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NATIONAL LOUIS UNIVERSITY

MAKING A WAY OUT OF NO WAY: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF BLACK MATERNAL ACTIVISM IN CHICAGO

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY DOCTORAL PROGRAM
IN THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

BY

DEIDRA SOMERVILLE

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Community Psychology Doctoral Program

Dissertation Notification of Completion

Doctoral Candidate: Deidra Somerville

Title of Dissertation: MAKING A WAY OUT OF NO WAY: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF BLACK MATERNAL ACTIVISM IN CHICAGO

Certification: In accordance with the departmental and University policies, the above named candidate has satisfactorily completed a dissertation as required for attaining the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Community Psychology Doctoral Program (College of Professional Studies and Advancement) at National Louis University.

Tiffeny Jimenez, Ph.D. Dissertation Chair

Ericka Mingo, Ph.D. Dissertation Committee Member

Suzette Fromm-Reed, Ph.D. Dissertation Committee Member

May 23, 2019
Date

Dedication

When I began this journey, I had one goal in mind: to find and grab hold to some form of authenticity linked to my scholarship. Over the past 25 years, I have worked in various nonprofit organizations as a manager and organizer. As I worked to build up my capacity in human resources management, I was running away from my past. My career was paved with my intentions to run away from the person born to a single teenage mother and raised by three generations of women in a community, where I learned to pluck and dress freshly killed chickens, picked green beans from patches and peaches from trees every summer. I was raised by country folks. Summers were spent on the back porch of my great-grandparent's house, where my great-grandfather made the kids pick a fresh bowl of habanero peppers for him from the back yard. We did so eagerly. We knew that when we filled the bowl with peppers and brought them to him, he would tell us stories, and they were magical. His stories were a form of rapture that held our full attention until called away for chores or supper. I ran away from that back porch with habanero peppers, the boiling hot water to dip the chicken feet in, the long summer afternoons of snapping fresh green beans so fresh and firm, juice sprayed our eyes as we moved quickly through large batches, from bag to tin pan, and back again. I ran because I thought there was something better, something beyond my own stories and my great-grandfather's tales of our ancestors, our plants, our foods, our ways.

But here I am, running back to the stories that fed me in the past to move forward. To be called, for the first time in my family line, Dr. Deidra Marie Somerville. Papi, I hope the story I tell here gives justice to your legacy and the beautiful stories you, Mama Scott, my grandmother Queenia, and others have told me. I pray that the stories I tell of the lives of Black maternal

activists hold the dignity, love, care, grit, and humility they exhibit and I have witnessed. I dedicate this work to those women, and to my ancestors, for their tireless sacrifices to ensure that I have a life worth living, and a story worth telling. Thank you. This is for you.

Acknowledgements

Observations that inspired this research began in earnest many years ago while growing up in San Francisco and later, Richmond California. I owe a great debt to those women for the inspiration they provided me, while they petitioned for the crack alley at the end of our block to be turned into a bike park, among other battles and victories. Attending those organizing

meetings in church basements, lodges, and living rooms, are moments that planted seeds in my heart and mind that could never be erased, no matter the time, distance, or places I have traveled from my neighborhood since.

To the women who took the time to meet with me and share my study with other Black maternal activists, thank you for your support and endorsement of the study with their networks and others not well known to them, but eligible to participate. I look forward to continuing my engagement with you and your respective organizations.

To my dissertation chair, Tiffeny Jimenez, thank you for your support, guidance, and for challenging me to develop, write, and complete a study that I can be proud of. And thank you for joining me on this journey and supporting my scholarly growth in ways that I always wanted but now are attainable. To my husband, Michael Somerville, and our children, Paul, Miles, Michael Jr. and Madison, thank you for your support in all ways big and small. There were many nights and weekends that required my focus and attention to this work, and you all made sure that our home was a supportive place for me to complete this study, particularly my little warrior girl, Madison.

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Abstract

To date, the lived experiences of Black maternal activists in North Lawndale have not been documented, even with the critical role many played while organizing with Dr. Martin Luther King as part of the Chicago Freedom Movement and the critical role of the Illinois Black Panther Party to the Black Power Movement (Seligman, 2005; Rice, 2003). With no studies of the lived experiences of Black maternal activists in North Lawndale, the theories of bridge

leadership, tempered radicalism and their application to those lived experiences is not known. By examining the relationships and organizations influencing black maternal activism, this study aims to better understand the context that informs the potential growth, constraints and challenges faced by Black maternal activists in North Lawndale and the structures that they develop in response to structural oppression. Various settings where Black mothers organize present different challenges - to their leadership, their contributions, their motherhood, and their goals as activists (Robnett, 2000; Edwards, 2000). This study examines these various settings to examine several factors that are seen in literature as being present in these settings: gender dynamics, leadership styles, organizational strategies, beliefs and values of institutions and of black maternal activists themselves (Radford-Hill, 2000). Studies have established that intergenerational messaging has played a key role in how Black maternal activists passed information on in order to maintain community traditions, but little is known regarding whether and how this transference of knowledge is passed on with regard to Black maternal activism (Martin & Martin, 1985). This study will address this gap in knowledge by examining whether direct messaging through proverbs and sayings by community elders, parents, grandparents, and other mothers from inform activist practices, strategies, and value systems for Black maternal activists currently. The purpose of this study is to understand the lived experiences of Black maternal activists in Chicago's North Lawndale community area. More specifically, this study will examine how the community setting has shaped their strategies and relationships as activists, with emphasis on examining the current influences of the Black Church.

Using archival data collection and analysis, semi-structured interviews, and social network analysis, this study will address the following research questions: What are the experiences of Black maternal activists in settings within the Black church and outside of it?

What are the values, strategies and viewpoints that shape Black maternal activism in North Lawndale? How are Black maternal activists using the knowledge and insights of their ancestors to pass on Black maternal activist traditions in North Lawndale? What is social capital within Black maternal activist spaces? The theory being used in this study will be explored to see if the model matches the experiences of Black maternal activist participants. Therefore, there are 2 propositions that will be explored: Propositions: Activism described by participants will fit the description of tempered radicalism. Participants will describe enacting the concept of bridge leadership.

Introduction

Black mothers are essential to the economic and social vitality of their families and communities, particularly in poor urban areas where many heads of household are women. Despite their essential role, poor mothers face various barriers to economic parity due to gender oppression in wage earning, education and economic opportunities, and for poor women of color, racial oppression (Barros et al., 1997; DuMonthier, Childers & Milli, 2017).

Social/cultural context informing Black maternal activism

Black women in the United States have a long and storied history of strong participation and political activity within the public sphere. The fight for economic, political and social parity is due to lagging behind other populations. A report on the Status of Black Women in the United States demonstrates this dual occupation with high participation levels in various spheres of public life and persistent lag in economic, social and political gains (DuMonthier, Childers & Milli, 2017). For example, Black women maintain high rates of participation as voters, yet remain woefully underrepresented in every level of political office within the United States. Since enslavement, Black women have always maintained a high level of participation in the labor force. Currently, more than sixty percent of Black women are in the workforce and lag behind the earnings of most men and women in the country. Higher education has traditionally been utilized as a means to improve employment and career opportunities for Black women. Efforts within the past fifteen years have placed Black women as having the second largest improvement in attainment of higher education among various populations. Despite this increased focus on higher education, Black women still experience poverty at higher rates than Black men and also women from other ethnic groups, with the exception of Native American

women. Black women within the United States are also the last group of women to have the right to vote, compared to women from countries all around the world (Bookman & Morgen, 1988).

Black maternal activism in action.

The role of Black women in the public sphere is inextricably tied to their role as Black mothers. Black mothers lead movements to improve conditions of their children in public spheres, provide support in various forms as "other mothers" to children in communities in need of daily resources, advocacy and nurturing support (Collins, 1991; hooks, 1991; Collins, 2016). They also lead local violence prevention efforts and organize social networks to address resource gaps within their communities (Stacks, 1974; O'Donnell & Scheie, n.d.; Dubsiar, 2018).

Various qualitative studies document the voices of single mothers as activists and community organizers to demonstrate the ways mothers use their voices and social capital to address problems within their communities (Naples, 1991; Greene, 2007; Bond, Holmes, Byrne, Babchuck, & Kirton-Robbins, 2008; McLane-Davidson, 2016). These examples focus on the how the women felt transformed by the experience and the results of the direct action they were engaged in. The models or strategies employed by Black mother activists – how they learned to engage in community organizing and the institutions and practices which support it – have not been explored through these studies. Despite this history of activism in poor communities, studies on mothering activism and the application of mothering and activism are largely based on models of white middle-class mothers, whether single or married (Middleton, 2006). The studies do not capture the ways that Black mothers must navigate systems of oppression that are rooted in racism and sexism while galvanizing and organizing community-based resources to address social, political, and economic challenges faced by the community as a whole.

History of Black maternal activism. Numerous scholars within various disciplines have studied literature on mothers engaged in grassroots activist work over the past 30 years (Collins, 2000; Naples, 1998; Pardo, 1998; Knupfer, 1996; Collins, 2016). From the social clubs of the early 20th century to the recent activism by mothers to improve school systems for their children, the presence of Black women as change agents within poor and marginalized communities is clear. For Black mothers, activism has been an intrinsic and necessary part of motherhood for centuries. Harriet Beecher Stowe documented the activism of Sojourner Truth, a civil rights activist, abolitionist and suffragist, who escaped slavery with her daughter in 1826 and successfully won a court case in demand for her son's freedom from an illegal slave trade, the first case of its kind won by a Black woman (Stowe, 1863). Although not mentioned in much of the literature on contemporary activism of mothers, she represents and personifies many of the qualities identified as essential to mother activists who challenge systems of authority and dominance to improve conditions for her children and others. Black women notably carried this tradition forward during the first wave of the Great Migration in the late 1800s and throughout the 1900s (Butler, 2008; Knupfer, 1996).

According to historical studies conducted on community life for Blacks moving to northern cities in the post-reconstruction era, women's social clubs were formed with the purpose to "promote safer neighborhoods, political and civil equality, and racial pride" (Butler, 2008, p. 81). By their very existence, women's social clubs defied expectations set in place through segregation. They were an act of defiance of the social order and activist in form and nature. The clubs were sources of economic empowerment for communities in the segregated north. As a result, Black women's social clubs established hospitals, settlement houses, orphanages, community schools, art centers, and organized campaigns for public office of Black

elected officials and scholarship drives for Black students to attend colleges and obtain professional degrees (Knupfer, 2006; Powell, 2014).

Black maternal activism has taken on different characterizations over the decades. Various researchers have documented the work of Black material activists during specific historical periods. The activities of Chicago's Black maternal activists from the 1890s through the 1920s were captured by historian Anne Knupfer in her exploration of the clubwomen movement during that period. Black maternal activism from the 1890s through the 1920s can be characterized as a period of activism largely focused on institution building. The activities of this period were in response to the migration of Black families migrating to northern cities in search of better opportunities for social, economic and political advancement (Knupfer, 1996). The clubwomen of this period, initially organized in the south, brought their strategies, tools, and ambitions for racial uplift northward and planted seeds of resistance to oppression through mutual aid and self-help practices. Black mothers reestablished clubs as places to perpetuate Black middle- and upper-class values and culture while raising funds to establish hospitals, orphanages and settlement houses, churches, community improvement projects, college and boarding school funds, and to support Black men running for office. The attention of Black mother activists soon turned to working conditions and worker protections for Black men and women entering factories during 1940s and 1950s (Jones, 2009).

As the industrial revolution transformed America's northern cities, Black families set out on a second wave of migration to northern cities to escape abject poverty and indebtedness to farmers as a result of sharecropping. These realities and the new jobs that came with them brought a largely poor rural and economically displaced group of Black men seeking work in northern cities. Black women found work in factories and continued to work as domestics for the

expanding White middle class benefitting from the new found opportunities for upward mobility (Jones, 2009). Families moving north were also confined within geographical areas of cities where constant surveillance and poor housing conditions were commonplace. Black mother activists used their resources as clubwomen, church leaders, cultural leaders, ministerial leaders, and writers to raise awareness of families arriving while also holding classes for newly arriving Black mothers to socialize them into the realities of northern Black life (Cherry, 1965; Knupfer, 1996; Knupfer, 2006). They also trained and groomed Black mothers into new community roles as community leaders and activists within their own communities. The tradition of intergenerational transfer of knowledge helped to sustain some of the institutions developed and maintained from decades earlier.

Studies on Black maternal activism by Knupfer (1996, 2006) and Jones (2009) were historical studies that documented the stories of Black maternal activists as they worked to adjust to life in northern cities and provide resources for their communities. However, these studies do not shed light on the strategies that helped their work to become successful, nor do they provide insight into how Black maternal activists were able to maintain such strategies over decades. The oral histories collected by Timuel Black on Chicago's first and second wave migration also documented, from a historical perspective, how the strong network ties among the Black community helped to foster a strong sense of community, but gave no analysis on how Black maternal activists used this sense of community to develop strategies to combat structural oppression. Although each study does mention the establishment of churches as part of the settlement of Blacks to Chicago, no analysis is presented from a historical perspective to demonstrate how Black maternal activists navigated their participation within the church and as activists within the community. Kunpfer's (2006) study on Chicago's Black Renaissance period

is the most comprehensive study on the work of Black maternal activists during the period from the 1950s through the late 1970s. She documents the shift during this period of activism toward education, housing and the arts as tools for community development (Knupfer, 2006).

In Chicago, Black maternal activists established several pivotal institutions where the arts and activism were well woven into the fabric of Black life, such as the DuSable Museum of African and African American culture (now a Smithsonian Affiliate) and the South Side Community Arts Center (Knupfer, 2006). These and other institutions founded by Black mothers produced progressive art used to fuel the Black Power movement and to serve as a platform for advocacy during a pivotal time in Chicago's Black Arts Movement. Knupfer discusses models of activism as being present in four distinct areas of organizing: housing, the arts, education, and neighborhood improvement (Knupfer, 2006). Although she discusses these areas as models, there is no understanding of how or what makes each area of organizing distinct, other than the focus of the organizing itself. Another study on housing during this same period through the present was written by Feldman and Stall (2004). Feldman and Stall presented a case study on four decades of activism within Chicago's Wentworth Gardens, a public housing development on Chicago's south side. Their study, like Knupfer's work, challenges old notions of Black women as passive and disengaged from their own ability to improve their lives. However, the study discusses activism and organizing throughout without exploring the work within the context of organizing strategies.

The emergence of not-for-profit organizations as vehicles for social, political and economic change also begs the question of how the use of such institutions has impacted the work of Black maternal activists. Knupfer has written one of the few studies on Black maternal activism that acknowledges use of not-for-profit institutions as vehicles for social change during

the latter part of the Chicago Black Renaissance period, which pans from the 1920s through the 1970s (Knupfer, 2006). Knupfer does not explore how the emergence of not-for-profits and their use by Black maternal activists impacted their relationship to their strategies and approaches as activists. There are few studies found that explore Black maternal activism during times when such activism was tied to national movements, such as the civil rights movement. Since the late 1970s to the current period there are far fewer studies on Black maternal activism, despite the growth in recent efforts of Black maternal activists to improve education, housing and health outcomes in communities. Despite the prominent role Black women have played in the growth and development of local school councils, a Chicago-specific school reform effort, there are very few studies on their work to organize local school administrations to incorporate parent engagement and input into school policies.

More generally, Black maternal activism is rooted in an understanding of Black women as uniquely positioned to translate the needs of communities into participatory strategies. One study on local school councils analyzed the meetings held over the first two years of local school councils at eight elementary schools and twelve high schools. The study found that participation remained consistently high at meetings, with some variance among the schools. The meetings generally discussed six topics, including the school program, LSC organization, building security and safety, finance, personnel, and parent and community involvement. The topics that generated the highest levels of participation were discussions on overcrowding, school improvement planning, principal selection and contract, and safety, security, and discipline (Easton, 1990). This study provided no insight into the organizing strategies used by leadership to ensure engagement, participation, or advocacy. The studies that have defined the literature on Black maternal activism, have given voice to the struggles and triumphs of Black maternal activism,

but have not provided any insight into the "how" behind their struggles and successes. Without better insight into how Black maternal activists have been able to organize in spite of these challenges, valuable information that can inform the future of community organizing strategies may be lost.

Methods Employed by Black Maternal Activists

In order to understand and contextualize Black women's activism, an examination of the methods employed by Black women as activists is in order. Studies on activism have largely framed organizing strategies within a male-centered oppositional context that places value on activities that directly address externalized power (Stall & Stoeker, 1998). Organizing strategies employed by Black mothers have been largely left out of studies on the subject. The few studies that acknowledge the strategies of Black maternal activists discuss how they must define activism on their own terms and within structures that support their objectives as activists and organizers (Higginbotham, 1993; Robnett, 2000; Stall & Stoecker, 1998; Smith, 2015). Scholarship taking into account the work of Black maternal activists within the larger framework of community organizing is still developing.

Community organizing is defined as "collective action by community members drawing on the strength of numbers, participatory processes, and indigenous leadership to decrease power disparities and achieve shared goals for social change" (Stapes, 2004, pp. 1–2). Piven adds that community organizing is a vehicle to engage in practices that lead to disruptive power, or pursuit of a change in dynamic and arrangement between oppressed and dominant groups (Piven, 2006). Community organizing is the mechanism that makes disruptive power accessible to masses of people, whether within small groups within a localized context or through coordinated strategies on the national stage. Disruptive power is "the power strategy that rests on withdrawing

cooperation in social relations" (Piven, 2006, p. 23). Disruptive power acknowledges that the social arrangement, which depends upon the cooperation of the oppressed as expressing willingness to navigate systems that exploit, undermine and devalue indigenous knowledge, must change or come to an end.

The most widely studied community organizing models are based on the context of a struggle for power. The Alinksy model, which was initially developed in the stockyards of Chicago's Back of the Yards neighborhood during the 1930's, sought to resolve two key issues identified by Alinsky. First, the model was to address community concerns as integrated, even as they were perceived as issue based. Alinsky observed that community members were challenged with addressing myriad issues, and did not have an adequate approach to address them as being related to one another. Second, local organizing efforts were generally insulated from the seat of political, social and economic powers that directly affected their organizing efforts. Alinsky sought to address this by connecting local bread-and-butter issues to larger socioeconomic issues (Alinsky, 1941). His early work as an organizer lead to strategies that sought to put the needs of organizers as a collective and powerful force above individual ambition or conscience (Alinsky, 1971). Alinsky is best known for his focus on power in relationship to the opposition. With power comes inevitable conflict between the haves and have-nots (Alinsky, 1971; Stall & Stoecker, 1998).

Piven (2006) acknowledges that all models of activism are contextual within culture, institutional settings, and political objectives. Alinsky came to a similar conclusion, but did not extend this understanding to include how differing gender roles within the public and private sphere relates to women as organizers (Alinsky, 1941; Stall & Stoecker, 1998). Stall and Stoecker (1998) argue that Alinsky and others have neglected to account for the role gender

plays in the development of organizational structures and practices and by extension, have ignored the contributions made by women actors within social movements. The social reproduction of work and the public and private spheres where different kinds of work are considered useful and valuable, also contribute to how community organizing work occurs and has been theorized. Distinct role assignment is evidenced by the gendered community organizing roles within the civil rights movement. Robnett (1996) extends this argument to discussion of the missing pages of history to Black mothers and their pivotal roles as organizers. Men assumed the role of public spokesman, having responsibility for negotiating, developing tactics and strategies to confront power structures. This viewpoint values a complete separation of the public and private spheres (Stall & Stoecker, 1998). For Black mothers, who have historically experienced these two spheres as indistinguishable, this viewpoint is irreconcilable to their roles and defined space within both. The absence of acknowledgement of Black maternal activists means that their contributions to male-centered organizing and their own approaches and applications of organizing principles have been largely ignored in the literature (Stall & Stoecker, 1998; Robnett, 1996; Barnett; 1993; Smith, 2015). A model of community activism for Black mothers must take their connection to both public and private spheres into account in order to have relevance to their work.

The influence of Intersectionality on Black maternal activism. The intersectionality of Blackness, womanhood, motherhood and activism are well worth examining when attempting to understand how a group with such a long history of contribution to American life can have an equally long history of relentless exploitation, subjugation, and oppression. Intersectionality of race, gender, motherhood and activism distinguish both the ways that Black women have

experienced life in America and the ways they have responded to racial, gender and structural oppression.

Blackness is a marker of difference that makes the struggles of Black women differently placed from those of women from other cultures (Collins, 1991). Blackness aligns the fate and struggle of Black women with the fate and struggle of Black men and the Black family. Black women do not distinguish their goals and struggles from Black men and do consider their political, social and economic fates as tied to those of Black men, regardless of sexual orientation or marital status (Collins, 1991). This provides a certain self-ascribed role assignment that Black women take on, that resolves for them whether to identify struggle as a woman's issue or a Black issue, for there is no distinction. Motherhood, in many ways further blends and enmeshes the intersectionality of Black and woman. For Black women, motherhood represents continuity of community, culture, is an emblem of protection, sustenance, wisdom, and helps to define community purpose and values (Martin & Martin, 1986;). Even as the destruction of the Black family has been threatened as a result of enslavement, through the systematic and sanctioned rape of Black women and girls, subjugation of Black women's bodies as wet nurses, and the consummate demand of Black women as prioritizing the needs of White households over their own, the Black community has clung to the idea of Black motherhood as a reliable pillar of strength that is held up to provide solutions to problems, to be used in cunning and strategic ways to ensure survival and continuity of the Black community. Black motherhood represents a call to duty for Black people (Jones, 1985). Black maternal activism, is an extension of the role of Black women as Black, women, and as mothers.

Very few studies have examined the ways that Black maternal activists in particular have refined this strategy of "making a way out of no way," defying the expectations of the stations

Black women are assigned to hold as political and social actors in their own stories. The studies are mostly found in book length qualitative case studies largely focused on Black maternal activism during the Civil Rights Movement (Robnett, 2000; Higginbotham, 1993; Ransby, 2003; Naples, 2013). Neighborhood based case studies focus on defining community mothering within the context of Black women's lives, and their roles as mothers within the public sphere (Edwards, 2000). These studies, which are historical or biographical in nature, describe the work of Black maternal activists as relational in nature, participatory, and acknowledge that while Black women are aware of their social, political and economic position in relationship to the power structure they confront, their focus is community-centered. Mattaini (2013) and T'Shaka (1995) have observed these characteristics as existing within African-centered practices. Mattaini calls this strategy constructive non-cooperation or the practice of building parallel structures in response to racist practices. This strategy has been used to build broad-based access to education, healthcare, housing, food access and spiritual practices. Mattaini does not attribute this strategy to being one derived from or centered within Black maternal activism specifically, but does acknowledge the prominent role of Black women as part of this strategy. T'Shaka, on the other hand, identifies this as distinctly Black feminine leadership attributes to explain the approach Black women take towards organizing.

Organizing strategies that address the needs of community members within the constructive noncooperation framework are well connected to Black mothering practices. Edwards (2000) examined specifically how Black mothering is connected to organizing practices in her qualitative study of nine Black mothers as neighborhood organizers both inside and outside of Black churches. Edwards conducted interviews and observation with nine women who worked in community and church settings. Using mothering as a source for data collection,

Edwards (2000) discovered that mothering is indeed synonymous with the idea of community work, exercising choice and responding to community needs. The study found that Black women used their status as mothers and other mothers to respond to needs of the community and to organize other members of community to respond to challenges faced within their neighborhoods and churches. They created alternative structures and practices that responded to the needs of the community through resources organized, identified and redistributed by Black mothers.

Edwards (2000) describes perceptions of Black mothering by Black community members as a source of power and associated with effective leadership. Using qualitative interviewing and observation with nine women ages 43 to 84 years old, who work in church and community settings, Edwards used mothering as a source of data collection categorization to capture both current and historical accounts of mothering. Each group of community women and church women interviewed as part of her study had many commonalities, including their perceptions of being drawn to activist work as a result of a "call to service" (Edwards, 2000). Mothering is discussed as more than the act of becoming a mother as a result of childbirth. It was named as a way that Black women, whether having given birth or not, assumed their role as a leader in the community and are called on to respond to challenges due to their ability to build consensus, engage different people to make contributions to a process or action, and engage others in participatory or group based decision making (Payne, 1989; Collins, 1991). Black women leaders are also noted for not expecting leadership to be centralized through one figurehead, but placed in hands of people based on capability, availability, and interest (Barnett, 1993). Septima Clark, an educator who organized other Black educators to mount a massive voter literacy campaign in the south in order to ensure high voter turnout and participation, is identified by Barnett as a leader who organized within a decentralized and participatory approach. She was

able to undermine the literacy tests often put in place to keep Blacks disenfranchised. By doing so, she engaged those who often experienced citizenship at the margins of society. By organizing herself and others in a massive literacy campaign, Septima Clark was able to move marginalized men and women toward the center of active citizenship in their own lives. Similarly, Ella Baker, an activist within the NAACP and founding organizer of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was also found to share many of the same characteristics in her approach to organizing (Ransby, 2003). Ransby noted that Ella Baker focused on cultivating local leadership in various communities. She often worked to ensure that communities could mount their own responses to local issues. Ransby also noted that her approach was directly linked to values of cooperation and the pursuit of a world beyond individual gain. In her article written following the founding conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in May of 1960, she writes,

> *Repeatedly it was emphasized that the movement was concerned with the moral implications of racial discrimination for the 'whole world' and the 'Human Race.' This universality of approach was linked with a perceptive recognition that it is important to keep the movement democratic and to avoid struggles for personal leadership...This inclination toward group-centered leadership, rather than toward a leader-centered group pattern of organization, was refreshing indeed to those of the older group who bear the scars of the battle, the frustrations and the disillusionment that come when the prophetic leader turns out to have heavy feet of clay (Baker, 1960, p.2).*

Studies focusing on Black maternal activism characterize their approach as rooted in African-centric roles and notions of women as transmitters of culture and as having responsibilities related to ensuring community well-being (Martin & Martin, 1985; Radford-Hill, 2000; T'Shaka, 1995). These role assignments are described as being passed on intergenerationally. They are also observed to be intrinsic to Black church traditions of socialization for Black mothers coming into adulthood (Radford-Hill, 2000; Higginbotham,

1993). Studies by Edwards (2000) and others demonstrate that the connection between Black women's roles within a community context and mothering embodies Black women as mother figures who are able to reach individuals within communities in order to solve community problems.

Speer and Hughey (2017) explore the concept of social power within the context of community organizing in their qualitative study of a community organizing network spread across 25 cities in the United States. The authors collected qualitative data through interviews and observation of 14 sites within the network. Using Zimmerman's (2000) empowerment theory as a main construct for analysis, they examined how social power and organizing were experienced by members of the network at individual, organization and network levels of analysis. They identified two strands of organizing: issue based and relational based. The two strands of organizing were often viewed as distinct from one another with activists choosing to use one strategy. This was particularly true when examining differences in organizing styles based on gender. The authors found that relational based organizing strategies are strongly identified with women-centered approaches to organizing. While studies by Edwards (2000), Robnett (2000) and T'Shaka (1989) all describe the strategies employed by Black maternal activists as centered on relational organizing strategies, it is important to note that these strategies served to complement and advance the civil rights activist strategies that were issue-focused, rather than oppose them. Robnett (2000) demonstrated this connection in her study of Black maternal activism during the civil rights movement. Her study demonstrated how the organizing strategies employed by Septima Clark, Ella Baker and others were instrumental and lead to monumental victories during the civil rights movement.

The most often studied era of Black maternal activism is arguably the civil rights movement (Robnett, 2000; Higginbotham, 1993; Ransby, 2003; Barnett, 1993). The ways that Black mothers were able to use their power as activists during that era were examined through the lens of the Black church and gendered dynamics more broadly and within the Black community. Studies on Black maternal activists describe their work during the civil rights era with words like "invisible", "unknown" and "unsung heroes" and as having "lack of recognition." Barnett (1993) noted that the invisibility of Black women in civil rights scholarship is as a result of their intersectionality, as Black, women, and often poor. The ways that leadership has been defined within the context of the civil rights movement was not inclusive of the leadership roles assumed by Black maternal activists within the movement.

Just as Black women experienced the highest levels of political, social and economic participation in the workforce while still occupying the lower rungs of political and economic achievement within a patriarchal and racist structure designed to benefit men and White people, the same can be said of their experience within the civil rights movement. Robnett (2000) argues that activism for Black women was designed in response to the lack of positional power within male dominated leadership structures. Black maternal activists carved out significant and distinct niches within movements across various periods of time, from the past to the present. This approach to activism has been employed using what Ngunjiri, Sobukwe and Gegner (2012) term as "tempered radicalism". Ngunjiri, Sobukwe and Gegner (2012) identified tempered radicalism practices by Black mothers dating back to the late 19th century, particularly among Black mothers pursuing the pastorate within the Black church. Tempered radicalism "explains the persistent involvement of Black women preachers as leaders in church and community, even in the face of resistance and discrimination. Tempered radicals seek authenticity, even as they live

with the duality of a commitment to the institution along with an abiding disagreement with the organization's values and/or ideology" (Ngunjiri, Sobukwe, and Gegner, 2012, p.87).

Tempered radicalism is a response to western notions of patriarchy, which directly infected the values of Black men establishing Black churches during the Reconstruction period in the antebellum south (Higginbotham, 1983). Black mothers, made a "way out of no way" in order to respond to the call for service on their own terms. Black maternal activists led successful ministries in communities as a means of outreach for the church and began the ritual practices of "sick and shut-in" ministries to minister to the parishioners unable to attend church services. Some also established their own healing ministries, drawing thousands of patrons to their gatherings, which operated within structures that were distinctly anti-patriarchal (Higginbotham, 1983). Black maternal activists found ways of "rocking the boat without falling out" (Ngunjiri, Sobukwe and Gegner, 2012, p. 87). They did so by making distinct contributions as activists, rather than relying on permission to assume roles assigned by others.

The role of Black maternal activists as bridge leaders may define a strategic path that Black maternal activists use to carve out leadership roles for themselves, utilizing the framework of Black mothering and tempered radicalism to inform their tactics and strategies toward different forms of activism (Robnett, 1996). Bridge leaders "utilized framed bridging, amplification, extension, and transformation to foster ties between the social movement and the community; and between prefigurative strategies (aimed at individual change, identity and consciousness) and political strategies (aimed at organizational tactics designed to challenge existing relationships with the state and other societal institutions)" (Robnett, 2000, p. 19). Black maternal activists established themselves as bridge leaders while operating in various spaces, which involves using targeted relational based strategies to respond to community needs.

Septima Clark is an exemplar bridge leader, an activist educator whose crucial role made the ability to mount a response to racist and exclusionary voting practices possible. Her activism to increase the numbers of literate Black voters made it possible for Black men and women to overcome barriers to political participation prior to the passing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Robnett (2000) describes the means by which Black maternal activists were able to define their activism on their own terms, despite the patriarchal environment within churches and the racist and gender oppression experienced elsewhere, is through the creation and maintenance of free spaces. Free spaces are physical spaces where oppressed groups assert their collective identity and use their individual skills in order to mount a response to the oppression they face (Morris, 1980; Pollenta, 1999; Robnett, 2000). This space is clear from influence from others not part of that group identity. In order to name and hold that space, Black women must operate within it without the input or facilitation from Black men. This has been particularly crucial in the activist roles Black women assume within the church, where ladders to leadership opportunities are largely space reserved for men (Higginbotham, 1983; Robnett, 2000). Application of the strategies and organizing tactics employed by Black mothers of the church have not been adequately explored.

Studies on Black maternal activism also document how organizing has been conducted largely through networks and associational relationships (Knupfer, 1996; Knupfer, 2006; Seligman, 2005; Higginbotham, 1993). Churches, social clubs, sororities, and other social institutions have been traditionally used to mobilize and engage the community in movement activities. They operate as spaces where community members exchange information, resources, mutual aid and mutual support. Black mothers have historically used these spaces places to practice bridge leadership, connecting individuals and groups to social movement activities

(Knupfer, 1996; Robnett, 2000). The most recent study to document such activities was Knupfer's study of the Chicago Black Renaissance period, during the 1970s (Knupfer, 2006). Studies on Black maternal activism have not adequately shown how shifts in community network dynamics in the past forty years influence strategies employed by Black women, or if other strategies have risen up to serve the same purpose or have been redefined in new ways, toward new goals. Many of the organizations that served as tools for mobilization for Black women forty years ago are no longer active. However, Black churches are still spaces where Black women assume roles of service that may still be used as platforms for Black maternal activism.

Few studies have researched Black maternal activist traditions and strong network ties within the church, particularly in the past forty years (Higginbotham, 1993; Coleman, 2008). Patillo-McCoy (1998) and Higginbotham (1993) both note that in Black churches, women traditionally had their own distinguished societies with coveted roles that are not equivocate to men's roles. The traditional Mother's Boards within Black churches is one area of community life that symbolized a connection of mothers as "other mothers" to an entire church body, and often within the community where the church is located. The tradition of the Mother Board has been documented as intrinsic to Black church life from its inception (Patillo-McCoy, 1998). They led rituals within the church, led and organized missionary activities within the broader community and organized fundraisers in support of community work and church functions. Mother Board members have been known for carrying out various functions as community organizers, healers, soothe sayers, master cooks, and key decision makers within church and community life. Some churches historically would not make major decisions or changes without the influence and endorsement of their respective Mother Board. The Mother Board held the role

as elders and keepers of sacred knowledge to be passed on to younger women within the church, functioning as the vehicle through which intergenerational apprenticeship and knowledge sharing took place.

The roles that Black mothers play as church elders is only one aspect of church life. The Black church is a public institution that has been structured to mimic the same patriarchal structure as seen in White churches with the majority of leadership responsibilities for men (Higginbotham, 1983). In many ways the structure of churches mimics the private sphere of the homes that are run within the same framework: with men controlling finances and access to other resources. Despite the very public presence Black women have always had outside of Black homes, due to work and other community roles, the Black church has remained in many ways a largely private sphere for Black women. This has been reflected in the images of the civil rights movement leadership, which has featured men as spokesmen and their wives as largely supportive. Their roles within the civil rights movement have been documented as pivotal to organizing mass boycotts, sit-in demonstrations, fundraisers, community strategy meetings, and the marches that brought hundreds and thousands of people together to raise their voices in protest to the injustices experienced in southern and northern cities. All of these contributions occurred under a veil of invisibility of Black women within the church.

Defining Black Maternal Activism. Activism for Black women has been defined by critical race theorists and Black feminist writers as being the result of intergenerational messaging, socialization, and role assignment for Black women. Black motherhood is often associated with activism (Giddings, 1984; hooks, 1991; Collins, 1991). In her description of the home as a place of resistance, hooks describes the role of Black mothers as often repairing harm from the assaults on the minds and hearts of Black children (hooks, 1991). The community

mothers, or other mothers are Black women who play this role in the broader community, assuming responsibility for the health and well-being of children throughout the community by providing various forms of help to children when necessary (Collins, 1991). Julia Cooper, a 19th century clubwoman and educator describes Black women's activism as "the fundamental agency under God in the regeneration...of the race, as well as the groundwork and starting point of its progress upward" (Cooper, 1886). Cooper's discussion of activism acknowledges the embedded role of spiritual calling, and the role of women as mothers, beyond the role of childbirth. Motherhood is defined as a principled role that contains knowledge, strategies, tools, nurturance and ways of knowing that can result in the ability to buffer the community from the ravages of oppression. This distinctive role goes beyond class assignments or access to wealth generation. Motherhood is the regeneration principle that contributes to community knowledge and capacity. The question of whether such strategies, tools, knowledge, and ways of knowing are currently steeped within cultural values and are passed on from generation to generation and what makes this transference possible is not addressed within scholarship on Black maternal activism.

Black maternal activism is also rooted in principles of empowerment built upon agency, authenticity, authority, and autonomy (Somerville, 2018). A study by this author on the relationship between Black maternal activism and empowerment found the relationship to be positive. Black mothers surveyed for the study perceived themselves to: 1) be able to take action on matters of concern to them independent of permission from others, 2) to feel respected, 3) to perceives themselves as community leaders, 4) and to have a voice in matters of importance to them. These four constructs of Black maternal empowerment can be viewed as ingredients that can drive the perceptions Black women have of themselves to create change for themselves and others. The study found that Black mothers are engaged in activist-oriented activities which lead

to social change, such as organizing a block club, campaigning for a politician, or willingness to organize friends or family to become involved in their own communities.

Black maternal activism uses empowerment to challenge oppression, but does so through community building, and strategies that ensure community continuity for men, women and children (Collins, 1996). This is evidenced by the activities of clubwomen of the late 19th and early 20th century, and more specifically, the Chicago Black Renaissance (Knupper, 1996; Hendricks, 1998).

Geographical context for Black maternal activism in Chicago

Chicago has served as a destination center for African Americans migrating from the south in significant numbers since the turn of the 19th century. Black families came from many different states, over the course of two mass migrations during the 1910s and 1940s (Carrington, Detragiache, & Vishwanath, 1996). A study on the economic impact of the Great Migration by Carrington, Detragiache and Vishwanath (1996) found that among northern states with significant numbers of migratory Blacks, the greatest numbers of families that made their way to Illinois were from Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana with approximately 10 percent of the southern Black population migrating during the first quarter of the 20th century and about 40 percent of the southern Black population having migrated north by 1960 (Carrington, Detragiache, & Vishwanath, 1996). The early migrants to Chicago were largely a professional class seeking better economic opportunities and relief from Jim Crow laws established after Reconstruction, a time after the Emancipation Proclamation provided free Blacks and newly freed slaves unprecedented opportunities for education, military service, and the expansion of Black owned businesses (Black, 2003). Jim Crow laws sought to undermine the advancement of Black leaders by enforcing social and legal codes restricting movement of Blacks in

neighborhoods, local businesses, education institutions, and public facilities. Blacks with means to move their families north to Chicago did so, and established institutions that worked to provide racial uplift to Chicagoans and to their families and friends in the south. Flagship organizations such as the Chicago Urban League, the Chicago Defender, and the Black clubwomen movement actively engaged in institution building in support of new migrants coming north.

The second Great Migration during the 1940s and 1950s brought significant numbers of Black southerners to Chicago seeking jobs and a better quality of life for families. With strong network ties and the beckoning of the Chicago Defender urging them north, families with far less means moved north to largely confined areas on Chicago's south side in an area known during the Great Migration as Chicago's Black Belt. The vast majority of Chicago's migrants were packed into inadequate and substandard housing in an area primarily along State Street, with railroad yards and industrial buildings to the west, Wabash Avenue to the east, Van Buren Street on the northern boundary and Thirty-ninth Street to the south. Chicago's Black Belt was teeming with Black owned businesses, schools, independently funded hospitals, libraries, promising union jobs, and churches. Volunteer associations founded largely by middle class Black women provided settlement houses, fed and clothed orphaned children, provided etiquette and home economic classes for new migrants. The Black Belt was a primary port of settlement for decades, but this changed because of the overcrowding of Black families on Chicago's south side. As families looked for more opportunities for work, they were drawn to the Sears and Roebuck complex on the Chicago's northwest side. Families were able to establish an imprint in a part of the city where there were far fewer Blacks competing for jobs. Families from the south and

Chicago's south side began to venture west, and they were met with challenges and opportunities that would define the city landscape for years to come.

Chicago's North Lawndale neighborhood. North Lawndale is abounded by Cermak (22nd St) to the south, Taylor to the north, Rockwell to the east and Kilburn to the west. The second wave of the Great Migration brought African Americans as displaced residents from Chicago's south side as a result of urban renewal projects and directly from southern cities. While many Black migrants in neighboring communities of Austin and West Garfield Park moved to public housing in the area, North Lawndale's Black community were homeowners and renters in the private market. The concentration of middle- and upper-income communities that spurred the Black clubwomen movement and various mutual- and self-help activities for the indigent poor did not exist in North Lawndale. For North Lawndale residents, the Black church was the primary source of community and mutual aid (Hare, 2016). Reporters from the Chicago Defender explored the origins of community ties within west side communities (Hare, 2016). They interviewed community leaders whose families migrated to North Lawndale, East Garfield Park, West Garfield Park, and Austin. Historically, west side communities were referred to as "Lil' Mississippi and were comprised of people coming primarily from the hometowns of Grenada, Angola, and Indianola, Mississippi (Hare, 2016).

Migrants to North Lawndale competed with others for employment with established ties to the neighborhood and local employers. The constant tension within between White workers and Black residents unable to find living wage work was palpable (Seligman, 2005). The population shifted over time, with fewer employment opportunities and industrialization driving jobs and new housing to suburbs west and north or the area. By 1960, 91 percent of North Lawndale residents were Black (Seligman, 2005). During 1966, North Lawndale became the

epicenter of the Chicago Freedom Movement, sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and lead by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Ralph & Ralph, 1993). The Movement brought attention to the racist oppression of northern Blacks, and brought a national spotlight to the work of local Black activists long organizing for improvements in housing in Chicago's poor Black communities. This mobilizing effort resulted in mass demonstrations throughout the streets of Chicago and culminating events in Chicago's Soldier Field, where Dr. King and others gave speeches to further mobilize and organize Chicago's activist community. The mobilization lead to pressure on Chicago's Daley administration to focus attention on this issue and respond to proposed changes to current housing conditions in Chicago. These efforts were ultimately not successful at changing conditions in Chicago. Rubinowitz and Shelton (2008) argue that their efforts ultimately resulted in the passing of the federal Fair Housing Act of 1968. This federal civil rights victory only partially addressed the concerns facing North Lawndale residents, where crushing poverty and poor housing conditions were little changed. Further disinvestment in the community occurred as a result of the response by local businesses to the riots following King's assassination on April 4, 1968. A precipitous drop in the population followed, leaving those with the least opportunity to seek better employment and education opportunities behind. With few resources to rebuild, Black churches in North Lawndale once again served as anchor institutions and looked to strategies to expand its support and influence, along with the Black Panther Party and other activist organizations. The relationships Black maternal activists had within these different types of organizations have yet to be examined.

Few studies have examined the relationship between the migration and population patterns of historical and present-day North Lawndale and the connection to activism (Seligman, 1995; Seligman, 2003). The oral histories of North Lawndale families suggest that the

relationships among individuals are important, particularly when it comes to the churches in the community. The relationships that Black maternal activists in North Lawndale have with Black churches would provide insight into the culture and context of Black maternal activism in North Lawndale. Black maternal activists historically engage in helping traditions as bridge leaders, providing food, shelter, housing, and spiritual support, to families. Oral histories collected by the Chicago Defender confirm this as historically significant, but little is known of how Black maternal activists relate to the present-day church and also how they navigate and engage in activism within and outside of other structures.

The story of Chicago's west side communities and their struggles for justice and equity are not well known. The ports of entry and politics of place for Blacks within the south and west sides were distinctly different (Seligman, 2016; Seligman, 2005). These differences in how each community area became defined as Black communities are stories that shed light on dynamics that directly demonstrate how Black mothers were able to organize themselves and their communities. Everything, from population density, to the relationship of whites to geographic and political space, to the institutions that were built and maintained to sustain Black life, and the organizing mechanisms employed, all influence the ways that Black maternal activism have been shaped and sustained. North Lawndale churches have historically played a prominent role as operational centers for organizing activity. This study will examine the extent to which the Black churches are vehicles of social change in Black communities as evidenced through the activities of Black maternal activists.

The actors and relationships within North Lawndale's Black maternal activist ecosystem have yet to be fully defined. Knupfer (1996) explored Black maternal activism on Chicago south side and found churches, schools, housing, and arts organizations all historically served as spaces

for Black maternal activism. There were relationships among the different institutions, due to Black maternal activists and their connections to institutions as leaders and founders, church parishioners and that their geographical location played a pivotal role in fundraising and resource redistribution. This study will investigate the Black maternal activist ecosystem in North Lawndale.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory explores the relationship individuals and groups have to various social systems within their environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Microsystems are traditionally viewed as nested within other meso- exo- and macrosystems connected to the individual, but are less influential on daily life. For Black maternal activists, one microsystem would be their family network, namely their children and other family members. Given the role of Black maternal activists as other mothers, bridge leaders, and influencers as bridge leaders, the nested ecological systems theory model, may not adequately explain the relationships Black maternal activists have to the systems they are connected with, nor the relationship those systems have with one another. The ecological systems model contextualizes the experiences, decisions, and responses to the environment of individual or group actors through an examination of the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem that each connects back to the individual or group actors (Neal & Neal, 2013). These relationships have been examined as a nested ecological system. Social network scholars have challenged this model to better define both the relationship individual and group actors have to these systems and also the relationship that those systems have to one another (Neal & Neal, 2013).

These dimensions of social power and relationships will be instructive in examining how and whether organizations are leading actors of Black maternal activist networks and the extent to which Black maternal activists are able to utilize bridge leadership at the organizational level.

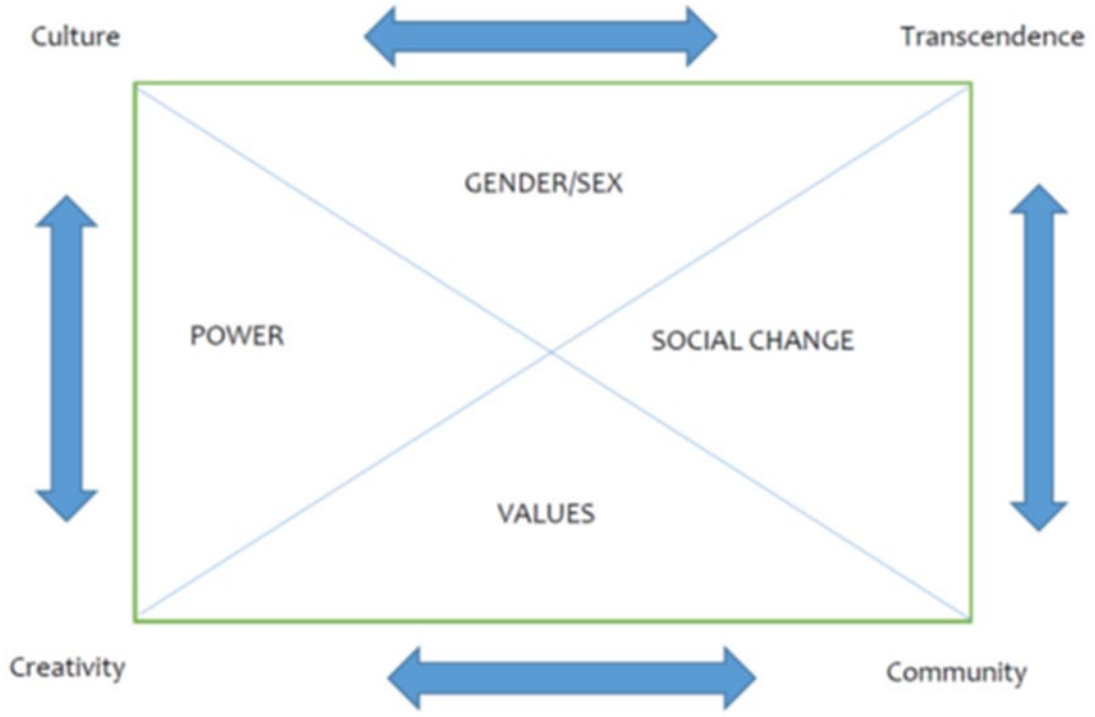
Community level social power processes can examine the extent to which multisector development, institutional linkages and the capacity to target community issues are present as processes. The capacity for the network to actually have many organizations that can engage with each other while having social power and making efforts to engage collaboratively are counted as outcomes for healthy social network actors whom engage each other with healthy social relationships (Speer & Hughey, 1995).

The Black Church historically played a pivotal role in facilitating the means by which Black maternal activists were able to define their relationship to community and make free spaces within Black Churches to organize, lead, and connect parishioners and non-parishioners alike to the civil rights movements and to organize around local and national issues. Studies by Higginbotham and Robnett have examined the critical roles that Black maternal activists have played in the church on the national stage. The pivotal role of the Black Church in the resettlement, advocacy, community building and organizing of Black communities in North Lawndale begs the question of what their role the Black Church plays in North Lawndale's current landscape, particularly as related to the various possible ways that North Lawndale's Black maternal activists may engage in community organizing work. To date, the lived experiences of Black maternal activists in North Lawndale have not been documented, even with the critical role many played while organizing with Dr. Martin Luther King as part of the Chicago Freedom Movement. With no studies of the lived experiences of Black maternal activists in North Lawndale, the theories of bridge leadership, tempered radicalism and their application to those lived experiences is not known. Studies have established that intergenerational messaging has played a key role in how Black maternal activists passed information on in order to maintain community traditions, but little is known regarding whether

and how this transference of knowledge is passed on with regard to Black maternal activism (Martin & Martin, 1985). This study will address this gap in knowledge by examining whether direct messaging through proverbs and sayings by community elders, parents, grandparents, and other mothers from Mississippi and North Lawndale inform activist practices, strategies, and value systems for Black maternal activists currently.

A framework that guides the viewpoints, strategies and values to activist work for North Lawndale's Black maternal activists has not been established. A strategic Black maternal activist framework designed by Chicago-based humanities scholar, Sheila Radford Hill, was specifically designed for bringing what has largely been a theoretically based discussion of Black maternal activism into praxis. In her book, *Further to Fly: Black Women and the Politics of Empowerment*, Radford-Hill (2000) discusses the ways that Black women have been stripped of their role and place as pivotal to community change efforts in communities.

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework for Black Women Empowerment (Radford-Hill, 2000)



She also examines role that Black feminism rhetoric has played in breaking down doors to discourse within White academic circles while simultaneously abandoning the actual work being done by Black women in communities. The strategic framework developed by Radford-Hill is in response to this abandonment, and acts as a tool that can be used to explore, in practical terms, how Black women can reclaim their role as activists in communities. Radford-Hill's framework has the potential to serve as a model for Black maternal activism, as it draws from both discourse of Black maternal activism and builds upon the cultural, political, gendered and community-based realities that inform the experiences of Black women and communities. The framework has not been used in order to determine whether it can be adapted as a model for Black maternal activism. This study will address this gap in the literature, as well as determine whether North Lawndale's Black Church plays a role in today's organizing efforts and if the lived experiences of Black maternal activists can be explained using tempered radicalism and bridge leadership theories.

By examining the relationships and organizations influencing Black maternal activism, we will better understand the context that informs the potential growth, constraints and challenges faced by Black maternal activists in North Lawndale and the structures that they develop in response to structural oppression. Various settings where Black mothers organize present different challenges - to their leadership, their contributions, their motherhood, and their goals as activists. This study will examine these various settings to examine several factors that are seen in literature as being present in these settings: gender dynamics, leadership styles, organizational strategies, beliefs and values of institutions and of Black maternal activists themselves.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is twofold: first, to understand the lived experiences of Black maternal activists in Chicago's North Lawndale community area. Second, this study will examine how the community setting has shaped their strategies and relationships as activists, with emphasis on examining the current influences of the Black Church.

This study will address the following research questions:

1. What are the experiences of Black maternal activists in settings within the Black church and outside of it?
2. What are the values, strategies and viewpoints that shape Black maternal activism in North Lawndale?
3. How are Black maternal activists using the knowledge and insights of their ancestors to pass on Black maternal activist traditions in North Lawndale?
4. What is social capital within Black maternal activist spaces?

The theory being used in this study will be explored to see if the model matches the experiences of Black maternal activist participants. Therefore, there are 2 propositions that will be explored:

Propositions:

1. Activism described by participants will fit the description of tempered radicalism.
2. Participants will describe enacting the concept of bridge leadership.

Methods

Personal Biases

The road that has led me to study this topic comes from my own background and family history. While growing up in California, I was taken to organizing meetings by my great-grandmother on a regular basis for many years. She brought me, my younger sister and our

female cousin with her to meetings that she either facilitated, prepared food for, and/or invited others to attend. I watched my great-grandmother, up until her late 80s, attend meetings in churches, mason lodges, private homes, and community centers to clean up alleys in our neighborhood where drug dealing took place on a regular basis, to advocate for the right to vote on behalf of people with mental disabilities, along with a host of other causes she fought for. The experiences in these rooms, filled with primarily women of color of varying ages and from diverse backgrounds, had an impact on me that lead to my own interest in community organizing. I was a founding member of the Black Student Union at my high school and was a student leader of the divestment movement at UC Santa Cruz. I was an active member of the African/Black Student Association and the Student Alliance for North American Indians during a time of intense protest activity and used my role as a desk editor at City On A Hill newspaper to advance various causes and to hold administrators accountable to the demands made by students.

With these experiences and others since, Black maternal activism is a subject matter that has shaped my perspective of what it means to have agency and to see oneself as an instrument of change. My experiences as an activist has influenced my interest in this subject and I believe my experiences in activism may also have fundamental differences from the Black women participants for this study. The methods employed in this study emphasize use of contextual and subjective realities and community participatory research. The reason for my choice to use this approach to learn about Black maternal activism in North Lawndale is to ensure that the stories told, insights reached, and decisions made regarding next steps for Black maternal activism in North Lawndale belong to the women recruited to participate in this study, and not to me and my story of activism. This study is designed to place meaning making in the hands, hearts and minds of the Black women from North Lawndale, for this story is rightfully their story to tell. I take the

honor and privilege of facilitating the means by which their story is told with the responsibility to use research methodologies that ensure that my own personal history with activism does not influence or impede upon theirs.

Design

Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) Approach. Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) was used as a study approach in order to acknowledge the role that Black maternal activists play in providing the insights, experiences and network knowledge that led to development of a model of Black maternal activism in North Lawndale. Building on the theoretical tenets laid out by Paulo Freire (1970), the CBPR approach emphasize methodological practices that rely on a process of co-learning that is dialectical in nature, presenting opportunities for Black maternal activists to shape and contribute to their own stories as community leaders and organizers. In taking this approach, the aim was to "develop and maintain mutually respectful and dynamic partnerships with communities" (Tervalon & Murray-Garcia, 1998, p. 118).

The CPBR approach was used to "engage participants in the construction of knowledge" (McIntyre, 2007, p. 49) using semi-structured interviews as the primary sources of data collection. Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) define CBPR approaches as having four different modes of participation, each describing the extent to which knowledge generation comes from the researcher or participants. The first mode of contractual participation defines the participant as responsive to a line of inquiry or experiment on the part of the researcher. The consultative mode describes a process through which participants provide their opinions to inform a line of inquiry or specific intervention that would benefit from community input. A collaborative mode brings researchers and participants within a local community together on a project developed and

coordinated by the researcher. And finally, the collegiate mode acknowledges the different skills of the researcher and local participants, aiming to maximize the diversity of skills and knowledge in a process of learning that is mutual in nature, and controlled by participants (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). The collaborative approach matched the research design, with the aim to leave much of the meaning making in the hands of Black maternal activists.

CBPR has specific methodologies that are used to ensure shared control of the data collection process, interpretation and data analysis, and presentation of findings. The ways that participants are engaged at each stage of a research project, including the response to the findings of the project, are considered at each stage of the research process. Black maternal activists in North Lawndale shared their knowledge of the community, its history and current realities as related to activist practices, and made meaning of what and how those shared experiences were reflected in a model of Black maternal activism.

Phenomenological Approach. A phenomenological approach was used to describe the experiences participants had in common and distill their experiences to reveal the essential nature of a phenomenon. To address experiences of Black maternal activists in settings within the Black church and outside of it, qualitative interviews were conducted with Black maternal activists affiliated with Black churches and with other organizations to learn about how Black maternal activists navigated within different settings and perceive the conditions of settings in which their activism take place. These interviews were merely one piece of the data puzzle being used to understand the essence of the experience of being a Black mother activist within a larger case study.

Case Study Research Design. The single case study design was used to capture qualitative and quantitative data to gain more in-depth understanding of the phenomena of Black

maternal activism within the unique social and historical cultural context of North Lawndale, Chicago. Black maternal activists were the primary unit of analysis and North Lawndale as the bounded system and context for the unit of analysis. The case study approach was most appropriate and useful for this study for its utility to facilitate "exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources" (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 544). This case study drew from multiple sources of data, including: archival data, semi-structured interviews, and participatory focus group interviews with Black maternal activists.

The case study approach emphasizes the use of data collection strategies that can inform understanding of knowledge utilization among Black maternal activists in North Lawndale (Yin, 1981). Knowledge utilization is defined as "the notion of adapting knowledge to the needs of society" (Backer, 1991). In the case of Black maternal activists in North Lawndale, the collection and analysis of archival data provided historical perspective on how knowledge utilization has been used historically in North Lawndale to address the concerns posed by various events and circumstances Black maternal activists were confronted with in the past. Qualitative interviews provided current context that informed on knowledge use as related to activist strategies employed by Black maternal activists. By learning about the context and decisions that lead to how they used their knowledge of current systems they engage as activists – to use bridge leadership as a strategy for activism, or another activism strategy – inform the perception of the problem they identify and the response that best responds to that problem or issue.

Participants

Participants were Black maternal activists who were either born and/or raised in North Lawndale and who have experience as activists in North Lawndale. Black maternal activists were defined as Black women engaged in activities associated with community organizing across

issue areas and servant leadership working within churches, various organizations and public institutions. The participants included Black maternal activists engaged in pastoral leadership, housing advocacy, arts activism, neighborhood based and block club leadership, child care, community planning and development, Black maternal activists included mothers and other mothers who are not mothers to biological children. The timeframe included activities from 1950 to the present day. This timeframe captures the time of activity during the second wave of the Great Migration, the same time a large influx of Black families moved to North Lawndale.

Recruitment. Participants were recruited using purposive snowball sampling targeting Black church members and Black organizations within North Lawndale. Purposive snowball sampling was useful as a recruitment methodology, because it established a pool of eligible applicants through knowledge of individuals already identified and determined to be eligible for study participation. In line with purposive sampling methods, eligible participants identified and contacted by the researcher informed other participants they knew who would also be eligible to participate, which established the study and the researcher as a credible source for prospective participants (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). In this study, snowball sampling began by the investigator identifying current Black maternal activist contacts as part of archival data collection and approaching them directly to participate, where they were also then asked to refer other women to the study. Seventeen women from three different age groups were identified for this study and ten were interviewed, all within various settings in North Lawndale. Five of the interviews were held at Stone Temple Church, a historic landmark described by participants as a "spiritual and political hub" in North Lawndale. Interviews were also held within the homes of three participants with limited capacity to drive or meet at Stone Temple, and two were held at the Green Tomato Café during non-peak hours to accommodate participants who wanted to meet

there. The interviews at the Green Tomato were held in the back of the café where there were no other patrons in the space. Three of the participants were ages 18-35, three participants were ages 36-50 and four participants were ages 51 and older. The participants were members or leaders of Black church congregations and nonprofit organizations and volunteer associations within North Lawndale.

Instruments

Interview Protocol Instrument. Semi-structured interviews will include questions about their experiences growing up in North Lawndale, the migratory history of their families, influential Black women in their lives and their experiences as activists in North Lawndale. The interviews will include questions such as, "Tell me about a time that you experienced a challenge while engaging in activist work. How did you address that challenge? What influenced you to take that approach?" (See APPENDIX B). Questions on their social network will include: "Who are the people or organizations you go to when you want to address an issue in North Lawndale?" "What organizations/places in North Lawndale do you partner with to make change happen? Why have you connected with this organization/place in particular?" "Who are the Black women leaders in North Lawndale? To what extent to you know them?" (See APPENDIX C).

Social network questionnaire. This structured protocol includes questions to Black maternal activists about their respective networks: who they know, how they are connected to them, the ways they utilize that connection for resources, and the ways they also see themselves as connectors to and for others. The social network questionnaire asks questions like, "Probe 1: Who are the people or organizations you go to when you want to address an issue in North Lawndale?"

North Lawndale serves as the ecological and system boundary for analysis to examine Black maternal activists and their ecosystem.

The following relationships will be examined:

- Relationship by access to resources, information, and overall support - directional analysis - is there a smaller group of people emerging as bridge leaders amongst the network?
- Relationship by membership - directional - are certain organizations or memberships valued among activists as they work on their specific issues?
- Relationship to previous organizers/activists - names that may show continuity of organizing among Black maternal activists - are there particular activists within North Lawndale whose names represent a legacy of organizing within North Lawndale?

This study will analyze the whole network in terms of density through the number or relationships present, reciprocity among actors within the network as defined through their relationships, and transitivity in order to discover if the relationships among actors create or sustain new relationships (Neal, 2015; Provan, Veazie, Staten, & Teufel-Shone, 2005). Individual actors within the network will be understood for their centrality within the network. **Centrality** is defined as the extent to which an individual or organization emerges as an influential actor among other actors in the network (Knoke & Yang, 2008). Each participant will give her own independent account of her relationship with other Black maternal activists within her personal network. This will provide the comprehensive picture of whether Black maternal activists acknowledge specific people in their network as bridge leaders and specific organizations as resources. Each participant will also confirm whether their relationship with

individuals they identify as leaders in North Lawndale is a strong or weak relationship. Those women who emerge as connected to different smaller networks through transitivity will be identified as bridge leaders within the network. Centrality will also be useful to identify central actors identified among various participants as responsible for carrying intergenerational messaging to network members as a guiding figure in their lives and in the lives of the network. All of the instances in which actors emerge with centrality as bridge leaders and intergenerational messengers will be counted.

Bridge leadership is the strategy used by Black maternal activists to link skills to address community problems. They 1) work through decentralized structures, and 2) make central the marginalized people and issues of the North Lawndale community. Bridge leadership uses an ecological perspective to connect to a larger systemic issue, which makes them systems thinkers. Bridge leaders act as active connectors between the community problem/need and existing resources. The qualities of this strategic approach are most reflected within the relationship measures of a social network, which include density and centrality. This strategy by Black maternal activists will be analyzed through *betweenness centrality* to examine the extent to which Black maternal activists emerge as connectors among various actors, institutions, issues, or resources facilitating Black maternal activism. In order to study the epistemic and generative nature of Black maternal activism, degree centrality will also be analyzed. Bridge leaders with many ties from others in their direction would indicate that others look to them for support in the form of resources or information.

Social capital has been analyzed by Neal (2015) to determine how social capital can potentially transform community networks and found that communities with healthy bridging can increase the social capital that a community has by enhancing cooperation and collaboration

among actors and organizations, and providing critical external linkages to resources that can support locally initiated social change efforts. This study will measure the extent to which bridge leadership is present among Black maternal activists and whether bridge leaders are connecting and enhancing relationships among different actors and organizations within their networks as an indication of social capital.

Procedures

Data was collected across two phases: 1) investigation of the historical, geographical, and ethnographic context of Black maternal activism; and 2) interviews with identified Black mother activists.

Archival data. A preliminary analysis of f North Lawndale's Black maternal activist community was conducted during the first phase of data collection using archival data. This phase of the study set the context for the next two phases of the study by identifying the institutions within North Lawndale that play historical role and aid in understanding Black maternal activism. The churches that have played a particularly important role in the history of the community and context for Black maternal activists within that setting were identified. By analyzing the structures within the church, namely the Mother Boards, community-based ministries, and the roles within the churches, the extent to which patterns related to bridge leadership and tempered radicalism were present were identified. Archival data also helped to pinpoint historical institutions outside of the church, when they emerged, and the role that Black maternal activists have played as agents of change in these settings. Identifying these institutions using archival data informed whether individuals recruited to participate in semi-structured interviews identified with these institutions and how they are perceived to influence their respective networks. Key informant interviews of two individuals were conducted during this

phase to ensure proper context was applied to the historical data. One key informant was a lifelong North Lawndale resident and Chicago historian in his seventies, the other a Baptist minister whose church is in North Lawndale. This was particularly important for organizations and churches that required some knowledge of that particular structure in order to ensure accurate analysis of what was documented from historical records.

Archival Data Collection. Secondary sources of material were collected and analyzed to study relationships among various Black maternal activists and institutions, and the relationships of institutions to one another. Historical documents from meetings, conferences, conventions, church services, planning documents, were all collected explored. Key institutions that work directly with churches and other nonprofit organizations in North Lawndale were contacted to meet and discuss this study and to request assistance to identify and access the archival records. These sources were identified for their knowledge of North Lawndale's church community, Black maternal activists more broadly, and local organizations that have historically and currently work for social change in North Lawndale. The data was collected from churches identified by the Community Renewal Society, a nonprofit organization that works with primarily Black churches to train leadership and membership in organizing tactics and strategies and the archival collections at Harold Washington Library located downtown and the Vivian Harsh Collection, located at the Carter G. Woodson Library. Local foundations that fund activism work in North Lawndale were also be contacted for assistance to access archival records. The local foundation that given first priority to request access for such records is the Steans Foundation, a private family foundation solely focused on funding initiatives that lead to social change in North Lawndale. Staff members of the Wieboldt Foundation, Woods Fund of Chicago, The Field Foundation and Crossroads Fund were also be contacted to request assistance

and guidance. Staff and volunteers at local planning and organizing groups, such as the members of the Quality of Life Plan, organized by the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, were also be contacted. This membership body is made up of a number of local organizations in North Lawndale who will likely have access to archival records of local organizations. Of all of the sources that were contacted, only three produced data that was collected and analyzed for this study: 1) the key informants within North Lawndale; the Vivian Harsh Collection, and staff and volunteers of the Quality of Life Plan.

Archival records were used to examine Black maternal experiences within churches and their experiences and contributions within other institutions in North Lawndale. Archival data sources were used to examine the extent to which the bridge leadership and tempered radicalism frameworks served as part of the experiences of Black maternal activists in various settings. They were also be used to look for the presence of Black maternal activists passing on their knowledge of strategies to other Black maternal activists.

Archival Data Analysis. Archival data was analyzed using a data matrix sheet that organized information into three categories: 1) Black maternal activists from historical periods, 2) Churches from historical periods, and 3) Organizations from historical periods. Lists of names for each category were listed in a sheet with relevant dates and notes to contextualize each person, church or organization. The contextualized notes contain characteristics for bridge leaders, tempered radicals, and intergenerational messengers that were applied to each category. If each person fits the profile of a particular characteristic, or more than one, it was noted by their name through a coding system used to distinguish each characteristic categorically (See APPENDIX A).

Information gathered during this phase of the study helped to identify whether there were

particular churches and other institutions most pivotal to understanding Black maternal activism in North Lawndale. Some literature suggested this was the case. In fact, the migratory patterns identified for African American settlers in North Lawndale identified the largest influx of families to be during the late 1940s (Seligman, 2005). Black churches served as service centers for newcomers to North Lawndale. A document review of records from churches did establish when the churches were founded and most active in helping families arriving from the south and Chicago's south side. Church records also helped to facilitate the focus group discussion on migratory patterns of families first arriving to North Lawndale. Having information on when key institutions were founded, their philosophy about their role in community, and their activities with Black families arriving to North Lawndale helped with both focus group and semi-structured interviews when identifying where activities took place, those involved and how those individuals or groups interacted with or supported others. It is estimated that the early period of activism began in or around the year 1950. Review of archival records was aligned with this time frame. Although there may be data available to document Black maternal activities in North Lawndale prior to this date, the focus of this study was to capture the activities as associated with significant migratory activity of Black families, and to follow the threads of activity that have followed from that significant period.

Semi-structured interview data collection, data analysis and procedures. Data collection began with a search of Black women in North Lawndale who would be most likely to lead me to find other Black women engaged in activist work. The archival records of Cleodia O'Quinn and Brenetta Howell Barrett at the Vivian Harsh Collection led me to the North Lawndale Historical Society, which I discovered had a Facebook page. I contacted the founder of the North Lawndale Historical Society through the information she provided on that page. She

called me and asked that I meet with her and another Black woman activist I was not aware of. She was a gatekeeper, whose approval provided me the opportunity to recruit other individuals to participate. She also invited me to a gathering to be held at Stone Temple Church, which has been described as a historical and political hub in North Lawndale. I attended the gathering at Stone Temple, where I introduced myself to the gatekeeper. She in turn introduced me to the pastoral leadership of the church (both husband and wife are pastors) and vouched for me. The church leaders then offered for me to use Stone Temple to host my interviews, and I accepted their offer. I was also able to identify and recruit three interview participants at the gathering that morning. My meeting that same week with the gatekeeper and her fellow gatekeeper was to follow. We agreed to meet at a local coffeehouse in North Lawndale, which is a meeting hub for various community groups. The gatekeepers met with me for more than two hours. They requested an email from me that was blind copied to other prospective participants. Of the twenty participants blind copied on the email, 20 agreed to participate. Due to scheduling challenges with some of the women contacted, nine were eligible and selected to participate. The tenth participant was not included on the initial email due to her limited access to email and other forms of communication. This participant was called directly by my gatekeeper, during one of several meetings with her. After a brief conversation about the study, the tenth eligible participant agreed to participate.

All interviewees were notified of procedures for providing their consent for participation, including being tape recorded. All interviews were transcribed and coded for themes related to bridge leadership, tempered radicalism, strategies for navigating through challenges in their respective settings, and whether intergenerational messaging through proverbs or sayings influenced their strategies. Qualitative software on a password protected personal computer was

used to analyze themes from all interviews. Field notes were taken while in the settings to capture all personal observations, reflections, interactions and activities (Creswell & Hanson, 2007).

Each participant was asked a series of questions in order to generate the names of other activists and affiliated organizations within their network. The names of people and organizations they generated were used to determine whether there were specific Black maternal activists who worked as bridge leaders within their network and the networks of other participants. The names they identified were also used to determine whether there were specific actors within the network who has passed on knowledge of Black activist traditions to others.

Social network data collection. A network analysis of the relationships and institutions that supported and engaged Black maternal activists were conducted to understand the nature of those relationships, using approaches to network analysis which emphasize social capital at individual, organizational and community levels of analysis (Neal, 2015; Speer & Hughey, 1995; Zimmerman, 1995).

Social network data analysis procedures. In order to address the inquiry into the relationships Black maternal activists have with and among each other and the institutions they were affiliated with, a network analysis of Black maternal activist organizations and activities in Chicago's North Lawndale community was conducted. Social network data was collected through individual interviews with Black maternal activists in North Lawndale. Each interviewee was asked to provide consent to be tape recorded and to provide confidential information on their personal and organizational networks. The transcriptions were reviewed and analyzed for network information. All responses to network questions were written down in a network data collection sheet during the interview process. The participants and other named actors in the

network were assigned their own number and entered into UCINet for analysis (Borgatti, Everett & Freeman, 2002). UCINet is a software system designed to analyze social network data. (SEE APPENDIX C for the structured questionnaire).

Results

Descriptives

Participants in semi-structured interviews were Black women who lived and worked in North Lawndale at the time of the interview and were engaged in activities with the goal to support improvement in the lives of North Lawndale neighborhoods. All participants reported their families migrated to North Lawndale during the height of the North Lawndale's Great Migration, between 1947 – 1959. Families migrated to North Lawndale from Mississippi, Kentucky, Alabama, and Louisiana. Seven women reported family migration from Mississippi, while the remaining three each reported having family origins from either Kentucky, Alabama, or Louisiana. All participants interviewed were still actively engaged in community life as activists through various organizations, including one woman, now age 85, who still oversees activities of a volunteer- and network-based organization she founded in North Lawndale. Only one woman interviewed reported having direct engagement with the church as an activist.

Analysis of results. The experiences of Black maternal activists were examined with qualitative analysis. The transcriptions of the semi-structured interviews were analyzed to identify themes present in each transcription to find the common threads among the different interviews according to three age groups: 18-35, 36-50, and 51 and older. The research questions developed for the semi-structured interviews were used as a guide to establish the identification of relevant data. The responses were open coded and subsequent themes across the interviews

were identified by a process of looking for consistent codes and ideas expressed by participants. Each transcription was analyzed to determine how often themes were present across all interviews. The identities of participants are kept confidential through a numbered system that was used for each transcription and written on all protocol materials. The coding system was put in place to make sure evidence for each finding was consistently coded to the participant and within their age group. Each transcription was prepared for analysis to identify evidence of repeated themes across the interviews within age groups. The codes were analyzed with NVivo, software for qualitative analysis.

Results Organized by Research questions

Research Question 1: What are the experiences of Black maternal activists in settings within the Black church and outside of it?

Early activist experiences in North Lawndale. Each participant identified behaviors, experiences, or events that were influential to their lives while growing up in North Lawndale. The experiences were most distinct among the 18-35 age group and the participants 36 and older. They each discussed the ways that early exposure to organizing and activist activities were important markers of behavior observed while growing up. One participant in the 51 and older age group recalls her first experience seeing neighborhood organizing:

> *"Back then the precinct captains came around your house think talking about voting and things like that, and that fascinated me. [He] was our Precinct captain and I would see him knocking on doors. And I said, "I like that. You get a chance to talk to everybody." So, I asked my mama, I said "Mama, can I go [with him] next time he come on the block?' She said, "You can go from my house to the corner with him."*

Participants felt as if the women in the neighborhood were always looking out for them, watching them or monitoring their interactions with others. As one participant who grew up in North Lawndale remembers:

> *"Back then they watched for you, they looked out for you and we always knew if we did something wrong. One of those women who was at home would discipline us. I remember them very vividly, being 12 and 13. 'Stand up straight, fix your hair, walk this way.' And there were several women on the block. Miss Carrie Sanders that I can remember. When she walked past, she would watch you, so you would not want to walk bent over, because you knew they were looking at you."*

The women 36 years and older all remembered when women were present in neighborhood settings, and this presence was strongly felt. All neighborhood women, whether relatives or other mothers, instructed the women during their childhood. They all described being beholden to a standard, from their language, to their activities, interactions, posture, and presentation. How a young child represented themselves in public mattered and this has carried deep meaning to them even as adults. They felt connected to meeting standards set within their home and within their neighborhoods. Across all age groups, teachers were identified as important fixtures in their communities, both in school and in community. Teachers were reported to play pivotal roles as organizing activities within churches, volunteering in local organizations that supported community life. Archival data identified teachers from local schools in North Lawndale who also participated in local organizing issues related to child development and school reform (Brenetta Howell Barrett Papers, Box 9). One participant in the 18-35 age group recalls, "a lot of the teachers were from the community. Most of the staff was black or people of color". Another interviewee recalls a similar experience: "That you would go to the store and run into your teacher, it makes a difference. Not only did they care but they are invested in the community they were in, living and working here." Activities that connected to broad participation and fostered community cohesion were also most widely remembered. The most commonly referred activity was clean up days. On clean up days, all of the neighborhood would organize people and materials to beautify or clean the neighborhood together. Described

as a friendly competition, participants remembered this as a great source of pride for them while growing up.

> *"That was my first political experience in the neighborhood and we used to have clean up days on the block. And I made it my job to go door-to-door to say we were going to clean up. I saved up my allowance to buy some of that Jiffy popcorn they used to sell, it's something like that. My mama said, 'what you doing?' I said, 'well they're going to be tired when they get through cleaning up, so we going to give them some popcorn.' She said, 'they going to mess up. Popcorn is going to be on the ground. And I said, 'well, the birds will eat it.' So that was my first community involvement."*

General settings. Various settings were experienced by participants and explored in interviews to learn of the influence each setting has had on Black maternal activism. Initial interest in this study emphasized church and non-church settings in North Lawndale. It became clear during the interviews that the dichotomy between church and non-church settings needed to be understood in better detail, particularly as related to non-church settings. There were three settings participants discussed as spaces where activism could potentially take place outside of the church: school, non-profit organization settings, and neighborhood settings.

Each setting outside of the church is distinct in its own right. Additionally, the use of free space within each setting was also explored to determine whether Black maternal activists use space within settings as activists when structures within the setting are not designated for women to take on such roles. This was found to be evident within the civil rights movement and within church settings during that time. Black maternal activists used free space in nonprofit settings by creating programs designed beyond the scope of their job, redefining the programming models on their own terms:

> *"And what we tried to do, they [the youth] had to create programs. They [the youth] had to create a project around what they thought would help the community. So, they would have to choose somebody to be their manager or supervisors. So, I was training them to be leaders. I knew the money was going to running out but it wasn't really no big money, it was like stipends. What I tried to drill into them was that you don't need money to change everything about our community and stuff. You just need a few willing people to*

be involved, give yourself, your time and your energy and stuff to do this. They used to feel so good."

"When I worked for the city, we were all about the health disparities for Black women. We spent a lot of time around the table talking about disparities for Black women and cancer. Because it was a no-no or quietly kept. The infant mortality had a coalition, but a lot of these came out of somebody with a grant to say, 'let's do this, let's get it funded'. Lot of things came in quickly ended, cuz funding would dry out. We wouldn't do it the way they wanted us to do it. Not ever."

The interviews were analyzed to find out whether this was the case in North Lawndale, and whether there were other spaces that women were compelled to use similarly outside of the church. The rise in the nonprofit industry in North Lawndale over the past 30 years makes this setting particularly important to explore this question. Neighborhood settings shaped the early experiences with activism and participants. The ways neighborhood settings today are important vehicles for black women as activists has also been explored.

Table 1. Settings for Black maternal activism – Black women leaders more than 10 years ago

Participant ID	Age group	Church leaders	Non-profit and business leaders	School leaders*	Block club and neighborhood leaders
Q5. Who are the Black Women from North Lawndale you remember as community leaders from more than 10 years ago?					
1	18-35			3	2
2	36-50	1	1	1	2
3	51+			4	7
4	36-50				2
5	51+	3		5	4
6	18-35				1
7	51+			1	1
8	51+	2		2	3
9	51+	3	5	4	6
10	51+				

*Note: the network data identified teachers and others by name. Analysis using NVivo revealed that one of the words most often affiliated with influence was that word teacher. This could not be captured by the network data, but was captured in semi-structured interviews. Also, the

women may actually occupy more than one category, but the respondent chose to identify the leader in one area of influence.

Non-Profit Organization Settings. Non-profit settings are spaces where much of activist activities take place in North Lawndale. The emphasis on many activist activities are centered around planning and development and organizing. Planning and development were a centering activity through which organizing, advocacy, policy formation, and resource exchanges among the network of Black maternal activists took place.

Quality of Life Plan Example. During the time of the interviews the most recent iteration of the Quality of Life Plan was published. The Quality of Life Plan is the result of a community-based design charette that is introduced and facilitated by planners from LISC Chicago and carried out by members of the community. The Plan requires broad input and engagement from various sectors of the community. In the case of the Plan for North Lawndale, it was led by Black maternal activists. The women formed their own coordinating council, which was described by one participant as “the motherboard of our network”. The coordinating council is led by a community organizer who has assembled a large group of Black women to work on various issue-based committees. The women all occupy various roles within their respective organizations, but come together to formulate a vision, plan and objectives that are intended to improve the education, housing, business development, employment, outcomes and neighborhood infrastructure in North Lawndale. This setting was described by six participants as an important network hub. In addition to the interview data, through observing the social network data, it is interesting to note that the participant that is referred to as the representative for the coordinating council was found to have fairly high degree centrality (degree centrality = 49.833). The degree centrality value indicates the number of connections this node has to other

nodes within the network, where a node that occupies a position of high degree centrality is anticipated to potentially have more access to resources and more influence within the network. This value can be interpreted to mean that the coordinating council is connected to approximately 50% of the possible nodes in the network it could be connected to.

Non-profit settings were also described as spaces where more personal issues and differences among actors were put aside so that larger goal setting planning for the community could be attended to. As one participant stated, “And I think that I have learned from some women that I am connected to is that they will put their pride aside.” For four participants 51 and older, being issue-focused or having expertise on a specific issue was a clear interest for them. One participant stated, “my two passions are children and housing, so I sit on the NLCCC housing Committee in North Lawndale. I used to be affiliated with Neighborhood Housing Services. I'm one of the founding members that brought them to North Lawndale”. It was important that they were identified for the issues they felt they had expertise and knowledge in. They carried this with them in these settings, but also put this expertise to use sparingly in order to participate and contribute to their participation in the coordinating council and as part of other coalition based activities as part of their activist practice. Non-profit settings were places where a Black maternal activist may work as an organizer, but they also often separated their paid work from their community work. As one participant stated, “Girl, I don’t get paid to do activism out here [laughs].” Non-profit settings were spaces where free space was used to facilitate activist work, particularly if the work is women-centered. The Westside Women United is a prime example. Reminiscent of the Black women social club movement, this group is not a non-profit but uses physical space and elements related to “friend-raising” in non-profit work to raise the profile of issues germane to women in North Lawndale and other westside communities. The

group is form as a coalition with no formal structure, is participatory, has regularly scheduled activities run by women leaders that are not monitored or supervised by men or other individuals in authority. The association recognizes the role and place of women as leaders in North Lawndale and uses its platform to advance causes and opportunities for the whole of North Lawndale.

School Settings. Participants spoke of a few main ways they experienced activism within school settings, such as teachers being identified as models of activism in the classroom, paraprofessional occupations were leveraged for activist's activities by participants, and school outreach strategies with communities were also identified as part of school settings where activist training and participation took place. The two main examples cited by more participants included: 1) teachers as models of activism, and 2) schools as space for community organizing training.

Teachers as models of activism. Within this setting, classroom teachers and other school leaders were named by every participant as instrumental in catalyzing or institutionalizing activist practices or activities that instilled Black pride, which invariably created strong connections with activism for participants. Among the named leaders within the North Lawndale network more than 10 years ago, 20 were teachers or school leaders (see Table 1). The school setting was named as being used most often to create free space for activism to take place. Teachers were routinely reported as teaching off script in order to instill pride and connection to community in students. For example, as one participant recalled:

> *"we had to look up Carter G. Woodson. We had to learn who he was and what he did. This was giving us pride. I will never forget Miss Nesbit. I just got her by bio sent to me. She showed me how your worth as an African American was important to the world."*

One participant recalled how her teacher introduced her and her fellow classmates to etiquette, with support from the school janitor:

> *"Her janitor was actually a model so she taught us how to walk, how to sit, how to walk like a lady. She taught us that a lady she never looks down at the steps when she walks, she knows where they are. I was like, got that. They taught us PMA, positive mental attitude. They taught us to make sure to relieve stress and let it go. Community service. I'll wash your steps down, I'll take the trash out for you. These were things we learned. Value our elders."*

Further evidence of teachers taking resources and using them to radicalize students was explained by this participant:

> *"I'm kind of skipping around now, but my teacher took me out there. My 8th grade teacher. So now, we're supposed to be at Brookfield. He said to them, any of y'all tell them where we going, we are in trouble. So, he took us out to the Black Topographical Library. And I seen drawings on the wall of what the future held for African Americans in Chicago. I'm like, okay, these brothers are on the right thing here. I seen how they were going to build the police station, change the lighting and all of that. So that made me even more radical."*

Fifteen accounts of experiences with teachers as highly influential within school settings were given by participants. The stories emphasized the ways that teachers worked to shape their educational experiences beyond their curriculum and resources. One participant recalled that her teacher had the only all -girl classes in her elementary school for many years. She used this format to design an education experience for girls that taught them lessons in life as well as the standard curriculum. She recalls the impact of the lessons learned in her class all these years later:

> *"She taught us how to find our voice cuz for the most part we were very timid and shy and she always told us as we get older we were going to have to learn how to speak up for ourselves and if someone is doing something to us we had to learn how to say no and mean it and be strong and stand strong on our word. And if we believe in something to follow through on it and if we didn't believe in it to walk away from it and learn how to say no. And not be ashamed to say no and not be afraid to say no but not making any excuses for your no. Or not have to explain it. And she taught us that "no" was a sentence. She said put an exclamation behind it, it will mean something one day"*

Schools as space for community organizing training. School settings were also used as spaces for *community organizing training*. One participant 51 and older attribute the training they received through the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) as essential to their learning to organizing families for direct action activities and for mobilizing parents to keep pressure on school administrators to be accountable to parents. One participant explained that many young families of migrants from the south and Chicago's south side were able to gain the confidence, poise, and support they needed to go door-to-door to invite parents to meetings, alert them to changes and challenges in the school system, and to fight for equality in education at that time. During those times, the participant and others used the PTA as a mechanism for accountability and to gain access to influential circles within the school system, such as the principal roundtables and local school board meetings:

> *"I learned from my training how to do things like expand the background to be able to use the school facilities at no cost for special events that we wanted to be up there and that we knew were taking place at other schools. And I also would be able to go to meetings with the principal. When he went to meetings with other principals, I was able to go to the city-wide principals meetings. Yeah. And I had established a kind of relationship with those principals in some manner. So that, I think eventually they found me a good ally on the right things."*

This participant organized and advocated for the school meetings to be held at a time when parents could attend, as many of the new migrants from the south at the time worked during the day, which was different from the families in North Lawndale with homemakers.

Block Club Organizations. The neighborhood setting that has defined activism in North Lawndale was historically rooted in *block club organizations*. All participants ages 36 years and older spoke of leaders in the community who were involved in block clubs. Among the named leaders within the North Lawndale network more than 10 years ago, 28 were block club leaders,

compared to 20 school leaders, six nonprofit leaders and nine church leaders (see Table 1). One participant was a block club organizer, and at one time oversaw the activities of over 500 block clubs. As this participant states:

> *"Block clubs and community organizations became my classroom. Intense community involvement and volunteer work with targeted courses taught me what I needed to know." (Brenetta Howell Barrett papers, Boxes 1 and 4, Vivian Harsh Collection, Chicago Public Library).*

The block clubs serve as spaces where exchanges of resources and working towards common goals have taken place. It served as a channel through which neighborhood fundraisers, beautification projects, and mutual aid and support were experienced. Five participants remembered the distinct roles of Black women activists in blocks, including the role of communicating when a neighbor was in need of support and organizing housing, food, babysitting, or providing monetary support when needed.

> *"Miss Campbell oh, Miss Jefferson she came from Springfield, Cockwell and the whole family they were part of the school on 13th and Harding. Miss Lemon, she lived on 14th and Hammond. Those are the ones I can think of now. Miss Anderson she was another one active in the block clubs. These are people who can babysit for you. You knock on their door get assistance from them. These are people that you knew that would take other folks in. They would ride with you to the resource places or help somebody with WIC. Or they would know who to call cuz the girl was working and needed somebody to watch the baby for a while. These are block club people who would help you out."*

Networks of communication made it possible for families to rely on neighborhood systems before needing to rely on social service systems to meet daily needs that would arise. Participants pointed to changes in community cohesion as resulting in block clubs as holding far less influence, presence and power. Two participants noted that the lack of inclusion of tenants in public housing or in apartment dwellings in neighborhoods is also contributing factor to the decreased presence and involvement of block clubs and organizing in neighborhood settings. As one of the participants stated:

> *"Like over here people are really bougie. The only thing they're really concerned about are their property values, their safety and stuff. That's valid, but you only want to host a meeting when there's a problem. That not how you change things. You got to come out. You've got to be involved long before it happens. You have to make your presence known. But these folks, they don't get it."*

External resources from non-profit entities are considered to have mostly replaced these roles within the neighborhood setting.

Church Settings

Church settings were generally discussed as part of the spiritual lives of participants, but not explored as spaces for activism to take place. Church settings were not identified as spaces for personal worship or interest for the 18-35 group (2 out of 10 participants). They recognize the history of the church as important, but do not see it as a relevant or connected part of their network or activities. For the 36-50 age group (2 participants), the participants were spiritual leaders or considered divinely lead to work as activists but did not use the church as a platform for activism. There were several reasons stated for this, but they all point to the current culture within the church as not progressive or inclusive, which either isolates women, marginalized communities they want to reach through ministry, or both. Participants that identified with their church or were identified with their church as a primary source of connection for network interviews were least connected to the network through their own connections or through recognition from the network as well. The members of the network who were identified as women pastors but not associated with their actual church as leaders or members were among the most recognized in the network. When asked if these women were church affiliated by their network, the answer was no, even as they were described as a "pastor" or "apostle". Instead, they were affiliated with a non-profit or voluntary association they founded or heavily influenced outside of the church. For the senior most participants, their span of involvement with churches

dates back to a time when activism and church activities were well linked to the present time, which they directly acknowledge as being remarkably different from years past. This participant in the 51 and older age group talks about her current feelings about the church:

> *"I feel the church is really handicapping some people. At this point they don't have enough benefits, not benefits but workshops they should have like now. They were really heavy-handed into politics at one point, but they still should be educating people educating people spiritually and domestically, telling them what's available and how they can be a part of it and uplift themselves and the community. I really don't think they do enough of that."*

One participant recalled her former pastor, who once helped to lead the Chicago Freedom Movement, sold his church building, to "get out of the way for something better". She recalled that the membership at his church and many churches in North Lawndale has declined significantly, and that this tradition of church going that used to take place in North Lawndale is not the same today. Her perception may very well explain the total lack of engagement with the church experienced by the youngest age group of this study.

Practicing inclusivity within church settings was reported by one participant to create internal strife, but she persists in this way, despite risking alienation from more established members. She recalled several experiences with individuals coming to the church with what was perceived to be mental health challenges, and some young men who, if not gang affiliated, were actually armed within the church. She described herself as a bridge builder between unaffiliated members of the church who face significant challenges and ensuring that those who do come to church are not offended by those she works to include.

Research Question 2: What are the values, strategies and viewpoints that shape Black maternal activism in North Lawndale?

The three areas that demonstrate how Black women navigate as activists in North

Lawndale were coded as separate categories: values, strategies and viewpoints. The question and accompanying probes in the semi-structured interview used to capture this research question asked: “Tell me about a time that you experienced a challenge while engaging in activist work. How did you address that challenge? What influenced you to take that approach?” By asking this question, it was intended to provide for a reflective moment for the participant, learn about some of the realities and current context in which Black maternal activism takes place. Values were identified as the way that they interpret the overarching beliefs, learnings tied to an action or strategy and influencing the navigational direction taken when faced with a challenge.
They were asked to reflect on the guidance that was instrumental in helping them to define what was important to them in that moment, namely as it relates to their emotions, what they aim to achieve and overall thought processes that inform their values. Viewpoints are often embedded within values and helps to support the types of assumptions made by participants that inform their values. Strategies demonstrate the meeting of their values and intentions with their actions.

Sisterhood. Participants provided repeated references to this value. This value was expressed by participants of all age groups. The examples given by participants include putting aside focus on one’s own organizing issue and disagreements with other organizers and willingness to participate in activities that promote unity, protection of children that are not one’s own and support of other Black maternal activists. As stated by one participant:

> *"I was a block Club president why? Those are my kids. I had one child. But things like that have real unity and I've always been concerned about us being really unified. You can't fight off oppression unless you've got unity."*

Speeches and correspondence found in an archival collection of one Black maternal activist revealed constant references to sisterhood and unity as foundational values expressed by Black maternal activists in the archive. One passage as part of a speech says “the pathway to sisterhood

is covered in debris of disunity, doubt, criticism and fear" (note card, n.d. Brenetta Howell Barrett Papers, Box 6, folder 1, Vivian Harsh Collection, Chicago Public Library).

Eloquent power. This strategy was also expressed across all age groups. Participants discussed when they had to make definitive choices of when to use their voice and exert their influence in a room, and when not to. This was particularly true in meetings where power differentials were very evident in a situation. This strategy is also connected to knowing when and how to use one's voice by observing and making sure that what is said or contributed can make the most impact in a room. As stated by one participant,

> *"But I find that I really connect with women who have this eloquent soft feminine power where they just get things done but they don't leave a bad taste in one's mouth. That's extremely important because you will see sometimes even with women, if they just want things done and the delivery of their request, the way it might come off as disruptive to that synergy that some people don't see or identify with".*

Another participant shared the same strategy:

> *"I have to take on a whole different approach to how I handle each person still being who I am but temper myself because I have a very strong personality very strong. So, in any environment I have to temper myself and keep a place of humility as not to disrespect or intentionally offend anyone."*

Although Black women "tempered" themselves in the face of others, they each expressed being very self-aware of their own personal power and making a deliberate choice to temper that power in order to fit into a place in a room of influence, and using it effectively, remaining in control beyond what is happening in the room. This speaks to being both present in the room but also thinking and strategizing beyond the scope or purpose of activities happening in the room. These are conscious decisions which speak to an awareness of their self-perception and their awareness of what others may think of them, based on the decisions they make regarding their interactions with others in the room.

Quiet influencer. Participants each expressed the strategy of using their influence

without assuming a leading role in an activity, or decision-making process, or taking credit for the decision or activity taking place. Much like a matriarch quietly influences the stability of a family structure, participants use this strategy to ensure continuity of plans and activities moving forward. This strategy is not reserved for individuals who are heads of organizations, or similar capacities. Some of the women who are influencers are also working in paraprofessional roles who have worked as long-time activists and move fluidly among circles of influence internal and external to North Lawndale. The quiet influencers are connected to various groups within the network of Black maternal activists and move throughout these groups, sharing and exchanging information beneficial to other groups. The participants who identify with this strategy find it to offer many benefits in ways similar to the use of eloquent power. Both strategies involve power brokering within a community, whether brokering one's own power in a room of influence, or in the marketplace of resource redistribution. This strategy is considered useful in working with local politicians, non-profit organizations and public agencies. As one participant stated:

> *"There are a few women that I know who really they know a list of people they can make some calls they can get some things done they're what you would call bosses you know and there's this level of efficiency or efficacy that takes place and being able to get some things done as a woman especially in these communities."*

Other Mothering. Five participants expressed feelings of being nurtured, given firm discipline, and various forms of support from women in their community. The experiences with the other mothers who "always watched you" and gave uninvited advice to conversations overheard on front porches were all part of the ways they have internalize the role as integral to community life and to their role as activists.

> *"But as a mother I must nurture my race. You have to. Because how else can we learn about each other? You understand me better than anyone else. So, I'm a mother of a lot of these kids here in North Lawndale. But if I leave here, and I can look around, you know look at him. I helped him [starts to cry]. My God. So, I think as an activist, it's not only my responsibility to raise my son, but to help raise my next-door neighbor's child,*

> *too. Because I may not like her child, I may not even like what he's doing, but just like my child has a future, Boo Boo is too. Cuz collectively, what you put out is your future, so it's my responsibility as a mother of my neighborhood."*

Passing the torch. Three participants expressed interest in making sure that the work they've done and that others before them paved the way to make happen be passed on to others in North Lawndale. The ways that participants 51 and older expressed passing on the torch was through use of mentorship: making themselves available to younger activists, introducing them to elders in their circles in order to facilitate shared acknowledgement of the person as an activist in the community, and inviting the mentee to join the mentor in activist settings that would also openly recognize the mentoring relationship taking place.

> *"I went and followed them around and listened to them. I would go to the meetings and listen to this and listen to that, but I always came back to Nancy Jefferson and Rosalie Anderson. She lived up here on Kedzie. The Midwest Community Council was a place where you could identify who I work with in the community. And Miss Howell and Miss Jefferson were very good friends. So, as I watched these women in North Lawndale, it put something on my mind. Not only as I was a Black woman, but I was a strong Black woman and all of us are leaders in the community."*

One participant related those she mentored in the community as her "babies". Mentors expressed great interest and excitement in working with younger activities and shaping their potential to continue the fight against oppression in North Lawndale. Another participant identified a network participant she is actively mentoring: "I working with this one young lady, [BMA7]. Now, she is something. She has potential. I want her to train her to keep this thing going that I've started."

Research Question 3: How are Black maternal activists using the knowledge and insights of their ancestors to pass on Black maternal activist traditions in North Lawndale?

Participants were asked to talk about their current activities as activists and to discuss

how they saw activists as influencing and providing meaningful direction and inspiration to their current work. The question that helped to glean insight into the ways Black maternal activists were able to demonstrate the ways that their ancestors were influential was "tell me about the person who you remembered modeling that for you." Responses were coded to find statements that reflected actions taken, keen observations, and the behaviors connected to challenges they faced that they attributed to something they learned from a Black maternal activist. The following themes were found in coded transcriptions from their interview: remaining steadfast, being clear on their purpose, inclusivity, and the important of a spiritual foundation guiding their work as activists.

Remaining steadfast. Participants reported seeing their respective influencers in community outside of formal settings. For example, nearly all of the participants reported seeing their teachers in and around the community outside of the school setting. This observation made a lasting impression on them, regardless of their respective age group. This has directly influenced them to feel that their connection to community as an activist is not just grounded in a particular setting or planned setting.

> *"But then there's the other side where you have families who have been here for years who like I have friends who have parents who were raised in the area, grandparents who raised in the area and because of that your roots run so much deeper and I believe that some of those families were homeowners and they just felt compelled to stay. They would just provide their young people with some tools some very helpful information of how you navigate and communities that aren't as safe as others. Like hey they would say when it's about this time you need to be in or check in with us. So, I saw a little bit of both I saw people leaving in fear and I saw people who are steadfast in stayed."*

> *"My teacher, she belonged to the Harvest of the World Church on 5th Avenue and Central Park. If you go to that church and ask about her, they can give you a whole history of who she is, who she was and what she meant to everybody she encountered. She was like a mother figure to everybody."*

> *"I honestly can say definitely lots of counselors and teachers at the school because these are black women who are from the west side and we'll tell you and check it real quick.*

> *Don't let this degree fool you I am from the West Side laughs. That you would go to the store when it to your teacher it makes a difference not only did they care but they are invested in there in a community they were in the community living and working here."*
>
> *"She [great-grandmother, who was a minister] describes in her book stay at your post. When God assigns you to an area you stay at your post until that job that assignment is complete. So that's been my mantra in most places that I've been, but now really holds near and dear to me as I'm in North Lawndale. Because it's my place, it's where I originally come, it's where I come from. If you know when you are from a place and even if you leave and come back, it's means something to you."*
>
> *"I can't think of any specific phrases, but I can say the vibe or what the mood is like that's, it's steadfastness. 'I'm not going nowhere. A matter of fact, I'm going to open a store, or I'm going to start this right here. Now is the time to plant those seeds, so I feel that that's the mood that I'm always feeling from the women."*

This also spoke to many as a deep commitment to the community and its wellbeing, in contrast to individuals tied to institutions who come and leave when their formal engagement with the community was no longer needed. This also related to the notion of always being seen by women elders, or other mothers in the community which also emphasized for them a certain level of comportment they had to maintain regardless of the setting they were in.

Clear focus on purpose. Participants shared stories and insights about remaining "on assignment" in their work as activists. The "assignment" they may be charged to carry out is not tied to a title, or some designation from a person or institution given power to validate their role or purpose. The use or place of a title does not define them in their role. This was evident in the number of women identified as leaders in the community without a title or designation that would say they were the head of a committee, organization, or organized effort. In fact, four participants identified people as heads of organizations or programs that were actually not, as part of the network data that was collected. For example, a participant would name an individual in their network as the head of an organization or program, when their actual title did not reflect this perception by the participant. When documented information or personal knowledge of the

person identified was researched further, it was discovered that the person was not the head of the program or the organization, but the person assumed a leading role to ensure a program was implemented within North Lawndale and this is how the participants identified them as head of the organization or program.

When asked who were the women they identified as heads of organizations, the numbers were nearly synonymous with the number of women leaders identified. Three participants identified their influencers as having roles in the community as leaders through their work even if their actual occupation was decidedly different. The women who took on roles as block club organizers identified as part of historical data, were also identified as "washer women" and considered to have "humility" as activists. Participants expressed connection to this strategy by taking on a leadership position on a project, even if they are not designated as the head of it. Their influence on an issue is not tied to a title role. Their ancestors often had leadership roles and rose to community prominence even if their occupation was not aligned to that role. Many spoke of their ancestors or community leaders as having full time jobs as homemakers, washer women, maids, farmers, but they weren't known in the community according to this role, but as having some say and influence in their neighborhood without a title. One participant learned years later after watching one of her community heroes growing up that her occupation was much different from the role she played in the community: "And I learned what Miss Judy did. I never will forget this. Miss Judy was a housekeeper, she cleaned people's homes. Blew my mind."

This influential value also reflects the interest Black maternal activists have in not letting limitations inform their capacity to act and lead. Staying on purpose is also about limiting the influence of deterrents on their goals, or 'making a way out of no way.' Teachers demonstrated

this by changing their settings to incorporate non-curricular experiences that ultimately radicalized their students or directly influenced their interest in furthering Black pride in their own work or advancing community development. As one participant stated: “I felt like I was something that really represented true Blackness. Even as a kid I felt really special being in her classroom, that's the one that I can really think of.”

Inclusivity. Practicing inclusivity was a way for Black maternal activists to remain true to values they saw practices in neighborhoods and in their homes. This practice was the only direct tie to southern traditions that was identified as retained in North Lawndale, according to participants in age groups 36-50 and 51 and older. Returning to their family homes in the south, participants remarked on how they saw their mothers and grandmothers reach out to individuals that would not otherwise know about the resources available to them, or helping out young families by boarding them for as long as they needed the support, opening their homes to people, sometimes little known to the family. This practice also occurred in North Lawndale bring families who met misfortune due to an unexpected event or loss into the homes of other families.

> *“Wow, my mother. My mother was very inclusionary. Like very. We had a neighbor who wasn't very neighborly but her house burned down, but she was not neighborly and her house burned down. She had a place for herself to go but she didn't have a place for her two younger kids. My mom let those two young kids move into our home. When other family members were migrating from the south my mother would let them move in. My mother was a person who would feed everyone.”*

> *“When I became the manager of that program, I wanted a very good mix of community kids. I wanted the seasoned people and I wanted those that nobody wanted to hire. The kids on the corner, the guy on the corner. I wanted the sagging pants, the white t-shirts. I see them on the corner. I’d stop them and I said to them, ‘do you want to do something different? Do you want to try something different? Do you want to experience something different? Would you work for me?’”*

This was also connected for participants to the traditional ways Black families welcome individuals into their home. It was customary to offer food to every guest, no matter how much

or how little a family had. It was also customary to accept the offer and not refuse. Families would "give their last" to someone in need. Three participants 51 years and older also saw the organizing efforts of the 1960s and 1970s as even relying on a mutual support system in order to be able to reach populations that would otherwise not be reached.

The practice of holding space in community settings that would otherwise exclude people was the primary way that participants expressed this influence in their own lives. One Black maternal activist uses her platform as First Lady of her church and as a pastor to carry out this practice:

> *"Another time this guy raised up his hand and had a bunch of guns around his waist. I came over to him and I said 'I'm going to need you to stay in your seat and keep your arms down. That way you can stay. If you can't do that, then I'm going to have to ask you to leave, you got that darling? And can I get a hug?' He's in here. I don't know who else got guns. I don't know what's wrong with me, but I just trust God. I don't know if everyone got one but I know I seen this one and I have to address this one. I have to address the one that I see and I have to let them know that I am coming from a loving place. 'I know you have to carry a gun. I know you are a gang member. I know they might be outside waiting for you. But in the meantime, keep your arms down stay seated and if you leave you can't come back, that's simple.'"*

Inclusivity is also expressed as standing in the gap for individuals and sectors of the community deemed as the "underdog". Those who expressed use of the practice of inclusivity were aware that they were indeed standing in the gap for people who would otherwise not have advocates, champions bringing their stories to tables of influence. In the words of one participant, the meaning of holding space has implications for how service a faith are connected: "If we say that the Bible says there are many members but one body and we're all one so sayeth the Lord, we can't exclude you because you don't act like us."

Spiritual foundation. Participants acknowledged the deep roots of faith and service that were evident in the work of their forebearers in community, their ancestors, and their own work.

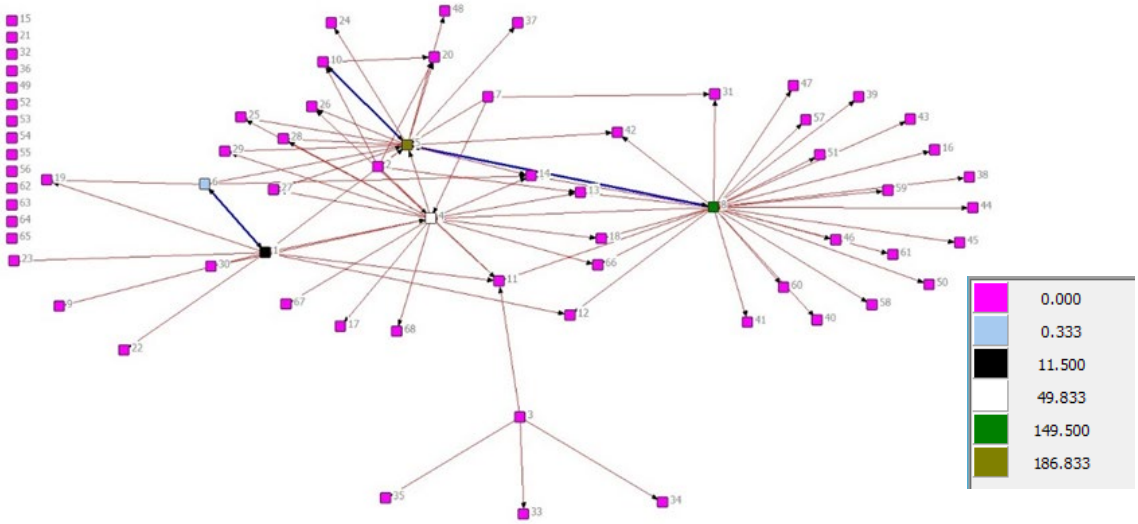
This connection was most clearly made among 36-50 and 51 and older age groups. This was a grounding principle for some participants, supporting their efforts to be at tables of influence, whether invited or validated by others, or not. This was particularly true among the spiritual leaders interviewed. They expressed their belief in God as the ultimate power, not those who try to control resources and perpetuate structural oppression and racism. As one participant said to a pastor who did not believe that women should preach the word of God: "whatever you need me to be that doesn't define who I am. And your pulpit, that's not God, because God would let me come." The acknowledgement of God as the ultimate power gave them the stamina and perseverance to think and imagine a world beyond the world in front of them. This connected them to ideas outside of racist and oppressive settings that were not conducive to progress and that inhibit negative thinking and naysayers. The belief that "God called me to this work" and that "God has the last word" or "God would let me in here if you won't" were evidence of this idea that oppressors are not the owners of justice.

Research Question 4: What is social capital within Black maternal activist spaces?

Analysis of Black maternal activist network. Social capital is the resources and related exchanges among community members that define a community's capacity to change the outcome a specific event our goal, or to transform a community as a whole. Questions from the network survey were used to examine the ways Black maternal activists see other actors within their network as contributing to social capital within North Lawndale. They were asked to describe: 1) why they felt Black maternal activists in their network were important to their ability to make change happen, 2) why they were important resources to them, and 3) whether they were highly valued as able to provide resources, information, or support, as they defined it. The

network data revealed that the connectors in the network that provided resource mobilization, were acknowledged as mentors, and able to identify ways to “make do with a little” or “do a lot with a little” were highly valued in the network. Individuals identified as connectors were also highly valued.

Figure 1. Black Maternal Activist Network Map



Network characteristics - relationship by attribute. This network attributes examined the relationships that supported activism in North Lawndale. The key attributes that emerged as

important attributes for Black maternal activists were mentors, navigators, resource mobilizers and connectors.

Mentors. Mentors were mostly identified as 51 years and older and gave sage advice regarding how to address particularly tough situations activists faced. Mentors were also willing to support activists as they pursued their own issue focus. “It’s a blessing to know that I can look up to these women and see that leadership and activism is at the forefront, showing up and being present is at the forefront. That teaches me something.” Also, for many participants, mentorship is about professional and personal growth, and the ties that are created among the network.

> *We are like a family. You know, you got auntie. You got to wait until auntie, wait till she settles down first. You can’t talk to her when she first come in the house before you have a serious conversation with her [laughs]. Because it’s familiar, that network of support in the realest of it. You can have those hard conversations about what you might be experiencing, going through, questioning, and they will give you the real deal, but they also respect you, so that your safe, your opinions are safe, yeah.”*

Navigators. Navigators were ages 36 and older and supported younger and older activists in the network when they hit upon challenges with regard to solving issues. Navigators gave tactical and strategic advice at pivotal moments that would help to advance a campaign or programmatic effort forward. One participant acknowledged another as essential to her ability to work past obstacles she has encountered: “I believe [BMA4] has been my biggest support. I always go to her for advice on how to get around certain things on how to approach conversations with the people in charge. She has helped me navigate that so, without her, I don’t know what I would have done.” As another participant stated about the need for navigational support in general:

> *“At the end of the day, well, we can unload. You have to be able to talk to somebody who really understands something being connected to other women who are walking the walk in their own right with their community. You’re able to say, ‘Hey, you know, I had a conversation with someone today, and I just don’t even know what to think of it. Can you help me? Maybe my perspective is off. Maybe there are some missing pieces, girl, can*

you help me out? Because there is this closed knit network.

Resource mobilizers. Resource mobilizers were highly valued in the network by all ages. Activists 36 years and older were the resource mobilizers for the network. Participants used resource mobilizers to expand their capacity to help clients and other activists to ensure that North Lawndale residents had access to the supports they needed. Resource mobilizers were identified as network members who provided access to housing, mental health services, and employment and job training were specifically identified by participants as important actors within the network. They were also important as a referral source in the network. If a participant needed to provide information for a North Lawndale resident, resource mobilizers were an important and reliable resource. Connectors were considered by participants to have an expert view of the Black maternal activist network. They were bridge builders among actors and helped to create or maintain meaningful connections among network members. For example, one participant refers to the idea of a connector this way: "She [BMA5] is always receiving information from her network that is available for the community, so she is the connector." Referring to another network participant, they were able to recognize needs of network members across issue areas and had capacity to develop and hold space for actors to come together and contribute to goals that support larger initiatives in which all actors could participate in and benefit from on behalf of those they represented.

Membership in NLCCC. Participants within the network were found to be recognized as affiliated with primarily one organizing body within North Lawndale known as the North Lawndale Community Coordinating Council (NLCCC). The NLCCC was identified as a place where individuals within the network could meet, find, or maintain relationships with individuals across various issue areas and with different types of resources. As one participant stated, "In

NLCCC we spin ideas off of one another, how we can help ourselves, help the community, and go from there." The NLCCC was most often affiliated with providing navigational and connector support to the network as a whole. One participant referred to the NLCCC as "the motherboard of the network".

Relationship to previous organizers/activists. Participants identified church leaders, nonprofit leaders, community leaders and school leaders from more than 10 years ago in North Lawndale. The only group of participants unable to identify individuals from that time frame were ages 18-35. The data collected from participants did not reveal any particular activists whose names emerged as most prominent from a historical period. Many of the historical Black maternal activist leaders were local block club leaders, school teachers and church leaders that likely held influence in specific neighborhoods in North Lawndale. The exception were notable Black panthers and politicians named as part of the historical network, but those names were few in number and identified by only two participants.

> *"There was Miss Vail. She was a senior citizen advocate. She decided to open up Operation Brotherhood. She worked with seniors. She gave them meals; she gave them clothes. Every time I had an extra piece of clothes, I would donate it to Operation Brotherhood. She held classes down there on how to knit, how to sew for the kids in the community. She was a fighter. Mary Reed. Miss Reed was a little old woman. She was fast. She would hop around like a little grasshopper. She knew everybody. It was a collection of men and women who had a great vision for North Lawndale."*

> *"When King died, Mayor Daley sent soldiers and they were standing on top of the building and everything. And I caught Miss Love and I said, 'we're in trouble." She said, 'yes, we are.' And she said, 'Don't you worry, and don't you leave the house.' But I did. So, then I went to the Panther Party [with Nancy Jefferson]. I said I'm going to de me a group, too. So, I went up to their meetings and stuff and I set up a group when I was in high school called Black Sisters United for Revolutionary Defense. So, I decided I was going to be a militant arm of the Panthers. My mother thought I had lost my mind. She said, 'You keep playing with me and I'm going to put you other there in Mount Sinai.' I said, "But Ma, we have to fight! It's time to fight! Power to the People!' And she was like, 'Oh, Jesus!'. I was a teenager then."*

Analysis run in UCINet captured the perceptions of ten network participants on a broader field of actors, with a total of 69 total actors identified in the network. This directly influences the level of density in the network. High levels of density within a network are generally associated with a robust and healthy network. Data captured for the Black maternal activist network shows a low level of density (see Table 4). This is due to the low percentage of actors in the overall network identified as connected to one another. Lack of information from the total network limits the capacity of the network to express a higher level of density. The degree centrality measured the extent to which the participants in the network identify central actors within the network who are acknowledged by others in the network by the extent to which they are in contact with the person, know the person and receive support in the form of information or resources that advance their activist work. The actors in the network identified at having a high level of degree centrality are the potential bridge leaders in the network, or form a bridging function in the network by connecting various actors who would otherwise not be connected, to one another (see Table 2). Social network data analysis data identifies five key actors in the network based on their degree centrality scores. One of the actors is in the 36-50 age group while the remaining four were in the 51 and older group.

Table 2. Black Maternal Activist Network - Degree centrality

Participant ID	**Age group**	Degree centrality
1	18-35	11.500
2	36-50	0.000
3	51-older	0.000
4	36-50	49.833
5	51-older	186.833
6	18-35	0.333
7	51-older	0.000

8	51-older	149.500
9	51-older	0.000
10	51-older	0.000

Resource mobilization. Participants valued network members that demonstrate a willingness to share what she has with others. She was also considered to have a commanding knowledge of the network and her capacity to support the needs of other members of the network. For example, a participant in the 18-35 age group referred to a person in the network in the 51 and older age group as a resource for her and others in her network:

> *"[BMA#3] is a great leader and resource. She is resourceful, she is there for anything she can do to help someone. Because she's been here so long, she has a wide array of people and different organizations that she knows. I gain access to information from her all the time."*

Individuals identified as leaders and bridge leaders were noted as always being available to provide information and access to resources and emphasized the strategy of working behind the scenes to get things done. Nonprofit settings were validated spaces where resource exchanges took place.

Table 3. Social network data – Identification of network characteristics

Attribute	Age Group 18-35	Age Group 36-50	Age Group 51 - older	Church Affiliated	Non-profit Affiliated
Q9. Why is this person a resource for you? What kind of support do you receive from them?					
Mentor		4	4	1	7
Connector		2	6	1	7
Navigator		2	4	1	5

Resource Mobilizer	8	11	19

Mentorship. Mentorship was an attribute of network members ages 51 and older. These network members were the other mothers who often took other community members under their wing. Participants referred to mentors as often guiding and preparing younger and emerging activists to be ready to take their place at tables of influence. As one participant stated:

> *"She [BMA4] is not only a great woman to me, she is a great mentor and I learned a lot from her and with her. She is an abundance of information and a teacher in her own right. She gives me information on how to prepare when I'm meeting different people."*

Resource savvy. Participants remarked on the need to pass on knowledge to emerging activists to "do a lot with a little". Participants expressed concern that this was important due to the growing influence of nonprofits in community organizing efforts. Three participants ages 51 and older remarked that programs they either founded, worked in or supported in other ways were no longer viable due to lack of external funding. As one participant stated:

> *"The greatest challenge I think of course was always budget, always money. They seem to always struggle to stay open and to do things that we needed to do."*

They discussed their frustration with the lack of ingenuity of younger activist, who they perceive as not using organizing tools to pass on valuable knowledge to residents while also decreasing reliance on external funding to support community organizations and projects. For example, a participant in the 51 and older group stated:

> *"What I tried to drill into them [youth she took under her wing that she trained to create their own programs] was that you don't need money to change everything about our community and stuff."*

Another participant stated:

> *"But it's like one thing I have learned is if you can a lot with a little, then I can open up doors for you to open up to do so much more. So how can we activate the spaces that are available to us?"*

Proposition 1: Activism described by participants will fit the description of tempered radicalism.

The literature and analysis above confirmed descriptions of tempered radicalism among Black maternal activists in North Lawndale. Participants self-identified and were identified as other participants and network members as "apostles", "pastors", or having an "apostolic anointing", all descriptions that relate to women in pastorate or in some form of ministerial leadership within a church or community setting. Two of the ten participants identified themselves in these terms and one network members was identified by five participants as a pastor. All three women carried their messages and ministries outside of churches where they were members. One recalled her own experiences being made to deliver the Sunday message from the floor, forbidden to enter the pulpits of pastors in Alabama and Chicago. Her ministry in community involved being a "face in the community". She organizes community gardens and carries out needs assessments in the community to understand neighborhood perceptions and to determine how to leverage community resources within her network as part of her efforts. The two other participants established themselves as activists within the non-profit industry. All three participants also expressed the aspect of making change within structures they are part of without attempting to alter or challenge the structures themselves. The pastor who chose to deliver her sermon from the floor of the church and not challenge the pastor expressed awareness that her very presence delivering a sermon was groundbreaking in the church, even if it not from the pulpit.

Here is one example of a non-hierarchical community-based ministry that began with church women recently, but was not affiliated within a church body:

> *"So, there was a group called Coalescence in Christ and they wanted to come and be in our church one time, but they are very instrumental for women, not only in our community but in some communities around the city. We were even interactive them with women on the far south side. So, we would go to Stateway Gardens once a week ministering and doing projects and stuff with them. It was women-led, always women-led.*

Proposition 2: Participants will describe enacting the concept of bridge leadership.

This study found limited evidence of bridge leadership among the Black maternal activists. Two leadership structures were identified as non-hierarchical in nature: The North Lawndale Coordinating Community Council and Westside Women United. There were no findings related to advocacy of nontraditional organizing tactics and limited evidence of activities that brought marginalized populations into organizing roles or meaningful positions as part of organizing activities. Degree centrality measures in social network data indicate there are a few central actors within the network who others identify as key players. The low density and low transivity indicates that the network data needs more data from actors identified by the participants to determine if the actors identified are bridge leaders. Density examines the numbers of ties connecting actors. As bridge leaders are essentially the connectors within a network, low density makes it difficult to measure the presence of bridge leadership due to a low number of ties. Transitivity measures the extent to which actors within the network are important to creating and sustaining new relationships (See Table 4).

Table 4. Black Maternal Activism: Density/Average Matrix

Avg Value	Total	Std Dev	Average Weighted Degree
3.679	309	1.544	4.544

With limited information from the whole network it is difficult to understand if bridge leaders are bringing actors together in the network or keeping connections among actors. This would be

an indication of whether the main actors with higher degree centrality were also bridge leaders.

Discussion

Findings

Key findings of this study are the importance of settings in facilitating activism and the ways that Black maternal activists observed and perceived their early experiences can influence how they approach and engage in their own activist work. The settings in which Black maternal activism occur have changed over many decades. Sociologist Frank Cherry conducted a study of the conditions faced by North Lawndale residents who migrated from the south between 1949 and 1959 (Cherry, 1965). He conducted 131 qualitative interviews with 94 residents of North Lawndale and found that the extent to which migrants were adjusted or unadjusted to North Lawndale as a community setting relied upon their level of social and institutional engagement. He found that migrants who attended church or volunteered their time as part of social clubs, experienced higher levels of adjustment and satisfaction compared to those who did not. His findings built upon the findings of an earlier Public Works Administration study (Drake, 1940). His study found that women were more socially active than men, particularly among low- and middle-income women. Churches were found to be the main source of social activity, followed by club membership. This finding from his study has changed in the current landscape in North Lawndale. The role that churches played as the center of social activity decades ago, nonprofit organizations play currently. This study established the role of nonprofit organizations as the primary organism for Black maternal activist to mobilize and distribute resources, advance platforms and models to address current problems they identify, and hold space for others in need of support, information and resources.

Intergeneration messengers were primarily teachers. This study discovered a connection between school settings and early influence on Black maternal activists. As students, teachers and other school leaders had a profound impact on Black maternal activists. They were able to feel a sense of safety, hope, pride, and mothering care from their teachers. This connection made them all strivers – eager to learn about Black history, learn how to successfully navigate systems with support of teachers and counselors, remain in community as they had seen their own teachers do. Teachers brought in resources and connected their students to possibilities to reimagine the world they lived in. The participants saw their teachers as other mothers, extending the network of support and care they received beyond their homes and churches. Grace Lee Boggs refers to this and other strategies discussed in this study as the quiet revolution which takes the intentions of local leaders and emphasizes resource mobilization, navigational skills, intergenerational knowledge sharing and localized organizing to change neighborhoods (Boggs, 2011).

In her book, *The Next Revolution: Sustainable Activism for the Twenty-First Century*, Boggs shares her experiences as an activist in Detroit over the span of 40 years, and suggests ways that we can best sustain activism for current and future generations. Boggs identifies the school setting as a critical component to sustaining activism over time. She views schools as prime locales to formulate hubs, bringing families, community members, educators and children together to solve local problems and advocate and work for changes that transform neighborhoods. This is differently placed from the early experiences of Black maternal activists in this study, but draws upon the activism that formed part of their early experiences. The restorative justice hubs that are community based and linked to school partners as anchor institutions to support reduction in community violence while transforming the relationships

local police, families and the court systems have with one another is one example of a current model in place. Reimagining the school setting as a place in which children can identify and lead social justice projects is another way to continue to advance civic engagement, activism, and transformative change.

Reimagining the school setting to be centered around solving community problems and preparing students to know their communities and the strengths, skill sets, and knowledge they have to contribute to making their communities better would continue the legacy of radicalized socialization that Black maternal activists were exposed to in their earlier years. The quiet revolution taking place within school systems is taking the connections that teachers have to students and communities and redefining the educator as a facilitator of learning beyond the demands of state-driven standards. Models of school development that emphasize civic engagement are being developed to bring new and relevant meaning to education for children.

Boggs call for use of school settings as a component to sustainable activism speaks to the power of cultivating intentional settings. Sarason – we need a more critical analysis of settings, make them healthy, and have more meaning in settings. Sarason (1972) discusses the need for setting creation to become part of our work with and in community organizations. The settings described by Black maternal activists demonstrate how they navigate settings that are hostile and oppressive and the intentionality they bring to settings that they control and facilitate. The difference between the two types of settings reflect the difference between settings that require a thought process that requires self-monitoring in order to navigate one setting, and group centered, non-hierarchical settings they run themselves that do not require self-monitoring in the other. Sarason reminds the reader that each setting has a context that informs why and how the setting developed to express the characteristics associated with it. This study has drawn from

intergenerational messaging to determine the "before the beginning" of settings created maintained by Black maternal activists. Intergenerational messages emphasized the importance of being inclusive, remaining clear on the purpose driving the activity, having a spiritual foundation support the setting, and remaining steadfast, and knowing the importance of passing the torch. Settings that contain these strategies and values as a place setting for activism to take place transmit feelings of interconnection, comfortably accommodate diversity, emphasize sustainable activism as a goal, and incorporate and uplift different voices in the setting. Black maternal activists carry the ancestral voices of mothers, grandmothers, and other mothers into the settings the visit and create. A model of creation setting that would facilitate this intention has the potential to transform the ways that nonprofit organizations look and feel, both structurally and environmentally.

Black maternal activists identify social capital as having four distinct components: mentors, connectors, navigators, and resource mobilizers. Neal (2015) refers to social capital as being a means by which community members can connect and collaborate to exchange resources in their respective networks. Black maternal activists clearly see this as a noteworthy goal in their network. However, the roles of mentors and navigators are also interesting aspects of the Black maternal activist network worth examining for its potential to promote network cohesion and Boggs' idea of sustainable activism. Creating or fortifying systems that support healthy exchanges among members needs a "before the beginning" phase in order to ensure that new participants can not only participant in exchanges, but become savvy agents of change within the network to ensure that it maintains its capacity for longer than a generation. Mentors and navigators play an important role to ensure that the flow of information and resource exchange continues for both established and new members of networks. This study has discovered, through

the voices of Black maternal activists, the value to two often overlooked aspects of network sustainability and for the purposes of this study, sustainable activism.

Bridge leaders and tempered radicals have found the use of nonprofit structures as potentially viable means to organize, advocate, and engage in resource mobilization and distribution. The use of nonprofits limits the ability of spiritual leaders to remain fully committed to their roles as spiritual leader. This study did not fully explore the implications for this shift for spiritual leaders, only establish that the shift has happened and that they are part of this network. Nonprofit corporate structures may also limit the ability for bridge leaders to fully express their capacity for mass mobilization, establishing non-hierarchical structures, and organizing marginalized populations (Robnett, 2000). Some Black maternal activists are using volunteer-based structures that are not beholden to federal and state requirements for hierarchical corporate structures in order to lower costs, maximize the amount of funds raised to benefit individuals directly, and to rely less on grant-funded support as a means to stay fiscally afloat. Observation of the types of structures bridge leaders and tempered radicals chose over time to support setting creation may reveal how they resolve this tension, or not.

Limitations of Study

Due to the limited number of individuals interviewed for the network survey, a truly representative sample of the Black maternal activist network was not obtained for this study. Interviews with 10 participants to collect data on the entire network meant that the individuals identified by the participants would not give their own perceptions of the network questions. As a result, the study has low density and low transivity. Given the time constraints while collecting data, it was not possible to recruit and consent all 69 network members identified by 10 participants.

Recommendations for future research

North Lawndale is a community full of rich stories and indigenous knowledge from Black maternal activists. The community has much to offer in building our collective knowledge of community mothering, women led community development processes, and the potential for Black maternal activists across generational lines to organize and transform their community. An in-depth mixed methods study of a model of Black maternal activism from the perspective of Chicago's west side activists is a potential line of inquiry for researchers interested to understand more about the lived experiences of North Lawndale activists beyond this study and its application to understanding how Black maternal activists organize strongly knit networks to support broad-based community development and activism.

Implications for Practice/Policy

The role of community psychology in working with community organizers has generally been to utilize our skills as participant conceptualizers, providing support and assistance as needed. As we enter into local spaces and get to know community members, we may consider the role of intergenerational messaging as part of our consideration for how to understand a community on its own terms. Intergenerational messaging is a process that allows us to disavow ourselves of preconceived notions of what communities are like, how they define their own strengths, and what is important to them. We can fully focus our attention on their stories, and the stories of their community and family ancestors and learn how their examples and practices of community cohesion, networking, sisterhood, mentorship, and passing the torch support activist practices. We also learn through this process that no community has the same story, each one is unique.

Black maternal activists are in the driver's seat of North Lawndale's organizing,

planning, and social service spaces. As we observe the changing landscape of the current national and local movements by Black maternal activists to end the criminalization of Black bodies and braid together the remaining strands of community that are forming the basis of current organizing efforts, we know that North Lawndale is not alone. Community psychologists are now charged to consider this as part of what community-based practice will look like in urban communities like Chicago. Developing strategies that incorporate intergenerational indigenous knowledge can only enrich our positioning as partners and collaborators with Black maternal activists and the communities they lead and support.

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APPENDIX A
Archival Data Collection Sheet

Name (Person, Org. Church)	Category(ies)	Archival Record Date (Date of original record)	Record Source (Meeting, Services, Planning Documents)	Notes

Category Key Code:
BL - Bridge Leader
TR - Tempered Radical
IM - Intergenerational Messenger

Characteristics for each category

Bridge Leader (Robnett, 2000)

- Examines the role of social location and identity in social movements
- Reconceptualizing leadership within context of race, gender and social power
- Application of leadership ability in non-hierarchical structures and institutions
- Advocacy for radical or nontraditional tactics compared to formal leaders

- Bring marginalized populations into meaningful and central roles within social movements
- Make mass mobilization possible for large scale and significant campaigns at local level
- Four types: professional (extensive experience and knowledge), indigenous (not bound to one organization), community (organization bound), and mainstream bridge leaders

Tempered Radical (Ngunjiri, F. W., Gramby-Sobukwe, S., & Williams-Gegner, K., 2012)

- Deconstructs the gender and power structures within Black churches
- Acknowledges intersections of gender, race, class and other social markers that put Black women at odds with dominant culture
- Black women define their connection to and role in Black churches as integral to community work
- The strategy of "rocking the boat without falling out."

Intergenerational Messenger (Knupfer, 1996, 2006)

- Acknowledged by others for their experience and skill in organizing and in life
- Assume some form of leadership-based community role
- May have a title or a name that is commonly used when they are referred to that may refer to them as a mother or in a mothering role
- May have received some recognition from others, or acknowledge of their role as a leader in the community

APPENDIX B

BLACK MATERNAL ACTIVISTS – NORTH LAWNDALE INTERVIEW #_____
DATE ____/____/____

Welcome and thank you for your participation today. My name is Deidra Somerville and I am a graduate student at National Louis University. This project is part of my dissertation research and I hope will support and contribute to the work of Black maternal activists here in North Lawndale.

I would like to learn about your personal experiences as a Black woman and community leader here in North Lawndale. I am interested to learn of your journey as an activist and to hear about the experiences that have influenced you as a leader in North Lawndale. I would like your permission to tape record this interview, so I can make sure that I don't miss anything and get everything right. If at any time during the interview you wish to discontinue the use of the recorder or the interview, please feel free to let me know. All of your responses are confidential. The only person that will have access to this recording is me.

Your responses will remain confidential and will be used to develop a better understanding of how you as a Black women view your experiences as an activist here in North Lawndale. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. If at any time you need to stop, take a break, please let me know. You may also withdraw your participation at any time without consequence. Any questions or concerns before we begin?

1. Did you grow up here in North Lawndale? What was it like for you during that time?
2. Where was your family from before coming to North Lawndale?
    a. Do you know when they actually arrived in North Lawndale?
    b. What was it like for families coming here at that time?
3. Who were the Black women that made an impression on you while growing up?
    1. Probe: what about them made an impression on you?
    2. Were there any particular sayings you remember from them?
        1. Probe: Tell me more about them?
            1. Probe: what does it mean to you as an activist?
            2. Tell me more about that?
4. Are you currently affiliated with an organization here in North Lawndale?
5. Probe: Tell me about your affiliation with ___.

a. What is your role in the organization?

6. Tell me about a time that you experienced a challenge while engaging in activist work. How did you address that challenge? What influenced you to take that approach?

a. Probe: Can you give me an example of what you just mentioned?

APPENDIX C

Interview#___

Location_____ Date____/____/____

Black Maternal Activist Social Network Survey

As a person who works with and on behalf of others, you recognize the value of relationships and organizations that help to bring about the changes we want to see in North Lawndale. This interview will ask you about your relationships with other Black women in the community who are working with and on behalf of North Lawndale as community leaders. I will be asking you for the first names and first initial of individuals you know in the capacity, both personally and professionally. By asking for only first names and first initials, you can protect the identities of anyone as you feel necessary. Do you have any questions?

Probe 1: Who are the Black women or organizations you go to when you want to address an issue in North Lawndale?
Probe 2: Who else do you seek advice from around how to address an issue in North Lawndale?

Probe	Name or Org.	Are they in North Lawndale? Y/N	Is this person/org connected to an organization here in North Lawndale? Y/N If yes, which one?	Is this person at the head of the organization? Y/N	Is this person a leader in the community? Y/N	How often do you have contact with this person? 1. Never 2. A little 3. Moderate 4. Quite a bit 5. All the time	How doe you acc info res pro sup tho nee

Open-Ended Network Questions:
The following questions are about your existing and developing networks.

1. **What organizations/places in North Lawndale do you partner with to make change happen? Why have you connected with this organization/place in particular?**

Please provide the following information.

Name or Organization	Why (note explanation)

Have you joined any new groups or started to attend any meetings in the past 6 months?
Yes___ No____

If yes, what groups have you joined or meetings have you started to attend in the past 6 months?

Groups or Meetings	How many times have you ha attended this meeting in the p

Who are the Black women leaders in North Lawndale? To what extent do you personally know them?

Name or organization	**How much do you personally know them? 1. Not at all; 2. A little; 3. Some; 4. Qu Completely**

Who are the Black women from North Lawndale you remember as community leaders from more than 10 years ago? How much did you personally know them?

Name or Organization	**How much did you personally know them? 1. Not at all; 2. A little; 3. Som 4. Quite a bit; 5. Very well; 6. Completely**

Thank you for taking the time to complete this interview.