism. As YMCA Secretary for Tennessee (late 1920s) held statewide interracial meetings.	Studied Folk Schools and other educational forms in Denmark and at the University of Chicago in order to plan a progressive educational institution in the U.S. for adults. Hosted Max Yergan at Highlander in 1943.
Addie Waites Hunton	
Leader in YWCA; attended founding convention and worked for NACW. Later becomes a field secretary for NAACP. Married to William A. Hunton Sr.[j]	Was a principal organizer of 1927 Pan-African Congress in NYC.

Table 2.2 (continued)
YMCA Leaders with pre-1960 Ties to Anti-Colonialism and the Civil Rights Movement

YMCA/YWCA AND DOMESTIC AFFILIATIONS	INTERNATIONAL AND ACADEMIC ROLES
William Alphaeus Hunton, Sr.	
First African American Secretary of a YMCA Association–Norfolk; later first International Secretary–highest-ranking Black person in YMCA. Married to Addie Waites.	Urged extension of YMCA movement into Africa; "deeply concerned about its colonial oppression…" (von Eschen 1997, 58).
William Alphaeus Hunton, Jr.	
Union organizer; Communist Party member; served on exec. board of the National Negro Congress.	Executive Director of the Council on African Affairs (CAA) Editor of the CAA's publication, *New Africa*. 1960–Moves to Guinea, Ghana, then Zambia. Spent last years as journalist with ANC's organ *Mayibuye* (von Eschen 1997, 184). According to blackpast.org, "Hunton did more than perhaps any other individual to articulate an anticolonial critique of post-war liberalism and racial capitalism and to advance a vision of Pan-African black identity that stressed the inextricable linkage between African Americans, Africans and colonized peoples around the world."
Mordecai Johnson[k]	
YMCA Secretary Martin Luther King's first introduction to non-violence.[l]	Member ICAA (later CAA). Attended Ghanaian independence ceremonies. Outspoken critic of imperialism (von Eschen 1997, 99). President of Howard University
Martin Luther King Jr.	
King grew up with Butler Street YMCA as part of the formative backdrop of his childhood. Butler Street Y also was a community-controlled meeting place before, during, and after the civil rights movement, where the discussion of politics was encouraged.[m]	In March 1957, Martin and Coretta King attended Ghana's independence ceremony. November 1960 attends Nigeria's first presidential inauguration. Was a sponsor of the 1962 American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa (ANLCA). Publicly supported continued sanctions against South African apartheid at City Temple Hall in London and elsewhere. Co-sponsor of the 1962 American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa.

YMCA/YWCA AND DOMESTIC AFFILIATIONS	INTERNATIONAL AND ACADEMIC ROLES
Mary King	
Met Ella Baker on a study tour sponsored by the Ohio Wesleyan University's campus YWCA. Immediately upon graduation Baker hired her as a YWCA Human Relations Intern, while simultaneously volunteering on weekends at the Atlanta SNCC office. Joins SNCC staff in June of 1963.[n]	
Benjamin Mays	
Nat'l YMCA Staff –Student Secretary for Black Colleges Mays connected student leaders and worked to "address the Negro students' lack of rights within" the Y's National Student Movement (Jelks 2012).	1936 visits Gandhi in India with Howard Thurman. President of Morehouse College; mentor to Martin Luther King
William Mitchell	
Secretary (Director) of Dryades YMCA from 1925. Oversaw building of the original Dryades YMCA building. Established the Y's School of Commerce.	During the 1940s Mitchell traveled frequently to Liberia, helping to establish a YMCA there. Known to future civil rights leader and Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young, who wrote, in *An Easy Burden; Footprints of Black Louisiana:* "William Mitchell, ran [YMCA] programs that emphasized the accomplishments of African Americans as well as a connection with Africa." Mitchell "was the first black American I knew to travel to Africa regularly..." (1996, 40)
Jesse Moorland	
Sr. African American Secretary of YMCA Colored Work–1923 Helped Woodson develop Assn. for the Study of Negro Life and History and Black History Week.[o]	
Dr. Robert Moton	
Robert Moton, protégé of BTW, headed Hampton and Tuskegee Successor to BTW as principal of Tuskegee–20-year tenure	

Table 2.2 (continued)
YMCA Leaders with pre-1960 Ties to Anti-Colonialism and the Civil Rights Movement

YMCA/YWCA AND DOMESTIC AFFILIATIONS	INTERNATIONAL AND ACADEMIC ROLES
Peggy Trotter Dammond Preacely	
Along with Stokely Carmichael, formed the Harlem Brotherhood Group under NCCJ, which met at the Harlem YWCA and YMCA. SNCC member; involved in NC sit-ins; anti-Vietnam War movement. Grandfather was executive director of the Harlem YMCA from 1932–49 Mother had lifelong involvement in YWCA locally, nationally, and internationally Great-great-granddaughter of escaped slaves William and Ellen Craft Grandniece of William Monroe Trotter	As a member of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ), had close contact with several Kenyan students who were in New York and other cities. Tom Mboya, who later became a major figure in the trade unionist movement in Kenya and Minister of Economic Planning and Development, had organized their study. Preacely discusses how this exposure inspired a cosmopolitan outlook.[p]
Howard Thurman[q]	
YMCA youth leader	Led a 1935–36 delegation of African Americans to India to meet Gandhi. Distinguished theologian; dean at Howard University
Channing Tobias	
Senior Sec'y of Interracial Services 1924–46 C. Tobias NAACP board member	Member ICAA (later CAA). Chair of NAACP 1953–60. Cooperated with FBI prosecution of CAA.
Carter G. Woodson	
Organizes the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History at the Wabash YMCA in Chicago (1915). Led to founding of Negro History Week, now Black History Month.	

YMCA/YWCA AND DOMESTIC AFFILIATIONS	INTERNATIONAL AND ACADEMIC ROLES
Walter Worrill	
Became one of very few African American regional executives in the Y system by the early 1980s. Graduate of George Williams, a YMCA college.	Walter Worrill was the father of Dr. Conrad Worrill, co-founder of the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment and national chairman of the National Black United Front (NBUF). The younger Worrill is the elected economic development commissioner of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA). As part of an effort to win reparations for the American descendants of slaves, he traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, in 1997 with a delegation to formally charge the U.S. Government with genocide and human right violations before the Commission on Human Rights and present a "Declaration of Genocide by the United States Government Against the Black Population in the United States" with 157,000 signatures.
Max Yergan	
Joins YMCA while student at Shaw University.	1916 goes on a YMCA Mission to India First Black International YMCA Secretary for Africa. Cooperated with FBI prosecution of CAA.
Andrew and Walter Young	
Grew up within the Dryades YMCA. Father was a Dryades Y board member. Both involved in civil rights movement, with Andrew becoming first U.S. Congressman from the South since Reconstruction; Atlanta's first Black mayor.	First African American Ambassador to the United Nations

YMCA/YWCA AND DOMESTIC AFFILIATIONS	INTERNATIONAL AND ACADEMIC ROLES
a. Ransby, 2003, 58. b. Ibid, 72. c. Ibid, chapter 4. d. Branch, 1988. e. Susan Buchanan, "Desegregation Rooted in 1960s Dryades St. Boycott," *The Louisiana Weekly*, August 4, 2014. f. See Davis W. Houck and David Dixon, eds., *Women and the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1965* (Jackson: University of Missouri, 2009). g. See http://www.nytimes.com/1990/01/26/obituaries/anna-hedgeman-is-dead-at-90-aide-to-mayor-wagner-in-1950-s.html; http://www.blackpast.org/aah/hedgeman-anna-arnold-1899-1990 h. See the National Council of Negro Women, Inc. website http://ncnw.org and Stanford University's "Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Global Freedom Struggle," website http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_national_council_of_negro_women_ncnw/ i. Gilmore 2008, 354, cites 1943 notes on Max Yergan Conference, Highlander Education and Research Center Records, Madison, WI. See Aimee Horton, for Myles Horton's YMCA career (1989, 18). i. Von Eschen 1997, 58. k. McKinney, 1997. l. King cites a speech by Mordecai Johnson as his first exposure to non-violence in chapter 6 of *Stride Toward Freedom.* m. See the website "Sweet Auburn Avenue: Truimph of the Spirit" http://www.sweetauburn.us/intro.htm n. Faith S. Holsaert et al*., Hands on the Freedom Plow: Personal Accounts by Women in SNCC* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010); see also Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1995). o. See http://www.blackpast.org/aah/moorland-jesse-1863-1940 p. Preacely, Peggy Trotter Dammond. "It Was Simply in My Blood." In *Hands on the Freedom Plough: Personal Accounts by Women of SNCC*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), p. 163. q. See https://www.pbs.org/thisfarbyfaith/people/howard_thurman.html	

2.3   Post World War II Nonprofits as Human Rights Resources

As inferred by the connections apparent in Table 2.2, the YMCA, the YWCA, and other social service agencies played a huge role in the development of the leadership of the period immediately preceding *Brown v. Board* and the civil rights movement. The fertile ground created by facilities and the employment of progressive-minded staffers provided an invaluable collection of resources for the nascent movement. During the early 1930s, as YMCA Secretary for the State of Tennessee, Myles Horton held interracial meetings all over the state. While this apparently created friction, his employment with the Y organizing students was part of the leadership training of the man who would eventually found Highlander Folk School, a pivotal training school for movement activists and one of the only interracial meeting places for Black and white Southerners interested in advancing human rights for African Americans (Horton 1989, 18).

Ella Baker, whose innovative leadership and support was crucial in the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), also gained early experience at the Y. As a high school student and later as an undergraduate at Shaw University, she was motivated by her contact with Max and Susie Yergan to think globally and take a particular interest in South Africa (Ransby 2003, 58). Baker later served on the executive staff of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and was a critical force in the formation and direction of SNCC. Employment with the YWCA served as a means of support, which allowed Baker the time and flexibility to continue her work organizing students. As historian Barbara Ransby writes, Baker "used her position at the Y to build, nurture and protect SNCC." Ransby gives the example that Baker gave Y membership cards to activists so that they would have some local documentation if questioned by police (Ransby 2003, 260).

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Other recognizable figures in the pantheon of Black leadership had associations with YMCA/YWCA work. As of the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Harlem YWCA's staff included Dorothy Height, Anna Arnold Hedgeman, and others who would figure prominently in the civil rights movement. Pauli Murray, who herself later was a notable civil rights attorney, lived at the Harlem YWCA in 1929. She and Baker maintained an association that spanned more than forty years (Ransby 2003, 70–71).

To understand the fungibility of Black leadership across institutions, it is important to know that by 1980 at least eight Black colleges (Howard University, Wilberforce University, Central State College, West Virginia State College, Morehouse College, Livingston College, Wiley College, and the Atlanta School of Social Work) had secured former YMCA directors as their presidents.[14] According to Violet P. Henry, executive director of the Organizational Development Group of the National Council of YMCAs and the first Black woman at that level of management, "limited opportunities for advancement and promotions within the YMCA" were the cause.

Discussing the obstacles to Black advancement within the Y, Henry presaged the neoliberal turn in the racial order, as it was beginning to affect nonprofits:

> Executives of segregated Black YMCA branches in the past were advocates for Blacks—they represented Black communities, they developed and retained most of the key Black community leadership; they involved themselves as advocates for Blacks in local, state and national politics. The advantage of their position was that they could *always* take a position *for* Blacks [emphasis in original].

> We think of Black CEOs as powerful, but with few exceptions, a Black CEO, or any other top Black executive can only be pro-Black. On nearly every issue, practical or emotional commitments to Blacks have to be managed—and frequently, compromised—within the context of the overall interest of the

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[14] Violet P. Henry, July, 1980. "Calling It As I See It!: Is the YMCA a Viable Career Option for Black People." I was directed to look for this report by one of my interview respondents as an accurate picture of the issues of the time period.

organization. On the other hand, Black CEOs probably represent our best ability to be involved in key communication and decision-making systems in the Y and to make resources available to Blacks.

Advocacy is a luxury—and a risk! (Henry 1980, D3).

Henry also commented that the only position in the Y that in her view allowed unfettered "advocacy for Black interests" was "director of human rights" on the national board, which was held at that time by Jesse Alexander. Henry discusses the controversy constantly surrounding both the position and the man in it. Henry stated in the report that upon taking her position, a memo from her predecessor informed her that the position (and Alexander) would be terminated. After doing her own assessment of the situation, she "came to the conclusion … [that] … there was no justification on the basis of performance …[the] organization had demonstrated neither a climate nor resource support for *any* Director of Human Rights to be effective." She stated that in trying to analyze the emotionality around Jesse Alexander, "it makes very little sense." A management consultant had told her "a heavily emotional response, negative or positive, means that a person has power." She added her thought that "advocacy represents power. It may be risky but it means power."

> Personally, Jesse is a Black, clear in his self-definition, committed to values and principles, highly intelligent and who is an independent thinker. The YMCA system tolerates such individuals with great difficulty … I do not think YMCAs can tolerate Black advocacy positions. I also think it is naïve for any of us to expect one individual to be the primary advocate….
>
> The history of a "Black" position on the national staff goes back to Channing Tobias who headed up The Colored Works Department. Tobias represents perhaps the zenith of effective Black networking in the YMCA. He functioned in an era when Black executives of segregated branches had power all the way to the White House. They were an integral part of the Black institutional systems throughout the country. They played a key role in World War II, for example, in the servicing of the Black military and advised the White House on the desegregation of the military. (Henry 1980, D3)

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Henry then traced the lineage of the position from Tobias through Leo Marsh to Alexander, and detailed how it evolved from reporting directly to the national executive to a lower-ranking person, whom she felt at the time "demonstrated very little understanding or commitment to minority group interests."

Reading Henry's report and considering Rotan Lee, the other Black board members at Philadelphia's Christian Street Y, the Black woman who was their executive director, my own personal observations, and many of the YMCA accounts that I had access to through interviews and newspapers, one of my assumptions was disproved. The Black Power Movement ushered in an era of disdain for the "company man," the corporate person "working within the system." These institutional soldiers were seen to be conservative (at least relatively) and "middle class" in a pejorative sense, despite earnings in most cases that wouldn't warrant the label. While I certainly interviewed and observed some who were (as Henry would say) "pro-Black," eschewing outright advocacy was too risky. However, a surprising number of these minority executives have been willing to advocate in spite of the risk of stress, career loss, etc. Rather than copious numbers of willing, compliant neoliberals, the more interesting phenomenon is that there has been a notable stream of Black executives at various levels of the YMCA and other nonprofits who did not lack the inclination to fight for an allocation of resources that addressed the needs of the communities that they served. This included working on hiring committees, internal continuing education scholarship committees, keeping Black candidates "alive" in these processes, innovating programming specifically targeted to the needs of their Black constituents, and a host of other advocacy activities.

Gaventa's contention that shifts in power change the dynamic on multiple levels applies sometimes in ways that have not been taken into account.

Henry wrote:

> My analysis of the location of power for Black professionals in YMCA structures is that up to the 1960s power resided chiefly with Black branch executives of segregated YMCA units. From [the] 1960s to about 1975 power was lodged with (a) a few National Board staff positions; (b) a few independent Black YMCA units or strong Black units in metropolitan systems. From 1975 to the present I think power is strongest with Black CEOs of major metropolitan YMCAs and a limited number of key metropolitan positions—chiefly those involving supervision of branch operations. For the most part the metropolitan YMCA structure has effectively diluted the power of Black units.… Overall this would represent a shift from Black persons who are advocates for Blacks, to Black persons who are pro-Black. (Henry 1980, D7)

Nominal integration, whether motivated by the "need" for better facilities, eroded the institutional ability of Blacks to direct organizational resources and memberships in ways designed to directly benefit Blacks.

In addition to the invaluable human resources that the YMCA developed and nourished and the flexible opportunities for organizing support that YMCA and YWCA payrolls afforded community-minded board members and activists, the Black Ys also had an extensive network of physical facilities. These spaces were available to civil rights activists for meeting spaces; inexpensive lodging while organizing; phone, mimeograph and other office support; as well as newsletters and other documentation and communication of activities and plans.

The maps below indicate YMCA branches that were extant in the decade 1930 to 1940, as listed in the National YMCA's decennial yearbooks.[15] Appendices I and II give the names and locations of each branch. The gray and black markers indicate brick-and-mortar facilities, with

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[15] Kautz Collection, University of Minnesota, accessed March 21, 2017, http://special.lib.umn.edu/findaid/html/ymca/yusa0056.phtml. Where a city listed a different address in 1940 than it had in 1930 because a move or the completion of a new facility was a possibility, no duplicate listing was created. Where both addresses were listed in the same source document, two separate facilities for that city are listed. In cases where it was unclear whether a brick-and-mortar facility had been converted or built to be a YMCA, for purposes of this map, that facility was assumed to be a conversion.

black denoting those that were specifically built to be YMCAs. The gray markers represent Black YMCA buildings that were converted for use as YMCAs. These varied from inadequate former residences to situations like the upscale conversion of a former hotel by Nashville's Black elite.[16] The white markers denote student branches, which were located on the campuses of historically Black colleges and universities. The second map excludes Los Angeles, Oakland, and Denver, allowing a closer view of the distribution of branches in the eastern United States.

Many communities named branches after African American leaders within the YMCA and in the larger community. There were several branches carrying the name Hunton. Branches were named to honor Jesse Moorland, Booker T. Washington, and George Washington Carver, and still others named for local notables. The significance of the naming of buildings is that these commemorations are a common way to transmit to future generations a community's values and knowledge of the figures that embodied them. The closing of many of these branches ended an era where Black communities were able to collectively honor their chosen heroes and heroines in this way.

Of the historically Black YMCAs (HBYMCAs), only a few remain. Atlanta's Butler Street closed in December of 2012. In 2005, after 145 years of continuous operation serving the African American community, Charleston's Cannon Street Y merged with the local YMCA that had traditionally served whites to form the YMCA of Greater Charleston.[17]

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[16] In the *African American History of Nashville, Tennessee, 1780-1930: Elites and Dilemmas,* (1999) Bobby L. Lovett writes of the conversion of a three-story hotel into a YMCA by Nashville's Black elite. Conflict arose over policies that some of Nashville's white leadership felt was too elitist. Rankled by perceived paternalism, wealthy Blacks in the city purchased the Y's mortgage.
[17] South Carolina General Assembly 119th session, accessed on April 10, 2017, http://scstatehouse.gov/sess119_2011-2012/bills/4686.htm.

In November of 2010, what had been the Bloodworth YMCA became the independently operated Garner Road Community Center.[18] Family Christian Association of America in Miami, FL must be counted among those organizations formerly affiliated with the YMCA that has survived with independent community-based leadership to continue serving predominately African American communities. FCAA has been independent since 1984.

The remaining Heritage YMCAs that continue to operate carrying the YMCA name as of late 2015 are Dearborn in Mobile, AL; West Broad Street in Savannah, GA; Dryades YMCA in New Orleans, LA; and William A. Hunton Family YMCA in Norfolk, VA.

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[18] Garner Road Community Center Website, accessed April 10, 2017, http://www.garnerroadcenter.org/about-us/.

Figure 2.1 - African American YMCAs
1930 - 1940
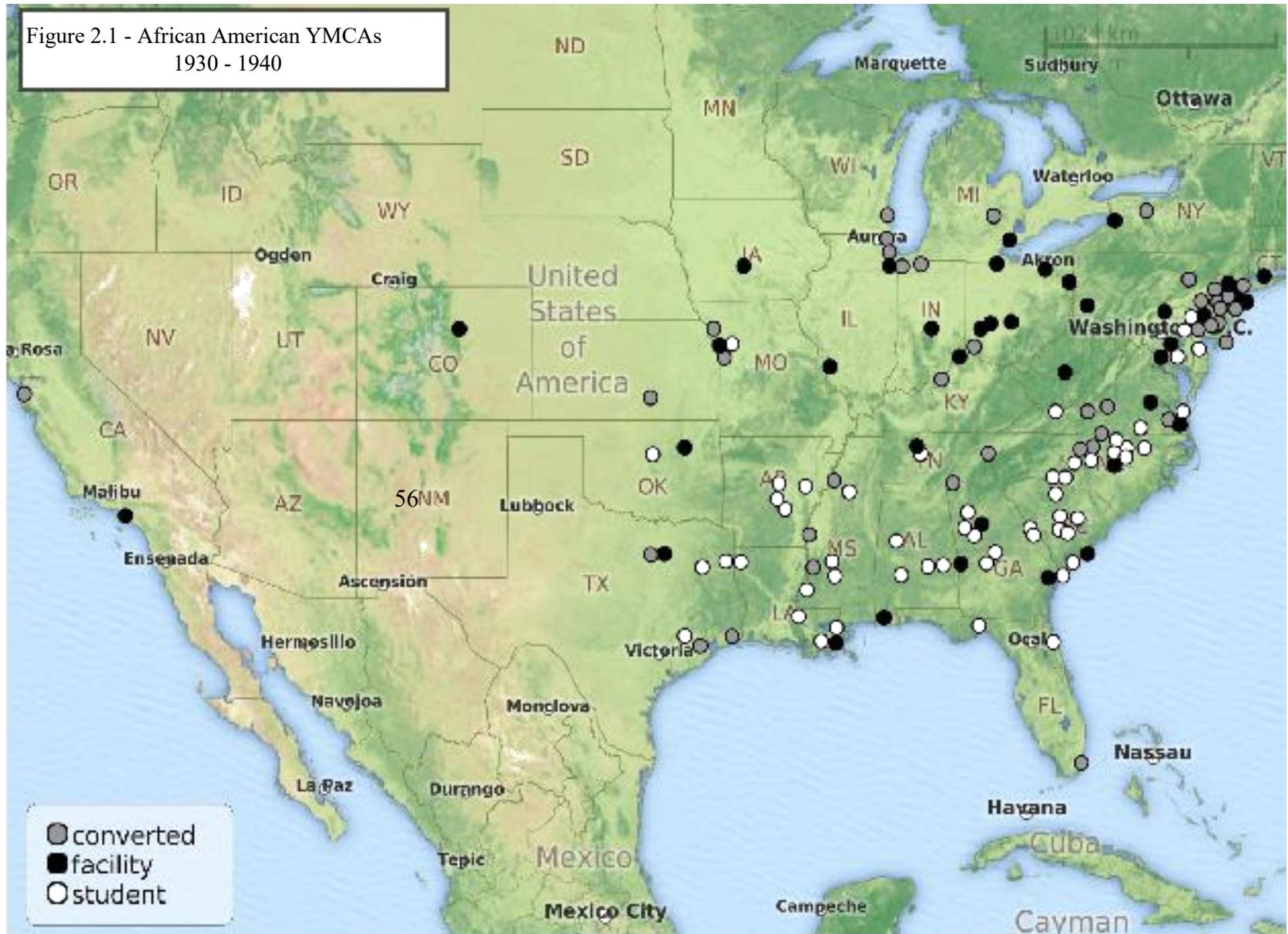
converted
facility
student

Source: Data compiled from Nina Mjagkij's *Light in the Darkness: African Americans and the YMCA, 1852-1946*.

Figure 2.2 - African American YMCAs
Eastern U.S. 1930-1940

Gray – converted
Black– facility
White– student

57
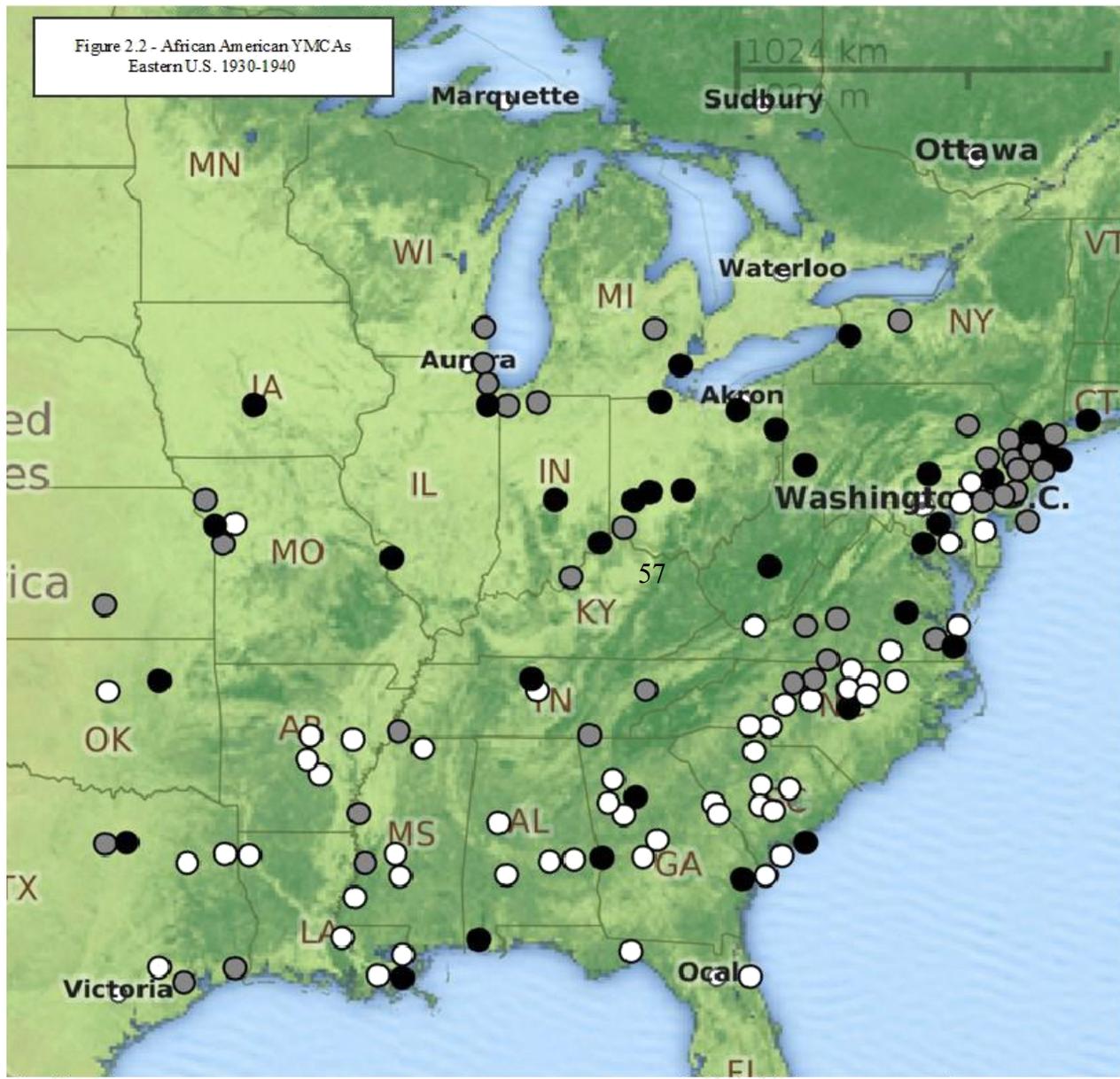
Source: Data compiled from Nina Mjagkij's *Light in the Darkness: African Americans and the YMCA, 1852-1946.*

As we have seen, these facilities are resources that have been frequently contested in a post-segregation era where African Americans have not achieved economic, educational, and social equality. The following chapter explicitly examines cases of internecine conflict following the Supreme Court's 1956 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. While African Americans have always seen all community resources as fair game in the struggle for human rights, there is a long history of government and institutional resistance, even within social service agencies that could be assumed to have a greater ethical burden to support the human rights efforts of those persons that are within their service mandate.

Carol Anderson gives a thorough account of the way the cause of economic and social justice for African Americans was sacrificed by the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. The structural realities of a two-party system also created disincentives for presidential administrations to take leadership regarding the rights of a minority group. Casualties of Cold War politics and the longstanding American penchant for pacifying the Dixiecrat "way of life" forced African Americans into pursuing a much more limited agenda of political and civil rights claims (Anderson 2004).

Paul Robeson, Yergan's close associate in the Council on African Affairs, was blacklisted and persecuted by the U.S. government along with W.E.B. DuBois after presenting *We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government against the Negro People* (1951), a human rights petition written by the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) on behalf of African Americans to the United Nations. DuBois had been one of the drafters of an earlier UN petition for the NAACP, *An Appeal to the World* (1947). With growing anti-communist sentiment and yielding to pressure from the FBI and CIA, Yergan eventually reversed his position as a progressive leader and grew increasingly conservative on African affairs (Anthony 2006, 275).

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During this period, as African countries and peoples were fighting for liberation, George Padmore and more recently Carol Anderson have articulated a "third way" in which human rights for African-descended people is not conflated with Communism. As the federal government supported Jim Crow at home and colonial oppression abroad, the failure of the US to adopt African American and African human rights as policy positions came at an enormous cost and led to untold suffering.

Mjagkij (1994) suggests the Great Depression was the impetus for the decimation of the national staff of the Y's Colored Works Department. However, Yergan's resignation in 1936 because of his increasing radicalism and correspondence citing political differences between progressive Black leaders within the YMCA and white national leaders and benefactors point to politics as an important factor.[19] Hunton and Yergan were the ranking Black leaders within the YMCA, both nationally and internationally. The departure of each of these men was an incalculable loss for Black progress, domestic and international. In any case, the loss of 50 percent of the Black national leadership certainly would have had an impact on leadership training, sharing of best practices, and coordination of mutually beneficial projects for African American Ys throughout the system.

While Hunton worked for the liberation of Africans in Africa for the rest of his life and Yergan did also for a limited time after his exit from the Y, the loss of the Y's backing and resources was yet another way of excluding Blacks from the international agenda. This of course had the effect of weakening the participatory political projects of both Africans in Africa and African-descended people in the US.

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[19] See correspondence decrying DuBois. "Parker to Rosenwald," Ibid. Also family members of Faburn DeFrantz reported a contentious severance. Interview, 2015.

By the early 1960s, DuBois and Hunton were expats living in Ghana. The already slender Colored Works Department—the Ys Black national staff—had been cut to just a fraction of its former size and then dissolved in 1946. It was superseded by various national interracial programs, which were designed to facilitate the process of integration and the elimination of inequality. The loss of the individuals and organizational positions at the Colored Works Department certainly precipitated losses of institutional memory and participatory capacity. Regardless of one's ideological disposition with regard to Communism, there is little doubt that conflating Communism with Black rights had devastating effects on the institutional formation and political advancement of African Americans.[20]

If Rickey Hill is correct in saying that analyzing political strategy is important to the work of Black politics, then we must question integration that is not profound and substantial. We have seen some historical moments where African Americans accepted "*invited*" status in decision making about programming, facilities, staffing, and policy. Some potential reasons for this may have been misplaced trust; insufficient political experience; misunderstanding the critical differences in "invited" participation versus having authority as a decision maker; weak collective will, which would have been required to demand retention of authority within the community; or perhaps insufficient organizational expertise, especially once the best and brightest advisors in these matters were no longer accessible.

Without their tried-by-fire "old heads" to advise them, Black YMCAs were left to navigate this transition as best they could. Cities with established middle-class Black populations seemed much less likely to hastily join with mainstream Ys on less than favorable terms.

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[20] While this paper focuses on how this played out in one specific civil society organization, see Carol Anderson's *Eyes Off the Prize* (2004) for a more detailed account of how this played out at the national level and in the development of the United Nations.

Centralization may *look* "efficient," but could prove destructive if such a merger does not serve a community's interests. Local ownership and control are valuable social capital. A materialist culture and shifts in the economy may have been factors that swayed some toward the lure of new buildings at the cost of community control. Transference of control to Metro Associations shifted the locus of decision making out of African American communities, frequently with few mechanisms for accountability, as we will see in the next chapter.

When Anthony Bowen started the first African American YMCA in 1853, he and the many others who contributed did so for the express purpose of advancing the life chances of Black people in a hostile environment. Today, African American YMCAs give national and historic value to the YMCA of the USA. Yet African Americans have little control over that legacy and the dear resources that Anthony Bowen and countless other African Americans invested. Gaventa notes that powerful organizations and governments have increasingly adopted a language that connotes shared rights and responsibilities, without an actual sharing of power (2006, 23). In chapter 3, we will explore issues of race, power, and nonprofit governance within a contemporary timeframe.

CHAPTER 3

CONFLICTING AGENDAS
IN THE POST-CIVIL RIGHTS ERA

The previous chapter documents a specific aspect of the encroachment upon Black civil society and intelligentsia caused by the failure of US domestic policy to decouple civil rights for African Americans from the Cold War. In the twenty-first century, African American public opinion continues to differ significantly from that of whites on a range of issues. Looking at organizational structure, how then have African Americans fared in their attempts at associational life as a means for advancement and advocacy toward social justice?

The present chapter brings us into the contemporary period, exploring organizational structure and development since the civil rights movement. Following a description of governance structure and practice during this period, this chapter includes an analysis of minority representation on YMCA boards of directors as cross-correlated with US census data on minority population in major metropolitan areas. The final part of the chapter uses data from twenty-eight interviews with key informants within nonprofit organizations. The goal of the interviews was to gain an understanding from board volunteers, community leaders, and national and local staff of what role, if any, diversity (or lack of diversity) plays in decision-making processes and to get information from within these nonprofit professionals' contexts, bearing upon our four variables[1] from chapter 1.

Examining the two major national organizations that were advocating on behalf of Black Americans, Charles and Dona Hamilton (1987) assert that the NAACP and The National Urban

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[1] The four variables are: 1) potential sites for alternative agenda-setting 2) information transmission capacity 3) leadership development 4) programs aimed at male youth/politics.

League both consistently pursued work and work-related programs for the advancement of

Blacks between the Depression and the 1960s. The Hamiltons conclude that

> the civil rights struggle to obtain and protect economic equality should continue to
> be a critical concern. Job discrimination is still a major impediment to the
> economic advancement of blacks. Blacks, once hired, continue to be slower to
> advance and more vulnerable to periods of economic retrenchment. The "new"
> service economy places blacks in their usual position—the lowest-paying
> occupations without fringe benefits, without job security through union affiliation,
> and frequently without full-time employment. Therefore, it is important for civil
> rights organizations to continue to press for more employment opportunities for
> blacks, to monitor career advancement patterns and litigate cases where there is a
> suspicion of discrimination, and to seek ways to limit the impact of cutbacks on
> those blacks who have the least amount of seniority in the labor market, public
> and private.

The "third sector" could also be added here, particularly those agencies receiving public money.

Service agencies that developed ostensibly to ameliorate poverty and social ills among the

disadvantaged need to be held accountible with regard to fair employment practices. Perhaps,

given the nature of their *raison d'etre*, this is even more critical. Certainly these organizations

should not systematically perpetuate social inequality.

3.1 The Metro Association Model

From November 11–14, 1968, one-hundred-and-twenty Black and Non-w YMCA

Secretaries (BAN-WYS) held a conference in Atlanta. Leo Marsh, Assistant Executive Director

of the National Council of YMCAs, wrote a report, "Confronting Racism in the YMCA …The

Time is Now!" The report states that "Non-White YMCA staff do not see the white leaders and

management of the YMCAs as being sensitive to the ambitions, concerns, interests, hopes and

needs of Non-White laymen and staff."[2] The report goes on to state that "the Conference

concluded with a firm mandate to the YMCA that Blacks and other Non-Whites, laymen and

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[2] Kautz Family YMCA Archives, 1968. Interracial Records, Box 6, University of Minnesota.

staff, want full partnership in the YMCA: at all policy and decision-making levels and in opportunities for all jobs and Executive and Administrative positions at the State, Area, Regional and National level" (1968, 2). The report gives 256 (6.5%) as the number of non-white professional YMCA staff out of over 4,000.

When the first few historically Black YMCA branches were organized, they operated independent of the segregated Ys in their cities. According to a Colored Works Department report from 1949, the District of Columbia's Black Y had been organized in 1853 by Anthony Bowen, a Black man who had purchased his freedom. The second was organized in Charleston in 1866; the third in New York in 1867.[3] In the same historical account, the author goes on to explain that during the ensuing decade, one of Alphaeus Hunton's greatest challenges was discouraging the formation of new YMCAs for African Americans until adequate funding and other resources had been identified. As the one man "International Committee," it fell to Hunton alone to support these extant branches. In 1896, another man joined him and "this ultimately grew into the Colored Department Committee" (14). Branches on college campuses were able to draw upon institutional resources that allowed them to survive without a lot of independent funding. In the South, by the late 1890s, post-Civil War good will toward the Negro had faded and was replaced by the enmity that characterized the "nadir" (15).

According to the report, the Black YMCAs were initially totally independent, relying on the meager resources of their membership base (29). Wharton writes that there was a desire by the Black Ys to remain autonomous. However, desiring more comprehensive facilities and equipment, they needed to raise large sums of money, particularly after Julius Rosenwald's offer.

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[3] Kautz Family YMCA Archives, 1968. Colored Works Department, Box 9 – Weatherford [sic – labeled Weatherford, the last page of report says it was written by Charles L. Wharton, Executive of the Southern Area]. Duke Weatherford, "The Colored Young Mens [sic] Christian Association, The Interracial Committee and Related Subjects," Report, June 13, 1949, University of Minnesota.

"[I]t was easier to get wealthy business men to contribute liberally if the Colored Association had a definite relation to the white boards of directors, usually composed of the staunchest business men in the community. So it has come about that most of the Colored Associations are branches of the parent white Association…" (30).

These metropolitan associations thus helped support separate (and usually unequal) facilities for Blacks and in most cases imposed Jim Crow, refusing to allow Blacks to use other facilities in their respective municipal areas (54–55). Quoting a 1946 internal study, Wharton writes that of the twenty-four cities studied, "Financially, the Colored branch often suffers in comparison to the parent Association. In some cases the Colored Association does not participate in the Community Chest, even though the parent Association does. In some cases the Colored Association has to resort to concerts, circuses, and all sorts of cheap performances to make up their meager budget."[4] Of the twenty-four cities studied in the 1946 study, only three offered

Blacks equality of access (57). Only one Association (Norfolk, VA) had "Negroes serving on the board of directors and Negroes take part in the Annual meetings of the Association (59)," according to this same June 13, 1949 report of Charles L Wharton, who was then Executive of the Southern Area.

At the outset of this research project in 2006, there were seven remaining "Heritage YMCAs" with independent boards of directors and charters, serving predominately African American communities:

- Butler Street YMCA, Atlanta, GA
- Cannon Street YMCA, Charleston, SC
- Dearborn YMCA, Mobile, AL
- Dryades YMCA, New Orleans, LA
- Garner Street YMCA, Raleigh, NC

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[4] Weatherford, 57. Quoting "The Racial Factor in the Y.M.C.A.s," 1946.

- West Broad Street YMCA, Savannah, GA
- William A. Hunton Family YMCA, Norfolk, VA[5]

In the face of persistent fundraising and other difficulties, most of these branches continue to exist independently. As of 2016, one of these—Garner Street in Raleigh—has left the YMCA system but continues to operate as the Garner Road Community Center. Butler Street has closed, and Cannon Street has merged with the Charleston Metro YMCA.

It is worth noting that many of the communities that managed to initiate and maintain these branches had a sizable and well-established Black middle class. Just as the democratic city-states on the Italian Peninsula that emerged after the Dark Ages were built on the affluence of tradesmen and small businesses, bringing with it an entire associational life, the material resources and longstanding relationships of the Black merchant and professional class in American cities during the first half of the twentieth century provided organizational capacity and sophisticated leadership, creating contexts in which the African American community retained more control (Putnam 1993). For example, in a letter to Julius Rosenwald dated June 1, 1929, Regional Executive Secretary R.H. King presented a proposed re-allocation of Rosenwald's gift based on the fact that while the white New Orleans YMCA board had not met their pledge goal, the Negros had met and exceeded theirs. King stated that the whites were amenable to the Negro building receiving more. The first in King's list of reported reasons for this is: "(a) The united front of Negro leaders and their over-subscription."[6] King goes on to state, "Negro leaders are hesitant about having all property in white hands."

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[5] University of Minnesota, "A Brief History of the YMCA and African American Communities." Accessed March 9, 2017. https://www.lib.umn.edu/ymca/guide-afam-history.

[6] Julius Rosenwald Papers, Box 44, Series I, Letter from R.H. King to Rosenwald, June 1, 1929. University of Chicago Special Collections Research Center.

We are interested in determining whether conflict between local communities and regional administrations is endemic, or if there have been only one or two isolated occurrences. Many iterations of a pattern of conflict would point toward the existence of a systematic problem, having the potential impact of hindering political association amongst people of color. Here the aim is to find potential cases and describe situations in which this type of conflict arises and to begin to understand the breadth of the problem as well as explore its persistence since the civil rights reforms of the 1960s.

Conflict and charges of lack of representation and unfair funding allocations have continued into the present period. Below is a table summarizing some of the conflict situations that came to my attention as a result of interviews and internet searches.[7] By no means exhaustive or conclusive, these cases represent a "snowball sample." Without adequate representation within the highest levels of leadership at the metropolitan, regional, and national levels or independent authority over community resources, there is not a transparent mechanism for formal or informal tracking of these conflicts. Most of the conflicts detailed in Table 3.1 were reported in local media. It is impossible to estimate the extent of firings, resignations, and other results of differing agendas between metropolitan boards and local advisory boards and community members as human resource departments generally have a mandate to keep personnel matters private and organizational leadership frequently perceives it as disadvantageous to fundraising efforts and public relations generally to allow internecine conflict to become public.

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[7] Example of search terms used in Google News: YMCA + (conflict; disagreement; dispute)

Table 3.1
Cases of Conflict Between Metro Associations and Local Branches 1979–2016

Location	Year	Incident
Indianapolis Fall Creek YMCA (Senate Street)	1979	After almost a decade of disagreement over successful, direct fundraising by branch board and executive, programming and cultural expression, Executive Director John Lands fired by Metro Board. [a]
Washington DC Anthony Bowen YMCA	1982	"Many Shaw residents were outraged over the abrupt closing"[b] of the very first historically African American branch of the YMCA. After protracted and bitter conflict resolved by Marion Barry's compromise proposal, the landmark building was transferred to the city for use as a home for community-based nonprofits and a historic site and museum.
Winston-Salem, NC Patterson Y	1984	African American exec. dir. forced to resign. The African American branch board felt they were not consulted about firing and downsizing of a planned replacement facility.[c]
Portsmouth, VA Effingham ST	1984	Recognizing that the historically Black Y and their white counterparts had different missions, Black Y seeks and is granted an independent charter.[d]
Miami I Carver Branch	1984	See chapter 4
Chicago – Sears Branch	1989	In Chicago's Lawndale neighborhood, the Sears Branch was closed. Metro Y cited dwindling membership. Community and board members questioned the building of a new $9.9 million facility on the city's south side.[e]
Chicago – Southside Branch	1990	Career veteran executive director's resignation is requested. New facility has achieved five year goals within six months; however there are disputes between exec. dir. and Metro Association, e.g. the branch director does not want to release final payment to construction contractors due to shoddy workmanship, including coat hooks attached to drywall with no anchors; water leaking from overhead light fixtures; a member's car falling through the new parking lot into a large sinkhole. Also, there had been some pushback from Metro when program staff sought to use Black vendors (t-shirts, buses, etc.). As a very new transplant, the exec. dir. had few allies in the Black community and accepted a higher ranking position in a different region.[f]

Table 3.1 (continued)
Cases of Conflict Between Metro Associations and Local Branches 1979–2016

Location	Year	Incident
Predominately African American branch; Southern region; part of a Metro Association.	1990s	Local African American leaders sought to name a facility in honor of one of its oldest and most respected members. Metro wanted a larger donor's name on the facility (relayed by an interview respondent/board member). One of many issues of community control v. centralized control. (e.g., another board member at this branch relayed the loss of a talented staff member who worked with male youth because a program that he developed and wrote grants for would have to be administrated by Metro. He chose to do the program under the auspices of the local community college.)
Miami III Proposed Coconut Grove YMCA	2001	According to a board volunteer who was interviewed for this project, YMCA of Greater Miami was named lead partner to develop a YMCA in a section of Miami that has traditionally been home to descendants of early Bahamian settlers and now is an upscale residential, nightlife, and shopping district. The City of Miami Department of Parks and Recreation; University of Miami; Shake-a-Leg (a nonprofit organization that promotes watersports for children and adults) also received portions of the $2.245 million donated by the Knight Foundation, with the YMCA of Greater Miami receiving the largest amount. "YMCA of Greater Miami received a $1,000,000 grant (over two years) to construct the Family YMCA of Coconut Grove and for a permanent endowment fund to support the participation of West Grove residents unable to pay membership fees."[g] "They didn't perform and the project fell apart and the Coconut Grove Y never happened," said the former board member.
Miami II Carver Branch	2002	See chapter 4
Philadelphia – Christian Street	2002	See Chapter 1
Indianapolis Fall Creek YMCA (Senate Street)	2003	Metro Board advocates closure; contested by community. [h]

Table 3.1 (continued)
Cases of Conflict Between Metro Associations and Local Branches 1979–2016

Location	Year	Incident
YMCA of Greater Miami	2003	At a branch that was predominately Hispanic but with substantial percentages of white and African American members, board members, general membership, and a white executive director who had run afoul of "an agenda that we didn't know about. That suggests a complete lack of communication and involvement in decision making." He also said, "In hindsight, I think it was the desire of the central leadership to eliminate these operations as facility-based operations." With over 9.5 acres of land, he stated that community members felt like, "My God, why isn't there a facility here?" Ultimately, the executive director was forced to resign.
Cleveland	2006	The West Side YMCA branch (rehabbed with city funds) is closed to help offset a Metro-wide deficit resulting from years of Metro Association mismanagement. Part of the agreement to secure the rehab funds was that the West Side YMCA would continue to house a residential substance abuse treatment facility. The Y closed and sold the facility to private developers despite objections from the mayor, council members, and community members.[i]
Long Island, NY – Glen Cove YMCA	2015	YMCA board members complain that the sweetheart lease for their facility is generating a surplus that is being siphoned away to other parts of the Association. The board is summarily disbanded. Conflict seems to not have racial overtones. Example of local board being shown that they had invited status only; not owed the opportunity to "buy in" to Metro Assn. plans.[j]
Encinitas - Ecke Branch YMCA of San Diego County	2015	Two board members—one the granddaughter of the branch's namesake whose family donated the land for the branch—are asked to leave. At issue was their objection to the proposed elimination of individual memberships for children under 12 (making participation less affordable).[k]

Table 3.1 (continued)
Cases of Conflict Between Metro Associations and Local Branches 1979–2016

Location	Year	Incident
Oceanside, CA - Mottino Branch YMCA of San Diego County	2015	Interim executive director Glenda DeVeaux attempts to address "crisis" level gaps in resources, training, and programming upon arrival at the branch. Says when she talked to Metro senior staff about making improvements, she was told to just relay to branch board members that nothing was wrong. She reported that after several unsuccessful attempts to get Metro involved in problem solving, she was asked to resign. The report states that more than 25 executive directors and other senior managers resigned or are forced out within several years (over half of them—including DeVeaux—are bilingual minorities). DeVeaux feels this is not a coincidence. "I've seen multiple minorities lose their job for no reason at all."[l]
YMCA of Greater Springfield (Massachusetts)	2015	African American President of Greater Springfield YMCA Association Kirk Smith resigns citing "racially charged attacks" and "the undermining of his authority." Under the 17-year Y veteran's leadership, the Y of Greater Springfield, which is 12.6% African American according to the 2010 US Census, appointed its first African American board chair in its 163-year history.[m]
Charleston - Cannon Street Oldest continuously chartered Heritage YMCA in the U.S (145 years).	2016	After a contested merge with the Metro Association in 2005, Metro Association of Charleston plans closure and sale of Cannon Street facility. Gentrification and rising prices are factors in a once historically African American corridor of downtown. Advocates for diversity propose a plan that includes a variance allowing greater density in a development that would provide some workforce housing in the area. The city's Planning Commission rejects the plan.[n] On June 17, 2015, a racially motivated mass murder takes place ten blocks away at Emanuel AME Church.

a. Burlock, "The Battle over a Black YMCA and Its Inner-City Community: The Fall Creek Parkway YMCA as a Lens on Indianapolis. Urban Revitalization and School Desegregation, 1959-2003," 2014.
b. Compromise Plan to Reopen Bowen YMCA Stalled by Distrust, Washington Post, Peter Perl, May 26, 1982.
https://www.google.com/search?q=compromise+plan+to+reopen+bowen+YMCA+stalled+by+distrust&oq=compro&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j0l2j69i57j69i60j0.3075j0j9&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8

c. Winston-Salem Chronicle, vol. XI, no. 18, Thurs Dec. 27th, 1984 pg.1 "Black YMCA Consortium blasts handling of Glover's resignation."
d. Ibid., 1 also, '"Would Patterson Avenue board consider splitting from Metro Y?"

Table 3.1 (continued)
Cases of Conflict Between Metro Associations and Local Branches 1979–2016

Location	Year	Incident

e. Jerry Thornton, "Community Assails Ymca Plan To Shut Down West Side Branch," *Chicago Tribune*, July 5, 1989 1989. Also by Thornton, "Y Closings At Center of Dispute" *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1989 and "Ymca Denies Turning Its Back On Poor," *Chicago Tribune*, Oct 20, 1989.
f. Participant observer. This author was a volunteer and also was married to a YMCA program director at that facility when these events transpired.
g. Knight Foundation Annual Report 2001 p. 48. http://www.issuelab.org/resources/9955/9955.pdf
h. Burlock, "The Battle over a Black YMCA," 2014
i. Clevescene.com, accessed March 21, 2017, http://www.clevescene.com/cleveland/tough-sell/Content?oid=1487791
j. Column written by the mayor of Glen Cove on a dispute that seems to have been crudely handled by the Long Island Metropolitan Association: http://patch.com/new-york/glencove/mayor-sets-record-straight-glen-cove-ymca-rumors
k. See KPBS News site, accessed March 18, 2017, http://www.kpbs.org/news/2015/may/21/encinitas-ymca-board-members-quit-dispute-youth/.
l. Amita Sharma, "Former YMCA Executive Says Problems Remain At Organization," KPBS News, March 1, 2016, accessed March 18, 2017, http://www.kpbs.org/news/2016/mar/01/former-ymca-executive-says-organization-remains-ri/
m. WWLP.com, "Racially Charged Attacks Cited in YMCS Resignation Letter, May 26, 2015, accessped March 18 2017, http://wwlp.com/2015/05/26/racially-charged-attacks-cited-in-ymca-resignation-letter/
n. "YMCA fighting to remain in MLK district while other black organizations moving out," *The Charleston Post and Courier*, Mar 6 2016, accessed on March 21, 2017, http://www.postandcourier.com/article/20160306/PC16/160309683

Each of the nineteen cases in Table 3.1 involves local dissent, where metropolitan boards held final authority. All but two of them involve communities of color preferring a different course of action than central boards that were disproportionately white.

Referrals from my interview subjects, Internet searches, participant observation (as a YMCA volunteer), and newspaper accounts provided this "snowballing" list of other recent conflicts. In Washington, DC during the late 1980s, the metropolitan association there sought to close down the Bowen YMCA. The Bowen Y was the first African American YMCA in the nation, and the Black community was up in arms, ultimately prevailing in its wish to keep the

facility open.[8] As of August 2006, the YMCA of Greater Cleveland was proposing to shut down a 100-year-old YMCA facility that had historically served African Americans. The plan at that time was to sell the building to pay off the Association's debts. Members of the community, the mayor, and the local city councilman vehemently opposed the closure.

In 2005, Cannon Street YMCA in Charleston, the oldest continuously operating African American YMCA in the country, merged with the previously all-white George Street YMCA. Harvey Gantt, first Black mayor of Charlotte, and US Rep. Jim Clyburn are some of Cannon Street Y's notable past participants. Gentrification and the resultant changing demographics, with African Americans moving away from the central city, were partially responsible. Several politicians and others in the African American community recognized that the exodus of many Black institutions in what was known as the Martin Luther King District represented an economic and cultural setback for African Americans. Twelve blocks away from Cannon Street YMCA, in June of 2015, Clementa Pinckney and eight other African Americans were victims of a racially motivated massacre at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, at the end of Bible study. As of early 2016, the continued operation of the Cannon Street facility was in question.[9]

Melissa Grace Burlock (2014) chronicles conflict between the Indianapolis YMCA's Metropolitan board of directors and the staff and branch board of the local YMCA, which had historically served the African American community. An oral history project, her account traces the genesis and evolution of the conflict and the eventual closure of Falls Creek YMCA in Indianapolis. Falls Creek Y was the replacement facility for the storied Senate Street YMCA,

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[8] Miami interview October 31, 2006 and regional staff interview October 31, 2006.
[9] http://www.postandcourier.com/article/20160306/PC16/160309683/1177/ymca-fighting-to-remain-in-mlk-district-while-other-black-organizations-moving-out http://abcnews4.com/news/local/cannon-street-ymca-fights-to-stay-afloat-amid-declining-membership

home of the African American community's Monster Meetings. Burlock proposed additional (intervening) variables related to "conflicting visions" within Indianapolis's YMCAs and broader communities.

Citing the demolition of 80 percent of Lockefield Homes, a public housing project, Burlock posits that what happened at Fall Creek YMCA was a reflection of the larger contestation over "urban revitalization" and school desegregation. She notes the alignment of the State of Indiana and its Highway Department behind the displacement of African American residents in favor of gentrification and the expansion of Indiana University's Purdue University-Indianapolis campus and Wishard Memorial Hospital. In the midst of disagreements about the branch's mission and service area, the Metro Association decided to close the branch in 2003.[10]

An additional factor that may provide an alternative explanation for the hypotheses in the flow-chart presented in chapter one is a general trend toward greater corporate control. It might be argued that this phenomenon of metropolitan associations run primarily by elite whites has nothing to do with systemic racial oppression; it may merely represent the trend toward consolidation of many business concerns into large corporations spreading to nonprofit management. However, this would not negate the potential *impact* of this corporate control on communities of color. Organizations charged with serving the public bear a greater responsibility for insuring that they are not harming the interests of those that they are pledged to serve.

Citing one of the concept papers submitted to BAN-WYS at a national conference in 1974 and given to her by her interview subject, John Lands, Melissa Burlock (2014) writes:

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[10] Burlock (2014) reports that the local African American community favored continuing residential services for men needing housing, viewing the service area as including patrons who could reach the facility by public transportation. The Indianapolis Association viewed potential patrons as being within walking distance and sought to focus programs on youth and families.

In his concept paper Henderson [Ronald S. Henderson, who was then executive director of Dryades Street Y in New Orleans] wrote about the need for YMCA branches in majority-black communities and observed that providing community-centered programs to meet those needs was not characteristic of a conventional YMCA branch. He used the Metropolitan and Fall Creek Parkway YMCAs as case studies for this claim. "The conventional YMCA operation," he explained, "is managed by a group of concerned people who have the financial means to support a large portion of the operating cost." Henderson also asserted that the operating cost of a conventional YMCA was offset by a strong enrollment economy or membership base that the YMCA staff solicited for "financial donations" and support through advertising "the 'total GOOD' of the YMCA." Since the Fall Creek YMCA did not exhibit such "characteristics, institutional goals or objectives" that centered on marketing membership dues, Henderson concluded that "by all conventional standards, the Fall Creek YMCA is not a YMCA" but rather "the most effective, sustaining, community service organization in the City of Indianapolis." This understanding of the Fall Creek branch as a community service organization represented a vision of YMCAs that directly conflicted with the concept of the YMCA as a competitive business. (77)

What Lands and Henderson were addressing was a tendency on the part of Metropolitan Associations in varying locales and organizations to apply market-based, evaluative standards, including "profitability," when making decisions and evaluating staff serving constituents with the greatest need, while simultaneously using that need to make a case in fundraising campaigns. Though not a variable for this project at the outset, in addition to the Indianapolis case that Burlock reports, over and over the interview data reveals conflation of the goals, evaluative tools, and rationale for allocating resources used in branches with an enrollment economy and for those branches with an historical mandate to serve those in need (Zald and Denton 1987).[11]

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[11] Zald and Denton observed that the YMCA had adapted its mission from evangelism to skill and character building. They also noted that there was a tendency to recruit board members heavily from Protestant elites (1987, 144). Serving primarily lower- and middle-class areas (not working class), the YMCA of the USA tends *not* to focus on people with serious problems. Operating within what Zald and Denton call an enrollment economy, the typical Y depends on membership fees for a substantial percentage of revenue. Heritage YMCAs have traditionally attempted to redistribute goods and opportunities to people who have for the most part, been denied. They write, "Furthermore, unlike many service organizations that focus on control of deviants or on rehabilitation, the YMCA is largely concerned with developing the skills and character of its members" (144). Black YMCAs have by contrast, been profoundly concerned with the lingering economic, political, and social effects of slavery,

As Dawson and Francis (2015) highlight, it is a feature of the neoliberal racial order to impose market values in place of the Keynesian policies of the New Deal and other regimes, which were seen as government's responsibility to provide opportunity and "safety nets" for citizens in need. Disputes over the allocation of resources and charges of unfair evaluation of branches and staff contending with very different demographics and community needs were reported by a substantial majority of respondents from associations in varying geographical locations. This slippage—evaluating urban branches that serve low-income families and youth with the same metrics used for measuring the performance of suburban, high-average-income branches—frequently created tensions, as reported by many of the subjects interviewed for this particular project.

A mid-career Black, male YMCA executive interviewed in 2011 expressed frustration at the tendency to collapse categories not only within YMCAs, but whole communities. He spoke of the educational system in the community where he works: "Do you know who our biggest gang recruiters are? It's the schools!... They're the ones that are opening their hands out and showing love! The school is saying, 'If you come late, you're getting out of here!' The teacher doesn't understand these kids' traumatic experiences…They're being pushed away." He continues:

> If you don't understand generational poverty and traumatic experiences, then you're head-butting already with a kid. Then you have this expectation of okay, you've got to go to school. You've got to get good grades, because you got to get a job. You've got to go to college, or you've got to get a good job. So we're pushing this education and jobs proficiency to these kids. *But, there are no jobs here! And, there are poor schools here!*

Jim Crow, and racism. It is this bifurcated mission that is at the root of many of the conflict situations observed in this study.

He virtually yells the last two sentences. After explaining that the schools in that inner

city neighborhood are at the bottom of the bottom in the metro area, he remarks:

> How are middle-class Blacks impacting this? They're in it too. They're trying to stay afloat too. The wealthy are going to help the wealthy. If you're middle class, you're struggling. And then you have your lower class, who are hemorrhaging. It's very difficult for someone like myself who sits in here. It's mentally draining and everybody here needs to be heard, and everybody here has issues, and everybody needs support. So, just to have this place as a place where they can come and breathe and just take a little bit of that tension away? That's damn near the best that I can do at times.

He continued with his analysis. Speaking of "the school to prison pipeline," he said, "For every

kid that's incarcerated in the juvenile detention system, the county gets $240,000 because that's

how much it costs to deal with that kid. The county gets two billion dollars in funding for gang

prevention alone. Gang prevention." I also learned from this respondent that the average

household income in the community served by the facility where he works is $22,000. He

reported something I heard over and over again: Resources for programming and maintenance

for facilities serving working-class families were very scarce.

> It really puts us in a situation here, because the challenge is if their car breaks down, well are they going to pay for their Y membership, or get their car fixed? So what we have to do is … we really have to sell that this is a safe place from violence. Not only a safe place from violence, but it's a place where you can improve your character, where you can improve your well-being, or you can create relationships with other people that are like you, that are good spirited, you can be involved in your community.

> […]

> We're the first ones to get hit and the last ones to come out of it. Prior to it, we always felt like we're in a recession. So we shut the lights out. You notice there are not many lights on in this area. We really watch every penny that we spend. It's a dire strait zone. We have to do it. Branches are closing down.

Four of the 29 interview subjects from different associations also expressed concern over

the practice of setting high fundraising goals for branches in economically challenged

communities while simultaneously forbidding these branches to approach big institutional and

individual donors, sometimes even those donors who are people of color with ties to that

particular community. Said one,

> …and so their position was you can raise as much money as you can as long as it
> is from governmental sources, but don't go to any private sources. But they
> weren't saying that they would approach the sources on behalf of our branch.
> Listen, the large private sources were sacred.

This "collapsing of categories" with regard to fundraising (i.e., not looking at suburban "gym

and swim," fee-based operations as separate sorts of institutions from the social service

providing branches in inner cities) is another aspect of how the neoliberal turn plays out in the

social service arena.

> Within the black community, we did what I call a mini-capital campaign to try to
> get resources. We ended up garnering a half-million dollars just from the black
> community. At that time, I think we needed $1.5 million. Cost was down back
> then. Once we got the half-million dollars, then we got another $200,000 from a
> governmental unit. So we said we now need your help to finish this campaign. I
> think at that time they were trying to use campaign associates. So they said no,
> you have to wait. We are going to have to build four of these YMCAs before we
> build one in the black community … they used our model for the other four
> branches. You know, the architectural design. We had that done pro bono with the
> understanding that if we did go out on a capital campaign that we would
> reimburse the person for the expense. We said, "Why do we have to wait on four
> other branches when they're not in a readiness posture as we are?" They brought
> in campaign associates to conduct this campaign for four major facilities in the
> county metropolitan area.

> When they brought in the campaign professionals, the professionals told them that
> they only had a case to build in the black community. They didn't have a case to
> build downtown at that point or in the suburban white area. So they fired them.
> Campaign associates really go look at your top 10 percent of your philanthropists
> in the city, and those philanthropists said that they were only interested in giving
> to again—you know—the needy areas, not to build a downtown construction, and
> so the campaign associates—they fired them. The black contingency withdrew
> from the organization. They were not being sensitive to the needs of the black
> community.

A seasoned YMCA executive with varied experience in the East and the Midwest talked

about the resistance to building in low-income communities.

> The Southside Y [in one of Chicago's predominately Black communities] is one
> of the first best examples of that kind of investment against all advice—all of the
> demographics, all the market research, all the bullshit—all the reasons not to do it.
> At Southside, we leaped before we looked. And it was a good thing to do.

Five-year goals for membership and revenue were met six months after the facility opened.

Southside was an unqualified success, to an extent that no one had predicted. Still, managing

facilities in economically disadvantaged communities came with real challenges. Speaking of

one of the old, Eastern seaboard city associations, he continues,

> Then you had some of the Ys like _____, and _____, and _____,
> downtown. Ys that were really….They were tough Ys. Old buildings, gritty
> neighborhoods, tough to keep staff, I mean just all the stuff. Especially during the
> time when crack [cocaine] was rampant. So there was some really tough stuff
> going on.
>
> […]
>
> You can take that analogy and apply it to United Ways across the country too.
> Even though you have these sophisticated governance processes, the good 'ol boy
> system still works. And what I mean by that is, the proportionate amount of
> resources that go where community needs are—is not proportionate.
>
> If you have eighteen needs in the black community, why would they fund only
> one? But they'll fund the forefront program automatically, which is the Y, or the
> YWCA, the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts in every city of the United States.
> …and the Boys' Club. All of that perpetuates what has been …. Lets say you
> have a [large nonprofit]. Their proposal to United Way for funds documents
> everything that's wrong in the black community, and then when they get the
> dollars they allocate it to their white branches and do token work in the black
> community.

Executives from different locales reported that United Way is a mixed blessing. Several

said that United Way long ago evolved to a place of deciding what they will fund, thus exerting

control over any institutions that depend substantially on United Way funds. Since these are

aggregated individual charitable contributions, organizations should feel free to benefit from them. However, at least one major metropolitan YMCA has opted out and has not participated in United Way in several decades. More than one manager at the executive director level or above understood it as a loss of control and capacity. Said one executive director,

> If you do not raise your own money, you lose ability to raise it yourself. You lose the capacity and contacts. You also have to agree not to fundraise during certain parts of the year because they are. Essentially, they control your program by telling you what they're going to fund. United Way and corporate YMCAs are both middlemen.

Another persistent challenge that many respondents spoke of is how the economic downturn that began in 2008 affected their operation. Fundraising across the board has been tough. One of several key figures I interviewed connected to Dryades, one of the remaining historically Black YMCAs, reported that, yes, there are biases and you have to be organized to counter them. This fact, he tells me, has been fatal to a lot of Black Ys. But at this Y, I also found one of the most robust answers to how a historically Black institution has survived during downturns. Having deep roots that stretch back several generations seems to be critical.

> Relationships are key! Alums are key! Real estate officials, morticians, restaurateurs, small hotel owners …. If you're over 50, you likely got your training at our School of Commerce. We have that kind of support in the community. Also, we have good relationships with the city, state, universities, recreation department, hospitals, Health Department nursing homes....

In another city, a YMCA board member at a Metropolitan branch with a strong Black leadership base says, "See, it's difficult for small 501(c)3s to sustain themselves in a big city." Later, other respondents echoed this experience. When I asked the above interview subject to elaborate, he said it was

> difficult to raise money for small, individual groups because you have so many. Everyone's trying to do a 501(c)3 and it gets confusing in the city. Everybody's looking for money for this, money for that.

To be sure, the YMCA is not the only nonprofit to be plagued by the problem of not directly addressing different requirements in order to have participation by members or member organizations with different histories and requirements. One of my interview subjects reported attending the international biennial conference of an NGO with affiliates in over thirty countries around the globe. The meeting was held in Asia in the early part of this century. All but one of the directors of the organization's worldwide affiliates were either European or American whites. Rural Tanzanian board members who had voting rights were present, but were not able to participate due to the fact that they spoke limited English and conference organizers had made no provisions for Swahili translation. The only people who voiced any concern about the Tanzanians' de facto exclusion from the proceedings were among the few other non-white delegates.

Like the YMCA, the Young Women's Christian Association began its existence rooted in segregation. Similarly, Black women did not let exclusion deter them from starting associations to provide safe, decent housing and other programming for women of African descent. In Philadelphia, a Black cleaning woman was inspired to start two small residential facilities after she heard about the all-white YWCA. The ensuing Colored Women's Christian Association secured and maintained these facilities with the help of the national office of the YWCA. However, they did not receive support or official recognition from the local white branch. In a similar fashion and for the same reasons, Dayton, New York City, Washington DC, Baltimore, and Brooklyn all had associations for Colored Women by 1906. Most were founded and supported by Black women (Jones 1997, 163).

Early national conferences excluded Blacks (Mjagkij and Spratt 1997, 166). Deference to Southern racism played a role in decisions at the national level in delaying support of

Association work by and among Black women. Initially, the Colored Young Women's Christian Associations were serviced directly by the national office, with a goal of having them become branches of the local white Associations. This last goal, adopted at a conference in 1915, was welcome encouragement for citywide Associations in those cities where the Black women wanted to establish branches. In other cities, particularly in the South, it was problematic because some Colored Associations did not want to lose their independence or be at the mercy of racists. Still, the YWCA was notable among national women's organizations because segregated or not, women of color were participating members (Jones 1997, 180). Internally, Black women waged a decades-long struggle to bring the national organization and all of its metropolitan affiliates in line with its stated mission and values.

Margaret Spratt's comparative case study illustrates differences in political development in the Pittsburgh and Cleveland Associations during the period of 1920–46, where the Black Pittsburgh branch ultimately merged with the metro but the Cleveland association (led by a woman named Jane Edna Hunter) did not. Although in both cases, large amounts of support came from local white philanthropists, Cleveland remained independent despite the disposition of Black women on the national support staff for Colored Associations. Spratt contrasts Pittsburgh's integration, including the dissolution of its Phyllis Wheatley Association, which "destroyed an important institution in the African American community and decreased leadership opportunities for African American women" (Spratt 1997, 201).

Michelle Busby (1997) chronicles the Charlotte YWCA's transition from segregation to what I refer to as a nominally integrated association. She details how white leaders were able to control building campaign funds in a way that resulted in an elaborate facility—and a new metropolitan headquarters—to be located in the most affluent suburb of Charlotte. All this came

at the expense of a focus on the programmatic and staff needs of Black and other lower income

members, and a facility that could serve all of Charlotte from the central city. Writes Busby, "In

contrast to the central association's penchant for class as well as racial exclusivity, the history of

the former black branch is marked by inclusivity" (207). Busby notes that just as the

philanthropy of industrialists had failed to challenge class inequalities during the founding of the

YWCA in 1914, white members in the 1960s did not truly embrace the Wheatley YW with

which it had recently merged in partnership, but treated it more as a "a service project," as

characterized by Busby. Drawing on interviews with members, Busby notes that Black women

"were assimilated into the white power structure, one with privileged middle class

interests"(224); in the wake of this assimilation in 1993, Black membership in Charlotte's

YWCA was 14 percent, down from 41.6 percent in 1960 (227). Busby writes,

> Following the formal integration of the YWCA, the Wheatley-style program
> faded into a distant memory. Middle-class black women assimilated into the
> YWCA, most visibly as professionals on staff, but the new YW structure inhibited
> the cross-class camaraderie that had marked the Phyllis Wheatley branch and
> touched the hearts of its most active participants. To its credit, the Charlotte
> Association had continued an extension program that benefits many black
> Charlotteans. Nevertheless, an "integrated program" generally targeted black
> women and children as recipients of social welfare work without promoting the
> agency of black women within a social service organization. (1997, 227)

The cases that Spratt and Busby document fall outside of the post-civil rights

movement time period that I am examining. However, understanding the development of

major nonprofit organizations in the earlier part of the twentieth century is critical to

understanding the current state of affairs with respect to structure, power, and leadership

development.

Here we see an analogue to Dawson and Francis's "privatization of public assets,"

the stripping of institutional control of aggregated contributions of precious resources

intended for the elevation of ordinary African Americans by a Black counter-public. This degradation of democratic, local control presages the stripping of democratic, local control of resources held by the broader American public.

As the Great Migration brought an influx of Black women to the North, they faced problems of social dislocation and had difficulty finding housing. Women in the North began to respond. Many of the African American women who came to Washington DC were seeking jobs with the federal government. In 1905, the Booklover's Club was founded because Black women couldn't join the YWCA. Later, this organization became the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA. For a time, the YWCA had housed primarily Howard University co-eds. Today, when many nonprofits have discontinued residential services, not wanting to be burdened by the expense, Phyllis Wheatley is still home to many. With 117 single rooms and efficiencies, the Wheatley YWCA holds fast to its mission "to provide affordable housing and programs to women regardless of race, creed, or color. We serve women in transition to prevent homelessness and provide outreach services to children in the Shaw community."

Shifts in the economy meant that instead of yesterday's army of young workers, many of the women seeking shelter today at Wheatley are struggling: recovering from addictions, just getting back into the work force, and in many cases, battling mental illness. There is a constant stream of challenges—the historic building, financial planning, fundraising, and caring for the residents themselves among them. But there is a commitment here that looks beyond what is easy but is what the board of directors deems important: offering these women a foundation and a starting point towards dignity and hope.

This YWCA is owned and controlled by a board consisting primarily of Black businesswomen. Dorothy Height was formerly the board chair. In addition to the handsome, red brick building on Rhode Island Avenue, which is on the National Register of Historic Places, the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA also owns land occupied by an Afro-centric school.

This was the city's first YWCA. The timeless furnishings of the neat parlor and common rooms are comforting, decorated with memorabilia honoring the women who have fought to keep the doors open and the opportunities it offers to women in need. The Wheatley YW has taken stands on racial issues, such as opposing the erection of an "Old Mammy" statue. The women questioned the honoring of the southern "Mammy" while segregation, lynching, and inequality of treatment continued. The eloquent plea stated that "despite the sufferings of the slave, the Old Mammy had the natural maternal instinct of a woman, but why so selfish, individually thinking of the compulsory services of your foster mother, while lynching her son?"

Many well-known Black women have been associated with the Y throughout its history. Among them are Julia West Hamilton, a past president; Mary Church Terrell, who was an early president of the National Association of Colored Women; and Dorothy Height, also a president of the National Council of Negro Women.

During the First World War, the Wheatley YWCA provided traveler's aid to Blacks who were coming north to Washington. The travelers were met at Union Station and attempts were made to provide both shelter and food.

During the Second World War, the Wheatley YW provided USO services for Black soldiers who were denied entrance at white USO centers on the basis of race. The Y has,

throughout its history, provided educational activities, recreation, housing, employment, and community services such as a hot dinner program for underprivileged children.

With respect to Black American political development, Adolph Reed and others (Kilson 1980; Browning, Marshall, and Tabb 1984) describe the political incorporation of non-whites in the post-civil rights era. With Martin Kilson, Reed acknowledges a "new black political class" that replaced a prior, more radical leadership tradition. According to Reed, one of the costs of political incorporation is the acceptance of an agenda set by pro-business interests that reproduce racial inequality (Reed 1999, 5).[12] In addition to external repression, Reed argues that "Black opposition has dissolved into celebration and wish fulfillment," (56) and there has been a failure to critically examine the causes. Further, he posits, if the reason for the enervation of Black protest is that the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s broadly satisfied African American aims, this would only apply to an elite strata of the Black community. The preceding cases illustrate some of the processes in associational life incurred by this incorporation. Resistance to this type of incorporation is also apparent.

With a mission that focuses on serving those most in need, the service-delivery model of the Boys & Girls Clubs of America is lean and gritty. At a branch in South Florida, few progressive, skill-development programs exist and the facility lacks a swimming pool. There is a director, a couple of workers, and an afterschool site. Children are everywhere—some work at computers donated by one of the city's NBA superstars while others play table tennis and foosball or do homework. Outside there are fields suitable for informal activities and games and a covered, concrete slab with picnic tables and no walls that currently doubles as an arts and crafts space and the dining hall.

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[12] For an examination that looks at this phenomenon within the context of the first Black presidency, see Frederick C. Harris (2012).

The director informs me that he would desperately like to have an indoor area in place of the sheltered outdoor area. Since we are in South Florida, this covered patio is not as unworkable as it might sound. Still, it is difficult to contemplate children huddled in the space or crammed into the only actual building on the site during one of the frequent tropical downpours, a regular feature here during rainy season. The center offers baseball, basketball, cheerleading, and football. In addition to after school, it is open full days during teacher in-service days and school breaks.

The director who shows me around is friendly but has that beleaguered quality that is ubiquitous among people who are underpaid, love their work, and are constantly called upon to put out fires and deal with the emotional needs of others. There is a bare bones quality here, but also laughter and genuine concern. A recent annual report for the entire metro area shows that 77 percent of the organization's income is spent on delivering program services while another 14 percent goes toward fundraising; only 9 percent is spent on administrative costs and overhead. It's all about the children, in an immediate sense. Their goal is delivering safe places for these children, many of whom would be on the streets or watching television alone after school.

3.2 Analysis of Board Diversity

Over the course of this study, the YMCA of the USA has made aggressive strides toward diversity in its top leadership. With the 2003 election of David Epperson, an African American, as chairman of the national board and the selection of another African American, Kevin Washington, to serve as CEO beginning February of 2015, the final glass ceiling within the organization had been broken. Perhaps this is because of and in parallel to the ascendancy of President Barack Obama, Duval Patrick, Cory Booker, and a phalanx of "new" Black politicians who are more likely to attempt to appeal to broader political constituencies. Black elected

officials who promote themselves as focusing on the interests of poor and non-white constituents in the post-Civil Rights era have been the exception (Gillespie 2010; Thompson 2006). There are pitfalls and backlashes to being identified as an unapologetic advocate for African American interests, other people of color, and any other underserved group. This new corps of minority elected officials deftly appeal to broader political constituencies by avoiding an explicit focus on race (Harris 2012; Ifill 2009; Thompson 2006). This is expedient and perhaps necessary within the context of current redistricting techniques and the belief among many that we are now in a "post-racial" era (Dawson 2011).

In 2009, *The Chronicle of Philanthrophy* collected data on the gender and race of chief executives of the 400 US organizations that were the highest fundraisers among private sources and compared their findings to similar data published for CEOs of the *Fortune* 500. They found that 25 (.0625) of the leaders of these nonprofit organizations were non-white, and fourteen of these were African American (or .035). Of the Fortune 500 companies, only five chief executives were Black (.01). Census estimates at the time were that African Americans made up 12.8 percent of the US population, and non-whites altogether were 34.4 percent of the population (Joslyn 2009).

The same article quotes the president of a coalition of approximately 600 charity, foundation, and corporate-giving leaders as saying that diversity was one of the major emergent issues when a working group of seventy-five nonprofit leaders were asked to conceive of plans to shape the field's future. Perhaps most disturbing is the admission by the head of executive search at a nonprofit consulting firm in Boston that the "overwhelming majority of senior-level jobs are filled by candidates who are personally known to an organization's search-committee members." In his doctoral survey research, Willie B. Dean (2004) used the Ys annual *Statistical*

Summary data available to him as a result of his 28-year tenure as a YMCA executive, including time at YMCA of the USA. He found that there were twenty-two African American CEOs in 1999, representing 2.4 percent of the total number of YMCA chief executives. With billions of federal and state dollars at stake and multiple cases of open conflict over how best to address the needs of specific communities, a wholesale evaluation of the process of leadership development in mainstream nonprofits seems to be in order. However, as of November 2015, the YMCA of the USA still does not make this information available to the public, including researchers.

The expected values based on demographic representation in metro areas shares elements with a program that was tested as part of the Public Works Administration (PWA). Though successful, it was never broadly implemented.[13] As discussed in chapter one, Adolph Reed is correct to distinguish between "community control" and "black control." And yet, if a group within a society is substantially underrepresented in leadership positions, it is hard to deny that the pluralist vision of associational life and a resulting influence in policy realms collapses.

I have intentionally selected the dependent variable for examination. Stephen Van Evera states that "if we can compare conditions in selected cases to a known average situation," then selecting the dependent variable is appropriate (1997, 46). As I broaden the study of the issue in a later chapter, I will look at a wider variety of cases, which were selected differently. But in this

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[13] According to the Hamiltons, "Robert Weaver, a young black economist, served as Advisor for Negro Affairs under Harold Ickes, secretary of the Department of the Interior, the department responsible for the administration of the Public Works Administration (PWA). Weaver, very much aware of the discriminatory policies of local contractors and organized labor, developed a plan to prohibit discrimination on government construction projects. To test the plan, he used a special PWA administrative unit responsible for slum clearance and the construction of low-cost housing. All PWA projects in this unit were required to hire a certain percentage of skilled black craftsmen based on the total number of skilled black craftsmen in specific cities throughout the country. If this percentage was not met, it was prima facie evidence of discrimination. A year- and-a-half after his plan was implemented, Weaver thought it was 'a workable solution to a difficult problem' (Weaver 1936), but it was never extended to other programs" (Hamilton 1987).

section, in the face of a general assumption of democratic non-domination, the aim is to identify and describe cases that counter this general assumption.

Methods

Using data from US Census 2000, I compiled lists of the twelve US cities and the twelve US counties with the highest concentrations of African Americans. The two lists were combined yielding the seventeen metropolitan areas that were examined in this study. There was of course, considerable redundancy. However, this was done in order not miss a major population of African Americans simply because they are not concentrated in the largest city in a particular metro area.

While the YMCA of the USA collects information on the race and gender of policymakers at each association across the country, they do not make the information available externally for research purposes. This policy is still in place as of November 2016. Therefore, demographic data on policy-making volunteers at YMCA Associations was gathered directly from board or staff members in each city.

Lists of policy-making board members were secured for each of the 17 associations, in most cases from websites or annual reports. Subsequently, either verbally or in written form, data on the gender and ethnicity of board members was received. Tables 3.2 and 3.3 give the resulting data on African Americans.

Table 3.2 African Americans - Largest City and County Populations

Metropolitan Areas with Largest Concentration of African Americans (by City)	Metropolitan Areas with Largest Concentration of African Americans (by County)
Chicago	Chicago [COOK]
New York City	Los Angeles
Detroit	New York City
Philadelphia	Detroit
Houston	Houston
Baltimore	Philadelphia
Los Angeles City	Miami [MIAMI-DADE]
Memphis	Dallas
Washington, DC	Broward
New Orleans	Cleveland
Dallas	Fort Worth
Atlanta	Columbus

Table 3.3 Variance from Expected Percentage of African American Policy Board Representation

Association	African Americans as % of County Population	Actual % African American Policy Makers	Difference Actual - Expected
YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago	27	6	-21
YMCA of Greater New York (New York City)	27	9	-18
YMCA of Metropolitan Detroit	43	10	-33
YMCA of Philadelphia and Vicinity	46	*	*
YMCA of the Greater Houston Area	19	13	-6
YMCA of Central Maryland (Baltimore)	64	*	*
YMCA of Metropolitan Los Angeles	10	13	3
YMCA of Memphis	61	17	-44
YMCA of Metropolitan Washington	60	33	-27
YMCA of Greater New Orleans	67	16	-51
YMCA of Metropolitan Dallas	21	10	-11
YMCA of Metropolitan Atlanta	61	17	-44
YMCA of Greater Miami	21	5	-16
YMCA of Broward County (Ft. Lauderdale)	26	6	-20
YMCA of Greater Cleveland	30	6	-24
YMCA of Metropolitan Fort Worth	14	8	-6
YMCA of Central Ohio (Columbus)	21	11	-10
Mean	36	12	-22
Mean Excluding Atlanta and New Orleans	33	11	-18

* = data unavailable

Although using the major county demographics in each area yields lower percentages of African American and other people of color, this unit of analysis was chosen as the basis for comparison with African American representation on YMCA policy-making boards because counties most closely map onto metropolitan YMCA service areas. It could be argued that a city like Detroit that is 81 percent African American should ideally have higher expected demographic representation on bodies that control significant resources intended for charitable work in the African American community than the 43 percent generated by county level data.

With the single and notable exception of the Los Angeles Association, African American representation in decision-making bodies was less than the percentage of county residents who self-identified as African American on the 2000 US Census. The figures for New Orleans and Atlanta should be understood in light of the existing African American independent YMCAs in each of those cities.

A comparison by region shows that the only Metropolitan Association that meets the expected value of African American policy makers is in the West.

Figure 3.1 Regional Comparison of Representation Gap - BoDs and Population
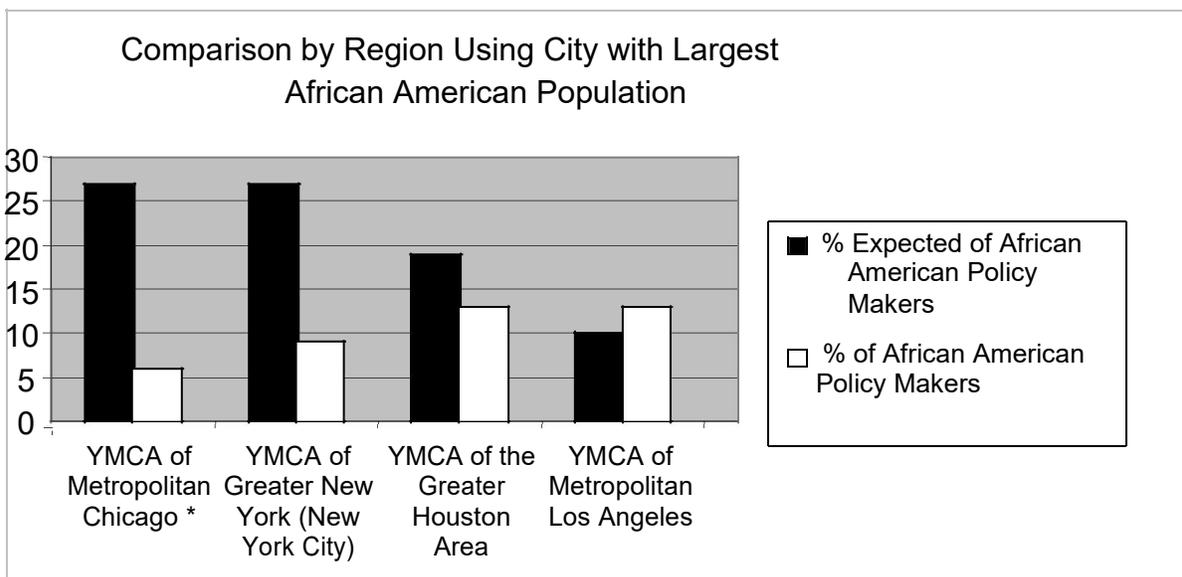
Table 3.4
Sorted Variance by Expected Percentage of African American Policy Board Representation

Association	African Americans as % of County Population	Actual % African American Policy Makers	Difference Actual - Expected
YMCA of Metropolitan Los Angeles	10	13	3
YMCA of the Greater Houston Area	19	13	-6
YMCA of Metropolitan Fort Worth	14	8	-6
YMCA of Central Ohio (Columbus)	21	11	-10
YMCA of Metropolitan Dallas	21	10	-11
YMCA of Greater Miami	21	5	-16
YMCA of Greater New York (New York City)	27	9	-18
YMCA of Broward County (Ft. Lauderdale)	26	6	-20
YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago	27	6	-21
YMCA of Greater Cleveland	30	6	-24
YMCA of Metropolitan Washington	60	33	-27
YMCA of Metropolitan Detroit	43	10	-33
YMCA of Memphis	61	17	-44
YMCA of Philadelphia and Vicinity	46	*	*
YMCA of Central Maryland (Baltimore)	64	*	*
YMCA of Metropolitan Atlanta	61	17	-44
YMCA of Greater New Orleans	67	16	-51
Mean	36	12	-22
Mean Excluding Atlanta and New Orleans	33	11	-18

* = data unavailable

YMCA cases for this study were chosen by ordering the metropolitan areas according to the difference between the actual value and the expected value for African American YMCA board members based upon population for the metropolitan area. The goal in selecting Metropolitan Associations for further study was to select Associations with high, low, and moderate values on the difference between expected and actual participation by people of color on policy-making boards. Therefore, the three metropolitan cities that have independent HBYMCAs were selected because they have autonomous institutions with all-Black or nearly all-Black boards of directors. The metropolitan YMCA associations in these cities were studied as well because together the

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historically Black and the historically white YMCAs in these cities form a matrix that

describes the four attributes that I measure as an operationalization of the dependent variable,

political participation:

1. Space and other resources for informal and formal deliberation
2. Information transmission capacity
3. Leadership development opportunities and available expertise
4. a) political programming; b) programs aimed at male youth 12–18

Los Angeles, which was the most representative of the 17 metro areas, having more than the

expected value of African Americans, was added to the list. In future studies, the Fort Worth and

Houston (each with a difference of -6 between the actual value and the expected value) bear

exploration as being closer than average to proportional representation. The resources for this

are outside the scope of the present project. Additionally, if funding and time permitted, the least

representative areas would probably yield helpful data. Memphis (-44), Detroit (-33), and

Washington, DC (-27) would be of particular interest as they are amongst the metro areas with

the highest percentage of African Americans (see Table 3.4).

3.3 Key Stakeholder Interviews

In order to get some purchase on whether or not residents and community leaders have

countervailing policy and program preferences within nonprofit social service agencies, we are

interested in the degree to which these communities are or are not represented in their

organizations' policy-making bodies. We wish to gain insight into whether being under the

administration of a metropolitan board affects implementation of local communities' choices.

The study's other variables of interest were also explored in order to get a preliminary sense of

extant programming for adolescent males, leadership development, and information

transmission capacity.

Interviews with 29 key stakeholders (professional staff and board volunteers) from major

national nonprofits (i.e., YMCAs, YWCAs, Boys & Girls Clubs) were conducted between

August 2006 and January 2016. At least five had similar experience within international NGOs.

The majority of these interviews took place during face-to-face meetings in eight cities across the

United States. Six of these city/county metropolitan areas were among the 17 previously

identified as having the highest percentages of African Americans. One of the interview sites is a

mid-sized city with a population between 400,000 and 500,000. Four interviews were conducted

via telephone. Much of the data from interview subjects corroborated and was supplemented by

data collected from newspapers and other public sources.

var. 1 – Potential Sites for Alternative Agenda Formation. "We don't do anything

political," a senior staff person for a large Association told me. "That's an off the charts no-no."

The mainstream Y stays away from politics. This is understandable with respect to not wanting

to violate the Internal Revenue Code, which states that "all section 501(c)3 organizations are

absolutely prohibited from directly or indirectly participating in, or intervening in, any

political campaign on behalf of (or in opposition to) any candidate for elective public office."

Staying away from partisanship and elective politics also removes the possibility of alienating

potential donors.

While the mainstream Y has a tendency to completely avoid anything that some might

deem controversial, African American YMCAs have traditionally been more inclined to open

themselves to use by members and groups who are interested in social equality and human rights.

Says one professional affiliated with Dryades, an African American Heritage YMCA in New

Orleans:

> It actually goes back to the original forefathers of the organization. The traditional
> YMCA business plan as we call it has traditional gym/swim kinds of

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programmatic elements. Well, this YMCA is an exception. It has always had a programmatic matrix that focuses on formal education and informal education, major skill set development, and leadership development. Those were the primary building blocks of the organization.

He continues,

The School of Commerce is actually a junior college. That's one of the primary pillars of the organization. It was organized and established back in 1928. At that time, there was a huge need for secretaries, office support, etc.

He explains that back then, the YMCA was working with the War Department. Furthermore, there was high unemployment in the aftermath of the Great Depression and the early leaders of Dryades had the foresight to establish a training center. He explained that the early training center focused on real estate, real estate appraisal, insurance, mortuary science, and office occupations. In the late 1940s to 1950s, the focus shifted to allied health fields, with a major expansion in the mid- to late-1970s in response to unemployment and problems that young Black people had when they attempted to access those professions. Current offerings include medical technician and phlebotomy training and a two-year LPN program.

We have discussed some cases where there was a difference in political agenda, with fissures along racial lines. However, this is not always the point of contention. Sometimes, other communities are affected by a management ethos that is "top down." A former executive who identified himself as "white, as far as I know" explains:

We had a chance to be a multi-ethnic community center. It was totally, totally mixed. We used the car lot analogy. We had the Mercedes in the parking lot and we had the beat up Chevy in the parking lot and everything in between. It was ideal. We felt that we were helping communities come together and understand each other; from private schools to the projects. Reducing—eliminating stereotypes and actually having Friday night games at _____ Park, in what was perceived as one of the most dangerous areas of the entire community. And having teams from _____ Prep School playing at _____ Park on a Friday night and getting past some of those perceptions that weren't real.

Explaining his perception of the reason for the conflict, he told me that the "top down" approach had not been confined to the historically Black branch in his city. He eventually left the Y.

> There was no real canvassing. There was no research into the communities to analyze, "What went wrong here? What's right here?" It was simply, "We have to downsize these organizations; we gotta just take out the people leading these particular branches." In hindsight, I think it was a desire of the central leadership to eliminate these operations as facilities-based operations. And in both situations—it's almost a mirror image—Director _____ and I were both working on facility development in an aggressive manner. And I think that there was a perception that here was a resistance to comply with this idea of just cutting expenses, or selling property, or whatever it might be. Yes, they had a cost-cutting agenda that we didn't know about. That suggests a complete lack of communication again, and involvement in decisions. The community had an overwhelming need/desire to have a facility in _____ on the ten acres or so of property that the Y owned. This was the ultimate in the central leadership making decisions without respect for the community. It happened in the other branch as well.

In one case of a Black branch belonging to a Metro YMCA, there had been an actual lockout. The local advisory board disagreed with a course of action by the Metro office, which was a sharp departure from previous agreements to move forward with building a facility. The local board objected and made plans to hold a community hearing on the matter at the branch. They were summarily barred from the premises. In a community with a much older and stronger middle class, a former board member reported disagreements, but clearly the price to be paid for this type of overt conflict was an incentive for the Metro Association to reach more of a consensus at all stages of negotiations. In 2010, newspapers carried reports of another lockout that occurred between two factions of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), an independent, Black-led nonprofit whose first president was Martin Luther King, Jr. The dispute over who the rightful officers were was resolved in court. At one of the few remaining Heritage Ys in another part of the South, a female senior executive explains that there has been pressure

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for decades to merge with the Metro Association. In this particular case, she believes that the Heritage Ys acreage and facility are the motivating factors.

In this section, we have seen evidence of divergence in a preferred agenda between Metro Associations and local branches. We have encountered biases against anything perceived to be "political" in mainstream organizations as well as bias in African Americans *toward* taking on whatever level of complexity is necessary to improve the chances of advancement by members of the group. Table 3.1 summarizes instances where local branches differed with metropolitan associations on the programming, culture, financing, efficacy, or viability of the branch in question.

In addition to data drawn directly from the subjects interviewed for this project, Burlock reports that during the 1970s, Executive Director John Lands—at the time, the only Black executive director in the Indianapolis YMCA—offered a wide range of programming typical of YMCAs at the time. Additionally, Lands developed the "Our Place" community center for those "the community would call … troublemakers" (as quoted in Burlock 2014, 50). Lands recalled spending lots of time talking to and mentoring young men. Later, "Our Market," a food cooperative that he envisioned as a model for "community-owned businesses," was developed as an offshoot of "Our Place." Under his direction, the branch hosted Christmas parties featuring a Black Santa Claus and a Folk Arts Festival, which featured free performances by two different Black Theatre companies and locally catered African food (Burlock 2014, 56). In 1973, Lands also invited the National Conference of Black and Non-White YMCA Laymen and Staff (BAN-WYS) to Fall Creek for its first non-hotel conference venue. In 1976, Fall Creek hosted a two-week long Black history and philosophy seminar. Burlock also tells us that "Fall Creek served as a neighborhood meeting place for community, senior citizen, and religious groups," including

Boy Scouts, a Club for Stroke Victims, Goodwill Industries, the Salvation Army, Marion County Probation Agency, and a Work Release Center (Burlock 2014, 59).

Typically the constraints of lower average income at inner-city branches has resulted in less participation in the relatively more expensive programs offered by the YMCA. Nevertheless, Burlock (2014) quotes from the "YMCA of Greater Indianapolis, Fall Creek Branch: Programmatic and Development Plan, 1976-1980" on residence camp goals: "The objective of featured outdoor activities, which included horseback riding, hiking, and canoeing, was to provide young adults and their parents opportunities to bond and thus aimed to both 'nurture a positive attitude' about nature and 'strengthen the family unit.'"

From Burlock's interview with Lands, we learn that Lands and other staff members had to personally transport community residents and their children to the Flat Rock River YMCA Campground in 1973. Lands and staff also put up African-named cabin signs to "develop pride and respect" for their ancestral culture and themselves" (Burlock 2014, 59).

var. 2 - Information Transmission Capacity. One of the predictable consequences of the economic downturn was layoffs and staffing cuts. Listening to a woman of color who was on the central association staff at a major YMCA Metro Association talk about staff cuts, stagnant salaries, and other fallout from the recession that began in 2008, I surmised that a scenario similar to that which happened in the 1930s unfolded. As Mjagkij reports (1994, 116), amid a 10 percent overall staff reduction, the colored National YMCA Staff was cut by 50 percent. This veteran manager told me, "We had to cut 29 positions due to the economic crisis. Love to do a newsletter, but who do I assign that to?" She explained that she had begun work with the Y two decades before. She relates a story of a long-time, highly valued employee who had left the organization for another opportunity.

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> The institutional knowledge that walked [with that person], along with all the relationships that the person had worked so hard to build ... just came crashing with this person … It was kind of scary. I kept saying, "There are a few key people… [not necessarily the top managers]. What if they get hit by a truck? There's nothing here—there's no support mechanism, to carry this work forward.

She explained that she had begun developing a manual as just a beginning pass at addressing the problem. This is at a relatively well-funded Association. How much loss of institutional history and practice might there be at an independent organization? As civil society organizations internally debate policy, seek reform, and advocate for legislation, frequently minority communities are operating without benefit of vital historical documentation. We recognize the value of strength of stability and continuity in government structures. However, without stability and structure in the mechanisms that give voice to the interests of the poor and minorities, it would be reasonable to predict regressive policies affecting those groups.

Inter-branch communication was impaired because control of support resources was in the hands of national staff with no particular accountability to local communities of color. Lack of intra-branch transmission of information over time results in knowledge deficits (i.e., the pattern of firings and resignations-in-protest by local branch staff and board members, not knowing their peers in other municipalities). Senior staff, even at the national level, was generally oblivious with regard to major historical figures and events in their organizations' histories, particularly as related to passages of that history related to race.

I was unable to learn of any instance where the YMCA of the USA informed any local branch that was involved in conflict with their Metro YMCA that similar conflicts were occurring in other municipal areas. Also, in each of the instances where I learned that the YMCA of the USA became involved, its services were offered only to the Metro Association, though

resources are frequently generated directly from the branches and/or on behalf of the particular constituency served by the branches.

Var. 3 – Leadership Development. Three of the most distinguished African American leaders in the YMCA movement underscored the importance of training. "It is super important to invest in training and education. You can quantify the value of educational experiences…." Another expressed the desire for staff management education as one of two things he wanted to see and queried me on what was available with respect to college- and graduate-level education for nonprofit managers. Not coincidentally, the manager who spoke of being able to quantify the value to the organization of training was associated with one of the most successful of the independent Black branches.

> I don't view this as a Black institution, but instead as one founded by African Americans. Certain programs that we had in the mid-1980s, 98 percent of participants were White. You might beat us, but you ain't gonna out compete us. Have I witnessed the demise of some historically African American branches? Certainly. There is a sense of shame in some cases that it was allowed to happen.

A board member from the Dryades branch relates the story of a fire in 2000 that ravaged the old Dryades YMCA building.

> We lost a lot of history, but it also granted an opportunity to build for the next hundred years. We were only down for one day. We went into five churches in the area. Leadership is embedded in education, but also in individuals who commit themselves. Not always money.

In addition to education, other aspects of leadership development surfaced in the interviews. One young manager in his late thirties praised the opportunity to work closely with a regional executive who was based at the same branch. This was not the usual arrangement. He said,

> and so when we're sitting in our weekly staff meetings it's like a young assistant coach having John Wooden as his coach. You know ... as his head coach. So we're getting really good information—things that work, things that don't work. We're able to think outside the box and be innovative. It's helpful as a team.

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A seasoned African American CEO of an old and thriving independent nonprofit tells me that

leadership development in his organization is

> embedded in process and procedures. New ideas have the opportunity to be heard
> and to flourish. We continue to bring people in and connect them to the
> organization. It's not about how secure individuals are. The organization needs to
> be secure. They don't know what they can do. They don't see what I can see.

At another YMCA a few states away where Blacks and Hispanics predominate in the

membership, a board member tells me of his concerns about a coming gap in leadership when

several elder, civil rights-era community leaders are gone. He adds, "The reality is that boards

don't have good succession plans." One of these elder leaders explained why; although he was

very involved and vested in the success of the Y, he was not on the board.

> I want the board to run themselves. What we do is lend our name, and we raise
> money, and we serve the board whenever we're asked to serve. We didn't want to
> be in a position to set policy. We want to be in a position that they can call on us
> when they need us. And they do. Because I didn't want people to think—and
> people make the mistake even now of thinking we run the Y. And I have to tell
> them all, "No, that's why we didn't want to be on the board." We don't want to run
> the Y. We want it to run itself. We just want to be there when they need us.

This sort of intergenerational institutional development is not the norm for most African

Americans involved in the Y movement, whether in a Metro Association or an independent

branch. Seemingly, a long history of having a thriving Black middle class bodes well for this

kind of leadership development. "Linked fate" (Dawson 1994) shows up in one African

American Y leader's assessments when speaking of the YMCA where he grew up:

> Because they didn't know at that time but they had a strong identity of Blackness
> within themselves because a lot of these, a lot the founders went to schools like
> Straight College, which was a Black college … and Howard University. So they
> did have a strong identity among themselves. And those same people who came
> out of Straight College and Howard University were some of the early founders of
> the YMCA.

The frustration of managers at being compared to communities with a different history, set of circumstances, or resources emerges in these interviews as well. Genuine concern for progress toward social equality would seem to demand that attention be paid to the nuances of history, economics, culture, and past discrimination. The interviews also revealed how groups are "triangulated" within the racial order (Kim 2000). An African American at an Association in the Southwest notes the following:

> Now this is where I have the biggest issue. I am not racist at all. If I can help anybody, that's what I do. My heart goes out to people. My boss is a Mexican guy. Good brother. He does a lot of comparing. "We did this. We did that." But when you're in an all-Mexican community and you have a good place like the YMCA, it's going to be easier to grab people. He comes in and says we had an event and we raised $375,000. It's a Mexican community. Everybody in there is Mexican. That's their community. All those kids that go to college and graduate … you know what they come back to? They come back to their communities. I can't train my people to do that in this transitional community. So I have to make a value proposition that's got to have such a buy-in. And we're getting there. We're chipping away at getting there.

The cases of conflict that occurred in San Diego County (see Table 3.1) illustrate how a culture of giving might be disrupted: sometimes land, cash, and other resources have been donated but communities later find they do not have control over those resources; sometimes they fail to see productive gains in areas they deem most important; or, if they do not find their interests represented, the impulse to give and a culture that supports charitable activity will not be robust. When this diversion of resources away from the needs of a community is of a very long-standing nature, the effect of depressing charitable giving and leadership development could be profound.

In an economic downturn, there is another way that "last hired, first fired" manifests. Several current and former board and staff members with the Los Angeles YMCA discussed the effects. Three of them spoke about the Association being blind-sided by the drop in philanthropy that predictably followed the housing crisis of 2008. Austerity measures, closures, and staff cuts

were all employed in an attempt to weather the storm. Also, greater personal giving requirements were placed on Metro board members.

> It used to be that they were to contribute or get $10,000 and we upped that to $25,000 about two years ago just because we needed to elevate the standards. And they need to attend 70 percent of the meetings. They need to provide access, influence, or affluence for the YMCA. They need to be available to the CEO, whenever the CEO calls them. And they are required to serve on at least one committee. And they need to be very active. In terms of the minorities we are not at the levels that we were at when you spoke with ____. Some of them have resigned. Some of them are beginning to come back, which is good because what I think they have seen is the new areas of focus. So now they're re-energized. And they're interested in coming back.

> I think it was that all the resignations that occurred within the last few years have been because the directors' responsibilities changed. They were either promoted, so their work portfolio was expanded and they just weren't making the meetings, and they didn't feel comfortable enough occupying a seat on a board when they couldn't contribute. And some of them stayed on and contributed the $25,000, but that's all we got. And some of them still stay, and say please keep me on the board—I can at least contribute at the $25,000 level on a personal basis, or my company can give me half and I can give the other half. So they stay on board. Most of our board members right now are at that giving level. I think we had a hundred percent contribution rate.

> And if you look back to the board—we were talking about the minorities on the board. We have three African Americans [out of 48]. We just lost our last Latino because he moved to Chicago. He said he'll come back on the board if we save a seat for him, but it's not going to be anytime soon. He's building his business in Chicago and eventually he'll come back to Los Angeles, but it's not going to be within the next two years…. It's finding those Latinos, those African Americans, those Asians and all the other minorities that are represented in Los Angeles. It's who has access to them, and do they have the financial viability to support the $25,000 requirement. And that makes for a difficult challenge.

This was the only case of a Metro YMCA where the expected value of minorities had fallen significantly beneath that level of representation, largely as a result of an economic downturn, the policies selected to address it, and the greater difficulty of raising funds in such an environment. This is an example of neoliberal market standards being applied. Ironically, people of color's leadership contributions are discounted based on lack of parity in charitable giving

when the needs of the community arise largely out of economic discrimination. According to the 2009 American Community Survey conducted by the United States Census Department, the population of Los Angeles is almost half Latino—44.8 percent, with another 1.4 percent designating themselves as multi-racial with Hispanic origins. Asians comprise 13.9 percent of the population. Blacks comprise 7 percent of the population.

It is notable that John Lands, the previously mentioned executive director of the Fall Creek YMCA in Indianapolis, was able to raise funding to expand programming for a YMCA that had been suffering from years of deferred maintenance (Burlock 58, 61) by directly negotiating with United Way's allocation committee, the Lilly Foundation, and the city's Department of Parks and Recreation. In 1971, Lands had submitted a funding request to Lilly. The Metro CEO at the time requested that he not pursue funding for just the Fall Creek Y because the Metro CEO wanted to solicit Lilly with a collective plan for all of the Indianapolis YMCAs.

This is an early example of a paradoxical pattern that repeatedly appeared in later interviews conducted by this researcher. The property, memberships, and any other income generated by historically Black and all other YMCAs is legally the property of the Metro Association. And yet, branches are usually heavily evaluated upon their ability to become self-financing, or to have a balanced budget (Burlock 2014, 64). Without taking into account historical factors such as lower neighborhood income, these branches are frequently cast in the role of "poorly-managed, deficit cases." This frequently results in the branch board and staff being penalized with reduced autonomy. This is an iteration of the "colorblind paradox" in operation. The needs of disadvantaged communities is highlighted for collective fundraising

purposes, but too frequently little or no allowance is made for those same economic

disadvantages when evaluating the branch's annual balance sheet.

Often, as in the two separate cases of conflict involving Miami (see chapter 4), branch

boards do not understand that the power is vested at the Metro level until there is a conflict.

Though advisory boards only, these bodies at the branch level are frequently named, "board of

directors" or "board of managers." When John Lands was recruited, he was promised by the

Chairman of the Fall Creek Board of Managers that he would be "granted a free hand to run the

Y" and be "accountable to the board" only.[14] Though the branch board had hired Lands, he was

fired without their approval (Burlock 2014, 67). Lands continued working at Fall Creek for over

18 months without pay. The *Indianapolis Recorder* covered the ensuing conflict between the

branch board and the Metro CEO and board. The *Indianapolis Recorder* is an African

American weekly newspaper, published since 1897.

Var. 4 – Programs Aimed at Male Youth/Politics. The goal here was to observe the nature

and rationale behind programming. Though my small *n* survey of programming goals is not

representative, the cases themselves reveal much about what is important to decision makers and

how they implement their desired program choices.

I looked at long-standing, widespread programs that have served youth of all

backgrounds across the country for decades. For example, the YMCA's Youth and Government

program introduces high school students to the workings of their state government, with

opportunities to visit, intern, and practice participating through state-wide mock legislative

activities.

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[14] As quoted in Burlock (50). Letter from Theodore D. Wilson, Chairman of the Fall Creek YMCA Board of Management, to John Lands, August 25, 1971, photocopies. Provided by John Lands and in possession of Melissa Burlock.

While the vitality of such programs in communities of color certainly is relevant, especially in those areas with a low median income, I was particularly interested to find programs that had emerged as innovative responses to perceived community needs. For example, in Raleigh, South Carolina, I discovered a program at the Heritage Y (an independent community social service organization since 2010), where African American male business leaders were invited in at regular intervals to inform and mentor 8–12 year old boys.

Teens take the City is a program unique to the YMCA of Greater New York. The program aims to initiate teens into the workings of their city neighborhoods and formal municipal governance structures. An executive from the New York Association, which has a large population of new immigrants, reported,

> One of the things that we noticed was that one of the big gaps in public education in New York City was, "Whose teaching kids how city government works?" Hell, we have this whole generation of kids who are not learning how democracy works. The mayor and several city council members are very supportive. City government raises half [of program costs]. Over 1,000 kids now after 6–7 years.

One interview subject nearing eighty now is a retired professional, widely respected in his southern community for his decades of service and concern for those not as fortunate. In response to my questions about programming aimed specifically at young males, this venerable elder, who has served his local YMCA branch and Metro Association for decades, explains a program that pits the county sheriff's department against the local police in an annual basketball game that was started so that the young people in their southern city could

> see local law enforcement people as community leaders and as friends of the community. They [officers] would come in their uniforms and go to the dressing room and take off the uniforms and put on a basketball uniform and come out and work with the kids.... We were trying to get the young people to look at law enforcement officers as community helpers and not necessarily enforcers. [We] would like to keep that program going. But you know it's difficult, we have all these kids and all these programs, we have infrastructure that is fantastic, but try to find money for leadership and in the Black community we don't have—Black

people, when they retire, they don't give back. We've been having a problem finding leadership to actually run the programs that we have.

But later he recalls,

We had a guy who was very, very good. His name was _____. And he was our Youth Director at our Y and he was working very well with the young men. He decided that he wanted to write a grant. He got about half a million dollar grant a year for about three or five years. But he took his grant over to [the local community college]. Because one of the problems—we can't write grants specifically for our Y. They would have to go through Metro and then they would have to decide how the money comes back. He wanted to run his own program, so he left the Y and went to [the community college], which is a public institution run by the state. They allowed him to come there with his program.

If you were going to write a grant for our Y, you'd have to go through—the grant would have to go through Metro Y, and then Metro Y would decide whether they want the grant that you wrote to stay at our Y. They would have some input as to how it was going to be run. Whereas the way it is now it's his grant and he runs it autonomously. Well he has to follow the ground rules of the grant, but he can take the leadership.

Speaking of the youth in his community, he tells me:

We have to learn to take responsibility; that helps you to grow because you have to take responsibility in life, and our young Afro-Americans need to learn. That one thing is lacking, learning to take responsibility and unfortunately that's one reason why our young men are not achieving in our institutions like Morehouse Medical School. Howard Medical School is mostly Black women, and foreign women, Asian women, very few, it's sad. We're losing our young Black men. They're not assuming their responsibility, so we are trying to develop programs so somehow we can draw them back into the fold. We are working diligently on that.

A few years later, I would witness a good-natured, but spirited debate at a social function between this community leader's niece and another elder family member. The niece, who was in her twenties, was supportive of the Black Lives Matter movement. The elder was countering that "*all lives matter*!" A difference of political outlook was playing out in respectful but heartfelt debate within a solidly middle-class enclave of Black America.

A younger executive working in the western field has an analysis that similarly assigns some responsibility to young Black men and to the African American community in

general. However, he expresses frustration at contributing factors that create negative outcomes

for young people of color. He talks about the ways that Blacks and Latinos are triangulated—

often without malice—within the branch where he works.[15]

> If I can help anybody that's what I do. My heart goes out to people. My boss is Mexican. He's a good brother. He does a lot of comparing. We did this. We did that. But when you're in an all Mexican community and you have a good place like the YMCA, it's going to be easier to grab people. Because there's already an overlapping connection…like culture overlapping. I've got Mexican people, I've got Guatemalan people, I got Black people. I have to create a place of good spirit. And I have to really go on that.

> He comes in and says, "We had an event and we raised $327,000. It's a Mexican community. You have… everybody in there is Mexican. That's their community. They're not stupid. All those kids that go to college and graduate you know what they come back to? They come back to their communities. I can't train my people to do that in this transitional community. So I have to make a value proposition that will have impact. It's gotta have such a buy in. And we're getting there. We're chipping away at getting there.

He illustrates the shortcomings in an approach that uses market-driven competition to

evaluate dissimilar circumstances. He then gives more detail about the challenges at his

particular branch and the broader landscape in which he must operate.

> I think there's such a disconnect. The difference between Black people and like… Latinos. The Black people are trying to get away from here. They're trying to get away. They're not trying to come back. The wealthier Blacks … the middle class Blacks, they live [on the other side of town]. Most of the entertainment is [elsewhere], the movie theaters, your clubs whatever is [on the other side of town].

> And I'm considered on the [opposite] side. They don't want to come over here to play. And so there is already an abandonment right there. So they're not even addressing it. The only people addressing these kids are the ones in the neighborhood. And the amount of dysfunction that goes on with the ones that are in this neighborhood is so high that you have a small percentage of men that are able to even address the ones that have problems. Then you have to break that percentage down because some of them don't even understand or have the

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[15] For a discussion of racial triangulation see Claire Jean Kim, *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York* (2003).

capacity to do it. You know, they don't understand what a spirited child is. They don't understand any of this stuff.

The way I look at it is … I'm at the bottom of this river, okay? And you and I are at this edge here, and I see this body floating down the river. So what am I going to do? Well I'm, going to go grab that body and try to save that person because they can drown, okay? And then I see this other body coming. Well, I'm going to have you grab the other body. Well then there's two, three more coming down, five and six, okay? So we have to find out where these bodies are coming from— where they're coming from—because that's what we never did. We never exactly went and identified where the issue is.

Well the source is us Black men, that's one. The other source is our Black women … because what we've done to them as men, and the society, and how they've treated them. And then it's the system!

It's kids … if they're tardy for school, they're suspended. You know who our biggest gang recruiters are? The schools! The gangs, they're not going out with marketing people and signs that say, "Hey kid come be in my gang!" They're the ones that are opening their hands out and showing love. The school is saying if you come late you're getting out of here. The teacher doesn't understand this kid's traumatic experiences in life. And so, when he doesn't want to read because he's in eighth grade and he reads on a third grade reading level, and so he's getting kicked out of class and he's being butchered by his teacher. They're being pushed away. So where else are they going to go? And mama's out working.

He explains that one of the programs that he runs is focused on health. He says health is broad

and for him can address such questions as,

Why are our Black boys and Brown boys currently dropping out of high school, with academic challenges that are affecting them? Why are Black boys going to gangs? Why are they going to juvenile detention centers? Why do a large percentage of our kids not even have health insurance? Why is it that we have all these obese kids? How come they don't they understand these healthy food options? What's going on with the jobs for these young boys? So it's a broad scope of everything. We're looking at the Blacks and Brown at the bottom, in every type of poll. Now what can we do to reverse that?

Clearly he has thought about the origin, nature, and potential solutions to the problems that he

sees every day.

When integration occurred, Blacks lost their essence of their culture, they lost everything. And it's not that I hate White people. It's that we were conned into integrating. Asians don't do it.

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> They don't (take the same attitude about Asians not integrating). And I have a direct issue with that. Because when I sit here and I watch these boys of color … and watching them, really losing their self-value. And watching this prison pipeline just gaining so much momentum.

In the 1970s, in response to school dropout rates, Dryades Y in New Orleans started the first alternative school in the state. It was housed in the Y. Staff worked with the courts and the school system trying to mitigate the dropout situation. The Hungry Club Forum at Butler Street Y had weekly speakers on topics of interest to the predominately Black membership for decades. Similar to a local version of Monster Meetings, this forum provided a place of fellowship, information, and engagement around issues of the day.

Innovative programming and facilities can also be found at YMCA branches in communities of color that are under the auspices of a metropolitan association. One of the two that I visited was the Maya Angelou Teen Center housed at the Andrew & Walter Young Family YMCA. Local branch board members raised $.5 million for a youth center. Designed to give teenagers enriching experiences, the center has a performance stage and area, a reading and study space, a computer lab and cyber café, as well as a boutique. Programming takes advantage of local film festivals and other arts events as opportunities for collaboration. The teens get hands on experience in mounting programs, such as a fashion show. There are also the traditional YMCA programs here. This branch has a strong teen sports program—a very organized teen soccer program with multiracial Hispanic, White, recent Black African immigrants, and Black Americans. In addition to the Y's successful Youth and Government Program, which this branch has also, the leadership development goals of the half dozen or so African American board members with whom I spoke was to have teens involved in all aspects of the operations of the teen center, beginning with conceptualization. Says one of these board members,

The whole notion of developing the teen center was to have a teen board. And the teen board would basically have a liaison on our board and they would be trained. They would convene. They would have to be familiar with parliamentary procedure—Robert's Rules of Order. And they would basically make decisions. Take them to the board of the Y and then decisions would be carried out. And we've had this in place for about three years.

He relays that this was the idea of a particularly talented staff person, the Y's longtime Black female executive director, Diane Baker King.

I think that God gives everyone gifts. I just want you to know that her gift is connecting with teens and prime timers. She has a special gift … she has a chemistry. She connects with them on a daily basis. And it's almost pastoral to me. But that was her idea. And that's really how the teen center came about.
She wanted the teens to go out and raise the money, which they did. Now they had access to some pretty key people through the [some of our elder board members]. My daughter had a chance to go to Maya Angelou and get her to write a very sizable check for that center. How many people have that kind of access? They meet just like our board. They meet in the boardroom. They go out. They have sponsors. They put on events. I think that they are very well situated.

I ask about programming specifically for males.

We have sleepovers on weekends for just males. Churches are sponsors. Mentoring through middle school for males. Mentor for a day if they have an interest in your profession. We open up the gym to keep kids off the street. Historically, I see more men going to jail than young women. Minorities more than others. [One of our board members] is a traffic court judge. Once they get in the system. It makes it very difficult….

I am directed to drive twenty-two miles south of Los Angeles where another innovative youth-focused program that I encounter is the brainchild of a Latino staff member, Bob Cabeza. The Long Beach Y Association's Community Development Branch runs the year-round Youth Institute using technology as a medium for nurturing positive youth development, academic achievement, and college and career readiness for low-income high school students from diverse backgrounds. The summer Youth Institute is a digital media class for forty at-risk teenagers that runs forty hours per week for eight weeks. It is held at Change Agent Productions, the digital media firm created by the Y that provides digital media training to nonprofits, video production,

graphic design, and consulting services. In the fall, the program continues but the emphasis shifts to academic support. While this program began in a smaller association, several of the sites chosen in the initial efforts later elected to replicate its success in the Ys that were within the geographic target areas of my research. The location, size of the association that originated the program, and other factors have implications for understanding and developing successful programs for low-income minority youth. However, a large-N survey that would include national nonprofits as well as small, independent organizations would allow expanded understanding of programming that impacts youth of color and/or low-income.

Cabeza and Phyras Men, a key staff person who is the son of Cambodian immigrants, answered my questions and gave me a tour of the digital design studio. It is autumn and the space is humming with activity, as students and college-age staff cluster together on projects or do homework. During the school year, this space becomes a home away from home for its young program participants. Cabeza's approach to youth development and technology equity for underserved communities includes nurturing both academic and workforce success. The program includes college readiness components and trips away from the local area that exposes students to new environments and possibilities. The School of Social Work at Cal State Long Beach is carefully monitoring and documenting program outcomes, collecting data in order to measure participant development in the areas of leadership skills, technology skills, core values, cultural competence, and academic goals, motivation, and self-perception. As a result of the program's success, in 2014 efforts began to replicate the program at eleven additional sites in California and Washington, with a twelfth in Vancouver, British Columbia. In 2014, 64 percent of the 10- to 18-year-old participants were high school students. Latinos comprised 51 percent of participants, and 20 percent were African American.

In Maywood, California, which is 97 percent Hispanic according to the 2010 US Census, there is

an initiative at the Southeast-Rio YMCA branch. An Hispanic staff person tells me:

> There's a lack of the father as a parent presence in the families, especially in the inner city. So, high incidences of teen pregnancy, low incidences of father presence. The fatherhood project works with the father and the child and teaches them how to communicate with their child, how to encourage their child, how to have better communication with each other. In the Latino community, the father is breadwinner. That's pretty much all he does. The parent is the mother. And so what the fatherhood project is doing is bridging that gap and saying that both parents need to be present in the child's life. Not just one.

In addition to Youth and Government for high school students and Model United Nations for

middle schoolers, this staff person also tells me about Teen Lead, an 8-week life skills program

with fitness, academic and college readiness, community service, and confidence-building

components. The program had been replicated in several branches by 2016. During our

conversation, this same staff person spoke of why the program was launched.

> So we have a lot of programming that are for children between the ages of two and ten, and then we lose them. Then we don't know what happens to them. And so [the CEO's] thrust is to target that group of kids so we don't lose them, and so we insure they're excited enough about something that they go into college … high school and then college. We get them into youth and government, which you know, there's ninety percent success rate they'll go to college. And a hundred percent of them vote! The statistics are there–if you're in Youth and Government you're going to vote because you've created that fire in your belly that you want to do something for society.

> The staff person also told me that the YMCA doesn't turn anybody away for lack of

financial resources and that the public and potential donors are generally not aware that this is

the policy. Nationally, the organization was at the time of our interview (2011) just completing a

re-branding strategy. The goal had been to standardize message and materials nationwide and to

identify things that weren't being conveyed optimally to the public. We then discussed

challenges with fundraising.

> Basically, it's the responsibility that each and every individual has to contribute back to the society from which they came. And so what we're doing in many of our branches is reaching back—our campers—we're reaching back to find all those kids, young people that went to camp and try to bring them into the fold to come back and give to their community, whether it's in the LA Y or outside the Y, but to bring them back into the fold and make them understand that they have a responsibility to give back. And pay it forward.

The precious resources of time and energy devoted to defense and conflict reduces capacity to deliver programs and services.

The goal of chapters 3 and 4 is to begin to assess the scope of the problem of centralized leadership authority within nonprofits, including the YMCA. Perhaps more importantly, in chapter 5 we look in more detail at how various associations, branches, and other national organizations have attempted to avoid or solve the problem. The goal in this chapter was to ascertain whether communities of color are adequately represented on policy-setting bodies for the various YMCA Metropolitan Associations. Data was gathered on a sample of seventeen of these policy-making boards to determine racial composition (n=17 derived from overlapping sets of regional Metro YMCAs and US cities with highest African American population). The YMCA collects this data annually, but does not make it available to researchers or to the public.

Additional interviews planned for the YMCA, plus studies of the Young Women's Christian Association, African American fraternal organizations, and other major, national nonprofit organizations are outlined in the previous section. If minority representation on corporate governing boards at the YWCA or other national nonprofits is at or near the expected value based on the city or region's demography, I would conclude that African Americans are being proportionally represented in the budget, program, and policy decisions of these organizations. This is not to assert that anything more than descriptive representation would necessarily be taking place. If little or no evidence of inter-racial conflict between African

American communities and city- or region-wide governing boards is found, this could quite possibly indicate substantive integration.

Dawson and Francis (2015) assert that post-racialism and exclusively legalistic "New Jim Crow" frames miss the fact that capitalism and race are mutually constitutive. They argue that a political economy approach illuminates "racial capitalism." If we trace fiscal resources and the control of those resources as relates to the African American community, we will see that assets under the control of the African American community were absorbed into a new "color-blind" regime.

During the course of this research, Kevin Washington was named the first African American CEO of the YMCA of the USA. Similar to Barack Obama, Duval Patrick, and others, Washington represents the ascendancy of a post-civil rights era leadership that draws African American support from that legacy, but is careful to display a color-blind allegiance to all Americans. Responsiveness to the needs of all is, of course, ideal, questionable only to the extent that Black interests and those of other underserved Americans are sacrificed to the appearance of this ideal. The abandonment or abatement of advocacy for "the least of these" in favor of incorporating the Black elite is an abandonment of pluralist models as an underpinning for a functional democracy.

There are certainly many ways that Mr. Washington's appointment bodes well for progress. Some of these will be discussed in the section on best practices in the next chapter. Still, as of November 2015, the board of directors of the YMCA of the USA collects data regarding minority participation in policy setting, but does not make it publicly available. This is Gaventa's invisible power. "Color-blindness" leaves poor and working class people of color under attack—unrepresented at the table when resources are allocated and without official access

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to records that would tell them that they are being left out of the meeting. By withholding this information from the public, the Metropolitan Association model and the process of centralization corporatize former community functions, conceal the persisting operation of racism and external domination, and removes and occludes philanthropic and government assistance from the view and accountability demands of ordinary citizens.

CHAPTER 4

MIAMI: TWO CASE STUDIES

4.1   Miami, 2002

Just west of the waterfront condos overlooking Biscayne Bay at the northern end of the

City of Miami is the edge of Little Haiti. The neighborhood was created by the marriage of

1970s white flight and waves of Haitian immigrants during the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Bounded by railroad tracks on the east and on the west by I-95, which runs north and south about

a mile-and-a-half inland, is the heart of a neighborhood that welcomes immigrant families with

the familiar sights, smells, tastes, and sounds of Haiti.

Like Liberty City, the African American neighborhood just to its west, Little Haiti is

home to many children who survive in the face of stunning poverty. "We're Number One!" a

September, 2002 headline proclaimed, referring to a US Census Bureau report issued that month

naming Miami the nation's poorest city (Mullins 2002). In the shadow of I-95, on the border

between Liberty City and Little Haiti, the George Washington Carver YMCA sits at the corner of

a multi-acre lot where huge electrical transformers dwarf towering palm trees. By 2002, the

spacious but dilapidated main building that had housed (among other things) a weight room,

aerobics classes, and a karate dojo had been abandoned after years of patching violations cited by

city building inspectors. Only a modest prefabricated auxiliary building remained. It housed

Carver's only remaining program—a children's day care.

In November of 2001, $25 million of a unique, post-9/11, economic stimulus bond issue

had been earmarked by the City of Miami to create a much-needed park in the Little Haiti section

of Miami. The plan called for a community center to anchor the park. African American

City Commissioner Arthur Teele, architect of the bond issue, had approached Miami's

historically Black YMCA branch. According to one of Carver's board members, a business

owner in the area for over 33 years:

> Right before we were announced as the primary partner in the Little Haiti Project … our board and our director had just completed a whole new [construction] project for a daycare center. The people at the Y's main office fought us and fought us and wanted us to wait and wanted us to build a CBC [concrete block construction] structure that was going to take years and years for approvals, and they didn't want to give us the money. Anyway, we ended up building and completing a project and had students in there in no time. And that was one of the things that the city and the politicians from the city were very impressed with and one of the reasons they made us their primary partner in that Little Haiti Project. So, we had already performed…. We set our sight on a project, we performed, we completed the project and they liked that.[1]

Commissioner Teele, City of Miami staff, and the George Washington Carver YMCA

branch executive director agreed that the YMCA would be an ideal partner for the new

community center. In early spring of 2002, after the Y had won lead partner status in a

competitive bid process with several other agencies, the Metropolitan board of directors passed a

resolution unanimously accepting this park/YMCA as an official project of the YMCA of

Greater Miami, with the George Washington Carver branch providing oversight and leadership

for the YMCA in the development the project.[2]

On August 5, 2002, a newly hired CEO for the metropolitan association reported for his

first day of work. Eighteen days later, on August 23, 2002, this new CEO told Nino Tillman,

executive director of Miami's historically African American YMCA branch, to cease all activity

on the joint project. The CEO issued this instruction without consulting the branch's staff or

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[1] Former member Carver YMCA Board of Directors, interview with author, October 8, 2006.

[2] Nino Tillman (executive management consultant and former YMCA executive director) , interview with author, August 31, 2006. I lived in Miami from 1999 to 2003 and was married to Nino Tillman at the time. I also volunteered at the Carver YMCA and on the Little Haiti Park Project Task Force and therefore am personally acquainted with many of these events.

board of directors (although called "directors," this board was advisory only) as to how this might impact the community.[3] In an interview, Tillman said,

> Basically, the momentum we had gained over three years of community education stopped and at this point … in 2006, there's been no more progress on the project…. I think that a lot of our community activists, grassroots folks, really put a lot of their energy and their hearts into it, and we really had a lot of good momentum and a lot of good feelings. I think that we—and they—especially were encouraged that they could make a difference. I think it has a ripple effect. So, the number of programs that were offered in that community has gone down. The intellectual capital that was brought to bear and the capacity that was increased was lost because people need to be associated—when they're working on these kinds of projects—with a winner. It's very important if you're doing fundraising or anything else that you reach your goal.[4]

All three of the former branch board members interviewed say now that they are not as involved in community work as they were at that time, and at least one said that she plans to never get that involved again. "I'm no longer a board member at the Y because I was disenchanted with the politics and all the red tape that went on with the Y…. It seems like every time we took one step forward, the officials in the main office would push us back two or three," says the 33-year veteran businesswoman quoted previously. She relayed that several years before the Little Haiti Project was derailed, the YMCA of Greater Miami had a similar situation occur in the Coconut Grove section of the city, which has a mix of very affluent residents and a historically Bahamian area.

> The city had committed millions of dollars, and the Y was unable to perform…. Once the money was approved and we were designated the lead partner in this project, which was going to be a huge park, the people at the Y, at the head office came in and said that they were taking over the project. Well, it got kind of ugly because the people that were involved in putting the Little Haiti Project together had known about the inability to do the Coconut Grove Project. And were very specific that they wanted our board and our Director to put this project together and the main office said no—they were doing it…. Since we weren't going to be the lead partner, it all kind of fell apart…. Once they learned what was going on at

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

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the Y, the city pulled back the funds. Who suffered? Not me. I still go to work every day…. But, the kid that doesn't have a park in Little Haiti....

The Carver YMCA branch director explained a "punitive approach" as relates to how this Metropolitan Association dealt with financial matters. Of Carver's $2 million budget, 85–87 percent was provided through federal and state grants, mostly for childcare. Like John Lands in Indianapolis, this was not a typical YMCA as it served primarily low-income members. I was interested in the details of this claim. The following is an excerpt of an extended interview with the Executive Director Nino Tillman:

> **Subject**: "One of the primary discussions we were having with the corporate staff was simply … how they allocated the resources…. One of the things that we had been kind of battling with them on over a period of a year or so was the financials—how they accounted for different line items and so on. They had gotten into a punitive kind of approach where they were taking resources from the branch, and saying "you didn't get this report in, so we're docking you $35,000."
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> **Researcher**: Is that an actual amount?
>
> **Subject**: Yes.
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> **Researcher**: When they say, "You didn't get this report in…" Like for a year? What—
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> **Subject**: Or you got this report in late. It had no bearing on whether or not we got funded because the $35,000 actually came into the organization. They were just saying that our branch—although we did all of the work—because we were late in getting a report in for various reasons—
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> **Researcher**: When you say "Did all the work"… this was like contracts?
>
> **Subject**: Yes, it was a grant given by the federal government to do some childcare.
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> **Researcher**: Were there like—stiff penalties?
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> **Subject**: No penalties whatsoever.
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> **Researcher**: The organization didn't incur any penalties for the report being late?

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Subject: Exactly. The only thing was that you have a few hours where you're really hustling to get the stuff in by the deadline, but we made all of the federal government's deadlines.

Researcher: Oh, you're saying the actual report got into the government on time, but your being late to the central office made them have to….

Subject: Right—to have to spend a little extra hours on this or that. But the reality is that that's true on our end too. So, if they give us something late, we don't have the opportunity to say, "Well, we're going to charge you for us having us to have to put in overtime or whatever." I have been in nonprofits for over twenty years, and I have never, ever heard of anything like that, and neither had my board, which were professionals … lawyers. One was [a government administrator] … who's in the accounting department and said "I've never heard of that—where there's no penalty to the organization, but they're going to penalize your operation."

So, we were having those kinds of discussions, which kind of dovetails into the discussion in terms of allocation of resources. Ultimately what happened was that the decision to remove me from the Little Haiti Project was more about the allocation of resources. It was the fact that they really didn't believe that there was ever going to be any money raised for this. There was never any intention on their part to raise any money on their part, because they never worked on it. And so they said, "Well you can have a new facility, if you can raise the money." The board went out through some very creative means, was able to raise the money. Now they were faced with this—it was actually in the corporate minutes that this was an official project of the YMCA of Greater Miami and that this was fully sanctioned. But then … they said, "Well, you should be working on something else."

In the end when we were in negotiations with the corporate board about this, the branch board was very upset and they started discussions with the national office and they said, "This is a local matter and we don't get involved with that. Each YMCA association is independent." At the same time, they sent national consultants to help Metro at the corporate office, but they didn't send anybody to the branch level. Just so you understand, the branches actually contribute part of their revenue every year to the national dues. You have to pay dues to the national as a percentage of your revenue. At the same time, we don't have access to the resources of the national. It has to come through the Metro Association. So when there was a dispute, the national office supported the Metro office, which ultimately has the benefit of being able to use all of the money from the branches to fight them!

[…] So we were in the position where we were negotiating with the corporate office and the corporate board. And at some point the question was, "Well, can we become an independent YMCA?" Can we have our own association so that we

can make these decisions, and we will deal with all the costs and everything? One of their contentions was that Carver Branch was costing the association too much money and we needed to scale back.

When the board said, "Let's become independent." Okay, if we're that much of a burden, then we would like to have our own association. We will take all the responsibility and give us our own charter. They were saying that we were costing $250,000 per year. Again, one of the biggest disputes between the corporate office and me and my finance committee at the branch was that that was a purely arbitrary number. That was with them saying we're going to penalize you $35,000 for this, and we're going to penalize you $75,000 for that. Oh yeah, we did say that this money was allocated to you from this foundation, but we're going to put that in the central coffers and you're not going to get credit for it. And so, a lot of what they were saying was untrue.

At the same time, I was also directed—this was also witnessed by the CEO—not to question any of the financials. Some of those things were also timing issues. In accounting you have accrual, so sometimes it was just a matter of timing. Okay, we did the work, but it was a lag time in terms of when we would actually get booked the money.

When we did the in-depth analysis of our financial position, we were a full $200,000 away from their number—which is significant. [I was instructed that] it was not my job to question how the money is being allocated and in what line item it's going, and who gets what, and all that kind of stuff. What I'm just supposed to do is raise $250,000—Well, initially they were talking about $250,000 the board and I were supposed to go out and find that money. Then they said, well just raise $50,000 in the next four months! Now granted, their corporate hadn't raised $50,000 in a whole year, but my board was expected to raise $50,000 in four months. And they said they were going to help, but they never actually sent anybody.

In the end, when the local board was investigating the possibility of seceding from the association and starting an independent association with its own charter, national sent consultants down to the Metro office, and then ultimately they sent out an email and a fax dissolving the branch board and saying that they will run the Carver YMCA from the corporate office. By that time I had already resigned … I resigned in November of 2002 because there was just too much—there was a conflict of interest in terms of—they were engaged in things that I knew were harmful to the community, that I didn't feel was just, and in no way reflective of my personal values, nor of the community's values. And I also had questions as to whether or not it was in the spirit of the YMCA's corporate values, in terms of what they present to the national media and its constituents. So, I resigned and continued to work with the board as a volunteer.

At the time that their executive director resigned, board members of the Carver branch had worked for over a year on this project. The board and executive director had facilitated development of a task force of engaged community stakeholders from many agencies—grassroots nonprofits such as Fanm Ayisyen Nan Miyami (FANM-Haitian Women of Miami), an organization serving Haitian women; the Miami Fire Department, the police department, and the public library. One Carver board member, a retired health professional who lives and works in the community, had been working to bring a park and community service center to the area for six years, citing as her motivation the almost weekly deaths of children in Little Haiti and Liberty City. Commissioner Teele had made $100,000 in City of Miami funds available to the YMCA for a market study, community forums, a Park Project newsletter, etc. The carefully negotiated plan called for the Miami Park District to build the multi-million dollar facility, build and also maintain the surrounding park, and then lease the facility to the YMCA for $1 per year.

According to a third Carver board member, who was formerly a telecom executive and is now a management consultant,

> There were several policy disagreements. The major policy disagreement, as far as I was concerned, was that the [Carver] Y never received the same amount of attention monetarily or otherwise that it seemed went to the other locations across the city…. Yet, the area that Carver served was the statistical garden from which the YMCA as a whole harvested their funds.... All those stats that were primarily around Carver were used in the pitch that the Greater Y would use toward donations that were then distributed, as far as I'm concerned, not in an equitable way.[5]

When it became clear that the interests of the metropolitan association and the Carver branch were not aligned, the Carver board approached the Metro Association with a request that it be allowed to become an independent YMCA.

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[5] Former Carver board member, interview with author, November 7, 2006.

The Metro Board wouldn't participate in any serious dialogue that would look at independence … I've always been the kind of person who believes that you want to help people move toward independence. When you truly serve—you know the old adage, "Give a person a fish and he'll eat for a day, teach him how to fish and he'll eat for a lifetime." I've always believed it's about building leadership in community; about building a way for people to have vested ownership in their development…[6]

This board member's assessment highlights a point that Cathy Cohen (2002) makes that "outside parties are usually interested only in superficial participation—activity that legitimizes but does not threaten the stable working of the project. Thus it takes an active commitment to democratic inclusion on the part of community leaders to break such a pattern of appropriation and legitimization" (278–79). A fourth member who had been the local Carver board's treasurer who held multiple administrative positions with the county school system for over thirty years—with departmental oversight and responsibility for millions of dollars annually—explained how she got involved as a volunteer:

I saw that the children were there and they were in a building that was just simply deplorable. It [Carver] was always underfunded and the children were placed in the forefront to get funding…. They were using Black faces to pull down dollars from different [external] associations but then they weren't funding Carver at the level that was needed for it to flourish … the building was partially condemned.[7]

For nearly four years, Carver's main childcare facility had had 30 percent of its usable space padlocked by structural engineers because they deemed it unsafe. The remainder of the building was crumbling. Dozens of structural jacks supported the roof trusses in the part of the building that was still occupied daily by the children and staff. In early 2002, the corporate board and staff fast-tracked the purchase of a 14-court tennis center and mini-fitness facility in one of the

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Former Carver Board member, interview with author, November 5, 2006.

wealthiest areas, not only of Miami, but in the nation.[8] This board member was "appalled." She also relayed,

> I was very surprised at the participation [administrative fees] that the parent took from the child, which was the Carver branch, as far as supporting the overall administration of the Metropolitan Association. I understand that if you have children, and these children are paid for by the state or different grants and programs … I understand that there is an overhead that you have to pay to receive certain services that are provided from the central administration … but the level that Carver was paying was astronomical.… And the money was coming in from different sources, so it wasn't as if the parent was pushing the money down, we were pushing the money up! … They always sent models down, as far as staffing … but it wasn't what Carver needed.…

Toward the end of our conversation, she said, "I felt like we were a joke.… We had no real say.… It was as if it was a done deal no matter what we said. 'Oh well that sounds good— this is what you're *going* to do.' I was never more offended than when they told us, we *had* to raise *x* amount of dollars or we basically were going to get nothing.…"[9] Although the Carver branch paid thousands of dollars each year in membership dues to YMCA of the USA ($25,694 in 2001), the national office did not respond to repeated documentation of the Little Haiti Park situation and other events or requests for assistance in these matters.[10] When the Carver branch board chairman and the branch secretary contacted the national office requesting information regarding details of the procedure to be chartered as an independent YMCA, they received a letter from the national CEO:

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[8] I knew of and was concerned with the structural issues, among other reasons because my children participated in programs at the branch. At one point the court ordered that the portion of the building that was still being used could only be kept open with monthly inspections by a licensed structural engineer. Extensive termite damage to the wooden trusses had necessitated the jacks. The tennis center spoken of in one of the interviews is in the South Miami neighborhood of Pinecrest and is called the New South Dade YMCA. Nino Tillman was executive director of the South Dade branch from 1993 to 1995 and therefore had expert knowledge of the economic and racial demography of that branch's service area.

[9] Former Carver Board member, interview with author, November 5, 2006.

[10] Nino Tillman, interview with author and personal records.

It is not possible for me to provide adequate, appropriate or helpful response at this time. I do know that our Y-USA staff have already been engaged in extensive discussion with the YMCA of Greater Miami and I have full confidence that we are providing good counsel through our Y-USA consultants, Chuck East and Bob McNair.[11]

The Metro Association dissolved the Carver branch's board of directors in December of 2002. Many of these board members and the branch executive staff were young professionals under 40 years of age. There was not, as there had been in the years of the Colored Works Department, a centralized repository where talented African Americans tracked best practices and problems related to race within the YMCAs across the country. Because a large percentage of these board members were relatively new to the board and many were new to the area and just beginning their careers, they were not able to mount a sustained challenge.

Typically, a Metropolitan Association board selects new board members and hires staff regardless of its own performance. In theory, a branch board may actually raise more money, but the corporate board selects staff and sets policy. For 2001, the corporate board of the YMCA of Greater Miami raised less than one percent of the operations budget of the organization, but had 100 percent of the decision-making power for the organization's operational budget.[12]

Presently, the bylaws call for the board of directors of the YMCA of Greater Miami to be made up of at least one representative from each of nine branches. However, the bylaws allow for an unlimited number of board members selected and recruited by corporate staff and other board members. The nature of the board nomination process tends to make this group homogenous.

While the focus of this data collection was the African American community, there is evidence that a similar conflict had arisen at the same time across town in another community of

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[11] Copy of letter in researcher's possession from the national executive director to Carver board secretary.

[12] The 2001 YMCA Statistical Summary lists Annual Campaign revenues as $413,941, or 2% of operating revenue. However, this figure includes monies raised by the 11 branch boards.

color. The Southwest YMCA branch of the Miami YMCA was at that time 74 percent Hispanic

(Cuban, Brazilian, Nicaraguan, and Columbian); 16 percent White; and 8 percent Black.[13]

Interviews with staff and board members at this facility revealed that with approximately

ten acres of property in the heart of South Miami, many surveys conducted over the years

suggested that the community overwhelmingly desired and would support a facility.

> And all of that was ignored basically…. This was the ultimate in central leadership making decisions without respect for the community…. In hindsight, I think it was the desire of the central leadership to, I guess, eliminate these operations as facility-based operations. And in both situations—it's almost a mirror image—[the directors at Carver and Southwest] were both working on facility development in an aggressive manner. And I think that there was a perception that there was resistance to comply with this idea of just cutting expenses or selling property or whatever it might be.

When asked if cost-cutting might be the goal, the subject replied:

> Yeah … an agenda that we didn't know about. That suggests a complete lack of communication again and involvement in decisions. It was almost exactly the same. There was little or no dialogue.

Elsewhere in 2002, the YMCA of Philadelphia & Vicinity was battling a bid by its

historically Black Christian Street Branch for independence. One of the major issues that

prompted Christian Street's board of directors to seek independence was dissatisfaction with

their own lack of authority to insure the timely and equitable distribution of resources in their

community.

Rotan Lee served as chairman of the Christian Street board and was a prominent attorney

who had been president of Philadelphia's Board of Education and chairman of the board that

oversaw the Philadelphia Gas Works. He was also a weekly columnist for the nation's oldest and

Philadelphia's largest daily African American newspaper. His weekly columns provide a

vigorous critique of corporate YMCA practices and policy:

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[13] Southwest branch of Miami YMCA subject no. 4, interview with author, October 31, 2006.

The YMCA of Philadelphia & Vicinity's chief executive and board chairman practice benign racism. What they do and how they act are natural to them and consistent with their sociological roots. They are standard-bearers of a pathos that runs through the past and present of the YMCA. Its lily-white Christian heritage traces an anti-Semitic, racially bigoted, and sexist America—changing their ways in the face of political upheaval rather than by intellectual enlightenment. They see themselves as moderates—progressive thinkers—who keep their prejudices on a leash and reserve their bigotry for selective audiences. They claim Black friends, yet they rarely promote Black interests (Lee 2002).

This echoed other concerns also voiced in Miami:

The metro center—one of 2,000 corporate YMCAs around the country—feeds off the branches by slicing 12 percent of their revenues as administrative cost. Actually, metro center charges the branches for lots of other things—training, information technology, grantsmanship, and debt service—the latter reflects 3 percent of each branch's revenues (Lee 2001).

In April of 2006, attempting to contact Mr. Lee in connection with this project, I learned that he had died of a heart attack. He was 57-years-old.

4.2   Miami, 1984 – An Earlier Fight for Self-Determination

The previous accounts are examples of facilities and resources outside the control of local residents. Ultimate ownership resided outside of these communities. In these cases, the potential for neighborhood organizations to incline toward participation in broader political processes is thwarted. With programming reduced and leadership disbursed, young people's access to mentors and opportunities to observe the administration of a community-based institution is also reduced. However, as the staff and board members learned in the midst of their disagreements with the Metropolitan Association, nearly 20 years earlier a virtually identical struggle had very different results.

Board members of the Carver Family YMCA, saying they're "frustrated and disenchanted" with their parent organization, hope to raise about $4 million on their own to build a new facility in Liberty City… The announcement came after the board members voted unanimously last week to withdraw from the Greater Miami (Metro) YMCA …
Carver Board Member Garth Reeves Sr. said his group grew impatient after waiting for

five years for the umbrella organization to proceed with construction of a new building on Martin Luther King Boulevard and NW 21st Avenue…. The Carver Family Y purchased the site five years ago to replace its building at 5770 NW 15th Ave. (de la France 1984)

Later in the same article:

"We have surmounted all the obstacles Metro placed before us," Reeves told the Metro Board. "To date, no definitive action has been taken to assist in securing any fund for the construction of the new Carver YMCA building.… Ellis [president of the Metro YMCA] denied that the Metro YMCA Board has been slow in acting. "We are in the middle of a fund-raising campaign and you don't raise money for a building overnight," Ellis said. He wouldn't comment further on the Metro Board's efforts to raise money. [later in the article, Board Member Garth Reeves, Sr. is quoted:] "This has been boiling for a long time and we thought long and hard about the decision to leave. It was not a knee-jerk reaction," he said. "We still want to be a YMCA, but we want to make our own decisions and we feel we can do just as good a job as the Metro Board." (de la France, Miami Herald 1984)

In spite of the Metro Association board chair's reported prediction that there wouldn't be

any obstacles to returning the money that Carver's board had raised for a new facility, a year

later the matter had still not been resolved.

One year after breaking from the main YMCA, the Black Youth Christian Association of America Inc. still is waiting for its former parent group to divvy up its assets. The Association, formerly the Carver Family YMCA, may get its wish Jan. 22 when the board of directors of the Greater Miami (Metro) YMCA is scheduled to vote on whether to give the association $400,000 raised in 1983.
"We earned those assets through the community," Association President Herman Williams said. "Hopefully, they will follow through and not renege on their word." (Thomas 1985)

Today, the group of community leaders that left the YMCA of Greater Miami operates as

Family Christian Association of America.[14] Initially operating as the Black Youth Christian

Association of America, they were sued by the YMCA of the USA, which deemed the name an

infringement. FCAA has an annual budget of approximately $7 million and operates programs

throughout the state of Florida through its four branches. Monies raised before the separation

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[14] Family Christian Association of America (FCAA) website, accessed May 2, 2016, http://www.fcaanet.org.

were never returned.[15] FCAA's spotless facility at its Miami branch is a source of pride. FCAA's 30-member board successfully focuses on developing leadership within the African American community and providing programs tailored to the community's needs.

When I mention the YMCA of Greater Miami during the first of my two conversations with Garth Coleridge Reeves, Sr. and quote the newspaper articles on the separation, his speech becomes peppered with mild expletives. "I left the YMCA. We had a YMCA predominately controlled by the local white power structure, with only token Blacks on the board—one or two. There were powerful people on the board. But I started thinking, hell, I'm powerful myself!" He talks about the fact that very few Blacks are in a position to speak out, citing in his own case, the independence that comes from being the founder (in 1923) and editor emeritus of Miami's only Black-owned newspaper.

As board chairman of the Carver Branch dating from the founding of the branch, Mr. Reeves sat on the Metropolitan board. Mr. Reeves recalls the difficulty of surviving as an independent agency after the separation. He evaluates the young people who stayed and volunteered to build the organization,

> They did a good job. They put it together and today it's called Family Christian Association of America, and it's working quite well. We do the same thing we were doing as the YMCA. But only we don't have to wait on the White people downtown to give us permission to do certain things, we go on and do them…. We do the same things that they do in all the urban areas of the country, we try to keep kids in school, afterschool programs, athletics…. It worked out well for us because I think it established new leadership and the group became young Black professionals who were really interested in the community. They did a good job and they're still doing a good job. Herman Williams [CEO of FCAA] did an incredible job in developing the new leadership. He deserves a lot of credit for that.

In a conversation with one of the key figures in the founding of FCAA, I asked about the impact on the community.

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[15] FCAA Board Member #5, interview with author, September 6, 2006.

One, it exposed institutional racism in corporate-type board settings. As it relates to the offshoot of that organization, by getting a board made up of people who look like the constituency that it served—it worked out better because people were involved in making decisions for their own destiny…. They [the Metropolitan Association] never give you enough staff to do the job that the community needs or is demanding. And the allocation of resources to get the job done are inequitable … [The Executive Director] got promoted [to a higher position] to stop the movement of what we've been talking about [independence of the Black branch].

Indicating records of events and statements by the Metro Association, this key stakeholder felt that it was glaringly obvious that the money that had been raised by Liberty City community leaders for a new facility to serve the Black community had all been spent. He continued:

In other words, the needs of the Black community were sustaining the cash flow for the major organization. So, the decision was made that we need to do for ourselves instead of being ripped-off and selling out.[16]

4.3   Postscript 2015

The seven-acre parcel upon which the George Washington Carver YMCA once stood, valued by Dade County in 2007 at $2.4 million, has been turned into Village Carver I and II. Two hundred-and-two affordable housing units have been completed, out of an initially planned 300 units. All are designated for the elderly. Four miles away, Carlisle Development Group and the YMCA have done a similar project in the Allapattah neighborhood of Miami. Using data from the 2010 US Census, the city of Miami's Planning and Zoning Department reports Allapattah's population as 84 percent Hispanic and 10.48 percent Black, non-Hispanic.[17] The Allapattah development has 200 units and a $6 million family and fitness facility. Ninety of these units are also designated for seniors. Taken with the Village Carver I and II development, of the 402 total units in both developments, 292 are for seniors and 110 are for families.

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[16]FCAA Board Member #5, interview with author, October 30, 2006.

[17]City of Miami website, accessed March 30, 2017,
http://www.miamigov.com/planning/census2010.html

The LinkedIn profile of the former CEO who led the YMCA in this partnership notes that

he "executed creative capital development plan that included nontraditional, community partners

such as affordable housing developers."[18] A journal that serves those following trends in

financing affordable housing reported:

> At the heart of the Village's residences, the YMCA's physical structure and its expansive repertoire of community training and services will integrate shelter and well-being as a seamless concept. So enthused are its three key partners—Carlisle Development Group, Biscayne Housing Group, and the YMCA of Greater Miami— that they're looking at Village Allapattah as a template for YMCAs nationally.
> "Our partners really embraced this venture to the point where they were looking beyond the housing issues to the holistic community fabric," says Alfred Sanchez, president and CEO of the YMCA of Greater Miami. "We're all looking at this not just as a project, but as a long-term marriage and a model for the future."[19]

Unfortunately, such sweeping optimism about looking to private interests as partners in

serving the public good were premature. As of 2016, the principals of Carlisle Development

Group, the Biscayne Housing Group, and Siltek Construction pled guilty to "a scheme to defraud

the federal government of $36 million in federal tax credits."[20] They are now all serving prison

[18]LinkedIn profile, accessed March 31, 2017, https://www.linkedin.com/in/alfredsanchez1.

[19]"Affordable Housing Finance Magazine," an online publication of Hanley Wood, an information, media and marketing company that serves the construction industry, July 1, 2009, accessed March 31, 2017, http://www.housingfinance.com/developments/master-planned-mixed-use-finalists_o.

20   The US Department of Justice, "Former Carlisle CEO and Consultant Pleads Guilty in Fraud Scheme Involving Low-Income Housing Developments." Accessed on March 13, 2017, https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdfl/pr/former-carlisle-ceo-and-consultant-pleads-guilty-fraud-scheme-involving-low-income. The Department of Justice's press release about the indictment dated August 4, 2015 names Village Carver II as one of the developments whose tax credits and funds were targets of theft. See also the US Attorney's Office Southern District of Florida – Miami. "Six South Florida Residents Charged In $36 Million Government Fraud Scheme Involving Low-Income Housing Developments," accessed March 13, 2017, https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/miami/news/press-releases/six-south-florida-residents-charged-in-36-million-government-fraud-scheme-involving-low-income-housing-developments-1. See also Debbie Cenziper's 2006 Pulitzer Prize-winning series in the Miami Herald on waste, conflicts of interest, mismanagement and lack of proper oversight of tens of millions of taxpayer dollars did not directly bear on the YMCA case, but certainly helped create the climate that eventually led to Carlisle Group et al being investigated. Accessed on March 13, 2017. http://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/crime/article101443382.html and http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/debbie-cenziper

terms. According to the same press release from the US Attorney's Office, the two developers and their construction partner used "kickbacks" and "fraudulently inflated contracts to FHFC [Florida Housing Finance Corporation] for the receipt of excess federal tax credits and grant monies."

Even before the allegations of fraud surfaced, questions arose over how much community residents benefited in the agreement between the YMCA and the developers. In an article on the development deal for the Carver property, John Little, an attorney representing nonprofit affordable housing organizations, was reported to have said that "developers like Carlisle build apartments with almost no money of their own and decades later are free to sell them for millions of dollars in profits."[21] The $129 million deal included provisions for the YMCA to receive $500,000 for 67 years in lease payments from Carlisle. Subsequently convicted CEO of Carlisle Matt Greer explained that in a traditional deal, a developer has 80 percent debt and 20 percent equity. By selling the federal low-income tax credit on Wall Street, Carlisle would have 60 percent equity. According to Greer, with 60 percent of construction costs paid through federal tax credits and another 10 percent through grants from the county and city, only a small portion would be paid for through a conventional loan to be serviced by the rent revenue.

The same article quotes Jennifer Chester, housing credits administrator for the Florida Housing Finance Corporation, as saying that Carlisle's development fee was capped at 16 percent and that the units had to stay affordable housing for thirty years. After that, Carlisle would be free to sell the buildings at market value. The article also said that Ms. Chester was leaving the Florida Housing Finance Corporation to work for the Carlisle Development Group.

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[21] See entry in the City of Miami public record:
http://egov.ci.miami.fl.us/Legistarweb/Attachments/39002.pdf

By 2008, it was apparent that the problem of affordable housing fraud was not confined to Dade County. Writing in the *Miami Herald*, Fred Grimm cited similar issues in another part of Florida and six other US states.[22] The article reports that housing expert Heather MacDonald, then professor at the University of Iowa's School of Urban and Regional Planning, said "that private-public housing deals can work in communities with a tradition of tough oversight from governing boards and local government." YMCA associations with a post-civil rights tendency toward centralized control are the antithesis of this model. In Miami, there was active discouragement of community participation in governance.

From the standpoint of community stability and development, without theft and conflicts of interest being factors, designating all or most affordable housing units in such developments only for senior citizens facilitates gentrification. Residents are required to be over 55 years of age. Children and growing families are not accommodated and still face a dearth of decent, affordable housing. The lower median life expectancy of seniors means that mortality and morbidity will curtail opposition to policies that do not benefit community residents who are being displaced. Recall that the community residents involved in the Little Haiti/Liberty City Park Project, which would have had a facility for sports and other activities, were motivated by the fact the youth in those neighborhoods had no constructive outlets.

Art Teele, the Miami commissioner who conceived the park project and sought to have the YMCA as lead partner in building a facility, committed suicide in 2005, shooting himself in the head in the lobby of the *Miami Herald* newspaper. Under indictment and facing trial for allegedly awarding contracts to at least one minority-owned construction firm for kickbacks, he

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[22] *Miami Herald*, "Housing fraud not unique to South Florida," June 12, 2008. The article mentions that Connecticut, California, Texas, New Jersey (three munipalities), and Ohio had all recently experienced similar scandals.

had learned that day that the city's second largest paper by circulation, the *Miami New Times*, was set to publish graphic descriptions of alleged drug use and sexual liaisons between Teele and a transvestite prostitute. The article was replete with unusually detailed sexual descriptions and said to be culled primarily from a police officer's notes from a corruption investigation of Teele, possibly triggered by a 2003 article in the *Miami Herald*.[23] A thorn in the side of for-profit developers seeking to capitalize on prime in-town locations in predominately Black neighborhoods, Teele was found after his death to have amassed only debt. Despite this, his memory remains beloved by many in the African American community.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

In April 2009, human bones were discovered where the third phase of Village Carver was planned. It turned out to be the Lemon City Cemetery, the final resting place to approximately 525 Black people buried between 1911 and 1935. Construction was put on hold, as a few longtime residents fight to permanently halt the development and receive historic designation.[24]

At the YMCA, Alfred Sanchez, the CEO picked by County Commissioner Natasha Seijas (who was also on the YMCA of Greater Miami's payroll without a title, office, or duties for years),[25] had moved on to leadership at another nonprofit. Sanchez, who on his eighteenth day of work ordered a halt to the community's plan for an evolving park anchored by a YMCA,

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23   "Tales of Teele: Sleaze Stories," *Miami New Times*, July 28, 2205, accessed on March 14, 2017, http://www.miaminewtimes.com/news/tales-of-teele-sleaze-stories-6339768. See also "Overtown Agency May Have Wasted Millions," *Miami Herald*, October 31, 2003, accessed March 14, 2017, http://www.housingissues.org/floridacdc/articles/031031-2.htm .
24   "A Grave Concern," *Biscayne Times*, August 2013, accessed March 14, 2017, http://www.biscaynetimes.com/index.php?option=com_content&id=1551:a-grave-concern-&Itemid=226.
25   "Wicked," *Miami New Times*, December 14, 2006, accessed March 14, 2017 http://www.miaminewtimes.com/news/wicked-6335234 and "Wicked, Part 2," *Miami New Times*, February 1, 2007, accessed March 14, 2017, http://www.miaminewtimes.com/news/wicked-part-2-6365445 ; see also "Overwhelming Vote Ousts Miami-Dade County Commissioner Maria Seijas," *Miami Herald*, March 15, 2011, accessed March 14, 2017, http://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/miami-dade/article1937866.html

presided over a deal where the children and adolescents of Liberty City and Little Haiti are still not being served by a YMCA. The site designated for Village Carver is literally over the dead bodies of African American Miamians. In 2011, Seijas became one of two local politicians first to be recalled by voters since the 1970s. Despite attempts several years apart—in 2006 and again in 2011—the Metropolitan YMCA leadership did not respond to my attempts to interview them.

The corporate board selection process is not rooted in a democratic process. Furthermore, the national YMCA's relationships and allegiances lie with corporate offices across the country, as was demonstrated by the availability of consultants and assistance to Miami's Metropolitan Association and a lack of any substantive response to Carver's board and staff. These factors virtually assure the disenfranchisement of low-income and minority communities with respect to policy setting and resource allocation. The majority of YMCA branch boards are advisory boards; however, there are a few that are referred to as such (e.g., Atlanta). Instead they are frequently named "Board of Managers" (e.g., Chicago) or "Board of Directors" (e.g.-Miami) creating an impression in the community that responsibility and power is vested in these bodies, which is not actually the case.

The foregoing account actually comprises two case studies of the historically Black YMCA in Miami separated in time by eighteen years, each involving conflict over differing agendas between the local community and the metro-wide association board of directors. The case studies introduce in detailed fashion what can occur when a community is disconnected from decision-making processes affecting that community.

Chapter 5 will be an examination and consideration of new organizational sites for political mobilization, as well as a review of those sites that actively promote and achieve high values on key variables that I discovered within the YMCA. There are organizations, often newer

ones, that directly address the political concerns of populations of color. The next chapter briefly

examines the extent to which these organizations are able to fill the void (or not) left by social

service and advocacy agencies that do not, or no longer, represent the interests of African

Americans.

CHAPTER 5

BEST PRACTICES AND CONTEMPORARY IMPACT

All too often, current community development models increase vulnerability amongst disadvantaged groups. The associated implementation processes may also prevent or hinder those affected by a particular development model from participating fully in decision making, employment, and other economic activity (e.g., contracting, entrepreneurship). As we have seen, these development processes can create new forms of vulnerability and dependency or exacerbate existing ones, impeding efforts to reduce poverty and promote leadership development, community confidence, and stability. This becomes more critical for poor communities during economic downturns and as natural resources are depleted. "Win-win" approaches for securing sustainable community development, reducing poverty, and strengthening community resilience are explored here.

This chapter looks at best practices among nonprofit organizations. Best practices are defined here as those that lead to the greatest amount of empowerment of people in local communities. In that there are persistent differences in how Blacks and whites perceive economic and political realities in the United States, and further, prefer different remedies, the ability of historically disadvantaged communities to associate and advocate for their positions is essential to pluralist conceptions of the democratic process (Dahl 1967; Polsby 1968). Empowerment encompasses our four variables: sites where an alternative agenda might form, the capacity to transmit information laterally and intergenerationally, leadership development, and programs aimed at male youth/politics. We focus on the political development, organizational culture, and rule-making that has produced high levels of diversity within decision-making bodies.

5.1 Comparative Organizational Structure, Challenges, and Best Practices

After reviewing the foregoing data and findings, it may be helpful to create a simple typology of service delivery/advocacy/community development models that operate within African American and other communities. In future work, it may be instructive to take a more detailed survey of the differences in how these models work in the three different types of organizations—service delivery, advocacy, and community development—to see how efficacious each is.

Table 5.1 Leadership Models of African American Organizations

	Non-YMCA Examples	YMCA-Related or Former	Advantages	Challenges
Independent	-Black Lives Matter -NAACP -Urban League -YWCA of DC	- Dryades St YMCA, New Orleans - Family Christian Assoc. of America - Garner Road Community Center	- Self-cultivating funding relationships and structures - Authority over programming/staff does not rest outside community	- Often overlooked by community chest-scale charitable funders - Freestanding organizations outside of network or federation often lack access to adequate staff training
Integrated, Benevolent Corporate Leadership	N/A	- Los Angeles YMCA - YMCA of Greater New York - YMCA of Metro Milwaukee	- Works well in large, complex cities with large populations of recent immigrants or extreme poverty w/ no middle class	- Leadership must consciously develop capacity within disadvantaged groups served or community will be vulnerable upon assumption of post by a less talented or benevolent leader
Non-community controlled	N/A	- Young YMCA, Atlanta - Carver YMCA, Miami	- Buffering effect of large organization in downturns - Theoretical redistribution of resources from wealthier branches	- Direct and indirect influence away from community programmatic and cultural choices - Often lack access to adequate staff training
Colonial	N/A	- Carver YMCA Branch, Miami - Christian Street YMCA, Philadelphia		- Can lose resources and/or be disbanded by forces outside the community (e.g., Carver)

In the previous chapters, we have seen examples of independent and branch operations of

larger associations that produce programs and policies relevant to the communities that they

serve. However, even in the best case scenario we could find within a citywide association, an economic downturn produced the "last hired, first fired" phenomenon now so familiar to people of color. Board participation in the Los Angeles association became much less diverse when a financial crisis prompted a steep rise in the required minimum financial contribution from each board member. The financial base of Black and Hispanic entrepreneurial board members was more likely to be in construction and other sectors, which were extremely vulnerable to the economic downturn. Where the Los Angeles policy-setting board of the YMCA had been very integrated, after the 2008 housing crisis, the prior diversity was reduced to 0% percent Hispanic in a market where Hispanics make up approximately 30 percent of the metropolitan population. After the change, only three of 48 board members were African American (.0625). At a time when poor communities of color were suffering tremendous setbacks—including higher rates of foreclosure during the housing crisis—they had simultaneously found themselves with little or no representation in the YMCA body that had authority to set policy and create programs. Presumably, this moved the YMCA further away from being a vehicle for helping to mount responses to the economic crises that could have ameliorated or reduced economic and social losses due to the downturn.

Surely, financial crises of the past have at times forced smaller organizations that served poor people to disband. Still, we have examples of venerable institutions controlled at the grassroots that have weathered many difficulties, economic and otherwise (e.g., Dryades YMCA in New Orleans). Some were even born or evolved to independence in times of economic challenge (e.g., Family Christian Association of America; Garner Road Community Center). Regardless of economic cycles, there are ongoing problems of adequate funding. How racial and

poverty-related problems are framed greatly affects the willingness of the public to fund education and intervention programs instead of prisons (Mendelberg 2001).

A core issue here is a community's ability to call on resources for the purposes that they might deem necessary. Where families are only interested in "gym and swim" programming, there generally is not much conflict. But where communities understand themselves to have a "linked fate" and an unfinished social justice agenda, problems abound. As in Miami (both in the 1970s and in the twenty-first century's aughts), we see that sometimes the issue is simply a matter of pursuing an equitable allocation of resources. Frequently within larger associations, at such times there is no recognition of "two Ys," as John Lands and Violet Henry identified in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Instead, executives and activists who are committed to serving people of color find themselves having myriad problems to address, plus "color-blindness" in resource allocation.

There is an African American Leadership Forum within the YMCA. It is a voluntary organization, which unlike the Colored Works Department of old does not have a generous budget to support professional staff, travel, and sustained attempts to address social justice issues that arise within the organization. Outside the YMCA, an African America Nonprofit Network and the woman-run Emerging Minority Leaders (EMILY) have sprung up in recent years, spurred by the continued existence of barriers. However, funding remains a persistent challenge, according to published reports.

What follows is an outline of each of the two models (independent and branch of a mainstream association) within the context of a prime example while also drawing from other cases that adhere to that particular frame. Each situation is unique in its history, particular

organizational structure, regional background, and other relevant contextual variables. Still, comparing the strengths and handicaps of these two development models should prove useful.

Independent Formations. In 1929, African Americans from New Orleans who balked at vesting all resources raised among themselves, the white community, and Julius Rosenwald, "in White hands," were exercising a prescient wisdom.[1] This foresight left Blacks in their city an unusual legacy. Today, the Dryades YMCA is a powerhouse. Visitors will find not just a state-of-the-art main building, but an entire campus dedicated to the development of the surrounding community.

On February 7, 2000, a six-alarm fire gutted Dryades YMCA, which had been an anchor in the Black community since 1905. Rising from the ashes, the Y recovered and rebuilt. Once again surviving disaster, Dryades weathered Hurricane Katrina in 2005. In addition to its stunning main building, 2013 marked the grand opening of a 22,000 square foot Aquatics and Wellness Center, with a conscious eye toward combatting high rates of obesity and drowning. Day camp and after school programs, childcare, youth sports activities, and an active Youth and Government Program where teens debate current issues, learn parliamentary procedure and many other aspects of state government are ubiquitous features of YMCAs across the country. Here, these programs and facilities are unique because of the *quality* of programming and facilities, which is almost unheard of in inner cities. Dryades YMCA is committed to serving all comers regardless of any factors, including inability to pay. Still, today as in the past, the majority of participants served by Dryades are economically disadvantaged.

Setting Dryades YMCA even further apart is a charter school, which according to a senior staff person at Dryades, "was the first school in the city to re-open after Hurricane

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[1] Julius Rosenwald Papers, Box 44, Series I, Letter from R.H. King to Rosenwald, June 1, 1929. University of Chicago Special Collections Research Center.

Katrina." Since 1928, Dryades YMCA has run a School of Commerce, a "day and evening adult job skills program" with a certified, licensed, and accredited practical nursing program as its crown jewel. Also, The Andrew Young International Academy for Leadership Development engages high school and college students in a variety of programs designed to prepare them for active roles in leadership and service. The program is named in honor of ambassador and civil rights leader Andrew Young, who along with his brother Walter, grew up participating at the Dryades YMCA. Their father, an active member of the community and a founder of Dryades Y, served on the board of directors for many years.

Also thriving at Dryades is a signature program adopted by many Ys around the US: the Black Achievers Program (now sometimes called The Achievers Program, especially in those locales which focus on African American and Latino youth). Founded at the Harlem YMCA, it exposes high school youth to a variety of career possibilities through corporate tours, presentations, field trips, mentoring by Black professionals, and interactive skill and attitude development workshops.

The Dryades YMCA also hosts and runs a Twenty-first Century Community Learning Center, a federal program funded through the Louisiana Department of Education. The purpose of the program is to provide academic enrichment in core subjects, as well as other types of activities during non-school hours, especially for children whose schools are plagued by high poverty and low performance. In 2011, 100 percent of the 714 students at Dryades' James M. Singleton Charter School were eligible for free lunches.[2]

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[2] Cowen Institute for Public Education Initiatives. Tulane University, "NOLA by the Numbers: School Enrollment & Demographics, October 2011," accessed March 14, 2017, http://www.coweninstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/NBTN-Enrollment-December-2011.pdf.

Like several of the other remaining independent historically Black YMCAs, the emphasis is on programming for African American youth aimed specifically at improving life chances and ameliorating the poverty, negative stereotyping, and lack of exposure that are still all too frequent features of life as a young person of color.

Upon conducting interviews at Dryades and other independent organizations, I found not only innovations in programming and high values on all four of my research variables, but also:

1) A willingness to serve "difficult" populations. For example, a historically African American YWCA in Washington, DC is an example of African American business women who saw value in providing housing to homeless African American women—many with mental health issues—at a time when both the YWCA and YMCAs had largely pulled away from residential programs.

2) Intergenerational strength in community relationships. One senior executive at a historically African American YMCA recalled living during his college years near campus in the large home of a widow who was on the board of the same YMCA where he works today. The widow (long deceased by the time of our interview) had been a board member of the YMCA. She allowed half dozen or so male college students to live in her home each school term. This executive fondly recalled that his "room and board," along with that of the other young men, was paid in volunteer service hours at the YMCA. Also, he explained that eventually all of the young men who lived in the house belonged to the same fraternal organization. The widow did not have any ties to their fraternity, but they grew attached to her and viewed their role in mentoring high school and grade school students as a valuable resource for their fraternity brothers. This example of the development of social capital within and around social service delivery organizations over multiple generations is very different from the model of gym and swim

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programs in exchange for membership fees. Table 2.1 illustrates how human rights

advancement has permeated the programming and leadership of African Americans, where

structurally and politically hostile environments did not extinguished community-led initiatives.

3) Branch Formations. The YMCA of Los Angeles and the YMCA of New York City

are examples of unusually high diversity within the policy-setting body in my initial study. As

we saw in chapter three, the Los Angeles Y actually had higher than expected values of board

participation by minorities based on the demographics of the region while New York City's

board of directors was very diverse by gender and ethnic group, though it had slightly lower than

the expected value of African Americans based on their representation in the general population.

These organizations were examined closely as potentially yielding differences in political

development or regional variation that may help explain high values on the variable of

leadership development for African Americans within a mainstream association.

The YMCA's Los Angeles Exception had African American leadership that was actually

higher than the expected value, given the African-American population of the metropolitan area.

Several interviews were conducted with executive staff and former executive staff around the

region. Interviews and publicly available materials yielded a historical development that

evolved in specific ways that contribute to a more racially diverse leadership.

In 1906, the Ninth Street Colored Branch of the YMCA opened under the direction of

Thomas Green, who was African American. It was the very first YMCA in the city of Los

Angeles. Unlike most associations at that time, the Los Angeles Y voted to make Ninth Street

part of the Association. When the Ninth Street branch needed a new building, it was designed by

Paul Williams, an African American architect. He also designed the Hollywood YMCA. At a

time when there was little or no inclusion of people of color on governing boards across the country, Williams served on LA's Metropolitan board during the 1930s.

The second branch chartered by the LA YMCA was the Japanese branch founded in 1911. It operated until the internment of all citizens of Japanese ancestry during World War II caused the ceasation of all branch activities. After the war and internment, many Japanese Americans did not want to call additional attention to their ancestry.[3]

Shaping the Generations, a 2004 Purpose, Program, and Operation document produced by the Los Angeles YMCA explains that, "*We build strong kids, strong families, strong communities*" is a motto that emerged from the Los Angeles association. Used nationally in later years, this aphorism has philosophical underpinnings that have influenced the development of this twenty-five branch association and impacts its governance in the present. The guide explains that it is "up to the residents of each community to form, fund, and operate their own local YMCA(8)." The philosophy is that "strong communities and healthy lives are built by doing important things *with* people, not *for* them…. So the YMCA programs provide opportunities to involve members not merely as participants, but as co-owners and co-producers of this organization."[4] Volunteering leadership, participating in governance, and raising and contributing financial support are "how the YMCA creates a strong community that builds strong families who in turn build strong kids" (9).

Interestingly, there is more emphasis on explaining abstract philosophical positions in the public documents of this association than in any of the others that were examined. For example, the Y moved away from the evangelical part of its mission while maintaining and emphasizing

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[3] "125 Years: Celebrating the Los Angeles YMCAs at 125," YMCA of Metropolitan Los Angeles, 2007, 44–45.

[4] "Shaping the Generations: Purpose, Program and Operation," YMCA of Metropolitan Los Angeles, 2004.

the "role of the YMCA *to put Christian principles into practice*." The booklet goes on to explain that the association is serious about the C in YMCA: "The Los Angeles YMCAs express their commitment to Judeo-Christian principles by including character development in their programs and by having membership policies, communications, organizational practices, and program curricula that are based on the values of inclusion, loving acceptance, justice, charity, tolerance and ethical behavior…. We express our commitment to individual communities by prizing local autonomy in the governance of each branch and by an aggressive approach to the development of a widespread base of volunteer leadership in each branch…. YMCA staff and volunteers should mirror the diversity of the community the YMCA serves" (11–15).

The LA Association's operating principles are explicitly stated. Among them are statements that they Ys'

> **8. *Involve a substantial number of members in the leadership, operation and financing of their programs***. Each branch should annually determine a minimum level of participant involvement in the support and management of each program offered. Major program thrusts should involve at least 30% of the participants or parents of participants in each program area in one or more of the following ways: as group leaders, members of councils, boards and committees, campaigns, etc.
> **9**. *Are funded through an appropriate balance of earned income, contributed support and other revenue sources, and do not result in a long-term dependence upon government funding or special foundation grants in ways that might affect the long-term viability of the branch* (16). (The section goes on to give more explicit guidelines and percentages, explaining how this funding mix might be achieved.)
> **10. *Are moderate to low-cost in nature and do not require substantial subsidies in addition to fees or grants***. To maintain an acceptable level of participation, the total costs, including overhead, of the major program thrusts should not require a subsidy of more than 35% per member.[5]

What stands out in the Los Angeles association is a great commitment to transparency in management—the open discussion with the public and participants about how to keep a branch and its programs viable. This association is also very clear with the public and its members about

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[5] Ibid.

lines of authority and publishes a detailed description and an organizational chart for illustration. While a skeptic might question the ultimate power of the Metropolitan board in the case of any serious contentious dispute, the heavy, more than proportional representation of people of color in that body and several other factors have worked to steer the Los Angeles Association away from the kind of conflict that breaks out over differing visions in other parts of the country. This not only keeps the public informed, but also makes a natural form of training for leadership development broadly available in a very democratic way.

While African American participation was lower than expected, the YMCA of Greater New York had a variety of ethnicities, like New York itself, and a higher than usual proportion of women board members. After conducting several interviews in the New York area and in other East Coast and midwestern associations, a second model seems to have lead to a higher than average degree of diversity. Whereas Los Angeles has a long history of attempting to institutionalize participation, extreme transparency, and decentralization, some associations have benefitted from visionary leadership. In some cases, CEOs simply valued diversity in decision making, and while not looking to fulfill any overt or implied quota, they were open to suggestions that a board that reflected many aspects of the metropolitan area would be better at setting policy, creating a sense of mission, and helping the organization provide leadership, and they recruited accordingly. However, while enlightened individuals can certainly be the catalyst for meaningful and lasting change without an institutional culture with explicit and implied rules and guidelines, the strides forward may not survive a personnel change.

Respondents reported that the New York Association seems to not be plagued by the decades-old problem of inner-city branches being judged on their financial performance in the same way that suburban and wealthy branches are evaluated. A 2005 statement of Program

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Principles explains, "Many YMCA programs, especially youth programs, are supported by third party sources including contributions, grants, endowment earnings, and financial resource sharing within the Association."[6] The same document lists as one of six association objectives related to board development the statement that "Board's diversity reflects New York City demographics."[7]

The Harlem YMCA offers family, youth, and fitness programming. Housing is targeted toward youthful and budget-conscious, international travelers. One of six of the New York City Y's New American Welcome Centers is located here. It offers English as a Second Language classes, cultural orientation, citizenship preparation, job readiness, computer literacy, Adult literacy, and GED preparation.[8] An unusual feature of the Harlem branch is a Global Teens program aimed at developing leadership and service in international settings. The only program aimed explicitly as African Americans is Black Achievers, which provides mentors for 13- to 17-year-olds; since 1995 it has raised corporate funding to provide over fifty college scholarships of $2,500.00 each for African American college-bound high school seniors.

Interviewer effects in this particular case may have taken on enhanced meaning. Scholarship in Black politics often does not lead to tenure-track positions, and the already small number of graduate students of color willing to begin their professional research life with studies that relate to economically challenged segments of the electorate may be a slim segment of students from those communities who enter graduate programs. The access and lived experience that generate a research program focused on issues of minority participation is therefore not represented in academia. This is an example of "fractal" formations of social capital, in contrast

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[6] YMCA of Greater New York Strategic Plan 2009-2011, 4.
[7] Ibid., 17.
[8] Harlem YMCA, 2011 Membership and program brochure. Also, researcher's tour and conversations with staff.

to the way that structures like the market-based objectives of capitalism can grow to permeate community structures.

One case emerged during the course of this research where this researcher shared some history and best practices of an independent organization in another state. This created a context where the organization receiving the information was able to reach out and tap valuable information and training that created confidence that the organization could exist independently.

Following are key insights on successful models that politically empower communities. These were either directly conveyed by interview subjects or can be inferred after analyzing data:

1. Individuals and communities should get clear understanding on where ultimate legal authority is vested before committing time, money, reputations, and relationships. As discussed, many nominal "boards of directors" have no decision-making powers.
2. The relationship between those making the decisions and the communities that are being served should be investigated. I am not suggesting a single approach to avoiding the agency problems that can arrive in board/community relations. However, attentiveness to the potential conflicts that arise when boards have different sets of interests from those served by the organization can be addressed if they are identified. For example, Community Health Partnership of Illinois, a small nonprofit that provides healthcare for agricultural workers in northern and central Illinois, stipulates in the organizational bylaws that 51 percent of board members must be patients, and to be a patient, one must earn at least 51 percent of his or her income from agricultural work.
3. African Americans and other people of color have received and still receive essential protections and benefits from community-controlled institutions (including churches, HBCUs, businesses, etc.). In community-based organizations, this includes physical space, leadership and youth development, and information channels that facilitate participation in politics (Harris-Lacewell 2004).
4. "Linked fate" continues to generate a sense of mission among the African American middle class. This study illustrated that at least some part of what occurs is that attempts by Black professionals to serve in poor communities can be frustrated by a lack of real authority over resources designated for those communities.
5. As we have seen throughout the study, strong visionary leadership is often a decisive factor in innovation and success.
6. Conversely, there is the *problem of fiefdom*. At least two examples were encountered where the unwillingness of an ego-invested, powerful CEO to train a successor and eventually step down, along with weak board leadership, caused an independent organization to stagnate, and in these two cases, fail. This is not an argument against long tenures per se. There were numerous cases where a CEO's long years of experience were crucial in handling various crises.

7. Community and minority-led organizations would do well to devote attention to organizational change management. Social capital and resources are lost when change processes do not maintain contact and relevance within their base communities. Lacking necessary flexibility over time, organizational losses of hard-gleaned material resources and social capital set back progress toward social equality.

8. Community impact assessment tools and strategies could be integrated into the overall development framework as an integral component of the community development process. For example, Excellent Schools Detroit, a nonprofit committed to improving education for all of Detroit's children, routinely has parents do assessments of the schools that their children attend. "De-professionalizing" this function empowers parents and helps initiate conversations within communities about school standards.

9. Over and over, the effects of training in management, program development, and other skill sets related to the specific work of the organization were seen as extraordinarily effective. Lack of training was a serious problem. Cost is often seen as an obstacle; however, lack of knowledge of available options was also raised as a concern.

10. It is possible that the internet and other shifts in technology either have already begun to and/or may yet provide alternative means of enhancing African American associative life, fostering advocacy on behalf of historically disenfranchised communities that have been denied access to many forms of economic participation.

In her study of advocacy groups, Dara Strolovitch (2007) found that some organizations that practice affirmative advocacy in order to counteract tendencies that marginalize the most vulnerable members of many groups employ practices that emerged in this research project. The methods of doing this highlighted by Strolovitch include using special decision rules that advance issues relating to subsets of the organizations' constituencies in order to make sure that their issues come to the fore; strong connections to state and local groups who may have more intimate knowledge of the concerns of the disadvantaged; boards and staff that include multiple marginalized subgroups; and, education of the advantaged to understand how their interests are connected to the less advantaged. The history of the YMCA and contemporary cases of conflict indicate that whether or not resources gathered for the purpose of advocacy will be used for that purpose is often an issue.

There is a model of successful development that involves an unusually motivated and savvy executive who leverages authority to create greater cross-class and interracial

understanding. More importantly, this type of configuration can produce dynamic change with a leader who is imaginative, yet also an efficient and able manager. This model depends on the talent of leadership. It is unusual to find a leader with extraordinary empathy and a real desire to empower people as well as visionary and collaborative planning ability and tremendous managerial skill.

Some of the qualities and experiences that emerged from the interview data as formative for this level of commitment help paint a picture of this type of leadership. This model is successful particularly in contexts where a corresponding middle class has not arisen from amongst the target group. One example was a very committed white executive at the program level who created an innovative media arts-based program in his service area, which was largely Mexican American families and recent South Asian immigrants. He worked long hours administering the program, and with a supportive Metro administration, he was able raise the relatively large amounts of money needed to expose young people in the program to cutting edge technology and current industry practices. The YMCA and non-YMCA executives interviewed for this project who were successfully delivering innovative programming aimed at youth of color and leadership development within underserved communities were all from working class backgrounds.

Another case involved a mid-sized city (500,000+) where a CEO of a large nonprofit was able to build half a dozen facilities in the core of the city at a time when the economy and the internal culture of the national organization created doubt about the viability of facilities in the inner city. The architectural design of the facilities echoes the culture of the people who use them. A charter school begun under his leadership is one of the top performing schools in the state.

Extending beyond the obvious recreational mandate of the organization, he and his team then turned their attention to housing and created a Community Development Corporation (CDC) to provide affordable, safe housing for people living around the new recreational and community facilities.

> We bought up houses that were abandoned or drug houses from the city for $1 and we used community development block grant money and private money. We rehabbed them, and we sold them to first time homebuyers. And every single homebuyer was African American. And by the time we got to 200 houses, not one person had gone south on a mortgage. Everyone was paying their mortgages. This is community building in its purest form.

There was an intellectual curiosity and conscious experimentation that this leader brought to the different environments in which he operated during various points in his career. The model is one of service, but there is not a focus on bringing descendants of enslaved or otherwise historically disadvantaged people into the top echelon of leadership.

> I'd love to tell you that we start out by saying … "Well we need a black person and a red person.…" We don't do that at all. I go for power. And say … "Let's make sure we have balance," but not at the expense of power. When I have powerful boards and I can sell them on our vision, we get it all done. I got it done in [this city], because we had the best damned not-for-profit board in the city. I have the head of the bank. [A national insurance company headquartered in that city]. [A large employer.] Ba-boomp! Ba-boomp! Ba-boomp! …. and some of the outstanding community leaders who were there to keep the White guys honest.

He continued,

> Here, we spend a lot of time talking about how the money gets shared because everybody wants to know. The Ys that are knocking out the big surpluses say, "Where's this going?" The Ys that are receiving it—they're not sure where it comes from, but they know that it keeps on coming. We've linked Ys together. So, we link a Y that has resource-generating capacity with a revenue-consuming Y. And so that it's personal. The staff know the staff, and the board know the board, and they spend time together.

> I stumbled into this in [previous city]. We took a lily-White suburban YMCA and we hooked them up with a centrally located Y. And half the board of the suburban Y had never even been to that neighborhood. And all of a sudden they're doing stuff together. It's community development. There's nothing magical about it. They

swapped board members and they did events together. Every year we did a little bit of
a board survey. "What are you most proud of?" We're proud of that Y. We're proud
of that Y that we fund. And I was like, Holy crap!"

Intuitively, he had surmised that if wealthier board members personally connected with the

needs of people in the inner city, they would feel a civic responsibility to move toward a

more equitable distribution of life chances. This was certainly not the only case of

extraordinary commitment and creativity that I encountered. A primary issue remains: there

can be structural limitations on the kind of support available for this kind of innovation at

the policy-setting level.

This study has described conditions affecting the ability of people of color to organize

and collectively pursue their interests. Surveying a national random sample of executives would

yield more complete data bearing on the extent of the problem. However, while six (6) of my

interviews were conducted in one metro area in order to get as much detail as possible about the

two cases of conflict that occurred in Miami, the other 22 executives interviewed were chosen

based on one of the following factors: their association had high marks for diversity or

independence or because they operated a non-YMCA organization such as YWCA, Boys & Girls

Club, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, etc. in one of metropolitan areas where the

YMCA scored high on diversity in leadership (14); experience as CEO of a national or

international nongovernmental organization (5); for some other specialized knowledge (2); or

involvement in a conflict outside detailed case study (1). Not a single respondent maintained that

they no longer see problems stemming from a lack of diversity within nonprofit leadership.

Another rewarding avenue for future study would be investigating the role that small,

newer agencies fulfill in the community with respect to nourishing collective community

development along political lines. Examples would be the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights

in Oakland, California; the Miami Workers Center, and the Chicago Freedom School. The survival and evolution of independent institutions that have historically fostered community control and agenda formation might also yield valuable insight, such as the Highlander Folk School.

CHAPTER 6

BLACK CIVIL SOCIETY AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

This study has explored external control of nonprofit institutions located within African American communities and examines the effect over time of this control on the development of these institutions as potential sites for democratic activity, leadership development, and political agenda setting. Data on YMCA board representation in US metropolitan areas with the greatest percentage of African-Americans were collected and tabulated, and principal figures in the leadership of these organizations were interviewed. Attention was given as to whether their respective associations were high, low, or average in terms of having minorities represented in policy-setting positions. We were able to search for correlations between African American representation on policy-setting boards and high values on our four variables of interest. The interviews with key figures also helped delineate how political policy preferences of various ethnic groups differed from mainstream preferences, and how that was manifest on the level of nonprofit governance. Archival research contributed to a historical understanding of the political development of African American civil society organizations and illuminated often overlooked connections between these organizations and social movement activity.

6.1 Findings and the Current State of Black Civil Society

The study looked at four variables: 1) Potential sites for alternative agenda formation; 2) loss of information transmission capacity; 3) loss of leadership development; and 4) loss of programs aimed at male youth/politics.

Using primary sources archived at the Kautz Family YMCA Archives at the University of Minnesota, the papers of Julius Rosenwald at the University of Chicago, and multiple

historical accounts, I was able to construct a history of the development of African American YMCAs. I paid close attention to alternative agenda formation (*var. 1*); information transmission and the organizational capacity that enabled the flow of information (*var. 2*); leadership (*var. 3*); and programming aimed at male youth or that was atypically political in the context of the broader YMCA movement (*var. 4*). Where possible, I was also attentive to the dynamics of power (e.g., ascertaining where formal authority lay; the nature of recurring conflicts). In the early 1980s, the Conference of Black and Non-White YMCA Secretaries (BAN-WYS) had among its leadership Violet Henry, executive director of the Organizational Development Group of the National Council of YMCAs. Henry wrote eloquently about limitations on the power of Black Secretaries (now executive directors) and regional and national staff to advocate on behalf of the interests of African Americans.

Using data from the US Census 2000, lists of the twelve US cities and the twelve US counties with the highest concentrations of African Americans were compiled (see chapter 3). The two combined lists yielded the 17 metropolitan areas that were examined in this study. There was of course, considerable redundancy. However, this was done in order not to miss a major population of African Americans simply because they were not concentrated in the largest city in a particular metro area. By ordering the metropolitan areas according to the difference between the actual value and the expected value for African American YMCA board members based upon population for the metropolitan area, a scale was created from high to low percentages of variation away from expected representativeness on policy-making boards. Ethnicity and gender were indirectly self-reported. Staff or volunteers in their respective communities identified board members who were recognized in the community as belonging to particular identity groups.

Inability to obtain data reduced the list of metropolitan areas to fifteen. The most

representative (Los Angeles) was a site chosen for interviews. Given additional resources, site

visits, and interviews at the second and third highest associations with respect to expected

representation based on percentage of people of color in the general population (Houston and Ft.

Worth) would have been desirable. Interviews were conducted in four of the five mid-range

cities (Chicago, Cleveland, Miami, and New York City). It bears mentioning that Los Angeles

was the only metro area that had at or above the expected value of minority board members.

Additional cases of conflict may have emerged if more of the cities with the least representative

boards were chosen for the interview and site visit phase of the research (Detroit, DC, and

Memphis). Atlanta, New Orleans, and Washington, DC lay at the low end of this scale.

However, because Atlanta and New Orleans have independent, historically African American-

led associations, this may be misleading. These cities were chosen in part to incorporate data

from these independent associations in addition to their mainstream associations.

The goal in selecting Metropolitan Associations for further study was to select associations

with high, low, and moderate values on the difference between expected and actual participation by

people of color on policy-making boards. Three metropolitan cities that have independent

Historically Black YMCAs (HBYMCAs) were incorporated because they have autonomous

institutions with all-Black or nearly all-Black boards of directors. (In addition to Atlanta and New

Orleans, interviews were conducted at one of the other historically African American Ys while I

was attending an unrelated conference in that city.) The metropolitan YMCA associations in these

cities were studied as well because together the historically Black

and the historically white YMCAs in these cities form a matrix that describes the four attributes

that I measure as an operationalization of the dependent variable, *political participation*:

1. Space and other resources for informal and formal deliberation
2. Information transmission capacity
3. Leadership development opportunities and available expertise
4. a) political programming; b) programs aimed at male youth aged 12–18

Los Angeles—which was the most representative of the seventeen metro areas, having

more than the expected value of African Americans—was added to the list. In future studies, the

Fort Worth and Houston areas (each with a difference of –6 between the actual value and the

expected value) bear exploration as being closer than average to proportional representation. The

resources for this additional study were outside the scope of the present project. Additionally, if

funding and time permitted, the least representative areas would probably have yielded helpful data.

Memphis (-44) and Detroit (-33), would have been of particular interest as they are amongst the

metro areas with the highest percentage of African Americans (see Table 3.4).

Interviews with twenty-nine key stakeholders (professional staff and board volunteers)

from major national nonprofits (i.e., YMCAs, YWCAs, Boys & Girls Clubs) were conducted

between August 2006 and January 2016. At least five had similar experiences as international

NGOs. The majority of these interviews took place during face-to-face meetings in eight cities

across the United States. Six of these city/county metropolitan areas were among the seventeen

previously identified as having the highest percentages of African Americans. One of the

interview sites is a mid-sized city with population between 400,000 and 500,000. Four interviews

were conducted via telephone. Much of the data from interview subjects corroborated and was

supplemented by data collected from newspapers and other public sources.

In this section, we have seen evidence of divergence in preferred agenda between Metro Associations and local branches. We have encountered biases against anything perceived to be "political" in mainstream organizations, and also bias in African Americans when it came to taking on whatever level of complexity is necessary to improve the chances of advancement by members of the group. Table 3.1 is a short summary of instances where local branches differed with Metropolitan associations on the programming, culture, financing, efficacy, or viability of the branch in question.

Inter-branch communication (*var. 2*) was impaired as control of support resources was in the hands of national staff with no particular accountability to local communities of color. Lack of intra-branch transmission of information over time results in knowledge deficits (i.e., the pattern of firings and resignations-in-protest by local branch staff and board members unknown to their peers in other municipalities). Senior staff, even at the national level, was generally oblivious with regard to major historical figures and events central to ongoing efforts to achieve racial justice in their organizations' histories.

With regard to *variable 1*, a key finding was that in addition to divergences in voting behavior between African Americans and whites, there remains in the Black community strong expressions of political agenda formation (*var. 1*) as indicated in communities where organizational life is robust. Whether within the Los Angeles YMCA association or the independent Dryades YMCA in New Orleans begun by African Americans, or the associations that broke away from their respective YMCA Metropolitan Associations (Family Christian Association of America in Miami and Garner Road Community Center in Raleigh, NC) Metropolitan Associations, there is evidence of alternative agenda formation. Programmatically,

it may be the nursing college or charter school at Dryades, with its dense, intergenerational matrix of support that facilitated a quick response to Hurricane Katrina as well as a fire in February of 2000, which rendered its facility a total loss. Within the system of Metropolitan Associations, New York City and Milwaukee were notable for innovative, responsive programming from within a large Metropolitan Association.

Interviews revealed a dearth of capacity to transmit information relevant to YMCA staff and participants (*var. 2*) and a stark lack of knowledge among African Americans in the YMCA about the history of African American branches, national leadership, and political organizing. This is certainly a result of the post-integration dissolution of national and regional positions and departments charged with addressing and coordinating work on social justice issues. With no central clearinghouse for information, branches similtaneously experiencing the same phenomena had no knowledge of the systematic nature of the problems they were encountering. This problem is exacerbated by an accelerating trend of executive relocation for advancement, which levies additional complexity in the problem of maintaining diligent citizen oversight with multiple geographic units of governance structures (i.e., ward, city, county, park district, state, etc.) (Berry 2008). Local communities led by longstanding residents tended to be more informed.

Common to all vibrant, innovative, effective programming is the existence of groups or individuals who seem sincerely to have the political will to "let the people govern" in working-class neighborhoods or communities of color. Variation in the efficacy of communities with respect to potential for alternative agenda formation seemed to be partially explained based on regional history. For example, contentious relations between communities of color seemed to be more prevalent in the South; however, this was often offset in communities with an established

African American middle class (e.g., Atlanta, New Orleans, Raleigh). Miami stands as a worse-case scenario in this study of the potential for tragic results in conflict and the privatization of community assets.

Alternative agenda formation (*var. 1*) in the pre-civil rights era, such as Senate Street YMCA's Monster Meetings (Indianapolis) and Butler Street's Hungry Club Forum (Atlanta), were examples of community-wide self education and ongoing engagement with local and national civic leaders. Mapping the physical locations of African American YMCAs (figs. 2.1 and 2.2) visually represents the expansive network of community spaces that were available for information transmission (*var. 2*) and leadership development activities (*var. 3*), both formal and informal, short-term and ongoing. While some civil society organizations with a focus on advocating racial justice continue to exist (i.e., NAACP, Urban League, etc.), none has the characteristic of involving youth and families on a day-to-day basis in facilities-based activities. This was important in creating a strong sense of community and providing space for political deliberation and social contact. It also served as a fertile substrate for the civil rights movement.

Interviews, particularly with those involved at three of the Heritage Ys as well as a Heritage YWCA, provided evidence that these institutions often took on work perceived as difficult. For example, the Phyllis Wheatly YWCA in Washington, DC provides housing to formerly homeless and otherwise challenged women. The African American women on the board do not shrink from the difficulties of serving a population with a high prevalence of mental health challenges. Also, in addition to political forums, there were unusual programs addressing the needs of African American boys and young men. This also was somewhat true within Metro Associations where the African American community had enough social capital to prevent or

fend off challenges to their agenda.When I began this study and selected "programming aimed at male youth/political programming" as a variable for study, I had in mind looking specifically for political agenda formation in the face of the school-to-prison pipeline that disproportionately affect African American males. In addition to finding evidence of this, I also found the work of the women board members at Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, who are also addressing the fallout of a deindustrialized, neo-liberal racial regime in the form of mental health issues in African American women (Harris-Perry 2011).

An expectation that was substantiated by archival research and through conversations with many respondents was that the structural independence of historically Black YMCA and YWCA branches necessitated board and staff development. As a by-product of this, many African American YMCA and YWCA leaders became leaders in government, higher education, international development, and other civic organizations. The lack of proportional representation obviously creates a loss of leadership development potential (*var. 3*) with boards of directors averaging less than half of the expected value of minority members within the YMCA. Just as was true during the Great Depression and in 2008, so long as disparities persist, they will be compounded by the vulnerability of poorer communities to economic cuts and downturns. This is in contrast to the Colored Works Department of the National YMCA (see p. 34). This department of the national YMCA existed until the 1940s and was an alternative space for agenda development, information transmission, and leadership development (*var. 1, 2 & 3*). While Nina Mjagkij (1994) postulated the Depression as a reason for the reduction of the CWD staff by 50 percent, the results of this study posit the Cold War as a likely causal variable. Future examination of internal communications within the national YMCA during that time may shed

light on this. The US government's and the YMCA's refusal to decouple African American Human Rights from Communism placed African American strivings for justice beyond the pale.

An unexpected finding is evidence supporting a strong causal relationship between the anti-communist crusades of the 1940s and 1950s against Black internationalists and Pan-Africanists and the subsequent weakness of domestic African American civil society. In the wake of the Cold War, African American religious leaders gained influence, as progressive intellectuals were suppressed under the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 (e.g., Robeson, DuBois, Hunton).[1] The 1950s assault on intellectual leadership inside and outside African American communities contributed to the rise of religious leaders, athletes, and other entertainers as opinion leaders, spokespersons, and political candidates. Social discourse has been carried by this shift toward the market forces with which individuals from these sectors are more closely allied. Also, there were a multiplicity of organizational ties between YMCA- and YWCA-affiliated individuals and Africa, academia (especially at HBCUs), and other community leadership positions. A more extensive and formal network analysis should prove fruitful.

The sample of eighteen cases of conflict between branch boards and Metropolitan Association boards (see Table 3.1) is not extensive enough to provide conclusive evidence of pervasive, endemic conflict throughout the Y system. However, the evidence is sufficient to suggest that conflicts over agenda between local YMCA branches and centralized associations are not isolated occurrences, and where these conflicts do exist, the costs to already disadvantaged communities are high. Further study of this issue would be useful in determining the extent of this problem; perhaps surveying whether the political will of local communities is

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[1] Thanks to Keith Jennings for identifying this trend in Black leadership.

being supported or thwarted across a broader, random sample including a broader cross-section of national nonprofit organizations would be beneficial.

Innovative programming and greater transmission of information and history relevant to African American Y work was found among independent African American associations. This is not to say that independent Heritage Ys are not without their problems. Most notably, a profile emerged of a type of strong leader who developed a "personal fiefdom," holding on to power too long to the detriment of his/her respective organization. Also, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., New Orleans), the scope of operation is limited because fundraising structures such as United Way are biased toward larger, national organizations.

In addition to collecting a percentage of every branch's revenue, the national YMCA points to low-income communities extensively in making its case to funding sources and—at least in terms of its public image—justifying its nonprofit status. According to one executive, "Let's say you have a YMCA Association—their proposal to United Way for funds documents everything that's wrong in the Black community, and then when they get the dollars, they allocate it to their white branches and do token work in the black community." Three other board members all separately voiced similar perceptions when interviewed. These observations come from four experienced, professional managers who had inside access to the allocation process within the Miami association and YMCA of the USA.

In the Miami cases and others in this study, we have seen the privatization of the assets of a Black public. We have also observed "market language" (e.g., branches decried as not "performing" financially) used against Black leadership in nominally integrated associations to neutralize the YMCA's original Christian purpose of assistance. The Metropolitan Association

model centralizes and corporatizes functions that previously took place at the community level and conceals the persisting operation of racism, gentrification, and domination. Furthermore, these processes remove and occlude philanthropic and government assistance from the view and accountability demands of ordinary citizens.

Just as the "nadir" followed African American progress during Reconstruction, similarly there has been a regressive backlash following the civil rights movement (Logan 1954). Deprived of legally protected slaveholding, Southern planters stripped African Americans of voting rights. Similarly, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 forced them to share public resources and power; as a result, domination migrated in part into nonprofit governance and the funding mechanisms that support social service organizations. Furthermore, future retrospective studies will determine if gains by "the new black politicians" will have positive effects for poor people or if we are witnessing "secondary marginalization" within communities of color (Cohen 1999).

This study has used case studies to focus in detail on what changes have occurred over time and to explore extant problems involving African American civic spaces. Tracking African American representation on policy-setting boards of all United States nonprofits over a certain size might prove helpful as a potential resource for observing rates of participation. Looking at detailed operations within other large-scale nonprofits (besides the YMCAs and YWCAs) may also provide interesting information on the status of donor-supported community institutions as vehicles for civic activity. Inquiries focused on measuring the exposure of African American leaders to the history of the institutions where they work would also be enlightening, particularly if there was a way to capture this information over time in order to make comparisons. It would

also be useful to observe these variables in an international context. As noted previously, Max Yergan was a catalyst for the founding of many YMCAs in Southern and East Africa. To study development models of the YMCA and other NGOs could yield comparative information on indigenous leadership development over time.

It is important to remember that there may be other (intervening) variables that may contribute to "conflicting visions" in these cases. For example, an additional counterfactual that might be an alternative explanation for what seems to be happening in the flow-chart model presented in chapter one is a general trend toward greater corporate control. (i.e., the advancement of technology, increased population, and maturation of political systems). This aspect of what has been identified as neoliberalism may be a phenomenon of Metropolitan Associations run primarily by elite whites, which has less to do with systemic racial oppression but may reflect the trend toward consolidation within many business concerns that has spread to nonprofit management. This would not negate the potential *impact* of this corporate control on communities of color. Organizations charged with serving the public bear a greater responsibility for insuring that they are not harming the interests of those whom they are pledged to serve.

The persistent negative social and economic impact of race upon the life chances of African Americans is well documented (Dawson 2011; Alexander 2010). Scholars disagree on whether or not these effects should be interpreted as insignificant vestiges of discriminatory laws, which have already been addressed by the Court. Thomas Sowell argues that a major cause of lagging African American achievement is that Blacks adopted the inferior culture of Southern Whites, which was inherited from less productive parts of the British Isles (Sowell 2006). He and Shelby Steele (2015) assert that ameliorative, liberal programs such as Affirmative Action have

been ineffective. If there is evidence to support systematic and widespread exclusion of African Americans from policy setting and implementation within advocacy and social service organizations, then Blacks are being denied the opportunity to continually re-create their own political culture. Domination exists where forces outside of an interest group or community decide how meeting spaces and other material resources are to be used, who has access to information about that community's institutional and political history and development, which individuals will make and implement policy, and who will be served by programming and how.

By a 5–4 vote, the Supreme Court recently affirmed the validity of using disparate impact as the basis for claims under the 1968 Fair Housing Act, without the necessity of a proven intent to discriminate.[2] This dissertation asserts that a similar basis exists for considering and addressing any disparate impact of historical policy and procedure within the nonprofit sector. Arguments for color-blind approaches to government and NGO policy frequently fail to accurately weigh historical discrimination as a factor in present circumstances. In his dissent, Justice Clarence Thomas maintained that "for over a quarter-century now, over 70 percent of National Basketball Association players have been black. To presume that these and other measurable disparities are products of racial discrimination is to ignore the complexities of human existence." Justice Thomas's understanding of the career aspirations of Black youth and the ways that those aspirations are circumscribed seems to disregard the effects of the racial impact of school districting and taxation policy (Downes and Zabel 2002), good old boy networks (Simon and Warner 1992; Mayer and Puller 2008), trade union and other labor market

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[2] Texas Department of Housing & Community Affairs v. The Inclusive Communities Project, Inc., 576 U.S. ___ (2015).

discrimination (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2003), plus other structural constraints experienced by African American youth in poor, urban areas (Sirin et al. 2004).

Success among Black politicians has frequently entailed serving business interests. High-profile Black elected officials who promote themselves as focusing on the interests of poor and non-white constituents in the post-civil rights era have been the exception (Gillespie 2010; Thompson 2006). Positioning themselves as talented and able politicians and not necessarily fervent advocates for the underserved, a new corps of minority elected officials—Duval Patrick, Cory Booker, and Barack Obama among them—deftly appeal to broader political constituencies by avoiding an explicit focus on race (Harris 2012; Ifill 2009; Thompson 2006). This is expedient and perhaps necessary, within the context of current redistricting techniques and the belief among many that we are now in a "post-racial" era (Dawson 2011).

Still, those concerned with persistent inequalities of representation and the distribution of goods and life chances must follow Schattschneider in asking, "Are there voices in the chorus of our pluralistic democratic republic that are being muted?" (Schattschneider 1960, 34–35; Schlozman 1984). If so, by what means? Where will the policies and the political will to address inequalities of educational funding, incarceration, assets, and opportunity come from? How do we avoid disastrous discontinuities between the needs of some groups and government comprehension and responsiveness to those needs, as was the case with Hurricane Katrina? (DuBois Review 2006). Or the underlying causes of high community crime and murder rates and persistent problems of police violence against unarmed Black citizens?

Findings in this study of eighteen cases of conflicting political agendas (with the will of the community being defeated in most cases) support the existence of lost political power and

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social capital (agenda-setting and sites for potential insurgency). In doing a historical analysis of recent cases of conflict, I intentionally selected on the dependent variable. For purposes of this study, the goal was to explore evidence of racial domination in an arena where scholarly communities and the general public assume there is orderly pluralistic decision making. Documenting the actual extent of the type of phenomena discussed in these cases must be the subject of later work. The impact of my intentional case-selection bias is offset somewhat because I have systematically selected the data in the statistical portion of the paper that examines board participation. While the underrepresentation of Americans of African descent in policy setting does not indicate the extent of conflict per se, the establishment of the fact of recurring cases of conflict that break along racial/ethnic lines indicates that an uneven distribution of power along these same lines is not without impact on historically disadvantaged communities. Budgetary constraints prevented onsite interviews and investigation of two important outliers on the distribution. Memphis had the greatest disparity between expected percentage of minority board members and actual percentage. At the other end of the spectrum, Houston had a board comprised of 13 percent minorities, with an expected value of 19 percent. The study could potentially have been stronger with more detailed information on each of these associations.

If only a minority of the Metropolitan associations surveyed demonstrated an under-representation of African Americans, this would have indicated that perhaps we had indeed overcome racism within our political system. The problem observed in Miami that originally piqued my interest in this project would have been merely an unfortunate, but local, non-systemic anomaly. Such representation would suggest that perhaps representation in nonprofit

policymaking had become color blind, and that the observed conflicts between communities and Metropolitan Associations that are sampled here are strictly issues of class or some structural problem unrelated to race and the specific agendas of minority communities.

A "color-blind" interpretation of liberalism might argue that Blacks gained more through integrating into the mainstream YMCA than they lost. After all, pre-integration facilities and programs were shoddy, financed largely by men and women recently emancipated (along with philanthropic benefactors). One need only look at current poverty, education, health, and other statistics to see that there are gross disparities between whites and Blacks in the United States. So some of the social problems in the African American community where YMCAs were chartered to address still exist. To trade leadership development, autonomous spaces, and the ability to coalesce and organize at will around issues of the community's choosing for the promise of access to state-of-the-art fitness equipment and newer buildings does not seem worthwhile. Additionally, if it can be shown that the communities in question were not aware that loss of control was at stake, then this argument has no leverage. Meager resources did not stop the radical agenda of the citizens of Montgomery who organized in 1955 to end segregation in public transportation.

As Thomas Boston (1988) notes, blending categories often obscures reality and creates obstacles with respect to developing a common language to define problems, policing them out of the realm of discourse and recognition, which Gaventa describes as the third face of power. Occlusion of data perpetuates the fiction of "integration." We have seen how organizations that receive tens of millions of dollars annually in federal and state funding, in addition to tax abatement due to nonprofit status, have no mandate to disclose demographic information about

their leadership. The lack of accountability and inability of citizens to monitor activities is more often part of a colonial model than a democratic one. Essentially, it amounts to taxation without representation. The culture of power in these instances is that board members are "tapped," not elected. Taxpayers who fund activities supervised by these boards are not due information about the composition of the organization.

The day-to-day realities of operating nonprofit organizations can create a fundraising "mandate" that privileges dollars as the most crucial factor. However, an emancipatory agenda demands that the goals of the disadvantaged be kept front and center at all times. Structural and financial considerations must be in service to the goal of greater opportunity and access for those who have historically been denied. A key issue that emerged from interviews with leaders in these communities is the question of political economy—the allocation of resources. Churches and historically Black colleges and universities were the greatest opportunity structures in the advent of the civil rights movement. Intergenerational organizing grounded in institutions provided the substrate upon which a sustainable movement was able to grow. Given that resources are critical, it would seem that it would be important for groups who have been disenfranchised in previous generations to—wherever possible—preserve available resources, particularly since institutional continuity is a hallmark of the bureaucratic, inertia-driven systems that maintain imbalanced power relations.

The naming of the first African American CEO in YMCA history—like the election of Barack Obama—is a watershed. Laden with potential, there is also the possibility in this new moment of the loss of a community-controlled agenda. Will integration proceed along lines that are substantive, offering greater access and opportunity for all? Or will there be an unfulfilled

promise, without the transparency to monitor progress or regress? Also, can a person of color, either as a CEO or as president of the United States, effectively advocate as an individual without an organized, politically-astute constituency clarifying and pressing forward on a considered agenda?

In response to the question, "Have you made any changes in how you do your work as a result of your experiences and if so, what changes?" one former executive from the YMCA of Greater Miami had this to say in 2006:

> I definitely take a much closer look at the bylaws in terms of … where does the power lie. If you are going to invest years of your life in a particular project, you want to make sure that no one can take you off of it without some kind of hearing or just cause. I've been offered positions and been recruited for positions for the YMCA and have not pursued or taken any of them because I believe that the structure as currently designed does not empower people, but in fact takes advantage of people.

> When you invest as much time and energy as you have to in order to be successful in a nonprofit as I did and my board members did with the YMCA, and for it to end the way that it did, it takes a while to recover. I still miss the work and I'm still dedicated to making sure that justice is served in that situation. It's not over yet.

6.2 Neo-Paternalism in Local-State Regimes

"The only decision that white people are making is whether to buy a Buick or a Chevrolet." - James Bevel

In *The Miner's Canary*, Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres make the point that conditions that damage the ability of people of color to enjoy the benefits of a democratic system poison that system for all Americans. "Unless we begin to rethink power, we are going to witness the slow but steady evisceration of American democracy as fewer and fewer people participate, as government decision-making loses legitimacy, and as private power becomes more and more

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concentrated in the hands of a few winners, who will not hesitate to take all" (259). With middle-income Americans no longer comprising the majority, resources that will allow ordinary people the ability to pursue political solutions to public problems are ever more critical.[3]

The theoretical dimension of Black politics creates evaluative and quantifying instruments by which to measure the goals of full participation in the US political system, educational system, and the economy. This chapter looks at the findings in this research project and the implications for Black politics and Black civil society presently and in the future. There is also discussion of the relationship between leadership and control of civil society organizations, and local, state, and federal government formations. Looking at the recent phenomenon of state takeovers of municipalities and school boards, we look at the possibility of diminished democracy and potential parallels between formal government institutions and civil society.

The takeover of Black communities by forces that do not promote and pursue a particular community's best interests is not confined to the nonprofit sector. The financial looting of poor and working class communities has contributed to crises in Flint, Michigan and Ferguson, Missouri.[4] Tax liens have been used to appropriate the homes of the poor and people of color in major municipalities across the US (Karhl 2015). The costs of these disasters are borne by those

[3] According to the Pew Research Center, fully 49 percent of US aggregate income went to upper-income households in 2014, up from 29 percent in 1970. The share to middle-income households was 43 percent in 2014, down substantially from 62 percent in 1970. See Pew Research's website http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/12/09/the-american-middle-class-is-losing-ground/ accessed March 14, 2017.
[4] "The Crisis in Flint Goes Deeper than Water," *New Yorker*, January 20, 2016, accessed March 14, 2017 http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-crisis-in-flint-goes-deeper-than-the-water; see also "Ferguson Police Routinely Violate Rights of Blacks, Justice Dept. Finds," *New York Times*, March 3, 2015, accessed March 14, 2017 https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/04/us/justice-department-finds-pattern-of-police-bias-and-excessive-force-in-ferguson.html

who can least afford it. In this section, we examine parallels between two such cases and the nonprofit organizations that are the primary subject of our inquiry.

Camden and Indianapolis. In January of 2002, The Municipal Rehabilitation and Economic Recovery Act, New Jersey Senate Bill S428, was introduced. It called for the state takeover of Camden's municipal government. One of the interview subjects for this study reported that because she and a friend who was a Camden native had concerns about the State of New Jersey's plans to take control of the city, she was volunteering in 2002 to support Camden City Councilman Ali Sloan El's efforts. Because she saw similarities between the de facto disenfranchisement of community residents in some of the nonprofit cases that I was studying and a municipal takeover of which she had intimate knowledge, I interviewed her about the situation in Camden, NJ and consulted published reports on occurrences there.

At the time, Camden's per capita income was the very lowest of New Jersey's municipalities. The bill cited Camden's longstanding financial woes, including its dwindling population and shrinking tax base as necessitating temporary state control of the city's finances.[5] Sloan El presented an alternative proposal that sought to insure that at least some of the infusion of $178 million in redevelopment funds from the state would increase educational and employment opportunities for the residents of Camden. Eventually, when displacement of longtime residents became a threat, Sloan El spoke out on behalf of helping longtime residents stay in their homes. This interview subject also framed the municipal takeover of Camden's day-to-day operations as a threat to democracy:

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[5] Report from the State of New Jersey's 210th Legislature, accessed March 14, 2017, http://www.njleg.state.nj.us/2002/Bills/S0500/428_I1.PDF. For a thorough account of the ensuing conflict and subsequent takeover, see Howard Gillette's *Camden After the Fall: Decline and Renewal in a Post-Industrial City* (2005).

The bill was taking from the City Council the ability to do business in the city. They were not going to be able to make any decisions about who got the contracts and what got done and how it got done. Yet they were going to maintain their positions as figureheads.

She was not alone in being concerned about the loss of democratic control. Reporter Matt Katz interviewed two members of the Economic Recovery Board. He wrote:

They feel like "puppets," said member Rosa Ramirez, who lobbied for the state takeover through the civic group Camden Churches Organized for People. "Am I there to speak my voice, make some noise, or do they put me on so they can have someone from the neighborhood?" she asked.[6]

City business owner and board member Robert Milner admitted that "some of the things they wanted to do helped the city, yes. But they did not help the people in the city." In the same article, Katz (who covered Camden extensively) wrote that "Less than 5 percent of the $175 million recovery package was spent on the things residents care about most: crime, city schools, job training, and municipal services."

The interview subject had assisted with efforts to inform the public and went to Trenton to help lobby the state's elected officials. As disputes over contracts and other benefits to well-connected individuals and private companies raged, Sloan El circulated a flyer stating that the city was suffering retaliation because it posed

a threat to the financial looters who wish to capitalize on Camden's current conditions by changing our form of government and returning to a time of the past where voting is reserved for a particular race or class of people. (Gillette 2005, 200)

While my informant remembers the mayor as being apathetic, Howard Gillette reports public objections, even though she had just taken office. Shortly before the takeover was to be

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[6] Matt Katz, "Camden Rebirth: A Promise Still Unfulfilled," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 8, 2011, accessed March 14, 2017, http://articles.philly.com/2009-11-08/news/24987941_1_state-takeover-sewer-sewage.

adopted, Mayor Gwendolyn Faison received an anonymous fax informing her of the details of

the state's proposal. She objected to being stripped of powers that she had just been elected to

exercise (Gillette 2005, 199). Several other public officials raised objections. Along with local

NAACP chair Colandus "Kelly" Francis, Ali Sloan El filed a lawsuit seeking to insure that

Camden's citizens' needs were included in the recovery funding. No bond issue could take

place as a result of the pending lawsuit. According to Sloan El the government's response was

to put a lien on his house, question his right to disability payments resulting from an earlier

elevator accident, and use massive funding and manpower to crush the re-election of the only

other City Councilperson who was willing to second his motions (Gillette 210, 214).

Parallels exist between external control of Camden's and Indianapolis's (see chapter

three) urban development and gentrification processes, with the external control of historically

African American social service agencies. First, it is important to note the role of the NAACP in

this conflict advocating for the interests of people of color, who make up the majority of

Camden's population. It is possible that in both cases, deindustrialization and a reduced

standard of living allow less civic participation in informal nongovernmental organizations and

in local, formal government structures (Bluestone and Harrison 1982); there seems to be a

connection between an inverse relationship between participation in normal politics (i.e., civic

associations) and the cycle of urban decay in the post-industrial United States. According to the

interview subject,

> It was called the Local City Council or something like that, but it was actually at
> the state house and it was named on purpose—I suppose in order to make it seem
> like it made sense. What they were hoping was that we didn't notice. That nobody
> paid attention to it. They were hoping this. And they were surprised when we
> made a stink about it.

Here she is probably referring to the New Jersey Local Finance Board (Gillette 2005, 196). Whether naming the state's oversight body the "Local Finance Board" was intentional obfuscation or not, it created confusion. The mayor and councilpersons remained and continued to receive salaries, and this helped create enough incentive for all but Councilman Sloan El to willingly agree to a massive loss of democratic control and input. The citizen activist interviewed by this author stated that "they started death threats on Sloan El's son. And started threatening him with any number of things." At the time of the interview, neither she nor I had read Gillette's account of events.

When asked her opinion of the broader consequences of the municipal takeover, she stated:

> The first thing is that the American system of government was completely thrown out. That a municipality should be able to govern itself is just one of the basic things about the United States—that we have the opportunity to do that—and the responsibility to do it. My thoughts on it were that because citizenship was not something that anybody knew anything about, abandoning it didn't make that much difference to people in their minds.… They were basically disenfranchised before the discussion ever came up.

Speaking of the perceived apathy of the citizens of Camden and the city officials, the respondent expressed that she "was deeply hurt by it because I had a very idealistic outlook." For our purposes, we should consider, in this case and more broadly, that individuals with limited resources are easily overwhelmed when trying to respond individually to problems requiring institutional responses.[7]

The recent crisis in Flint, Michigan is an object lesson in the dangers of a lack of local accountability. Without being directly affected by the water quality problems in Flint, state officials ignored and then covered up dangerous levels of lead in the water supply. They lacked

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[7] Idea attributable to James Luther Bevel, personal conversations with the author.

the protection of democratic deliberation and choice and the ability to hold local officials personally accountable. Further, the poisoning of Flint occurred fifty years after Marshall High School students, under the direction of Chicago Freedom Movement activists on Chicago's West Side, instituted a campaign to screen small children for lead paint poisoning (Bevel 2016; deBonis 2011).

Beginning with the 1995 federal takeover of the District of Columbia, there has been a spate of municipal takeovers, most notably in New Jersey and Michigan. While the purpose here is not a detailed exposition of municipal takeovers, the goal is to show parallels in the loss of democratic potential within the citizenry—as individuals and in their associational life—in nonprofit and government sectors.

These patterns of municipal takeover, tax lien property seizures, and the appropriation of commonly held or controlled resources in Black communities has been the subject of this research. All lend support to Dawson and Francis's (2015) assertion that racial capitalism is moving from state to the economic sector and civil society.

In summary, where there is conflict, resolutions frequently ignore demands for justice and inclusion by minority community members in nonprofits and poor and working class citizens in "failing," deindustrialized, municipalities and school districts. African American political movements have historically proven to be harbingers for change not just in the United States, but internationally. The potential for human rights advancement and the preservation of the environment amplify the necessity of strengthening Black civil society.

APPENDIX I: HISTORICALLY BLACK YMCAS 1930 – 1940

Table A.1 Historically Black YMCAs 1930-1940

Dearborn YMCA	Mobile	AL	facility
Twenty-eighth Street YMCA	Los Angeles	CA	facility
Oakland Colored YMCA	Oakland	CA	converted
Glenarm YMCA	Denver	CO	facility
New Haven County YMCA	New Haven	CT	facility
Wilmington Colored YMCA	Wilmington	DE	converted
Twelfth Street YMCA	Washington	DC	facility
G.W. Carver YMCA	Miami	FL	converted
Butler Street YMCA	Atlanta	GA	facility
Columbus Colored YMCA	Columbus	GA	facility
West Broad Street YMCA	Savannah	GA	facility
Crocker Street YMCA	Des Moines	IA	facility
Wabash Avenue YMCA	Chicago	IL	facility
Maxwell Street Department	Chicago	IL	facility
Evanston Colored YMCA	Evanston	IL	converted
Gary Colored YMCA	Gary	IN	converted
Senate Avenue YMCA	Indianapolis	IN	facility
South Bend Colored YMCA	South Bend	IN	converted
Des Moines Colored YMCA	Des Moines	IA	converted
Wichita Colored YMCA	Wichita	KS	converted
Louisville Colored YMCA	Louisville	KY	converted
Dryades YMCA	New Orleans	LA	facility
Druid Hill YMCA	Baltimore	MD	facility
St. Antoine YMCA	Detroit	MI	facility
Flint Colored YMCA	Flint	MI	converted
Greenville Colored YMCA	Greenville	MS	converted
Vicksburg Colored YMCA	Vicksburg	MS	converted
Paseo Department YMCA	Kansas City	MO	facility
Menesale Street YMCA	Kansas City	MO	converted
St. Joseph Colored YMCA	St. Joseph	MO	converted
Pine Street YMCA	St. Louis	MO	facility
Atlantic City Colored YMCA	Atlantic City	NJ	converted
Hunton Branch YMCA	Camden	NJ	converted
Washington Street YMCA	Montclair	NJ	facility
Newark Colored YMCA	Newark	NJ	converted
Oakwood Avenue YMCA	Orange	NJ	facility
Plainfield Colored YMCA/Moorland	Plainfield	NJ	converted
Princeton Colored YMCA	Princeton	NJ	converted
West Side Branch YMCA	Red Bank	NJ	converted
Summit Colored YMCA	Summit	NJ	converted

Colored Community Branch	Trenton	NJ	converted
Carlton Avenue YMCA	Brooklyn	NY	facility
Michigan Avenue YMCA	Buffalo	NY	facility
135th Street YMCA	Harlem	NY	facility
Rochester Colored YMCA	Rochester	NY	converted
White Plains Colored YMCA	White Plains	NY	converted
Colored Branch	Charlotte	NC	converted
Greensboro Colored YMCA	Greensboro	NC	converted
Bloodworth Street YMCA/Garner Road	Raleigh	NC	facility
Winston-Salem Colored YMCA	Winston-Salem	NC	converted
Cincinnati Colored YMCA	Cinncinnati	OH	converted
Ninth Street YMCA	Cinncinnati	OH	facility
Cedar Avenue Branch	Cleveland	OH	facility
Spring Street YMCA	Columbus	OH	facility
Fifth Street YMCA	Dayton	OH	facility
Springfield Colored YMCA	Springfield	OH	facility
Indiana Avenue YMCA	Toledo	OH	facility
West Federal Street YMCA	Youngstown	OH	facility
W.L. Hutcherson Branch YMCA	Tulsa	OK	facility
Germantown Colored YMCA	Germantown	PA	converted
Forster Street YMCA	Harrisburg	PA	facility
Christian Street YMCA	Philadelphia	PA	facility
Germantown Colored YMCA	Philadelphia	PA	converted
Centre Avenue YMCA	Pittsburg	PA	facility
Wilkes-Barre Colored YMCA	Wilkes-Barre	PA	converted
Cannon Street YMCA	Charleston	SC	facility
Chattanooga Colored YMCA/J.A. Henry	Chattanooga	TN	converted
Corales Branch	Knoxville	TN	converted
Mississippi Blvd Branch YMCA	Memphis	TN	converted
Whi Colored YMCA	Nashville	TN	facility
Beaumont Colored YMCA	Beaumont	TX	converted
Moorland YMCA	Dallas	TX	facility
Ft. Worth Colored YMCA/Wm. McDonald	Ft. Worth	TX	converted
Houston Colored YMCA	Houston	TX	converted
Watkin-Thompson Branch YMCA	Danville	VA	converted
Lynchburg Colored YMCA/Hunton Branch	Lynchburg	VA	converted
Newport News Colored YMCA	Newport News	VA	converted
Norfolk Colored YMCA/Hunton Branch	Norfolk	VA	facility
Richmond Colored YMCA/Leigh Street	Richmond	VA	facility
Roanoke Colored YMCA/Hunton Branch	Roanoke	VA	converted
Booker T Washington Branch	Milwaukee	WI	converted
Widen Colored YMCA	Widen	WV	facility

APPENDIX II: BLACK CAMPUS-BASED STUDENT YMCAS 1930 – 1940

Miller's Ferry Institute	Miller's Ferry	AL
Montgomery State Teacher's College	Montgomery	AL
Stillman Institute	Tuscaloosa	AL
Tuskeegee Institute	Tuskeegee	AL
Fargo Agricultural School	Fargo	AR
Arkansas Baptist College	Little Rock	AR
Shorter College	Little Rock	AR
Arkansas State College	Pine Bluff	AR
State College for Colored Students	Dover	DE
Florida Normal & Collegiate Institute	St. Augustine	FL
Florida Agricultural & Mechanical College	Tallahassee	FL
Clark University	Atlanta	GA
Morehouse College	Atlanta	GA
Morris Brown College	Atlanta	GA
Haines Institute	Augusta	GA
Paine College	Augusta	GA
Valley High & Industrial School	Ft. Valley	GA
Central City College	Macon	GA
State Industrial College	Savannah	GA
Southern University	Baton Rouge	LA
New Orleans University	New Orleans	LA
Straight College	New Orleans	LA
Lousiana Collegiate Institute	Shreveport	LA
Morgan College	Baltimore	MD
Kansas City Western College	Kansas City	MO
Mississippi Industrial College	Holly Springs	MS
Piney Woods School	Piney Woods	MS
Tougaloo College	Tougaloo	MS
Alcorn Agricultural & Mechanical College	Alcorn	MS
Brick Junior College	Bricks	NC
Johnson C. Smith University	Charlotte	NC
North Carolina College for Negroes	Durham	NC
Agricultural & Technical College	Greensboro	NC
Lincoln Academy	Kings Mountain	NC
Kittrell College	Kittrell	NC
Mary Potter Memorial School	Oxford	NC
Shaw University	Raleigh	NC
Livingstone College	Salisbury	NC
Langston Agricultural & Normal University	Langston	OK
Downingtown Industrial School	Downingtown	PA

Lincoln University	Lincoln	PA
Brainerd Institute	Chester	SC
Benedict College	Columbia	SC
Frogmore Normal & Industrial School	Frogmore	SC
Claflin University	Orangeburg	SC
South Carolina State Agricultural and Mechanical College	Orangeburg	SC
Morris College	Sumter	SC
Fisk University	Nashville	TN
Wiley College	Marshall	TX
Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College	Prairie View	TX
Texas College	Tyler	TX
Hampton Normal & Agricultural Institute	Hampton	VA
St. Paul School	Lawrenceville	VA
Bluefield Institute	Bluefield	WV

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